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FORSTER, Johann Georg Adam



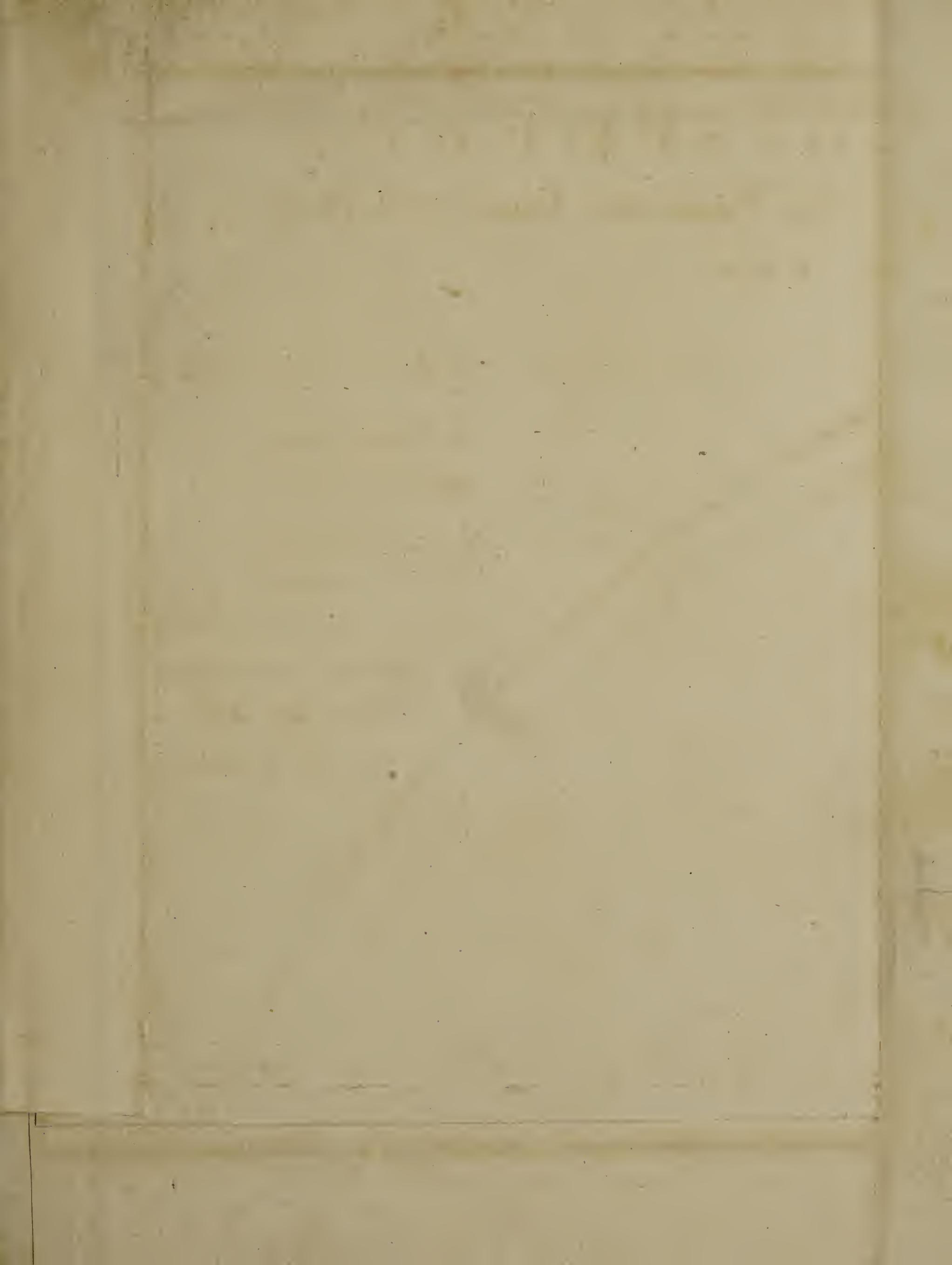












# A CHART OF THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE,

according to the latest Discoveries: with the Tracks of the Resolution, Cap<sup>n</sup> Cook; and the Adventure, Cap<sup>n</sup> Furneaux; from 1772, to 1775.

BY GEORGE

FORSTER, F.R.S.

*Explanation of References.*

- 1. Whitsunday Island.
- 2. Queen Charlotte's Island.    Seen
- 3. Egmont Island.                    by
- 4. Gloucester Island.                Captain
- 5. Cumberland Island.              Wallis.
- 6. Pr. Will<sup>m</sup> Henry's Island.
- C. Carlshof I<sup>l</sup>    seen by Roggewein.
- W. Waterland    seen by LeMaire.

*among the Low Islands.*

- R. Resolution's Island.
  - D. Doubtful Island.
  - F. Furneaux's Island.
  - A. Adventure's Island.
  - P. Palliser's I. or Roggewein's Permeous I.
  - G. Byron's King George's Islands.
- These were seen in the Resolution.



*Positions assumed,*

- AMERICA, from D'Anville, compared with Spanish Charts & the Resolutions discovery.
- AFRICA, from M<sup>r</sup> Dalrymple's Chart of the Southern Ocean, & the New Edition of M<sup>r</sup> D'Après Neptune Oriental.
- NEW HOLLAND, according to the latest Charts, & the Endeavour's Discoveries.
- Eastern Isles of ASIA, from M<sup>r</sup> Dalrymple's Chart of the China Sea & the Neptune Oriental.

*in this Chart.*

- Ladrones, Caroline Isles, & Pescadores, according to Cap<sup>n</sup> Wallis's Observations at Timan &c.
- NEW GUINEA & New Britain, from Dampier, Carteret, & D'Anville, compared with Des-Brosses, & Dalrymple.
- ISLANDS in the Pacific Ocean, from the latest Discoveries in the Resolution (1773 & 1774) carefully collated with all former Navigators.

Engraved by William Whitechurch.

Published according to Act of Parliament, March 10<sup>th</sup> 1777.

A  
V O Y A G E  
R O U N D T H E  
W O R L D,

I N

His BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S Sloop, RESOLUTION,  
commanded by Capt. JAMES COOK, during the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5.

By GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S.

Member of the Royal Academy of MADRID, and of the Society for promoting  
Natural Knowledge at BERLIN.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

On ne repouffe point la verité fans bruit,  
Et de quelque façon qu'on l'arrête au passage.  
On verra tôt-ou-tard que c'étoit un outrage,  
Dont il falloit qu'au moins la *honte* fut le fruit.

DE MISSY.

L O N D O N,

Printed for B. WHITE, Fleet-Street; J. ROBSON, Bond-Street; P. ELMSLY, Strand;  
and G. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCLXXVII.

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# P R E F A C E.

**H**ISTORY does not offer an example of such disinterested efforts, towards the enlargement of human knowledge, as have been made by the British nation, since the accession of his present Majesty to the Throne. America, with all its riches, might long have remained undiscovered, if the unequalled perseverance and the glorious enthusiasm of Columbus had not providentially surmounted every difficulty, and, in spite of ignorance and envy, forced their way to Ferdinand and Isabella. That immortal navigator was protected at last, only because he opened a new and evident source of gain. But a friendship between Plutus and the Muses was too singular to be sincere; it only lasted whilst they, with no better success than the Danaids, poured heaps of gold into his treasury.

The triumph of science was reserved to later periods of time. Three voyages of discovery, from the most liberal motives, had already been performed, when a fourth was undertaken by order of an enlightened monarch, upon a more enlarged and majestic plan than ever was put in

execution before. The greatest navigator of his time, two able astronomers, a man of science to study nature in all her recesses, and a painter to copy some of her most curious productions, were selected at the expence of the nation. After completing their voyage, they have prepared to give an account of their respective discoveries, which cannot fail of crowning, their employers at least, with immortal honour.

The British legislature did not send out and liberally support my father as a naturalist, who was merely to bring home a collection of butterflies and dried plants. That superior wisdom which guides the counsels of this nation, induced many persons of considerable distinction to act on this occasion with unexampled greatness. So far from prescribing rules for his conduct, they conceived that the man whom they had chosen, prompted by his natural love of science, would endeavour to derive the greatest possible advantages to learning from his voyage. He was only therefore directed to exercise all his talents, and to extend his observations to every remarkable object. From him they expected a philosophical history of the voyage, free from prejudice and vulgar error, where human nature should be represented without any adherence to fallacious systems, and upon the principles of general philanthropy; in short, an account written upon a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed.

My

P R E F A C E.

My father performed the voyage, and collected his observations agreeably to the ideas which had thus been entertained of him. Fully resolved to complete the purpose of his mission, and to communicate his discoveries to the public, and not allowing himself any time to rest from the fatigues which he had undergone, he inscribed and presented the first specimen of his labours to his majesty within four months after his return\*. The history of the voyage, the principal performance which was demanded at his hands, next engrossed his whole attention. It was at first proposed, that from his own and captain Cook's journals a single narrative should be composed, in which the important observations of each should be inserted, and referred to their proper authors by different marks. My father received a part of captain Cook's journal, and drew up several sheets as a specimen; however, as it was soon after thought more expedient to separate the two journals, this plan was not prosecuted. The Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, being desirous of ornamenting the account of the late discoveries with a number of plates, engraved after the drawing of the artist who went on the voyage, generously granted the whole expence of the engraving †

\* *Characteres Generum Plantarum quas in Insulis maris australis colleg. &c.* Joannes Reinoldus Forster, LL. D. & Georgius Forster. 4to. Lond. 1776.

† This expence amounts to upwards of 2000 *l.* all the plates being executed by the ablest artists.

in equal shares to captain Cook and my father. An agreement was drawn up on the 13th of April, 1776, between captain Cook and my father, in the presence, and with the signature of the earl of Sandwich, specifying the particular parts of the account which were to be prepared for the press by each of the parties separately, and confirming to them both jointly the generous gift of the plates from the Board of Admiralty. In consequence of this, my father presented a second specimen of his narrative for the perusal of the earl of Sandwich, and was much surpris'd at first that this second essay was entirely disapproved; but after some time he was convinced, that as the word "narrative" was omitted in the agreement, he had no right to compose a connected account of the voyage. He was told that if he meant to preserve his claim to half the profit arising from the plates which the Board of Admiralty provided, he must conform to the letter of the agreement; and though he had always considered himself as sent out chiefly with a view to write the history of the voyage, he acquiesced for the benefit of his family, and strictly confined himself to the publication of his unconnected philosophical observations made in the course of the voyage.

I must confess, it hurt me much, to see the chief intent of my father's mission defeated, and the public disappointed in their expectations of a philosophical recital of facts.

However,

However, as I had been appointed his assistant in the course of this expedition, I thought it incumbent upon me, at least to attempt to write such a narrative. Every consideration prompted me to undertake the task, which it was no longer in his power to perform. It was a duty we owed to the public; I had collected sufficient materials during the voyage, and I had as much good will to begin with, as any traveller that ever wrote, or any compiler that was ever bribed to mutilate a narrative. I was bound by no agreement whatsoever, 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.

Two anonymous publications on the subject of our voyage have already appeared; but the present age is too enlightened to credit marvellous histories, which would have disgusted even the romantic disposition of our ancestors. The incidents of our voyage are various, and deeply interesting, without the assistance of fiction. Our course has been by turns fertile, and barren of events; but as the industry of the labourer reaps some advantage from the most ungrateful soil, so the most dreary solitudes have yielded instruction to the inquisitive mind.

Another

Another narrative of this circumnavigation, is said to have been written by captain JAMES COOK of His Majesty's Royal Navy, under whose command it was performed. That account will be ornamented with a great variety of plates, representing views of the countries which we visited, portraits of the natives, figures of their boats, arms, and utensils, together with a number of particular charts of the new discoveries; and all these plates, engraved at the expence of the Board of Admiralty, are the joint property of captain Cook and my father.

At first sight it may seem superfluous to offer two relations of this voyage to the world; but when we consider them as narratives of interesting facts, it must be allowed that the latter will be placed in a stronger light, by being related by different persons. Our occupations when in harbour were widely different; whilst captain Cook was employed in victualling or refitting the ship, I went in quest of the manifold objects which Nature had scattered throughout the land. Nothing is therefore more obvious, than that each of us may have caught many distinct incidents, and that our observations will frequently be foreign to each other. But above all, it is to be observed, that the same objects may have been seen in different points of view, and that the same fact may often have given rise to different ideas. Many circumstances familiar to the navigator, who has been bred on the rough element, strike  
the

the landman with novelty, and furnish entertainment to his readers. The seaman views many objects on shore with a retrospect to maritime affairs, whilst the other attends to their œconomical uses. In short, the different branches of science which we have studied, our turns of mind, our heads and hearts have made a difference in our sensations, reflections, and expressions. This disparity may have been rendered still more evident, as I have slightly passed over all regulations relative to the interior œconomy of the ship and the crew: I have studiously avoided nautical details both at sea and in harbour, nor ventured to determine, how often we reefed, or split a sail in a storm, how many times we tacked to weather a point, and how often our refractory bark disobeyed her Palinurus, and missed stays. The bearings and distances of projecting capes, of peaks, hills, and hummocks, of bays, harbours, ports, and coves, at different hours of the day, have likewise been in general omitted. These instructive particulars thrive in the proper field of the navigator. The history of captain Cook's first Voyage Round the World \*, was eagerly read by all European nations, but incurred universal censure, I had almost said contempt. It was the fate of that History, to be compiled by a person who had not been on the voyage; and

\* In the Endeavour, from 1768, to 1771, drawn up by Dr. John Hawkesworth.

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to the frivolous observations, the uninteresting digressions, and sophistical principles of this writer, the ill-success of the work has been attributed; though few are able to determine, with what degree of justice the blame is thrown upon the compiler. The active life of captain Cook, and his indefatigable pursuits after discoveries, have made it impossible for him to superintend the printing of his own Journals; and the public, I am much afraid, must again converse with him by means of an interpreter. His present performance will, in all probability, have another circumstance in common with the former, where many important observations, thought obnoxious, have been suppressed, as is customary in France. The same authority which blew off M. de Bougainville from the island of Juan Fernandez, could hush to silence the British guns, whilst the Endeavour cannonaded the Portuguese fort at Madeira\*. Without entering farther into this subject, I shall only observe, that the above remark will give an adequate idea of the authenticity of a performance, which is submitted

\* The two circumstances here alluded to, are well known facts, though suppressed in the published narratives. M. de Bougainville spent some time at Juan Fernandez, and completely refreshed his crew there, though he wishes to have it understood, that contrary winds prevented his touching at that island. Captain Cook in the Endeavour, battered the Loo-fort at Madeira, in conjunction with an English frigate, thus resenting an affront which had been offered to the British flag.

to censure and mutilation, before it is offered to the public.

The philosophers of the present age, to obviate the seeming contradictions in the accounts of different travellers, have been at the trouble to select certain authors in whom they have placed confidence, and rejected as fabulous the assertions of all the rest. Without being competent judges of the subject, they have assumed a few circumstances as facts; and wresting even those to suit their own systems, have built a superstructure which pleases at a distance, but upon nearer examination partakes of the illusive nature of a dream. The learned, at last grown tired of being deceived by the powers of rhetoric, and by sophistical arguments, raised a general cry after a simple collection of *facts*. They had their wish; facts were collected in all parts of the world, and yet knowledge was not increased. They received a confused heap of disjointed limbs, which no art could reunite into a whole; and the rage of hunting after facts soon rendered them incapable of forming and resolving a single proposition; like those minute enquirers, whose life is wholly spent in the anatomical dissection of flies, from whence they never draw a single conclusion for the use of mankind, or even of brutes. Besides this, two travellers seldom saw the same object in the same manner, and each reported the fact differently, according to his sensa-

rions, and his peculiar mode of thinking. It was therefore necessary to be acquainted with the observer, before any use could be made of his observations. The traveller was no longer to trust to chance for a variety of occurrences, but to make use of his first discovery, as the thread of Ariadne, by the help of which he might guide his steps through the labyrinth of human knowledge. It was therefore requisite that he should have penetration sufficient to combine different facts, and to form general views from thence, which might in some measure guide him to new discoveries, and point out the proper objects of farther investigation. This was the idea with which I embarked on the late voyage round the world, and agreeably to which I have collected materials for the present publication, as far as the time, my situation and abilities, would permit. I have always endeavoured in this narrative to connect the ideas arising from different occurrences, in order, if possible, to throw more light upon the nature of the human mind, and to lift the soul into that exalted station, from whence the extensive view must "justify the ways of God to man." Whether I have succeeded or failed in the attempt, remains to be decided; but the rectitude of the intention cannot, I trust, be misconstrued. I have sometimes obeyed the powerful dictates of my heart, and given voice to my feelings; for, as I do not pretend to be free from the weaknesses common

mon to my fellow-creatures, it was necessary for every reader to know the colour of the glass through which I looked. Of this at least I am certain, that a gloomy livid tinge hath never clouded my sight. Accustomed to look on all the various tribes of men, as entitled to an equal share of my good will, and conscious, at the same time, of the rights which I possess in common with every individual among them, I have endeavoured to make my remarks with a retrospect to our general improvement and welfare; and neither attachment nor aversion to particular nations have influenced my praise or censure.

The degree of pleasure which may result from the perusal of a work, depends not only upon the variety of the subject, but likewise upon the purity and the graces of style. We must resign all pretensions to taste and sentiment, if we did not prefer a well-told tale to a lame and tedious narration. Of late, however, the just esteem in which an elegant diction is held, has been so far abused, that authors, relying on the fluency of their language, have paid no attention to the matter which they proposed, but deceived the public with a dry and uninteresting performance. Such writers may possibly acquire the approbation of some individuals,

“ Who haunt Parnassus but to please their ear;”

But I am convinced the generality of readers are always just enough to overlook, in some measure, the defects of style,

in:

in favour of the novelty or usefulness of the subject. Without attempting to be curiously elegant, I have aimed at perspicuity; and having paid the strictest attention to this particular, I hope to meet with indulgence, if some errors of less moment have escaped my notice. It was owing to the repeated corrections of some valuable friends, to which I submitted my manuscript, that I sent it late to the press; but from the unexampled activity of the printer, I am enabled to lay my work before the public even sooner than I expected. The Chart, on which our line of circumnavigation is delineated, has been engraved by the ablest artist in that branch\*, and I constructed it with the most minute attention from the best authorities, which are mentioned in its margin. After specifying the above particulars, of which I thought it my duty to apprize the reader, it only remains to discharge a promise made in the course of the work, respecting an account of the education and equipment of O-Mai in this country †. (See vol. I. p. 389.) In the narrow limits of a Preface I can only comprehend in a few lines the substance of what might furnish an entertaining volume. O-Mai has been considered either as remarkably

\* Mr. W. Whitchurch, Pleasant-row, Islington.

† The native of the Society Islands brought over by captain Furneaux in the Adventure, and vulgarly called Omiah.

stupid, or very intelligent, according to the different allowances which were made by those who judged of his abilities. His language, which is destitute of every harsh consonant, and where every word ends in a vowel, had so little exercised his organs of speech, that they were wholly unfit to pronounce the more complicated English sounds; and this physical, or rather habitual defect, has too often been misconstrued. Upon his arrival in England, he was immediately introduced into genteel company, led to the most splendid entertainments of this great and luxurious metropolis, and presented at court amidst a brilliant circle of the first nobility. He naturally imitated that easy and elegant politeness which is so prevalent in all those places, and which is one of the ornaments of civilized society; he adopted the manners, the occupations, and amusements of his companions, and gave many proofs of a quick perception and lively fancy. Among the instances of his intelligence, I need only mention his knowledge of the game of chess, in which he had made an amazing proficiency. The multiplicity of objects which crowded upon him, prevented his paying due attention to those particulars which would have been beneficial to himself and to his countrymen at his return. He was not able to form a general comprehensive view of our whole civilized system, and to abstract from thence what appeared most strikingly useful and applicable to the improvement of his country. His  
fenses

senses were charmed by beauty, symmetry, harmony, and magnificence; they called aloud for gratification, and he was accustomed to obey their voice. The continued round of enjoyments left him no time to think of his future life; and being destitute of the genius of Tupaia, whose superior abilities would have enabled him to form a plan for his own conduct, his understanding remained unimproved. It can hardly be supposed that he never formed a wish to obtain some knowledge of our agriculture, arts, and manufactures; but no friendly Mentor ever attempted to cherish and to gratify this wish, much less to improve his moral character, to teach him our exalted ideas of virtue, and the sublime principles of revealed religion. After having spent near two years in England, and happily undergone inoculation for the small pox \*, he embarked with captain Cook in the Resolution, which sailed from Plymouth in July 1776. The various scenes of debauchery, which are almost unavoidable in the civilized world, had not corrupted the natural good qualities of his heart. At parting from his friends his tears flowed plentifully, and his silence and outward behaviour proved him deeply affected. He carried with him an infinite variety of dresses, ornaments, and other trifles, which are daily invented in order to supply our

\* This disease proved fatal to Aotourou, the native of O-Taheitee, whom M. de Bougainville brought to France, and who received nearly the same education as O-Mai.

artificial wants. His judgment was in its infant state, and therefore, like a child, he coveted almost every thing he saw, and particularly that which had amused him by some unexpected effect. To gratify his childish inclinations, as it should seem, rather than from any other motive, he was indulged with a portable organ, an electrical machine, a coat of mail, and a suit of armour. Perhaps my readers expect to be told of his taking on board some articles of real use to his country; I expected it likewise, but was disappointed. However, though his country will not receive a citizen from us much improved, or fraught with valuable acquisitions, which might have made him the benefactor, and perhaps the lawgiver of his people, still I am happy to reflect, that the ships which are once more sent out upon discovery, are destined to carry the harmless natives of Taheitee a present of new domestic animals. The introduction of black cattle and sheep on that fertile island, will doubtless increase the happiness of its inhabitants; and this gift may hereafter be conducive, by many intermediate causes, to the improvement of their intellectual faculties. And here I cannot but observe, that considering the small expence at which voyages of discovery are carried on\*, the nation which favours these enterprizes is amply repaid by the benefit derived to our fellow-creatures. I cannot help thinking that our late voy-

\* The whole expence of the voyage in which I embarked did not exceed the sum of 25000 *l.* including all extraordinary disbursements.

age would reflect immortal honour on our employers, if it had no other merit than stocking Taheitee with goats, the Friendly Isles and New Hebrides with dogs, and New Zealand and New Caledonia with hogs. It is therefore sincerely to be wished, that voyages of discovery, upon a disinterested plan, may still be prosecuted with vigour, as much remains to be done, even in the South Sea; unless it should be in the power of illiberal men to defeat the great and generous views of a monarch, who is justly called the patron of science. A single remark, which may be of extensive use to posterity; a single circumstance, which may make happy our fellow-creatures in those remote parts of the world, repays the toils of the navigation, and bestows that great reward, the consciousness of good and noble actions.

London,  
March 1, 1777.

G. FORSTER.

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A

V O Y A G E

R O U N D T H E

W O R L D.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

*Departure—Passage from Plymouth to Madeira—Description of that Island.*

Ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit,—statui res gestas—per-  
scribere ; tamen (*hoc*) imprimis arduum videtur,—quia plerique, quæ delicta  
reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia putant ; ubi de magna virtute et gloria  
bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit ;  
supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. SALLUST.

**A** VOYAGE to explore the high southern latitudes of  
our globe was resolved upon, soon after the return  
of the Endeavour in 1771. Two stout vessels, the *Resolu-*  
*tion* and the *Adventure*, were fitted as King's sloops for that  
purpose, and the command of them given to Capt. JAMES  
COOK and Capt. TOBIAS FURNEAUX. On the 11th of June,  
1772, my father and myself were appointed to embark in  
this expedition, in order to collect, describe, and draw

1772. JUNE.  
Thursday 11.

1772. JUNE. the objects of natural history which we might expect to meet with during our course. We prepared with the utmost alacrity for this arduous undertaking, and in the space of nine days sent all our baggage on board the Resolution, then at Sheerness, but which failed from thence for Plymouth on the 22d of June.

Saturday 20.

Monday 21.

We left London on the 26th, and in two Days reached Plymouth, where the Resolution was not yet arrived. The 1st of July, we went on board the *Augusta Yacht*, and waited on the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord Commissioner for executing the office of High Admiral. His Lordship expecting the Resolution to come into Plymouth Sound that day, desired us to be on board of her, between the hours of five and six in the evening. However, to our great disappointment, she did not appear, and his Lordship left Plymouth the next morning.

JULY.  
Friday 3.

The 3d of July early, we saw the Resolution lying in the Sound, where she had arrived the night before. Captain Cook purposed to stay here eight or ten days, and gave orders, that some necessary shelves should be fixed up in our cabins previous to our reception on board. The desire of letting pass no opportunity for the improvement of science, and for our own instruction, prompted us to pass these leisure hours in visiting the tin mines in Cornwall. Having satisfied our curiosity, and being both highly entertained and much instructed by the sight of the rich extensive

Wednesday 8.

tenfive works at Poldyce and Kenwyn, we returned to Plymouth on the 8th of July. 1772. JULY.

On Saturday the 11th, we went on board the Resolution Saturday 11.  
 sloop, which was now to sail with the first fair wind. The  
 next day it blew a fresh gale; and my father, walking on Sunday 12.  
 the quarter-deck, observed our vessel to alter her position  
 considerably in regard to the Adventure (which was to ac-  
 company us on our voyage) and to a mast-ship, both at  
 anchor in the Sound; at the same time taking notice that  
 she approached the rocks under the castle. He immediate-  
 ly communicated his apprehensions to Mr. Gilbert, the  
 master, who happened to be upon deck with him. The  
 master found, that the vessel having been moored to one of  
 the transport buoys in the Sound, the buoy, not intended  
 to support such a violent strain, had broke from its  
 ground tackle, and was adrift together with the sloop. In  
 an instant all hands were on deck, the sails spread, and  
 the cables cleared. We shot past the Adventure and mast-  
 ship, and came to an anchor, after escaping the most  
 imminent danger of being dashed against the rocks under  
 the fort. Our seamen looked upon this fortunate event,  
 as an omen favourable to the success of the voyage, while  
 we could not avoid reflecting on the tutelar guidance of  
 DIVINE PROVIDENCE, which had thus manifested itself in  
 a critical moment; that might easily have put an effectual

1772. JULY. stop to our projects\*. We shall, in the course of this history, find frequent instances of impending destruction, where all human help would have been ineffectual, if our better fortune had not prevailed under the superior direction of HIM, without whose knowledge not a single hair falls from our heads. We are ever ready to give due applause and do full justice to the great skill and good conduct of our able circumnavigators, but we cannot avoid attributing every thing to its proper source, and that especially to a higher power, which human art, though aided by effrontery and irreligion, dares not vindicate to itself.

Monday 13.

Early on Monday the 13th, we set sail from Plymouth Sound, in company with the Adventure. I turned a parting look on the fertile hills of England, and gave way to the natural emotions of affection which that prospect awakened; till the beauty of the morning, and the novelty of gliding through the smooth water attracted my attention, and dispersed the gloominess of former ideas. We soon passed by *Eddystone* lighthouse, a lofty and well-contrived tower, which is of the greatest advantage to navigation and commerce. It was impossible to look at it, without shuddering with apprehensions for the lonely

\* That it is not uncommon for ships, under the same circumstances as the Resolution sloop, to take considerable damage, appears from what happened to the Aldborough, May 19, 1776, which broke from the buoys in the same manner, but drove ashore on Drake's island, and was bulged to pieces.

keepers,

Keepers, who are often obliged to pass three months there, 1772. JULY.  
deprived of all communication with the main-land. The  
fate of *Winstanley*, who was really crushed by the downfall  
of a former structure, which he himself had built on this  
rock, and the vibrations of the present tower, when winds  
and waves assail it, must give them strong fears of a dread-  
ful and sudden end.

In proportion as we stood off shore, the wind increased,  
the billows rose higher, and the vessel rolled violently from  
side to side. Those who were not used to the sea, nay  
some of the oldest mariners, were affected by the sea-sick-  
ness, in various degrees of violence. It was of different  
duration with different persons, and after it had continued  
three days amongst us, we found the greatest relief from  
red port wine mulled, with spices and sugar.

On the 20th, we fell in with Cape *Ortegal*, on the coast Monday 20th.  
of *Gallicia* in Spain; the natives call it *Ortigaera*, and it  
was probably the *Promontorium Trileucum* of the ancients.  
The country hereabouts is hilly; where the naked rock ap-  
pears it is white, and the tops of the mountains are covered  
with wood. I also observed some corn-fields almost ripe, and  
some spots which seemed to be covered with heath. The  
eagerness with which every body gazed at this land, power-  
fully persuaded me, that mankind were not meant to be  
amphibious animals, and that of course our present situa-  
tion.

1772. JULY. tion was an unnatural one; an idea that seems to have occurred to Horace, when he says,

Necquicquam Deus abscidit  
 Prudens oceano diffociabili  
 Terras; si tamen impiæ  
 Non tangenda rates transfiliunt vada. HOR.

In vain did Nature's wife command  
 Divide the waters from the land,  
 If daring ships and men profane,  
 Invade th' inviolable main. DRYDEN.

Wednesday 22. On the 22d, we saw the lighthouse near *Corunna*, or, as our failors absurdly call it, the *Groyn*. It was perfectly calm, the water smooth as a mirror, and the hilly prospect very agreeably varied by corn-fields, inclosures, small hamlets, and gentlemen's seats, every thing conspiring to banish the remains of the sea-sickness entirely from amongst us, and to bring back that chearfulness which could not well keep company with empty stomachs and a tempestuous sea. In the evening we were near a small tartan, which we took to be a fishing vessel from the Spanish coast; and in that persuasion, a boat was hoisted out and sent towards her, in order, if possible, to purchase some fresh fish. In going thither we observed the whole surface of the sea every where covered with myriads of little crabs, not above an inch in diameter, which we  
found

found were of the species called *cancer depurator* by Lin-<sup>1772. JULY.</sup>  
 næus. The little vessel proved to be a French tartan  
 from Marseilles, of about 100 tons burden, freighted  
 with flour for *Ferrol* and *Corunna*. The people in her  
 begged for a small supply of fresh water, having been  
 driven far from their course by contrary winds during  
 two months, by which means this necessary article had  
 been exhausted above a fortnight ago, and they were re-  
 duced to live upon bread and a little wine. Whilst they  
 continued in this distressful situation, they had met with  
 several ships at sea, and especially with several Spanish  
 men of war, though none had been humane enough to  
 alleviate their sufferings. When the officer who com-  
 manded our boat heard this account, he sent their empty  
 barrels on board our vessel to be filled with fresh water,  
 and their eyes sparkled with the liveliest expression of joy  
 when they received it. They thanked Heaven and us,  
 and rejoiced that they should now be able to light their  
 fire again, and be comforted with some boiled provisions,  
 after their long abstinence. So true is it, that a man with  
 a feeling humane heart, may often, at a very cheap rate,  
 indulge the inclination to assist his fellow-creatures.

The next afternoon, three Spanish men of war passed <sup>Thursday 23.</sup>  
 us, standing in for *Ferrol*. One of them seemed to be a  
 74 gun ship, and the two others carried about 60 guns  
 each. The sternmost first hoisted English colours, but  
 when

1772. JULY. when we shewed ours, she hauled them down, fired a gun to leeward, and hoisted the Spanish ensign. Soon after she fired a shot at the Adventure; but as we kept standing on, the Spaniard put about, and fired another shot just a-head of her. In consequence of this, our vessel brought to, and the Adventure now *seemed only to follow our example*. The Spaniard then hailed the Adventure in English, and asked "what *frigate* that was a-head," (meaning our sloop); and having been satisfied in that particular, he would not answer a question of the same nature, which was put to him, but always replied, "*I wish you a good voyage.*" We continued our course, after a scene so humiliating to the masters of the sea, and passed Cape *Finisterre* during night.

Several porpoises passed us on the 25th, all swimming against the wind, which had been north-easterly ever since we had left Cape *Finisterre*. At night the sea appeared luminous, particularly the tops of the waves and part of the ship's wake, which were illuminated by a mass of pure light: but, independent of that, there appeared numerous little sparks infinitely brighter than any other part of this phenomenon.

Tuesday 28.

On the 28th, at six of the clock in the morning, we discovered PORTO-SANTO, which is about five or six leagues long, barren and thinly inhabited. It has only one *Villa* or town, of the same name, situated on the eastern side, in a valley which is entirely cultivated, and appeared to  
have

have a fine verdure from the numerous vineyards it contains. This little island is under the orders of the governor of Madeira, and the number of its inhabitants amounts to about seven hundred.

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Soon after we made MADEIRA and the ILHAS DESERTAS, corruptly called the *Deserters* by our seamen. The town of *Santa Cruz* in Madeira was abreast of us at six in the afternoon. The mountains are here intersected by numerous deep glens and vallies. On the sloping ground we observed several country-houses pleasantly situated amidst surrounding vineyards and lofty cypresses, which give the country altogether a romantic appearance. We were towed to the road of *Funchal* in a perfect calm, and came to an anchor in the dark.

Early on the 29th, we were agreeably surpris'd with the picturesque appearance of the city of FUNCHAL, which is built round the bay, on the gentle ascent of the first hills, in form of an amphitheatre. All its public and private buildings are by this means set off to advantage. They are in general entirely white, many of them two stories high, and covered with low roofs, from whence they derive that elegant eastern stile, and that simplicity, of which our narrow buildings with steep roofs, and numerous stacks of chimnies are utterly destitute. On the sea side are several batteries and platforms with cannon. An old castle, which commands the road, is situated on the

Wednesday 29.

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top of a steep black rock, surrounded by the sea at high-water, and called by the English *Loo-rock*. On a neighbouring eminence above the town there is another, called *San Joao do Pico*, or St. John's castle. The hills beyond the town serve to complete the beauty of the landscape, being covered with vineyards, inclosures, plantations, and groves, interspersed with country-houses and several churches. The whole seemed to raise the idea of a fairy-garden, and enabled us to form some conception of the hanging gardens of queen *Semiramis*.

About seven o'clock a boat came off to us called the *Pratique-boat*, having on board a *Capitan do Sal*, who is one of the two *Guarda-Mores* of the board of health, appointed to regulate the quarantine of such ships as come from the coast of Barbary, the Arches, and other parts suspected of infectious distempers. This gentleman enquired into the state of health of our ship's company, and the place we came from, and returned on shore with satisfactory information on this subject.

After breakfast we landed, and went with the captains to the house of Mr. Loughnan, a British merchant, who supplied the king's ships, as contractor, with all the necessaries. The consul, Mr. Murray, lately appointed, was not yet arrived, but Mr. Loughnan received us with such hospitality and elegance, as do honour to himself and to the nation in general.

The

The city is far from answering the expectations which may be formed from its appearance towards the road. Its streets are narrow, ill-paved, and dirty; the houses are built of freestone, or of brick, but they are dark, and only a few of the best, belonging to English merchants or principal inhabitants, are provided with glass-windows; all the others have a kind of lattice work in their stead, which hangs on hinges and may be lifted up occasionally. The ground floors are mostly appropriated for the use of servants, for shops, and store-houses.

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The churches and monasteries are very plain buildings, without any display of the architectonic art: their inside exhibits a striking want of taste; the little light which is admitted into them, serving only to display heaps of tinsel ornaments, arranged in a manner which is truly Gothic. The convent of Franciscan friars is clean and spacious, but their gardens seemed not to be kept in the best order. The nuns of *Santa Clara* politely received us at their grate, but afterwards deputed some old women, to offer the artificial flowers of their manufacture for sale.

We walked with Mr. Loughnan to his country-seat, which is situated on the hills, about a mile from the city. We there met an agreeable company of the principal British merchants established at Madeira. The captains returned on board in the evening, but we accepted of Mr. Loughnan's obliging offer of his house during our short stay.

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Friday 31.

Our excursions began the next morning, and were continued on the following day. At five o'clock in the morning we went upwards along the course of a stream, to the interior hilly part of the country. About one o'clock in the afternoon we came to a chestnut grove, somewhat below the highest summit of the island, having walked about six miles from Mr. Loughnan's house. The air was here remarkably cooler than below, and a fine breeze contributed to its temperature. We now engaged a negro to become our conductor, and after a walk of at least an hour and a half, we returned to our hospitable mansion.

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Saturday 1.

The next day we prepared for our departure. It was with regret that I left this delightful spot, and such generous friends, who know how to enjoy the unspeakable pleasure of communicating happiness to their fellow-citizens of the world. My heart still preserves those sentiments of gratitude and esteem, which made me loth to part from hence, and to resign myself to the common fate of travellers. I was however, pleased to find British hospitality existing *abroad*, which Smollet could no longer trace in England\*.

Before I leave this island, I shall offer such remarks, as I had an opportunity of collecting during my stay; and I am induced to believe they will prove acceptable,

\* Vide Humphry Clinker, vol. I. page 102.

as they were communicated by sensible Englishmen, who had been inhabitants of Madeira for many years, and are therefore of the best authority. I am aware indeed, that an account of Madeira may by some be looked upon as a superfluous work; but if, upon a candid perusal, it is found to contain such observations as have not yet appeared in the numerous journals of navigators, I hope I shall not need a farther apology. It is very natural to overlook that which is near home, and as it were within our reach, especially when the mind looks forward, on discoveries which it reckons more important, in proportion as they are more remote.

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The island of Madeira is about 55 English miles long, and ten miles broad, and was first discovered on the 2d of July, in the year 1419, by *Joao Gonzales Zarco*, there being no historical foundation for the fabulous report of its discovery by one *Machin* an Englishman. It is divided into two *capitanias*, named *Funchal* and *Maxico*, from the towns of those names. The former contains two judicatures, viz. *Funchal* and *Calbetta*, the latter being a town with the title of a county, belonging to the family of *Castello Melhor*. The second *capitania* likewise comprehends two judicatures, viz. *Maxico* (read *Mashico*) and *San Vicente*.

*Funchal* is the only *cidade* or city in this island, which has also seven *villas* or towns; of which there are four, *Calbetta*, *Camara de Lobos*, *Ribiera braba*, and *Ponta de Sol* in the  
capitania.

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capitania of Funchal, which is divided into twenty-six parishes. The other three are in the capitania of Maxico, which consist of seventeen parishes; these towns are called *Maxico*, *San Vicente*, and *Santa Cruz*.

The governor is at the head of all the civil and military departments of this island, of Porto-Santo, the *Salvages*, and the *Ilbas Desertas*, which last only contain the temporary huts of some fishermen, who resort thither in pursuit of their business. At the time when I was at Madeira, the governor was *Don Joao Antonio de Saa Pereira*. He was esteemed a man of good sense and temper, but rather reserved and cautious.

The law department is under the corregidor, who is appointed by the king of Portugal, commonly sent from Lisbon, and holds his place during the king's pleasure. All causes come to him from inferior courts by appeal. Each judicature has a senate, and a *Juiz* or judge, whom they choose, presides over them. At *Funchal* he is called, *Juiz da Fora*, and in the absence, or after the death of the corregidor, acts as his deputy. The foreign merchants elect their own judge, called the *Providor*, who is at the same time, collector of the king's customs and revenues, which amount in all to about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Far the greatest part of this sum is applied towards the salaries of civil and military officers, the pay of troops, and the maintenance of public buildings.

buildings. This revenue arises, first from the tenth of all the produce of this island belonging to the king, by virtue of his office as grand master of the order of Christ; secondly, from ten per cent. duties laid on all imports, provisions excepted; and lastly, from the eleven per cent. charged on all exports.

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The island has but one company of regular soldiers of a hundred men: the rest of the military force is a militia consisting of three thousand men, divided into companies, each commanded by a captain, who has one lieutenant under him, and one ensign. There is no pay given to either the private men, or the officers of this militia, and yet their places are much sought after, on account of the rank which they communicate. These troops are embodied once a year, and exercised during one month. All the military are commanded by the *Serjeante Mór*. The governor has two *Capitanos de Sal* about him, who do duty as aides-de-camp.

The secular priests on the island are about twelve hundred, many of whom are employed as private tutors. Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, no regular public school is to be found here, unless we except a seminary where a priest, appointed for that purpose, instructs and educates ten students at the king's expence. These wear a red cloak over the usual black gown, worn by ordinary students. All those who intend to go into orders, are obliged to qualify them-

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themselves by studying in the university of *Coimbra*, lately re-established in Portugal. There is also a dean and chapter at *Madeira*, with a bishop at their head, whose income is considerably greater than the governor's; it consists of one hundred and ten pipes of wine, and of forty *mays* of wheat, each containing twenty-four bushels; which amounts in common years to three thousand pounds sterling. Here are likewise sixty or seventy Franciscan friars, in four monasteries, one of which is at *Funchal*. About three hundred nuns live on the island, in four convents, of the orders of *Merci*, *Sta. Clara*, *Incarnação*, and *Bom Jesus*. Those of the last-mentioned institution may marry whenever they choose, and leave their monastery.

In the year 1768, the inhabitants living in the forty-three parishes of *Madeira*, amounted to 63,913, of whom there were 31,341 males, and 32,572 females. But in that year 5243 persons died, and no more than 2198 children were born; so that the number of the dead exceeded that of the born by 3045. It is highly probable that some epidemical distemper carried off so disproportionate a number in that year, as the island would shortly be entirely depopulated, if the mortality were always equal to this. Another circumstance concurs to strengthen this supposition, namely, the excellence of the climate. The weather is in general mild and temperate: In summer the heat is very moderate on the higher parts of the island, whither

whither the better sort of people retire for that season; and in winter the snow remains there for several days, whilst it is never known to continue above a day or two in the lower parts. The accuracy of the numbers of dead and born, may however be entirely depended upon, as a complete list extracted from the parish books was procured for us, from the governor's secretary.

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The common people of this island are of a tawny colour, and well shaped, though they have large feet, owing perhaps to the efforts they are obliged to make in climbing the craggy paths of this mountainous country. Their faces are oblong, their eyes dark; their black hair naturally falls in ringlets, and begins to crisp in some individuals, which may perhaps be owing to intermarriages with negroes; in general they are hard featured, but not disagreeable. Their women are too frequently ill-favoured, and want the florid complexion, which, when united to a pleasing assemblage of regular features, gives our Northern fair ones the superiority over all their sex. They are small, have prominent cheek-bones, large feet, an ungraceful gait, and the colour of the darkest *brunette*. The just proportions of their body, the fine form of their hands, and their large, lively eyes, seem in some measure to compensate for those defects. The labouring men in summer, wear linen trowsers, a coarse shirt, a large hat, and boots; some had a short jacket

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made of cloth, and a long cloak, which they sometimes carried over their arm. The women wear a petticoat, and a short corselet or jacket, closely fitting their shape, which is a simple, and often not inelegant dress. They have also a short, but wide cloak, and those that are unmarried, tie their hair on the crown of their head, on which they wear no covering.

The country people are exceeding sober and frugal; their diet in general consisting of bread and onions, or other roots, and little animal food. However, they avoid eating tripe, or any offals, because it is proverbially said of a very poor man, "*he is reduced to eat tripe.*" Their common drink is water, or an infusion on the remaining rind or skin of the grape (after it has passed through the wine-press) which when fermented, acquires some tartness and acidity, but cannot be kept very long. The wine for which the island is so famous, and which their own hands prepare, seldom if ever regales them.

Their principal occupation is the planting and raising of vines, but as that branch of agriculture requires little attendance during the greatest part of the year, they naturally incline to idleness. The warmth of the climate, which renders great provision against the inclemencies of weather unnecessary, and the ease with which the cravings of appetite are satisfied, must tend to indolence, wherever the regulations of the legislature do not counteract

teract it, by endeavouring with the prospect of encreasing happiness, to infuse the spirit of industry. It seems the Portuguese government does not pursue the proper methods against this dangerous lethargy of the state. They have lately ordered the plantation of olive-trees here, on such spots as are too dry and barren to bear vines; but they have not thought of giving temporary assistance to the labourers, and have offered no premium by which these might be induced to conquer their reluctance to innovations, and aversion to labour.

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The vineyards are held only on an annual tenure, and the farmer reaps but four tenths of the produce, since four other tenths are paid in kind to the owner of the land, one tenth to the king, and one to the clergy. Such small profits, joined to the thought of toiling merely for the advantage of others, if improvements were attempted, entirely preclude the hopes of a future increase. Oppressed as they are, they have however preserved a high degree of cheerfulness, and contentment; their labours are commonly alleviated with songs, and in the evening they assemble from different cottages, to dance to the drowsy music of a guittar.

The inhabitants of the towns are more ill-favoured than the country people, and often pale and lean. The men wear French cloaths, commonly black, which do not seem to fit them, and have been in fashion in the polite

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world about half a century ago. Their ladies are delicate, and have agreeable features; but the characteristic jealousy of the men still locks them up, and deprives them of a happiness which the country women, amidst all their distresses, enjoy. Many of the better people, are a sort of *petite noblesse*, which we would call *gentry*, whose genealogical pride makes them unsociable and ignorant, and causes a ridiculous affectation of gravity. The landed property is in the hands of a few ancient families, who live at Funchal, and in the various towns on the island.

Madeira consists of one large mountain, whose branches rise every where from the sea towards the centre of the isle, converging to the summit, in the midst of which, I was told, is a depression or excavation, called the Val by the inhabitants, always covered with a fresh and delicate herbage. The stones on the isle, which we examined, seemed to have been in the fire, were full of holes, and of a blackish colour; in short, the greater part of them were lava. A few of them were of the kind which the Derbyshire miners call dunstone. The soil of the whole island is a tarras mixed with some particles of clay, lime, and sand, and has much the same appearance as some earths we since found on the isle of Ascension. From this circumstance, and from the excavation of the summit of the mountain, I am induced to suppose, that in some remote period, a volcano has produced the lava, and the  
ochreous

ochreous particles, and that the Val was formerly its crater. At first sight of Madeira I was of a different opinion; but the black Loo-rock, the cliff on which St. John's castle stands, the nature of the soil and stones, and the situation of the Val, convinced me, that the whole had formerly undergone a violent change by fire.

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Many brooks and small rivulets descend from the summits in deep chasms or glens, which separate the various parts of the isle. We could not however perceive any *plains* mentioned by others\*, through which the waters would probably have taken their course, if any such had existed. The beds of the brooks are in some places covered with stones of all sizes, carried down from the higher parts by the violence of winter rains or floods of melted snow. The water is conducted by wears and channels into the vineyards, where each proprietor has the use of it for a certain time; some being allowed to keep a constant supply of it, some to use it thrice, others twice, and others only once a week. As the heat of the climate renders this supply of water to the vineyards absolutely necessary, it is not without great expence that a new vineyard can be planted; for the maintenance of which, the owners must purchase water at a high price, from those

\* See an Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty, and successively performed by the Captains Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook.—Compiled by Dr. Hawkesworth. Vol. II. p. 7.

who

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who are constantly supplied, and are thus enabled to spare some of it.

Wherever a level piece of ground can be contrived in the higher hills, the natives make plantations of eddoes (*arum esculentum*, Linn.) enclosed by a kind of dyke to cause a stagnation, as that plant succeeds best in swampy ground. Its leaves serve as food for hogs, and the country people use the roots for their own nourishment.

The sweet potatoe (*convolvulus batatas*) is planted for the same purpose, and makes a principal article of diet; together with chesnuts, which grow in extensive woods, on the higher parts of the island, where the vine will not thrive. Wheat and barley are likewise sown, especially in spots where the vines are decaying through age, or where they are newly planted. But the crops do not produce above three months provisions, and the inhabitants are therefore obliged to have recourse to other food, besides importing considerable quantities of corn from North-America in exchange for wine. The want of manure, and the inactivity of the people, are in some measure the causes of this disadvantage; but supposing husbandry to be carried to its perfection here, I believe they could not raise corn sufficient for their consumption. They make their threshing-floors of a circular form, in a corner of the field, which is cleared and beaten solid for the purpose. The sheaves are laid round about it, and a square board stuck

stuck full of sharp flints below, is dragged over them by a pair of oxen, the driver getting on it to encrease its weight. This machine cuts the straw as if it had been chopped, and frees the grain from the husk, from which it is afterwards separated.

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The great produce of Madeira is the wine, from which it has acquired fame and support. Where the soil, exposure, and supply of water will admit of it, the vine is cultivated. One or more walks, about a yard or two wide, intersect each vineyard, and are included by stone-walls two feet high. Along these walks, which are arched over with laths about seven feet high, they erect wooden pillars at regular distances, to support a lattice-work of bamboos, which slopes down from both sides of the walk, till it is only a foot and a half or two feet high, in which elevation it extends over the whole vineyard. The vines are in this manner supported from the ground, and the people have room to root out the weeds which spring up between them. In the season of the vintage they creep under this lattice-work, cut off the grapes, and lay them into baskets: some bunches of these grapes I saw, which weighed six pounds and upwards. This method of keeping the ground clean and moist, and ripening the grapes in the shade, contributes to give the Madeira wines that excellent flavour and body for which they are remarkable. The owners of vineyards are however obliged to allot a certain

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certain spot of ground for the growth of bamboos; for the lattice-work cannot be made without them; and I was told some vineyards lay quite neglected for want of this useful reed.

The wines are not all of equal goodness, and consequently of different prices. The best, made of a vine imported from Candia, by order of the Infante of Portugal, Don Henry, is called *Madeira Malmsey*, a pipe of which cannot be bought on the spot for less than 40 or 42 *l.* sterling. It is an exceeding rich sweet wine, and is only made in a small quantity. The next sort is a dry wine, such as is exported for the London market, at 30 or 31 *l.* sterling the pipe. Inferior sorts for the East India, West India, and North-American markets, sell at 28, 25, and 20 *l.* sterling. About thirty thousand pipes, upon a mean, are made every year, each containing one hundred and ten gallons. About thirteen thousand pipes of the better sorts are exported, and all the rest is made into brandy for the Brazils, converted into vinegar, or consumed at home.

The enclosures of the vineyards consist of walls, and hedges of prickly pear, pomegranates, myrtles, brambles, and wild roses. The gardens produce peaches, apricots, quinces, apples, pears, walnuts, chestnuts, and many other European fruits; together with now and then some tropical plants, such as bananas, goavas, and pine apples.

All

All the common domestic animals of Europe are likewise found at Madeira; and their mutton and beef, though small, is very well tasted. Their horses are small, but sure-footed; and with great agility climb the difficult paths, which are the only means of communication in the country. They have no wheel-carriages of any kind; but in the town they use a sort of drays or sledges, formed of two pieces of plank joined by cross pieces, which make an acute angle before; these are drawn by oxen, and are used to transport casks of wine, and other heavy goods, to and from the warehouses.

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The animals of the feathered tribe, which live wild here, are more numerous than the wild quadrupeds; there being only the common grey rabbit here, as a representative of the last-mentioned class. We observed the sparrow-hawk, (*falco nisus*); several crows, (*corvus corone*); magpies, (*corvus pica*); sky and wood-larks, (*alauda arvensis*, & *arbores*); starlings, (*sturnus vulgaris*); yellow hammers, (*emberiza citrinella*); common and mountain sparrows, (*fringilla domestica* & *montana*); yellow wagtails and robin red-breasts, (*motacilla flava* & *rubecula*); and wild pigeons, of which we could not determine the species. We likewise saw the house-swallow and swift, (*hirundo rustica* & *apus*); and some gentlemen of the British factory assured us they had also seen the martin, (*b. urbica*). This last genus of birds lives here all the winter, and only disappears for a few

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days in very cold weather, retiring to cliffs and crevices of the rocks, and returning on the first fair sunny day. The red-legged partridge, (*tetrao rufus*), is likewise common in the interior parts of the isle, where it is not much disturbed. In Mr. Loughnan's aviary I saw waxbills, (*loxia astrild*), chaffinches, goldfinches, yellowfinches, and canary-birds, (*fringilla coelebs*, *carduelis*, *butyracea*, & *canaria*); all which had been caught upon this island. Tame birds, such as turkies, geese, ducks, and hens, are very rare, which is perhaps owing to the scarcity of corn.

There are no snakes whatsoever in Madeira; but all the houses, vineyards, and gardens swarm with lizards. The friars of one of the convents complained, that these vermin destroyed the fruit in their garden; they had therefore placed a brass kettle in the ground to catch them, as they are constantly running about in quest of food. In this manner they daily caught hundreds, which could not get out on account of the smooth sides of the kettle, but were forced to perish.

The shores of Madeira, and of the neighbouring Salvages and Desertas, are not without fish; but as they are not in plenty enough for the rigid observance of Lent, pickled herrings are brought from Gothenburg in English bottoms, and salted cod from New-York and other American ports, to supply the deficiency.

We

We found a few insects here, and might perhaps have collected more, if our stay had been of longer duration; those we met with were of known sorts, and in no great variety. On this occasion I shall mention a general remark, which ought to be applied to all the *islands* we have touched at during the course of our voyage. Quadrupeds, amphibious reptiles, and insects, are not numerous in *islands*, at some distance from a continent, and the first are not to be met with at all, unless they were formerly transported thither by men. Fishes and birds, which are able to pass through water or air, are more frequent, and in greater variety. *Continents*, on the other hand, are rich in the above-mentioned classes of animals, as well as in those of birds and fishes, which are more universal. Africa, which we visited during this voyage, in a few weeks supplied us with a great variety of quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects, whilst all the other lands where we touched, afforded no new discoveries in those classes.

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## C H A P. II.

*The Passage from Madeira to the Cape Verd Islands, and from thence to the Cape of Good Hope.*

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Tuesday 4.

LATE in the evening on the first of August, we got under fail, in company with the Adventure. A North-east wind forwarded our course so well, that we got sight of Palma on the fourth, early in the morning. This island is one of the group now called the Canaries, known to the ancients by the name of *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, one of them being already at that time distinguished by the name of *Canaria* \*. They were entirely forgotten in Europe, till towards the end of the fourteenth century, when the spirit of navigation and discovery was revived. Some adventurers then found them again, and the Biscayans landed on Lanzarota, and carried off one hundred and

\* It is probable that not only the Canaries, but likewise Madeira, and Porto-Santo were known to the ancients; a circumstance from which it is possible to reconcile their various accounts of the number of these islands. See Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 37. The description given of them by ancient writers, agree with the modern accounts. See Voffius in Pompon. Melam. ad cap. x. v. 20. *Ex iisdem quoque insulis cinnabaris Romam advehebatur. Sane hodie etiamnum frequens est in insulis fortunatis arbor illa quæ cinnabarin gignit. Vulgo SANGUINEM DRACONIS appellant.*—We have Pliny's testimony, lib. vi. cap. 36. that Juba, the Mauritanian king, dyed purple in some of these isles, opposite to the Autololes in Africa.

seventy of the natives. Luis de la Cerda, a Spanish nobleman of the royal family of Castile, in consequence of a bull from the Pope, in the year 1344, assumed the title of Prince of the Fortunate Islands, but never went to take possession of his estates. Lastly, John, Baron de Bethencourt of Normandy, visited these islands again in the year 1402, took possession of several, and called himself King of the Canaries. His nephew ceded his claims upon them to Don Henry, Infante of Portugal; but they were afterwards left to the Spaniards, who now possess them.

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AUGUST.

The next day at five o'clock in the morning, we passed the isle of Ferro, remarkable only from this circumstance, that several geographers have reckoned their first meridian from its westernmost extremity. The same day, being in about 27 deg. N. latitude, 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

Wednesday 5.

decks

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decks when it had unfortunately taken its flight too far, and was spent by its too great elevation above the surface of the sea. In the uniform life which we led between the tropics, where we found weather, wind, and sea, almost constantly favourable and agreeable, the mind caught at every little circumstance that could give the hint to a reflection. When we saw the most beautiful fishes of the sea, the dolphin and bonito, in pursuit of the flying fish, and when these forsook their native element to seek for shelter in air, the application to human nature was obvious. What empire is not like a tumultuous ocean, where the great in all the magnificence and pomp of power, continually persecute and contrive the destruction of the defenceless?—Sometimes we saw this picture continued still farther, when the poor fugitives met with another set of enemies in the air, and became the prey of birds \*, by endeavouring to escape the jaws of fishes.

Saturday 3.

On the 8th we observed the sea to be of a whitish colour, and tried for soundings, but found none with fifty fathoms of line. In the evening we crossed the tropic of cancer. 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 co-

\* Boobies (*pelecanus piscator*); men of war birds (*p. aquilus*); and tropic birds (*phaethon æthereus*.)

vered.

vered 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 \*. If it be asked how any saline particles, generally so much heavier than the aqueous, can be raised in vapours, I leave it to the philosophers to determine, whether the numerous animal parts which daily putrefy in the ocean, do not supply enough of the volatile alkali, by the assistance of which the above phenomenon might be explained. The great heat between the tropics seems to volatilise the marine acid contained in the brine and common salt: for it has been observed, that on rags dipped in a solution of any one of the alkalies, and suspended over one of the pans where brine is evaporated and salt is prepared, crystals are soon formed of a neutral salt, compounded of the marine acid and the alkali in which the rags had been immersed; hence perhaps we may be allowed to infer, that the marine acid is by the heat of the tropical sun volatilised, and in that aërial or vaporous form attacks the surface of iron and steel; nay, this little quantity of acid may perhaps, imbibed by the lungs, and pores of the skin, become salutary; in the first case to people under pulmonary diseases;

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\* This opinion is very judiciously discussed by Ellis, in his voyage to Hudson's Bay.

and

1778.  
AUGUST.

and in the second by gently bracing the habit of bodies relaxed by a tropical heat, and moderating the too violent perspiration.

The inspissated essence of beer, of which we had several casks on board, was observed to be in motion before we left Madeira, and now began to burst the casks and run out. The captain ordering it to be brought on deck, its fermentation was increased by the addition of fresh air, and several of the casks had their heads forced out by the fermenting liquor, with an explosion like that of a fowling-piece. A kind of vapour, like smoke, always preceded the eruption. A vessel, strongly fumigated with sulphur, was, by my father's advice, filled with this essence, by which means the fermentation was stopped for a few days, but returned afterwards, especially in casks exposed to the free access of air. Some casks, which had been buried in the ballast-shingle, were preserved and prevented from bursting. Perhaps the admixture of double-distilled spirit, might have hindered the progress of fermentation in this essence. The beer made of it, by the simple addition of warm water, was very good and palatable, though it had a little empyreumatic taste, caused by the inspissation.

Tuesday 11.

August the 11th, we discovered Bonavista, one of the Cape-Verd islands. The next morning, the weather cleared up, after a shower of rain, and presented to our sight the  
isle

isle of Mayo. About noon we approached the isle of San Jago, and anchored at three o'clock in the afternoon in Porto-Praya.

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Early the next morning we went on shore, and visited the commandant of the fort, Don Joseph de Sylva, a good-natured man, who spoke the French imperfectly, and introduced us to the governor-general of the Cape-Verd islands. This gentleman, whose name was Don Joachim Salama Saldanha de Lobos, commonly resides at St. Jago, the capital of the island; but as he was very sickly, which his complexion witnessed for him, he had retired hither about two months ago, where the air is reckoned more salubrious. He occupied the apartments of the commandant, who was now obliged to dwell in a wretched cottage, and who gave us some information relative to these islands.

Thursday 13.

In 1449, Antonio Nolli, probably by others named Antoniotto, a Genoese in the service of Don Henry, Infante of Portugal, discovered some of the Cape-Verd islands, and on the first of May landed on one of them, which had its name from thence. St. Jago was seen at the same time. In 1460, another voyage was undertaken in order to settle them; and on this occasion the remaining islands were likewise discovered. San Jago is the greatest of them, and about seventeen leagues in length. The capital, of the same name, lies in the interior parts of the country, and is the see of the bishop of all the Cape-

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Verd islands. This isle is divided into eleven parishes, and the most populous of these contains about four thousand houses, so that it is but very thinly inhabited.

Porto-Praya stands on a steep rock, to which we climbed by a serpentine path. Its fortifications are old decayed walls on the sea side, and fences, scarce breast-high, made of loose stones, towards the land. A small church is inclosed within these walls, towards the sea; but, besides it, there are only a few cottages. A tolerable building, at a little distance from the fort, belongs to a company of merchants at Lisbon, who have the exclusive right to trade to all the Cape-Verd islands, and keep an agent here for that purpose. When we made application to this indolent Don, by the Governor's direction, to be supplied with live cattle, he indeed promised to furnish 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.

The natives of St. Jago are few in number, of a middle stature, ugly, and almost perfectly black, with frizzled woolly hair, and thick lips, like the most ill-looking kind of negroes. The ingenious and very learned Canon Pauw, at Xanten, in his *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, vol. I. p. 186. seems to take it for granted, that they are the descendants of the first Portuguese settlers, gradually degenerated through nine generations (three hundred

hundred years) to their present hue, which we found darker than he describes it. But whether, according to his and the Abbé de Manet's \* opinion, this change of complexion was effected merely by the heat of the torrid zone, or whether they have acquired their fable colour by inter-marriages with negroes from the adjacent coast of Africa, is a question which I do not venture to decide, though so able and judicious an investigator of nature as Count Buffon, asserts, that "the colours of the human species depend principally on the climate." See *Histoire Naturelle*, in 12mo, vol. VI. p. 260. At present there are very few white people among them, and I believe we did not see above five or six, including the governor, commandant, and company's agent. In some of the islands, even the governors and priests are taken from among the blacks. The better sort of them wear ragged European cloaths, which they have obtained by barter from ships that touched here, previous to the establishment of the monopolizing company. The rest content themselves with a few separate articles of dress, either a shirt, or a waistcoat, or a pair of breeches, or a hat; and seem to be well pleased with their own appearance. The women are ugly, and wear a long slip of striped cotton over the shoulders, hanging down to the knees before and behind; but children

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\* See his *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Afrique Française, enrichie de Cartes, &c.* a Paris, 1767, 12mo, vol. II. p. 224.

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are perfectly naked till the age of puberty. Despotic governors, bigotted priests, and indolence on the part of the court of Lisbon, will always keep these people in a wretched situation, beneath that of any community of negroes in Africa, and prevent them from increasing their numbers, which are the real wealth of a nation. It is natural for people whose solids are relaxed in a fervid climate, to incline to sloth and laziness; but they are confirmed in these vices, and must become indifferent to improvement, when they know the attempt would only make their situation more irksome. With a kind of gloomy insensibility they give themselves up to beggary, the only state which can protect them from the greedy clutches of tyrannical masters; and they shun every labour, which must encrease the treasures of others without benefit to themselves; and which only breaks in upon those hours of rest, that are now the solace of their precarious condition. Such clouded prospects, that never admit a gleam of happiness, cannot be incitements to marriage, and the difficulty of supporting a wretched existence, is a sufficient reason to decline the cares annexed to the relation of parents. Let us add to this, that the dry soil, whose fertility depends on the stated return of annual rains, is parched up whenever a drought takes place; all vegetation is then destroyed, and an inevitable famine succeeds. It may be reasonably supposed, that the  
experience

experience of such fatal periods, deters the inhabitants from indulging in the sweets of conjugal connections, when they must apprehend that misery, and perhaps the horrors of slavery, await their unhappy offspring\*.

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AUGUST.

The Cape-Verd islands in general are mountainous, but their lower hills, which are covered with a fine verdure, have a very gentle declivity, and extensive vallies run between them. They are ill supplied with water, which in many of them is only found in pits or wells. St. Jago has, however, a tolerable river running into the sea at Ribeira Grande, a town which takes its name from thence. At Porto-Praya there was only a single well set round with loose stones, and containing muddy brackish water, in such small quantities, that we drew it quite dry twice a day. The valley by the side of the fort seems to have some moisture, and is planted here and there with cocoa-nut-palms, sugar-canes, bananas, cotton, goava, and papaw-trees; but the greatest part of it is over-run with various sorts of brushwood, and another is left for pastures.

\* On our return to the Cape of Good Hope, in 1775, we were told of a general famine which had happened in the Cape-Verd islands in 1773 and 1774, and which had risen to such a height that hundreds of people had perished for want. The commander of a Dutch ship, which touched at St. Jago during this distressful season, received several of the natives, with their wives and children, who sold themselves to him, in order to escape the dreadful consequences of want. He carried them to the Cape of Good Hope, and sold them; but when the Government there was informed of it, he was ordered to redeem them at his own expence, to carry them back to their native country, and to bring a certificate from the Portuguese governor, importing the execution of these orders.

We:

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We may perhaps conclude from hence, that the Cape-Verd islands in the hands of an active, enterprising, or commercial nation, would become interesting and useful, and might be cultivated to the greatest advantage. The cochineal plant, indigo, some spices, and perhaps coffee, would thrive particularly well in this hot and parched climate ; and these productions would be sufficient to supply the natives not only with the necessaries, but likewise with the conveniencies and luxuries of life, under the benign influence of a free and equal government, like that under which we have the happiness to live in this country. Instead of feeding on a scanty allowance of roots, we should see their board heaped with plenty, and convenient houses would then supply the place of wretched hovels.

Some of the lower hills were dry and barren, scarce any plants growing upon them ; but others had still some verdure on them, though we were now at the end of the dry season. They are all covered with abundance of stones, which appear to have been burnt, and are a species of lava. The soil, which is fertile enough in the vallies, is a kind of rubbish of cinders, and ochreous ashes ; and the rocks on the sea-shore are likewise black and burnt. It is therefore probable, that this island has undergone a change from volcanic eruptions ; and it will not be deemed unreasonable to form the same opinion of all the Cape-Verd

Verd islands, when we consider that one of them, the island of Fuogo, still consists of a burning mountain. The interior mountains of the country are lofty, and some of them appear steep and craggy, being perhaps of a more ancient date than the volcanic parts which we could examine.

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In the evening we returned on board; but as the surf ran considerably higher than at our landing, we were obliged to strip in order to wade to our boats, which our best swimmers had loaded with water-casks, and such refreshments as could be purchased on shore; not without some danger of being hurt by sharks, which are numerous in the harbour. The captains, astronomers, and masters, had spent this day in making astronomical observations upon the little islet in the harbour, named *Ilha dos Codornizes*, or Quail island, from the birds which are in great plenty upon it. The commandant of the fort informed us, that the officers of a French frigate had likewise made astronomical observations on this identical spot some time ago, having several watches of a new construction on board\*.

The next day 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 cap-

Friday 14<sup>th</sup>.

\* This was the Isis frigate, commanded by M. de Fleurieu, on board of which was M. Pingré, with several time keepers. A journal of the voyage and observations made in that ship, has since been published in 2 vols. quarto.

tains

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tain 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.

The extreme scarcity of refreshments made our stay at Porto-Praya very short. We were therefore obliged to content ourselves with a few casks of brackish water, a single bullock, a few long-legged goats, with strait horns and pendulous ears, some lean hogs, turkies, and fowls, and a few hundreds of unripe oranges, and indifferent bananas. The researches we had made the preceding day, furnished us with a few tropical plants, mostly of known species, with some new kinds of insects and of fish. We also observed several sorts of birds, and among them guinea-hens, which seldom fly, but run very swiftly, and which, when old, are very tough and dry eating. Quails and red-legged partridges are likewise common, according to the report of the natives, though we did not see any ; but the most remarkable bird we found is a species of Kingfisher \*, because it feeds on large land-crabs of a blue

\* The same species is found in Arabia Felix ; vide Forskal Fauna Arabica ; as also in Abyssinia, as appears from the elegant and valuable drawings of James Bruce, Esq.

and

and red colour, whose numerous habitations are round and deep holes in the dry and parched soil. Our sailors, who catch at every thing that may afford them diversion, purchased about fifteen or twenty monkies, known by the name of St. Jago, or green monkies (*simia sabæa*); which were a little bigger than cats, and of a greenish-brown colour, with black faces and paws. On each side of their mouth, they had a kind of pouch (like many others of the monkey tribe) which the English in the West-Indian colonies, call by their Spanish name *alforjes*. The antic tricks of these little monkies were amusing for some days, while their novelty lasted; but they soon became insipid companions, were neglected, sometimes cruelly bandied about the vessel, and starved to death for want of fresh food, so that only three of them reached the Cape of Good Hope. A harmless race of animals, dragged from the happy recesses of native shades, to wear out the rest of their lives in continual anguish and torment, deserve a pitying remembrance, though humanity would fain have drawn the veil over all acts of iron-hearted insensibility, and wanton barbarism.

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AUGUST.

We got under sail in the evening and steered to the southward, having mild weather with frequent showers of rain on the following days, and the wind blowing from N.E. by N. to N.N.E. On the 16th, at eight o'clock

Sunday 16.

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1772.

Tuesday 18.

long shape and blueish colour, and having a very quick descending motion: its course was N. W. and it disappeared in the horizon after a momentary duration. Our distance from St. Jago was fifty-five leagues at noon, notwithstanding which, we saw a swallow following our vessel, and making numberless circles round it. The necessary manœuvres of trimming the sails, in the evening disturbed it from its roost on one of the gun-ports, upon which it took shelter in the carved work of the stern. The two following days it continued to attend the ship on her course. During this time we observed many bonitos in the sea around us, which frequently shot past us with great velocity; but notwithstanding our endeavours to catch them with hooks, and strike them with harpoons, we could not take a single one. The crew were more successful in hooking a shark of about five feet in length. Its common attendants, the pilot-fish (*gasterosteus ductor*) and sucking-fish (*echeneis remora*), likewise appeared with it; but with this difference, that the former carefully avoided being caught, and swam about very nimbly; but the latter stuck so fast to the shark's body, that four of them were hauled on deck with it. We dined on part of the shark the next day, and found it a tolerable food when fried, but rather of difficult digestion on account of its fat.

Two

Two days after, Henry Smock, one of the carpenter's crew, being employed on the sides of the ship, was suddenly missed, and probably had fallen over-board and was drowned. His good-natured character, and a kind of serious turn of mind caused him to be regretted *even* among his shipmates, and must embitter his loss to those, whom the tender ties of parental or conjugal affection had united to him. Humanity stole a tear from each feeling traveller, the tribute due to a rational fellow-creature of a gentle and amiable disposition.

1772.  
AUGUST.  
Thursday 20.

We had frequent showers after leaving St. Jago, and experienced a remarkable heavy fall of rain on the 21st, during which we caught up seven puncheons of fresh water in our spread awnings. This supply, though we were not distressed for want of it, was however very seasonable, inasmuch as we were now enabled to give large allowance of this necessary element to the crew. Captain Cook's remark deduced from long experience, that abundance of fresh water contributes to the preservation of health in long voyages, is extremely judicious, and seems to be founded on the known principles of physiology. If seamen have plenty of water to drink, and some to wash themselves and their linen, this essential precaution will in a great measure prevent the sea-scurvy from gaining ground among them. Their blood is diluted, and the waste of fluids caused by profuse perspiration in hot cli-

Friday 21.

1772.  
AUGUST.

mates, is restored by plentiful drinking, and the insensible perspiration likewise goes on without a check, when the people frequently shift their linen, and wash off any uncleanness that may obstruct the pores. It is evident that the greatest danger of putrid distempers is thus precluded; since the reimbibing of perspired matter, and the violence of perspiration without a fresh supply to temper and dilute the saline and caustic quality of the remaining fluids, (which are often supposed to be the causes of inflammatory fevers) are both in a great measure prevented.

The heavy rains of this morning, entirely soaked the plumage of the 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. I dried it, and when it was recovered, let it fly about in the steerage, where, far from repining at its confinement, it immediately began to feed upon the flies, which were numerous there. At dinner we opened the windows, and the swallow retook its liberty; but about six in the evening, it returned into the steerage and cabin, being sensible that we intended it no harm. Having taken another repast of flies, it went out again, and roosted that night somewhere on the outside of the vessel. Early the next morning our swallow returned into the cabin once more, and took its breakfast of flies. Emboldened  
by

1772.  
AUGUST.

By the shelter which we afforded it, and the little disturbance it suffered from us, the poor little bird now ventured to enter the ship at every port and scuttle which was open; some part of the morning it passed very happily in Mr. Wales's cabin; but after having left that it entirely disappeared. It is more than probable that it came into the birth of some unfeeling person, who caught it in order to provide a meal for a favourite cat.

From the history of this bird, which was of the common species, or a house-swallow (*hirundo rustica* Lin.) 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,

1772.  
AUGUST.

ships, at considerable distances from any land\*. I shall venture another reflection on this incident. In the long solitary hours of an uniform navigation, every little circumstance becomes interesting to the passenger; it is therefore not to be wondered at, if a subject so trifling in itself as putting to death a harmless bird, should affect a heart not yet buffeted into insensibility.

Sunday 23.

On the 23d, several cetaceous fish, from fifteen to twenty feet long passed the ship, directing their course to the N. and N. W. They were supposed to be grampusses,

Tuesday 25.

(*delphinus orca*). Two days after the same kind of fish, and a number of lesser ones of a brownish colour, called *skip-jacks*, from leaping frequently out of the water, were observed. The wind for several days past had blown from the N. W. and obliged us to take a S. E. course, so that we were now got to the southward of the coast of Guinea. Several of our navigators, who had frequently crossed the Atlantic, looked upon this as a singular circumstance; and indeed it fairly proves, that though nature in the torrid zone commonly produces regular and constant winds, nevertheless it sometimes deviates even there from general

\* 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.

rules,

1772.  
SEPTEMBER.

rules, and admits of several exceptions. In this situation we also observed several man-of-war birds, (*pelecanus aquilus*.) It is a common belief among sailors that their appearance denotes a vicinity of land; but we were at present above a hundred leagues from any shore, so that this opinion seems to have no better support than many old prejudices. Each eradication of one of these is a gain to science; and each vulgar opinion, proved to be erroneous, is an approximation to TRUTH, which *alone* is worthy of being recorded for the use of mankind.

On the first of September, several dolphins, (*coryphæna hippurus*.) were seen; and we likewise took notice of a large fish close to us, perfectly resembling the figure of a fish given in Willoughby's *Histor. Piscium*, appendix pag. 5. tab. 9. f. 3. which is taken from John Nieuhoff's account, and which the Dutch call *zee-duyvel*, or sea-devil. In its external shape it was similar to the genus of rays, but seems to be a new species; from whence it is evident, that even in the most frequented seas, such as the Atlantic, many new discoveries in natural history might be made, if those who can distinguish unknown from known objects, had always opportunities of enquiring into them.

Tuesday 1.

Thursday 3.

On the third of September great numbers of flying-fishes were observed, and a bonito (*scomber pelamys*) was caught, whose meat we found to be dry and less palatable than it is generally represented. We were lucky enough

two.

1772.  
SEPTEMBER.  
Saturday 5.

two days after to take a dolphin, (*coryphæna hippurus*), which is likewise dry meat; but the inimitable brightness of its colours, which continually change from one rich hue to another whilst it is drying, is, in my opinion, one of the most admirable appearances which can occur to the voyager's view during a tropical navigation.

But here description clouds each shining ray;  
What terms of art can NATURE's pow'rs display?

FALCONER.

A boat was this day hoisted out in order to find the direction of the current, and to determine the temperature of the sea-water at a great depth. We sounded with 250 fathoms without finding any bottom. The thermometer in the air stood at  $75\frac{1}{2}$  deg. dipped under the surface of the sea it shewed 74 deg. and after being let down to the depth of 85 fathoms and hauled up again, it was fallen to 66 deg. It staid 30' under water, and was  $27\frac{1}{2}$  in hawling up. Our latitude at noon was  $0^{\circ} 52'$  north. The boat being out, we had an opportunity of examining that kind of blubber, or sea-nettle, which Linnæus has named *medusa pelagica*; together with another submarine animal called *doris lævis*, and employed ourselves in making drawings of them, and more minute descriptions than have hitherto been published.

Wednesday 9.

On the 9th, having passed the line with a light air, our crew ducked such of their shipmates as had never crossed it before,

before, and did not care to redeem themselves by paying a certain forfeit of brandy. Those who had been obliged to undergo the briny submerſion, changed their linen and clothes; and as this can never be done too often, eſpecially in warm weather, the ducking proved a ſalutary operation to them. The quantity of ſtrong liquors, ariſing from the forfeits of the reſt, ſerved to heighten the jovial humour, which is the predominant characteriſtic of ſailors. This day we likewiſe obtained a ſoutherly wind, which gradually came round to S. by E. and S. S. E. and ſettled into the uſual trade-wind.

1772.  
SEPTEMBER.

This day we caught ſeveral dolphins, and a flying-fiſh one foot long fell on the quarter-deck. Ever ſince the 8th we had daily obſerved ſeveral aquatic birds, ſuch as man of war birds, boobies (*pelecanus aquilus* & *fula*) petrels, gulls, and tropic-birds (*phaëton æthereus*.) We had alſo at various intervals, found the ſea covered with animals belonging to the claſs of *molluſca*, one of which, of a blue colour, in ſhape like a ſnail, with four arms, divided into many branches, was named *glaucus atlanticus*; another, tranſparent like a cryſtal, and often connected in a long ſtring with individuals of the ſame ſpecies, was referred to the genus named *dagyſa*, mentioned in Lieut. Cook's voyage in the Endeavour\*. Two other ſpecies of *molluſca*, which

Monday 14.

\* See Hawkeſworth's compilation, vol. II. p. 2.

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SEPTEMBER.

seamen call *sallee*, and Portuguese men of war, (*medusa velella* & *holothuria physalis*) likewise appeared about our vessel in great abundance.

Sunday 27.

On the 27th we tried the direction of the currents, and the temperature of the sea again, with nearly the same result as before. The thermometer, which in open air stood at  $72 \frac{1}{2}$  deg. and under the surface of the sea at 70 deg. after being let down 80 fathom, sunk to 68 deg. It continued 15 min. under water, and was hauled up in 7 min. We likewise took up a new species of the blubber (*medusa*.) For two days past, we had observed a bird, which we were this day enabled to examine, when we knew it to be the common shear-water (*procellaria puffinus*.) Having now reached the latitude of twenty-five degrees south, we found the wind gradually coming round from E. by S. to E. by N. and to N. E. which enabled us to steer to the south-eastward. Our bodies, which the heat of the torrid zone had in a great degree relaxed, now began to feel a considerable alteration in the climate, and though the thermometer was not above ten degrees different from what it used to be near the line, yet I contracted a violent cold, attended with the tooth-ach, swelled gums, and cheeks.

OCTOBER.  
Sunday 4.

On the fourth of October, we observed great numbers of the common little petrel, of a sooty brown, with white rumps (*procellaria pelagica*), and found the air cold and sharp.

The

The next day the albatross, (*diomedea exulans*) and the pintadas (*procellaria capensis*), made their first appearance.

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On the 11th it was mild and almost calm, after several days of hazy and squally weather, which had probably sharpened the appetite of the sea birds, and especially the pintadas; for these last eagerly swallowed hooks baited with pieces of pork or mutton, and no less than eight of them were caught in a short time. In the evening we observed an eclipse of the moon, of which the end at a medium happened at 6h. 58' 45" p. m. our latitude at noon being 34° 45' south.

Sunday 12.

The next day we tried the current and the temperature of the sea a third time. We let down the thermometer 100 fathoms, where it continued 20 min. was hauled up in 7 min. more, and then shewed 58 deg. At the surface it stood at 59 deg. and in the air at 60 deg. It being calm, we employed ourselves in the boat with shooting sea-fowl; among which were a small tern, a shear-water, a new species of albatross, and a new petrel: Several animals of the mollusca-tribe likewise came within our reach, together with the *belix janthina*, a violet-coloured shell, remarkable for the extreme thinness of its texture, which breaks with the least pressure, and seems therefore entirely calculated to keep the open sea, or at least to shun

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rocky shores\*, agreeably to the observation in Lieutenant Cook's voyage in the Endeavour. Albatrosses, pintadas, and petrels of all kinds, amongst which was also the fulmar, (*procellaria glacialis*,) were now daily observed.

On the 17th, 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 manœuvre, the accident which we had apprehended, but that looking out on the sea, Capt. Furneaux had plainly observed a sea-lion, that had been the cause of this false alarm.

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 14. We find another remark at the end of that above quoted, which is of very different value, and seems to indicate that the ancient authors were not consulted. Whoever has looked into Pliny, can never have the least idea that the thin shell aforementioned could be "*the purpura of the ancients.*" They had several kinds of shells, which yielded the purple dye, but these were all rock-shells. *Earum generum plura, pabulo et solo discreta*, lib. ix. cap. 61. *Exquiruntur omnes scopuli gætuli muricibus ac purpuris*, lib. v. cap. 1. It is equally clear and uncontrovertible that the figure and hardness of their purple shells were very different from those of the little *helix janthina*. *PURPURA vocatur, cuniculatim procurrente rostro et cuniculi latere introrsus tubulato qua proferatur lingua*, lib. ix. cap. 61.—*Lingua purpuræ longitudine digitalis quâ pascitur, perforando reliqua conchyliæ, tanta DURITIA aculeo est*, lib. ix. cap. 60.—*Præterea clavatum est ad turbinem usque aculeis in orbem septenis fere*, lib. ix. cap. 61. Don Antonio Ulloa, in his voyage to South-America, book IV. chap. 8. may be consulted on the subject.

On

On the 19th we had a great southern swell, and saw a large whale, and likewise a fish of the shark genus, of a whitish colour, with two dorsal-fins, and its length about eighteen or twenty feet. As we had been a considerable time at sea, the Captain had for some weeks past ordered four-kraut (or cabbage sliced and fermented) to be regularly served to the crew, at a pint per man on meat-days, which was four times a week. The Lords of the Admiralty, attentive to every circumstance which bids fair to preserve the health of seafaring men, had ordered a very considerable quantity of this salutary and palatable food to be put on board both of the ships, and the event has proved that it is one of the best prophylactics against the sea-scurvy.

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Monday 19.

On the 24th, the Adventure being a great way astern, the captain ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and several officers and other gentlemen went a shooting, which gave us a fresh opportunity of examining the two sorts of albatrosses, and a large black species of shear-water, (*procellaria æquinoctialis*.) Our navigation, which for nine weeks past had been out of sight of any land, began to appear dull and tedious, and seemed to be distressing to many who were not used to an uniform reclusive life on board a ship, without any refreshments or variety of scenes. We should have found this long passage equally disagreeable, if it had not supplied us with employment from time to

time,

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time, and nursed the hope of making many interesting discoveries relative to the science of nature.

Thursday 29.

On the 29th, early in the morning, we discovered the land of the extremity of Africa, covered with clouds and fog; and several gannets and small diving-petrels, together with some wild ducks, came out to sea from thence. Soon after the land disappeared entirely, and we could not see it again till three o'clock in the afternoon, when its parts were much plainer, though the clouds still involved them. The wind blowing fresh, and the Adventure being a great way a-stern, we could not venture to get into the Table bay during night, but stood off and on till the next morning, having thick squally weather, and heavy showers of rain.

The night was scarcely begun, when the water all round us afforded the most grand and astonishing sight than can be imagined. As far as we could see the whole ocean seemed to be in a blaze. Every breaking wave had its summit illuminated by a light similar to that of phosphorus, and the sides of the vessel, coming in contact with the sea, were strongly marked by a luminous line. Great bodies of light moved in the water along our side, sometimes slower, sometimes quicker; now in the same direction with our course, now flying off from it; sometimes we could clearly distinguish their shape to be that of fishes, which when they approached any smaller ones, forced these

these

these to hasten away from them. Desirous of enquiring into the cause of this astonishing phenomenon, we procured a bucket full of the illumined sea-water. The most accurate attention to it proved, that innumerable minute sparks, of a round shape, communicated this luminous appearance to the water, and moved about in it with great briskness and velocity. After the water had been standing for a little while, the number of sparks seemed to decrease; but on being stirred again, the whole became as luminous as before. Again, as the water gradually subsided the sparks were observed to move in directions contrary to the undulations of the water, which they did not before, whilst the agitation was more violent, and seemed to carry them along with its own motions. We suspended the bucket, to prevent its being too much affected by the motion of the ship; the bright objects by this means betrayed more and more a voluntary motion, independent of the agitation of the water caused by our hands, or by the rolling of the vessel. The luminous appearance always gradually subsided, but on the least agitation of the water, the sparkling was renewed, in proportion as the motion was increased. As I stirred the water with my hand, one of the luminous sparks adhered to my finger. We examined it by the common magnifier of Mr. Ramsden's improved microscope, and found it to be globular, transparent like a gelatinous substance, and somewhat brownish:

by

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by the greatest magnifier we discovered the orifice of a little tube, which entered the body of this little atom, within which were four or five intestine bags connected with the tube. Having examined several of them, which had much the same appearance, I endeavoured to catch some in water, and bring them under the microscope in a concave glass, where its nature and organs might be better examined: but these minute objects were always hurt with our touch before we could place them in the concave glass, and when dead only appeared as an indistinct mass of floating filaments. In about two hours time the water had lost its luminous appearance. We had another bucket full of it drawn before that time, but all our attempts to catch one of the little atoms in the glass proved ineffectual. Accordingly we hastened to draw the appearance of the first globule, and to write down our observations. The most probable conjecture which we could form concerning these little atomical animalcules was, that they might be the young fry of some species of medusa or blubber, though it may likewise be possible, that they are beings of a distinct genus.

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,

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organized alive, endowed with locomotive power, a quality of shining whenever they please, of 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. It is the natural fault of young people to think too well of mankind; but I hope I shall not have formed too favourable an opinion of my readers, if I expect that the generality will sympathize with me in these feelings, and that none will be found ignorant or depraved enough to despise them.

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*Turrigeros elephantorum miramur humeros, taurorumque colla et truces in sublime jactus, tigrium rapinas, leonum jubas; QUUM RERUM NATURA NUSQUAM MAGIS, QUAM IN MINIMIS TOTA SIT. Quapropter quæso, ne nostra legentes, quoniam ex his spernent multa, etiam relata fastidio damnent, quum in contemplatione Naturæ nihil possit videri vacaneum. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xi. cap. 2.*

The next morning, after a very rainy night, we sailed Friday 30. into Table bay. The mountains at the bottom of it, now appeared clear of clouds, and surprised us with their prodigious craggy, steep, and barren appearance. As we advanced farther into the bay, we discovered the town at the foot of the black Table-mountain, and soon came to an anchor. After saluting the fort, and receiving the visit of several officers in the service of the Dutch East-India company, we went on shore with captains Cook and Furneaux, being prepared to meet with many new acquisitions to science, on a continent so distant from our own, and situated in an opposite hemisphere.

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## C H A P. III.

*Stay at the Cape of Good Hope.—Account of that Settlement.*

WE were no sooner landed than we all went to wait upon the governor, baron Joachim van Plettenberg, a man of a very liberal education, and extensive knowledge, whose politeness and affability immediately gave us a good opinion of him. From him we proceeded to the other members of the council, and at last retired to take up our lodgings at Mr. Brand's, now commander at False bay, whose house at the Cape town is commonly frequented by the English captains who happen to touch there. Almost every inferior officer of the Dutch Company's government, the members of the council excepted, let their supernumerary apartments to the officers and passengers in the various English, French, Danish, and Swedish ships, which annually put in here, either on their voyage from or back to Europe.

We were not a little pleased with the contrast between this colony, and the Portuguese island of St. Jago. There

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we had taken notice of a tropical country, with a tolerable appearance, and capable of improvement, but utterly neglected by its lazy and oppressed inhabitants; here, on the contrary, we saw a neat well-built town, all white, rising in the midst of a desert, surrounded by broken masses of black and dreary mountains; or in other words, the picture of successful industry. Its appearance towards the sea-side, is not quite so picturesque as that of Funchal. The store-houses of the Dutch East-India company, are all situated nearest the water, and the private buildings lie beyond them on a gentle ascent. The fort which commands the road, is on the east side of the town, but seems not to be of great strength; besides which, there are several batteries on both sides. The streets in the town are broad, and regular; all the principal ones are planted with oaks, and some have in their middle a canal of running water, which on account of its small quantity, they are obliged to husband by sluices, so that parts of it are sometimes entirely drained, and occasion no very pleasant smell. The national character of the Dutch strongly manifests itself in this particular; their settlements being always supplied with canals, though reason and common sense evidently prove their noxious influence on the health of the inhabitants, especially at Batavia.

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Quanto præstantius efflet

——viridi si margine clauderet undas

Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum !

JUVENAL.

The houses are built of brick, and many of them are white washed on the outside. The rooms are in general lofty and spacious, and very airy, which the hot climate requires. There is but one church in the whole town, and that is extremely plain, and seems to be rather too small for the congregation. That spirit of toleration, which has been so beneficial to the Dutch government at home, is not to be met with in their colonies. It is but very lately that they have suffered even the Lutherans, to build churches at Batavia, and at this place; and at the present time, a clergyman of that persuasion is not tolerated at the Cape, but the inhabitants are obliged to content themselves with the chaplains of Danish and Swedish East-India-men, who give them a sermon, and administer the sacrament once or twice a year, and are very handsomely rewarded. The government, and the inhabitants do not give themselves the trouble to attend to a circumstance of so little consequence in their eyes, as the religion of their slaves, who in general seem to have none at all. A few of them follow the Mahomedan rite, and weekly meet in a private house belonging to a free Mahomedan, in order to read, or rather chaunt several prayers, and

and chapters of the Koran. As they have no priest among them, they cannot partake of any other acts of worship\*.

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The slaves belonging to the company, who amount to several hundreds, are lodged and boarded in a spacious house erected for that purpose, where they are likewise kept at work. Another great building serves as an hospital for the failors belonging to the Dutch East-India ships, which touch here, and commonly have prodigious numbers of sick on board, on their voyage from Europe towards India. The vast number of men, sometimes six, seven, or eight hundred, which these ships carry out to supply the military in India, the small room to which they are confined, and the short allowance of water and salt provision, they receive on a long voyage through the torrid zone, generally make considerable havock among them: it is therefore no uncommon circumstance at the Cape, that a ship on her passage thither from Europe, loses eighty or a hundred men, and sends between two

\* We would not be understood to throw an odium on the Dutch in particular, when it is well known that the negroes, who wear the chains of the English and French, are equally neglected: it was only intended to awaken a fellow-feeling towards an unhappy race of MEN, among the colonists of all nations; and to remind them whilst they enjoy, or *strive* to enjoy the inestimable blessing of liberty, to exert themselves in acts of humanity and kindness, towards those from whom they withhold it, perhaps, without remorse.

and

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and three hundred others dangerously ill to the hospital. A fact no less deplorable than certain, is, that the small expence and facility with which the *ziel-verkoopers* actually carry on their infamous trade of supplying the India company with recruits, makes them less attentive to the preservation of health among these poor people. Nothing is more common, in this and other Dutch colonies, than to meet with soldiers in the company's service who, upon enquiry, acknowledge they have been kidnapped in Holland. There is an apothecary's shop belonging to the hospital, where the most necessary remedies are prepared, but no expensive drug is to be found in it, and the method of administering to all the patients indiscriminately out of two or three huge bottles, full of different preparations, suffice to convince us, that the fresh air of the land, and fresh provisions here, contribute much more to the recovery of the sick, than the skill of their physicians. Patients who are able to walk, are ordered to go up and down the streets every fair morning; and all kinds of greens, pot-herbs, fallads, and antiscorbutics are raised for their use in an adjacent garden belonging to the company. Travellers have sometimes praised and sometimes depreciated this garden, according to the different points of view in which it has been considered. It is true, a few regular walks of indifferent oaks, encompassed with elm and myrtle hedges, are not objects engaging enough  
to

to those who are used to admire the perfection of gardening in England, or who contemplate in Holland and France cypresses, box, and yew trees cut out into vases, statues, and pyramids, or *charmilles* turned into pieces of architecture! But considering that the trees were planted in the beginning of this century, more for use than ornament; that they shelter the kitchen-herbs for the hospital, against the destructive violence of storms; and that they form the only shady and airy walks, comfortable to voyagers and sick persons in this hot climate, I cannot wonder that some should extoll as “a delightful spot\*,” what others contemptuously call “a friar’s garden †.”

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The day after our arrival, the astronomers of both ships, Mr. Wales and Mr. Baily, fixed their instruments ashore, within a few yards of the identical spot where Messrs. Mason and Dixon had formerly made their astronomical observations. The same day we began our botanical excursions in the country about the town. The ground gradually rises on all sides towards the three mountains which lie round the bottom of the bay, keeping low and level only near the sea-side, and growing somewhat marshy in the isthmus between the False and Table bays, where a salt rivulet falls into the latter. The

Saturday 21.

\* Commodore (now admiral) BYRON. See Hawkesworth’s compilation, vol I.

† M. de Bougainville. See his Voyage round the World.

marshy.

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marshy part has some verdure, but is intermixed with a great deal of sand. The higher grounds, which from the sea side have a parched and dreary appearance, are however covered with an immense variety of plants, amongst which are a prodigious number of shrubs, but scarce one or two species that deserve the name of trees. There are also a few small plantations wherever a little run of water moistens the ground. Abundance of insects of every sort, several species of lizards, land-tortoises, and serpents frequent the dry shrubbery, together with a great variety of small birds. We daily brought home ample collections of vegetables and animals, and were much surpris'd to find a great number, especially among the latter, entirely unknown to natural historians, though gathered in fields adjacent to a town, from whence the cabinets and repositories of all Europe have been repeatedly supplied with numerous and valuable acquisitions to the science.

One of our excursions was directed to the Table mountain. The ascent was very steep, fatiguing, and difficult, on account of the number of loose stones which rolled away under our feet. About the middle of the mountain we entered a bold grand chasm, whose walls are perpendicular and often impending rocks, piled up in strata. Small rills of water oozed out of crevices, or fell from precipices in drops, giving life to hundreds of plants and low shrubs in the chasm. Another kind of vegetables,  
growing

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growing on a drier soil, that seemed to concentrate their juices, spread a fine aromatic scent, which a gentle breeze wafted towards us from the chasm. At last, after three hours walk, we reached the summit of the mountain. It was nearly level, very barren, and bare of soil; several cavities were however replete with rain-water, or contained a little vegetable earth, from whence a few odoriferous plants drew their nourishment. Some antelopes, howling baboons, solitary vultures, and toads are sometimes to be met with on the mountain. The view from thence is very extensive and picturesque. The bay seemed a small pond or basin, and the ships in it dwindled to little boats: the town under our feet, and the regular compartments of its gardens, looked like the work of children. The Lion's Rump now seemed an inconsiderable ridge; we looked down on the spiry Lion's Head, and only Charles' Mount rose as it were in competition with the Table. To the northward, Robben island, the Blue hills, the Tyger hills, and beyond them a noble chain of mountains, loftier than that on which we stood, bounded our view. A group of broken rocky masses inclosed Hout baay (Wood bay) to the west, and continuing to the southward formed one side of the Table bay, and terminated in the famous *stormy* cape which king MANOEL of Portugal named the Cape of GOOD HOPE. To the south-east our view extended across the low isthmus between the two bays; beyond it we

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discerned the colony of Hottentot Holland, and the mountains about Stellenbosch; and on this side we were delighted with a number of plantations insulated by the vast heath, and finely contrasting their verdure with the rest of the country: Among them we distinguished Constantia, famous in the annals of modern epicures. After a stay of two hours, finding the air very cold and sharp on the mountain, we descended, very well pleased with our excursion, and amply rewarded for the toilsome part of it, by the beauty and extent of the prospect.

The country on the S. E. side of the Table mountain attracted our particular attention, on account of the number of plantations on the sloping grounds, and the variety of plants which that part produced. Its appearance, especially near the hills, is the pleasanter on this side of the isthmus. By the side of every little rivulet a plantation is situated, consisting of vineyards, corn-fields, and gardens, and commonly surrounded with oaks from ten to twenty feet high, which enliven the country, and afford shelter against storms. The late governor Tulbagh, who is looked upon as a father to this colony, rebuilt several houses and gardens here, for the use of the governors, at Rondebosch and Nieuw-land. They are plain, and have nothing particular to recommend them, but that they are kept in the best order, consist of shady walks, and are well supplied with water. The company's granges or sheds are  
also

also erected hereabouts; and a little farther on there is a brewery, belonging to a private man, who has the exclusive privilege of brewing beer for the Cape. In a fine valley, on the side of the mountain, lies the plantation called Paradise, remarkable for its delightful grove, and for producing several fruits, especially such as belong to tropical climates, which come to great perfection there. Alphen, the seat of Mr. Kerste, (at that time commander in False bay) was the boundary of our excursions on this side. We were here received with real hospitality, which our worthy host had brought from Germany, his native country. During a few days it was the centre of our botanical rambles, which always furnished us with an abundant harvest, and gave us the greatest apprehensions that with all our efforts, we alone would be unequal to the task of collecting, describing, drawing, and preserving (all at the same time) such multitudes of species, in countries where every one we gathered would in all probability be a non-descript. It was therefore of the utmost importance, if we meant not to neglect any branch of natural knowledge, to endeavour to find an assistant well qualified to go hand and hand with us in our undertakings. We were fortunate enough to meet with a man of science, Dr. Sparrman, at this place, who after studying under the father of botany, the great Sir Charles Linné, had made a voyage to China, and another to the Cape in pursuit of knowledge.

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The idea of gathering the treasures of nature in countries hitherto unknown to Europe, filled his mind so entirely, that he immediately engaged to accompany us on our circumnavigation; in the course of which, I am proud to say, we have found him an enthusiast in his science, well versed in medical knowledge, and endowed with a heart capable of the warmest feelings, and worthy of a philosopher. But far from meeting with such great discoveries in natural history, as had been made in Lieut. Cook's first voyage on a new continent\*, we were obliged to content ourselves with the produce of a few small islands, which we could imperfectly investigate in the short spaces of sometimes a few hours, or a few days, or to the utmost of a few weeks, in unfavourable seasons.

During our stay at the Cape, the people on board our ship set up the rigging, scrubbed and payed the sides, and took in store some brandy and other necessary articles of provision for the crew, together with several sheep for the captains and officers. Several rams and ewes were likewise brought aboard, intended as presents to the natives of the South-Sea; but the length of the voyage, and our run to the frozen zone, reduced them so much, that this useful purpose was entirely defeated. In order to pursue our researches after natural knowledge, with greater cer-

\* New Holland.

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tainty of success, we likewise bought a water-spaniel here, in hopes that this animal would prove useful in fetching any game which fell out of our reach. It was with great difficulty we could meet with one, and we were obliged to pay an exorbitant price for it; though it afterwards proved of little service. It may seem superfluous to mention so trifling an occurrence as this, but I believe it is hardly imagined, how great a number of little objects are to be attended to among many weightier concerns, by a traveller who means to improve his time to the utmost advantage.

On the 22d we brought all our baggage on board, and the same day we sailed from Table bay. Previous to the mention of farther occurrences, I shall here endeavour to give a succinct account of the state of this Dutch colony, which it is hoped will afford satisfactory instruction to my readers.

The southernmost extremity of Africa, circumnavigated so early as the times of the Egyptian king Necho, and again in the reign of Ptolemæus Lathyrus\*, was once more

\* The proofs of this assertion are enumerated in Schmidt Opusc. diff. iv. de commerc. & navigation. Ægyptior. p. 160. and more fully in Schlözer Handlung Geschichte (or History of Commerce) p. 300. Herodotus expressly says, that Africa is surrounded by the sea, and that this was found out by some Phœnician mariners sent out for that purpose by Pharaoh Necho from the Red Sea, who returned by the Mediterranean, lib. iv. cap. 42. Strabo, lib. ii. also mentions the expedition of one Eudoxus round Africa, in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus; and according to Pliny, the Carthaginians likewise have explored  
the

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discovered in later times, by Bartolomeo Diaz, a Portuguese navigator, in the year 1487. Vasco de Gama was the first who made a voyage to India round it in 1497, which was looked upon as a kind of prodigy. It remained however useless to Europeans till the year 1650, when Van-Riebeck, a Dutch surgeon, first saw the advantage that would accrue to the East-India Company in Holland, from a settlement at so convenient a distance both from home and from India. The colony which he founded, has ever since continued in the hands of the Dutch, and increased in value for a considerable time after his decease.

The governor depends immediately upon the East-India Company, and has the rank of an *Edele Heer*, the title given to the members of the supreme council of Batavia. He presides here over a council consisting of the second, or deputy governor, the fiscal, the major (who commands the fort), the secretary, the treasurer, the comptroller of provisions, the comptroller of liquors, and the book-keeper; each of which has a branch of the Company's commerce assigned to his care. This council has the whole management of the civil and military departments, but the deputy-governor presides over another, named the court of

the coast of that continent. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 67. *Et Hanno, Carthaginiæ potentia florente, circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scriptis.*

justice,

justice, which tries all offences and crimes, and consists of some of the members of the former ; but no two relations can sit and have vote in the same council, to prevent the influence of parties.

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The income of the governor is very considerable, for besides a fixed appointment, and the use of houses, gardens, proper furniture, and every thing that belongs to his table, he receives about ten dollars for every leagre of wine which the Company buy of the farmer, in order to be exported to Batavia. The company allows the sum of forty dollars for each leagre, of which the farmer receives but twenty-four ; what remains is shared between the governor, and second or deputy, the former taking two thirds, which sometimes are said to amount to 4000 dollars per annum. The second governor has the direction of the company's whole commerce here, and signs all orders to the different departments under him, as well as the governor to others. He and the fiscal have the rank of *upper koopman*. The fiscal is at the head of the police, and sees the penal laws put in execution ; his income consists of fines, and of the duties laid on certain articles of commerce, but if he be strict in exacting them, he is universally detested. The sound policy of the Dutch have likewise found it necessary to place the fiscal as a check, to over-awe the other officers of the company, that they may not counteract the interests of their masters, or infringe the laws.

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laws of the mother country. He is to that end, commonly well versed in juridical affairs, and depends solely upon the mother country. The major (at present Mr. Von Prehn, who received us with great politeness) has the rank of *koopman* or merchant: this circumstance surprises a stranger, who in all other European states, is used to see military honours confer distinction and precedence, and appears still more singular to one who knows the contrast in this particular between Holland and Russia, where the idea of military rank is annexed to every place, even that of a professor at the university. The number of regular soldiers at this colony amounts to about 700, of which 400 form the garrison of the fort, near the Cape town. The inhabitants capable of bearing arms form a militia of 4000 men, of whom a considerable part may be assembled in a few hours, by means of signals made from alarm places in different parts of the country. We may from hence make some estimate of the number of white people in this colony, which is at present so extensive, that the distant settlements are above a month's journey from the Cape; but these remote parts lie sometimes more than a day's journey from each other, are surrounded by various nations of Hottentots, and too frequently feel the want of protection from their own government at that distance. The slaves in the colony are at least in the proportion of five or more, to one white person. The principal inhabitants

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tants at the Cape have sometimes from 20 to 30 slaves, which are in general treated with great lenity, and sometimes become favourites with their masters, who give them very good cloathing, but oblige them to wear neither shoes nor stockings, reserving these articles to themselves. The slaves are chiefly brought from Madagascar, and a little vessel annually goes from the Cape thither on that trade; there are however, besides them, a number of Malays and Bengalese, and some negroes. The colonists themselves are for the greatest part Germans, with some families of Dutch, and some of French protestants. The character of the inhabitants of the town is mixed. They are industrious, but fond of good living, hospitable, and sociable; though accustomed to hire their apartments to strangers\*, for the time they touch at this settlement, and used to be complimented with rich presents of stuffs, &c. by the officers of merchant ships. They have no great opportunities of acquiring knowledge, there being no public schools of note at the Cape; their young men are therefore commonly sent to Holland for improvement, and their female education is too much neglected. A kind of dislike to reading, and the want of public amusements, make their conversation uninteresting and too frequently

\* The terms are mentioned in Lieut. Cook's Voyage. See Hawkesworth's compilation, vol. III. p. 788. The members of the council are an exception in this respect.

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turn it upon scandal, which is commonly carried to a degree of inveteracy peculiar to little towns. The French, English, Portuguese, and Malay languages are very commonly spoken, and many of the ladies have acquired them. This circumstance, together with the accomplishments of singing, dancing, and playing a tune on the lute, frequently united in an agreeable person, make amends for the want of refined manners and delicacy of sentiment. There are however among the principal inhabitants, persons of both sexes, whose whole deportment, extensive reading, and well-cultivated understanding would be admired and distinguished even in Europe\*. Their circumstances are in general easy, and often very affluent, on account of the cheap rate at which the necessaries of life are to be procured; but they seldom amass such prodigious riches here as at Batavia, and I was told the greatest private fortune at the Cape did not exceed one

\* Among them we cannot in justice avoid mentioning the governor, Baron Joachim von Plettenberg, a gentleman whose hospitality and affability do great honour to him and his nation; Mr. Hemmý, second governor, and his family; Mr. Von Prehn, the major; Mr. Bergh the secretary, a man of science, of a noble, philosophic turn of mind, with a family who distinguish themselves in every mental and bodily accomplishment, above the whole rising generation of the Cape; Mr. Kerste, Mr. de Wit, and our worthy host Mr. Christophel Brand, commander of the Post at False Bay, with all their families. It is a real satisfaction to perpetuate the memory of valuable members of society, and friends to mankind.

hundred

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hundred thousand dollars, or about twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

The farmers in the country are very plain hospitable people; but those who dwell in the remotest settlements seldom come to town, and are said to be very ignorant; this may easily be conceived, because they have no better company than Hottentots, their dwellings being often several days journey asunder, which must in a great measure preclude all intercourse. The vine is cultivated in plantations within the compass of a few days journey from the town; which were established by the first colonists, and of which the ground was given in perpetual property to them and their heirs. The company at present never part with the property of the ground, but let the surface to the farmer for an annual rent, which, though extremely moderate, being only twenty-five dollars for sixty acres\*, yet does not give sufficient encouragement to plant vineyards. The distant settlements therefore chiefly raise corn and rear cattle; nay many of the settlers entirely follow the latter branch of rustick employment, and some have very numerous flocks. We were told there were two farmers who had each fifteen thousand sheep, and oxen in proportion; and several who possessed

\* Each acre of six hundred and sixty-six square Rhymland roods, the rood of twelve feet. The proportion of the Rhymland foot to the English is about one hundred and sixteen to one hundred and twenty.

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six or eight thousand sheep, of which they drive great droves to town every year; but lions and buffaloes, and the fatigue of the journey, destroy numbers of their cattle before they can bring them so far. They commonly take their families with them in large waggons covered with linen or leather, spread over hoops, and drawn by eight, ten, and sometimes twelve pair of oxen. They bring butter, mutton-tallow, the flesh and skins of sea-cows (hippopotamus), together with lion and rhinoceros' skins, to sell. They have several slaves, and commonly engage in their service several Hottentots of the poorer sort, and (as we were told) of the tribe called Boschemans or Bushmen, who have no cattle of their own, but commonly subsist by hunting or by committing depredations on their neighbours. The opulent farmers set up a young beginner by intrusting to his care a flock of four or five hundred sheep, which he leads to a distant spot, where he finds plenty of good grass and water; the one half of all the lambs which are yeaned fall to his share, by which means he soon becomes as rich as his benefactor.

Though the Dutch company seem evidently to discourage all new settlers, by granting no lands in private property, yet the products of the country have of late years sufficed not only to supply the Isles of France and Bourbon with corn, but likewise to furnish the mother country with several ship loads. These exports would certainly be made

at

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at an easier rate than at present, if the settlements did not extend so far into the country, from whence the products must be brought to the Table bay by land carriage, on roads which are almost impassable. The intermediate spaces of uncultivated land between the different settlements are very extensive, and contain many spots fit for agriculture; but one of the chief reasons why the colonists are so much divided and scattered throughout the country, is to be met with in another regulation of the company, which forbids every new settler to establish himself within a mile of another. It is evident that if this settlement were in the hands of the commonwealth, it would have attained to a great population, and a degree of opulence and splendor, of which it has not the least hopes at present: But a private company of East-India merchants find their account much better in keeping all the landed property to themselves, and tying down the colonist, lest he should become too great and powerful.

The wines made at the Cape are of the greatest variety possible. The best, which is made at M. Vander Spy's plantation of Constantia, is spoken of in Europe, more by report than from real knowledge; thirty leagres\* at the utmost are annually raised of this kind, and each leagre sells for about fifty pounds on the spot. The vines from which it is made were originally brought from

\* A leagre contains about one hundred and eight gallons, or a pipe.

Shiraz.

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Shiraz in Persia. Several other forts grow in the neighbourhood of that plantation, which produce a sweet rich wine, that generally passes for genuine Constantia in Europe. French plants of burgundy, muscade, and frontignan have likewise been tried, and have succeeded extremely well, sometimes producing wines superior to those of the original soil. An excellent dry wine, which has a slight agreeable tartness, is commonly drank in the principal families, and is made of Madeira vines transplanted to the Cape. Several low forts, not entirely disagreeable, are raised in great plenty, and sold at a very cheap rate, so that the sailors of the East-India ships commonly indulge themselves very plentifully in them whenever they come ashore.

The products of the country supply with provisions the ships of all nations which touch at the Cape. Corn, flour, biscuit, salted beef, brandy, and wine are to be had in abundance, and at moderate prices; and their fresh greens, fine fruits\*, good mutton and beef, are excellent restoratives to seamen who have made a long voyage. The climate is likewise so healthy, that the inhabitants are rarely troubled with complaints, and strangers soon recover of the scurvy and other distempers. The winters at the Cape are so mild that they hardly ever have ice about the town: but on the mountains, and especially those far in

\* Their grapes and oranges are some of the best in the world.

the country, they have hard frosts with snow and hail storms; nay a strong south-easterly storm sometimes brings on a frost during night even in the month of November, which is their spring. The only inconvenience which they frequently suffer are colds, brought on by the frequent change of air from strong winds, to which the Cape is subject at all seasons. But notwithstanding the heat, which is sometimes excessive, the inhabitants of Dutch origin seem to have preserved their native habit of body, and both sexes are remarkably corpulent, to which their good living may greatly contribute.

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The Hottentots or aboriginal inhabitants of this country, have retired into the interior parts, and their nearest *kraal* or village, is about a hundred miles from the Cape town. From thence they sometimes come down with their own cattle, or attend the Dutch farmers who conduct their flocks to town for sale. We had no opportunity to make new observations upon them, as we only saw a few individuals, in whom we could not discern any peculiarities but such as have already been described by Peter Kolben, in his Present State of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. The circumstantial accounts given by this intelligent man, have been confirmed to us by the principal inhabitants of the Cape town. It is true, that he has been misinformed in regard to some circumstances; and that others, chiefly relative to the colony, have at present another appearance:

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pearance than in his time: but he still remains the best author that can be consulted on the subject, and as such we will venture to refer our readers to him.

We have had an occasion to observe several facts alleged in Kolben, and we likewise find them mentioned in Lieutenant Cook's voyage. See Hawkesworth's compilation Vol. III. p. 789, &c. The Abbé de la Caille, an astronomer, in the account of his voyage, which was published soon after his death, has endeavoured to ruin the credit of Kolben's book, without giving us any thing better in its stead. We should not have ventured to mention so superficial a performance, as that of the Abbé, were it not necessary to vindicate from his aspersions, the character of Kolben, as a faithful and accurate observer. The Abbé lived with a family at the Cape, who were of a party directly opposite to that which had supported Kolben. He daily heard invectives against him, and never failed to write them down, in order to give himself importance at the expence of the other.

Nul n'aura d'esprit

Hors nous et nos amis.

BOILEAU.

The extremity of Africa towards the south is a mass of high mountains, of which the outermost are black, craggy, and barren, consisting of a coarse granite, which contains no heterogeneous parts, such as petrified shells, &c. nor  
any

any volcanic productions. The cultivated spots which we saw had a stiff clay mixed with a little sand and small pieces of stone; but the plantations towards False bay are almost entirely on a sandy soil. The colony of Stellenbosch is said to have the most fertile soil of all at the Cape, and the different plantations thrive there incomparably better than any where else, particularly the European oaks, which are said to have attained a considerable height and flourishing appearance, whilst they do not seem to succeed near the town, where the tallest we saw was not above thirty feet high. The interior mountains are certainly metallic, and contain iron and copper; specimens of ores of both kinds were shewn to us by Mr. Hemmy, and some tribes of Hottentots melt both these metals; from whence we may conclude, that the ores they employ must be rich and easy of fusion. Hot springs are likewise found at several places in the interior country; and the inhabitants of the Cape Town resort to one of them at the distance of about three days journey, which is famous for curing cutaneous and other distempers, and is probably of a sulphureous nature.

The variety of plants in this country is surprising. In the little time we staid there, we observed several new species growing in the environs of the town, where we should least have expected them. And though the collections of former botanists from hence are very ample, yet Dr.

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SPARRMAN and the learned Dr. THUNBERG \* have gathered above a thousand species entirely unknown before. The animal kingdom is proportionably rich in the variety of its productions. The greatest quadrupeds, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the giraffe or camelopard, inhabit this extremity of Africa; the two first were formerly found within fifty miles of the Cape, but have been so much pursued and hunted, that they are rarely seen at present within many days journey. The rhinoceros particularly is so scarce, that the government have issued an order to prevent its being entirely extirpated. The hippopotamus, there called a sea-cow, which formerly used to come as far as Saldanha bay, is likewise so seldom seen at present, that none must be killed within a considerable distance of the Cape. Its meat is eaten here, and reckoned a great dainty: the taste in my opinion is that of coarse beef, but the fat rather resembles marrow. This animal feeds entirely on vegetables, and we were told can only dive a

\* An eminent disciple of Linné, who after arranging and classing Dr. Burmann's herbals at Leyden, studied botany during three years at the Cape, and having made immense acquisitions to science, was sent to Batavia, at the expence of the Dutch East-India company, in order to proceed to Japan in 1775. The same gentleman was so obliging, at Dr. Sparrman's request, to take with him, on one of his excursions, Francis Masson, employed in the Royal garden at Kew, who had been sent to the Cape on board the Resolution, in order to collect live plants and seeds for the botanical garden. Under Dr. Thunberg's kind guidance, who pointed out to him what was worthy of notice, he has made and brought home an ample collection.

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short space, not exceeding thirty yards. The wild buffalo is another huge quadruped, which now inhabits the more remote settlements of the Cape, and is said to have prodigious strength and ferocity. Its horns resembles those of the American wild ox (*bison*), and are represented in the sixth vol. of M. de Buffon's Natural History. They often attack the farmers travelling in the country, and kill many of their cattle, which they trample upon with their feet. Dr. Thunberg lost his horses in one of these encounters, and his fellow-traveller, the Dutch company's gardener, narrowly escaped between two trees. A young one, about three years old, belonging to the second governor, was put before a waggon, with six tame oxen, but his strength was such that they could not move him out of his place\*. Besides this there is another species of wild ox, called by the natives *gnoo*, which has slender horns, a mane, and brushes of hair on the nose and wattles, and in the slender make of its limbs seems to resemble an horse or an antelope, more than its cogeneric animals. This species we have drawn and described, and it has been brought over to the menagerie of the Prince of Orange. Africa has always been known as the country of

\* We should have gone into the country to see this animal, but we only heard of it the day before our departure. This seems to be the animal mentioned by de Manet, Nouvelle Histoire de l'Afrique Françoise, tome ii. p. 129.

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the beautiful genus of gazelles or antelopes\*, and the different names which have been improperly given to its species, have hitherto not a little contributed to obscure our knowledge of them. A number of the fiercest beasts of prey likewise infest the Cape, and the colonists can never be at sufficient pains to extirpate them. Lions, leopards, tyger-cats, striped and spotted hyænas, (Pennant's Syn. of Quadr.) jackals, and several others, live on the numerous

\* We can only except a few species found in India, and other parts of Asia, and one in Europe. The different species at the Cape are remarkable, some for the elegance of their shape, some for their colours, their horns, or their size. The Coodoo, or Kolben's *bock ohne namen* (goat without a name), from whence the name of M. de Buffon's Condoma is probably derived, is the strepsicerus of Linné and Pallas, and its height is that of a horse. Its leaps are said to be of an astonishing height. The Cape elk of Kolben, Pallas's *antelope oryx*, is about the size of a stag. The *bonte bock* is the *A. scripta* of Dr. Pallas. The antelope which they improperly call a hart or stag at the Cape, is the *A. bubalis* of Pallas. The Egyptian antelope, Linné's and Pallas's *gazella*, and M. de Buffon's *pafan*, is here called gems-bock or chamois, which it does not in the least resemble. The blue antelope, (*blauwe bock*) is really of a blueish colour, but when killed soon loses the velvet-like appearance of its fur. The *springbock*, a beautiful species, named *A. pygargus* by Pallas, live in vast herds in the interior parts of Africa, and travel to the southward in the summer season, in search of food, attended by many lions, panthers, hyænas, and jackals, which prey upon them. Of this species we had the honour to present one to Her Majesty alive. Two small species, with several varieties not hitherto noticed, supply the principal inhabitants with venison of a fine flavour. Their size is that of a fawn of the fallow-deer. The *duyker*, or diving antelope, so called from hiding itself among the bushes when pursued, and only emerging from time to time, is not yet sufficiently known, and the animal named a roebuck here, likewise deserves the farther attention of travellers.

species.

species of antelopes, on hares, jerbuas, caviæ, and many lesser quadrupeds with which the country abounds. The number of birds is likewise very great, and among them many are arrayed in the brightest colours. I cannot help mentioning, in confirmation of Kolben's accounts, that we have seen two species of swallows at the Cape, though the Abbé de la Caille censures him for speaking of them, because they did not occur to himself. The Abbé also commits a mistake with regard to the knorhan, which is not a gelinote or grous, as he calls it, but the African bustard. Upon the whole, it would be easy to refute almost every criticism which the Abbé has passed on Kolben, if a work of so little merit deserved so much attention. Reptiles of all kinds, serpents, (among which are many whose bite is mortal,) and a variety of insects swarm about the Cape; and its shores likewise abound in well-tasted fishes, many of which are not yet known to the naturalist. In short, notwithstanding the many spoils of the vegetable and animal kingdom, which have been brought from Africa, its immense interior countries remain almost entirely unknown to the present time, and still contain great treasures of natural knowledge, which wait the future investigation of another THUNBERG or another BRUCE.

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C. H. A. R.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Run from the Cape to the Antarctic Circle; first season spent in high Southern Latitudes.—Arrival on the Coast of New Zealand.*

Sunday 22.

WE sailed from Table bay, about four in the afternoon, on the 22d of November, after having saluted the fort. The wind blew in hard squalls, which continued all night, and gave us once more a rough reception on the boisterous element; while the same luminous appearance, which we had observed before our coming into this bay, was perceived again, though in a much slighter degree.

Monday 23.

The next day towards eight in the morning, we lost sight of the Cape, and directed our course to the southward. As we were now entering on an unexampled navigation, not knowing when we might meet with a new place of refreshment, the captain gave the strictest orders to prevent the waste of fresh water; to this end a centry was placed at the scuttled-cask \*, and a regular allowance of water was daily served out to the crew, besides which they were permitted to drink at the cask, but not to carry any water away. The captain himself washed with salt-water, and

\* An open butt placed on the quarter-deck, and daily filled with fresh water out of the hold, for the use of the ship's company.

all our company were obliged to conform to this necessary restriction. The distilling machine improved by Mr. Irving, was likewise constantly employed, to supply at least *some* part of the quantity daily consumed.

On the 24th in the afternoon, the weather being fair Tuesday 24. and moderate, after a hard gale we caught nine albatrosses with a line and hook, baited with a bit of sheep's skin. Several of them measured above ten feet from tip to tip, between the expanded wings. The younger ones seemed to have a great mixture of brownish feathers, whereas the full-grown were almost entirely white except their wings, which were blackish, and their scapulars which were barred and sprinkled with dotted lines of black.

A large brown fish resembling the sun fish (*tetrodon mola*), was likewise seen close to the ship for a short space of time.

On the the 29th the wind, which had for three or four Sunday 29. days past blown a very strong gale, now increased so much, that we ran during the last twenty-four hours, almost under the bare fore-fail. The sea at the same time ran very high, and frequently broke over the poop, in which none of the cabins were prepared for such bad weather, our course from England to the Cape having been remarkably free of storms. The people, and especially persons not brought up to sea-affairs, were ignorant how to behave in this new situation; the prodigious rolling of the vessel therefore:

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therefore daily made great havock among cups, faucers, glaffes, bottles, difhes, plates, and every thing that was moveable ; whilst the humorous circumftances fometimes attending the general confufion, made us bear thefe irreparable loffes with greater compofure than might have been expected. The decks, and the floors of every cabin were however continually wet ; and the howl of the ftorm in the rigging, the roar of the waves, added to the violent agitation of the veffel, which precluded almoft every occupation, were new and awful fcenes, but at the fame feverely felt, and highly difagreeable. The air was likewife unpleafantly fharp and cold about this time, our latitude being now about  $42^{\circ}$  fouth ; and frequent rains contributed to make the fervice of the feamen hard and comfortlefs. To fecure them in fome meafure againft the inclemencies of the weather, the captain ordered a general diftribution of clothes to be made, which had been exprefsly provided at the expence of the Admiralty to ferve this purpofe. Every perfon whose duty expofed him to the feverity of fouthern climates, from the lieutenant to the failor, was provided with a jacket and a pair of trowfers of the thickeft woollen ftuff called *fearnought* \*, or ftiong flannel, which kept out the wet for a long time, and had this only fault, in common with every thing the navy pro-

\* A diftribution of the fame nature was made to Captain Cook's crew in his firft voyage round the world. See Hawkefworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 40.

vides,

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vides, viz. that they were supplied by contract, and therefore generally too short for our people. If we consider the distresses to which M. de Bougainville's crew were reduced for want of cloathing, we cannot help reflecting on the better fortune of English seamen, who, under an equitable government, may expect to be treated with peculiar care; and who, on perilous expeditions, are humanely and attentively supplied with necessaries to face the dangers of the sea, and support their spirits in adversity. A trying moment frequently occurs, where the despondence caused by ill-treatment and heavy sufferings, must have the most fatal consequences, since its direct opposite, an undaunted resolution is then most necessary; such a moment we experienced in this night. 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 the leg in water. He instantly acquainted the officer of the quarter-deck with this dreadful circumstance, and in a few moments almost every person in the ship 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, encreased by the darkness of the night.

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Ponto nox incubat atra,  
Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

VIRGIL.

For what obscured light the heav'ns did grant,  
Did but convey unto *their* fearful minds  
A doubtful warrant of immediate death.

SHAKESPEARE.

The chain-pumps were now cleared, and our failors 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, and closely shut up, and we escaped for this time with the greatest part of the clothes and effects of the failors and officers thoroughly soaked in salt water. We should have found it difficult, if not utterly impossible, to clear the ship of the water, if the midshipman had not providentially awaked before it had gained too much upon us: the presence of mind of our officers, and the spirit of our seamen would have been exerted in vain, and we must perhaps have gone down to the bottom, in the midst of a very dark night and turbulent ocean, which would have effectually prevented our consort from giving us assistance. A distribution of fishing-hooks and lines was made about this time to every person on board, as it was uncertain how soon we might meet with land, and consequently with an opportunity of making use of them.

The

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DECEMBER.  
Saturday 5.

The stormy weather continued, intermixed with frequent rains and fogs, till the fifth of December \*, when we set the top-gallant sails for the first time, after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, and observed the latitude at noon, in  $47^{\circ} 10'$  south. In the afternoon, however, the showers returned, and a western swell announced a wind from that quarter, which actually came on during night, blowing at about S. W. and chilled the air so considerably, that the thermometer sunk from  $44^{\circ}$  to  $38^{\circ}$  during the night, and some snow began to fall the next morning. The wind soon increased to a storm again; so that on the 7th in the afternoon, we had only a single sail set. A variety of birds of the petrel and tern genus, had attended us in greater or lesser numbers ever since we had left the Cape, and the high sea and winds seemed to have no other influence on them, than that of bringing more of them about us. The principal sorts were the Cape-petrel, or pintada (*procellaria capensis*), and the blue petrel, so called from its having a blueish-grey colour, and a band of blackish feathers across the whole wing. We likewise saw the two before mentioned species of albatrosses † from time to time, together with a third, less than the others, which we named the *sooty*, and our sailors called the

Monday 7.

\* We had lost six large hogs of our live stock, and some sheep, during this uncomfortable weather.

† See p. 51.

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Tuesday 8.

quaker bird, from its having a greyish-brown colour. Many birds of all these different species surrounded us on the 8th of December, the wind still continuing very high, and the sea very turbulent. We now likewise saw pinguins\* for the first time, and some bunches of sea-weed, of the species called the sea-bamboo (*fucus buccinalis* Lin.) These appearances greatly favoured the hope of meeting with land, as it had hitherto been held uncontroverted that weeds, especially rockweeds, (such as these were) and pinguins were never to be met with at a great distance from shores; but experience has shewn that these prognostics are not to be relied upon, and probably derive all their credit from single accidental proofs in their favour, supported by the name of some celebrated mariner. Future observations on the nature of floating rock-weeds, and drift-wood, might perhaps lead to some more determinate conclusions; for as these weeds must have been at first detached from the rocks on which they grew, it is probable that from the degree of freshness or of putridity which

\* These birds, which since the time of Sir John Narborough, have been repeatedly mentioned by almost every navigator that has visited the Southern extremities of America, are so well known to the English reader, from the accounts of Anson, Byron, Bougainville, Pernetty, &c. that it is scarce necessary to describe them. They are in a manner amphibious creatures, and their wings are unfit for flying, but shaped like strong fleshy membranes, which perform all the functions of fins. There are upwards of ten different species known to the naturalists at present.

they

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DECEMBER.

they have when found, the time they have been adrift, and in some rare instances, the distances from land, may be conjectured; but the direction and force of the winds and waves, and other accidental circumstances, must in that case be carefully taken into consideration.

The wind abated during night, so that we set our courses on the 9th in the morning. The thermometer at eight o'clock was however fallen to  $35^{\circ}$ , and only rose one degree at noon, being then in  $49^{\circ} 45'$  of south latitude. Towards night it grew colder again, and at half an hour past ten, we found the thermometer on deck very near  $32^{\circ}$ , and the edges of the scuttled-cask, filled with fresh water, were freezing. This great cold preceded the sight of ice floating in the sea, which we fell in with on the next morning. The first we saw, was a lump of considerable size, so close to us, that we were obliged to bear away from it; another of the same magnitude a little more a-head, and a large mass about two leagues on the weather-bow, which had the appearance of a white head-land, or a chalk-cliff.

Wednesday 9.

Thursday 10.

In the afternoon we passed another large cubical mass about 2000 feet long, 400 feet broad, and at least as high again as our main-top-gallant-mast head, or 200 feet high. According to the experiments of Boyle and Mairan \*, the

\* See Mairan's Dissertation sur la Glace. Paris, 1749, p. 261.

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volume of ice is to that of sea-water, nearly as ten to nine: consequently, by the known rules of hydrostatics, the volume of ice which rises above the surface of the water, is to that which sinks below it, as one to nine. Supposing the piece which we now saw to be entirely of a regular figure, its depth under water must have been one thousand eight hundred feet, and its whole height two thousand feet, allowing its length as abovementioned two thousand feet, and its breadth four hundred feet, the whole mass must have contained one thousand six hundred millions cubic feet of ice.

These prodigious pieces of ice, in all probability, drift but very slowly and imperceptibly, since the greatest part of them being under water, the power of winds and waves can have but little effect; currents perhaps are the principal agents which give them motion, though I much question, whether their velocity is ever considerable enough to carry them two miles in four-and-twenty hours. At the time we met with this first ice, all our conjectures about its formation could not amount to more than bare probabilities, and had not sufficient experience to support them: but after we have made the tour of the globe, without finding the Southern Continent, the existence of which has been so universally believed in Europe; it seems in the highest degree reasonable to suppose this floating ice to  
have

have been formed in the sea \* ; an idea the more probable, as repeated and decisive experiments have evinced, that salt-water may be frozen.

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This ice likewise served to shew us the great difference between the temperature of the northern and southern hemisphere. We were now in the midst of December, which answers to our June, and the latitude observed at noon gave only  $51^{\circ} 5'$  south, notwithstanding which we had already passed several pieces of ice, and the thermometer stood at  $36^{\circ}$ . The want of land in the southern hemisphere seems to account for this circumstance, since the sea, as a transparent fluid, absorbs the beams of the sun, instead of reflecting them.

On the 11th of December, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we passed to leeward of a large piece, or island of ice, at least half a mile in length. The thermometer on deck, which had been at  $36^{\circ}$  about two o'clock, was risen to  $41^{\circ}$ , on account of the fair sunshine, which continued all the afternoon: when we came abreast of the ice, the wind directly blowing from thence, it gradually sunk

Friday 11.

\* Mr. Adanson, on returning from Senegal, brought several bottles filled with sea-water with him, taken up in different latitudes, which being brought to Paris from Brest in the midst of winter, the water in them froze so as to break them; the ice was perfectly fresh, and the residuum of brine was run out. See his Voyage au Senegal, p. 190. Mr. Edward Nairne, F. R. S. has made experiments on sea-water during the hard frost in 1776, inserted in the LXVI. volume of the Philosophical Transactions, which put it beyond a doubt, that solid and fresh ice may be formed from sea-water.

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to  $37\frac{1}{3}$ ; however we had no sooner passed it, than the mercury regained its former station of  $41^{\circ}$ . We also found that this difference of four degrees, very perceptibly affected our bodies, and concluded that the large masses of ice greatly contributed to refrigerate the general temperature of the air in these inhospitable seas. The waves dashed with great violence against the island of ice, as against a fixed body; sometimes they broke entirely over it, notwithstanding its height, which was not much inferior to that of the beforementioned piece, and we frequently saw the spray rise very high above it, a phenomenon, which, on account of the fair weather, had a remarkable fine effect. The seawater by this means washed upon the ice, is probably congealed there, and serves to encrease the mass; a circumstance very materially conducive to ascertain the history of its formation.

Notwithstanding the coldness of this climate, our floops were still surrounded by birds of the petrel genus, albatrosses and pinguins. We particularly observed a petrel, about the size of a pigeon, entirely white, with a black bill and blueish feet; it constantly appeared about the icy masses, and may be looked upon as a sure fore-runner of ice. Its colour induced us to call it the snowy-petrel. A grampus and several whales likewise made their appearance among the ice, and in these chilling regions served to vary the  
dismal

dismal scene, and gave us some idea of a southern Greenland.

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Sunday 13.

The number of icy masses encreased around us every day, so that we numbered upwards of twenty of a vast size on the 13th in the afternoon. One of them was full of black spots, which were taken for seals by some, and for aquatic birds by others, though we could not find that they even shifted their places: However seals being hitherto looked upon as certain signs of land, we sounded in the evening with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom. The latitude we were now in, was that in which Captain Lozier Bouvet had placed his pretended discovery of Cape Circumcision, and our longitude was only a few degrees to the eastward of it: the general expectation of seeing land, was therefore very great, and every little circumstance like the preceding roused all our attention; the clouds a-head were curiously examined at every moment, since every one was eager to be the first to announce the land. 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

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Monday 14.

the 14th) acquainted the captain that he plainly saw the land. This news soon 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. Numbers of penguins, pintadas, fulmars, snowy and blue petrels\* attended this vast extent of ice, and different species of cetaceous animals spouted up the water around us: two of them, shorter than other whales, were particularly noticed, in respect of their bulk and of a white or rather fleshy colour. A great degree of cold in these icy regions entirely precluded the idea of a summer, which we had expected at this time of the year; our thermometer stood at 31° in the morning, and did not rise beyond 33° at noon, though the latitude we observed this day was only 54° 55' south. We passed through quantities of broken ice in the

\* *Aptenodytes antarctica*; *Procellaria capensis*, *glacialis*, *nivea*, & *vittata*.

afternoon,

afternoon, and saw another extensive ice-field, beyond which several of our people still persisted in, taking fog-banks for land. It snowed a good deal during night, and in the morning it was almost calm, but very foggy. A boat was hoisted out to try the direction of the current. Mr. Wales the astronomer, and my father, took this opportunity to repeat the experiments on the temperature of the sea at a certain depth. The fog increased so much while they were thus engaged, that they entirely lost sight of both the ships. Their situation in a small four-oared boat, on an immense ocean, far from any inhabitable 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 floops 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

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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. The risks to which the voyager is exposed at sea are very numerous, and danger often arises where it is least expected. Neither can we trace the care of Providence more evidently in storms among hidden rocks and shoals, and where water or fire threaten destruction, than in these little circumstances, which the traveller and the reader are both too apt to forget or pass lightly over, if they come to a favourable issue.

Friday 13.

The quantity of impenetrable ice to the south did not permit us to advance towards that quarter; therefore, after several fruitless attempts, we stood on to the eastward, along it, frequently making way through great spots covered with broken ice, which answered the description of what the northern navigators call packed ice. Heavy hail showers and frequent falls of snow continually obscured the air, and only gave us the reviving sight of the sun during short intervals. Large islands of ice were hourly seen in all directions around the sloops, so that they were now become as familiar to us as the clouds and the sea;  
their

their frequency however still led to new observations, which our long acquaintance with them served to confirm. We were certain of meeting with ice in any quarter where we perceived a strong reflexion of white on the skirts of the sky near the horizon. However the ice is not always entirely white, but often tinged, especially near the surface of the sea, with a most beautiful sapphirine or rather berylline blue, evidently reflected from the water; this blue colour sometimes appeared twenty or thirty feet above the surface, and was there probably owing to some particles of sea-water which had been dashed against the mass in tempestuous weather, and had penetrated into its interstices. We could likewise frequently observe in great islands of ice, different shades or casts of white, lying above each other in strata of six inches or one foot high. This appearance seems to confirm the opinion concerning the farther encrease and accumulation of such huge masses by heavy falls of snow at different intervals. For snow being of various kinds, small grained, large grained, in light feathery locks, &c. the various degrees of its compactness account for the different colours of the strata.

We did not lose sight of our destination to explore the southern frigid zone, and no sooner perceived the sea more open than before, than we stood once more to the southward. We made but small advances at first, the wind being very faint, and almost falling calm in the morning

on.

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Tuesday 22<sup>d</sup>

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on the 23d. We seized this opportunity to hoist out a boat, and continue the experiments on the current, and on the temperature of the sea. The species of petrels which were numerous about us, were likewise examined, described, and drawn this day, having been shot as they hovered with seeming curiosity over our little boat.

Thursday 24.

We continued standing southerly, and even made a good deal of westing, the wind being S. S. E. The next morning the wind blew pretty fresh, and carried us past

Friday 25.

several islands of ice; some whales, and a number of birds appearing about us. Our first Christmas day during this voyage, was spent with the usual cheerfulness among officers and passengers; but among the sailors, notwithstanding the surrounding rocks of ice, with savage noise and drunkenness, to which they seem to have particularly

Saturday 26.

devoted the day. The next morning we failed through a great quantity of packed or broken ice, some of which looked dirty or decaying. Islands of ice still surrounded us, and in the evening, the sun setting just behind one of them, tinged its edges with gold, and brought upon the whole mass a beautiful suffusion of purple. A dead calm which succeeded on the 27th, gave us an opportunity of hoisting the boat out, and going to shoot pinguins and petrels. The chase of pinguins proved very unsuccessful, though it afforded great sport; the birds dived so frequently, continued so long under water, and at times  
skipped

skipped continually into and out of the water, making way with such amazing velocity in a strait line, that we were obliged to give over the pursuit. At last we came near enough to one, to wound it; but though we followed it closely, and fired above ten times with small shot, which we could observe to hit, yet we were at last obliged to kill it with ball. When we took it up, we perceived that its hard, glossy plumage, had continually turned the shot aside. This plumage is extremely thick, and consists of long narrow feathers, which lie above each other as closely as scales, and secure these amphibious birds against the wet, in which they almost constantly live. Their very thick skin and their fat seem wisely appropriated to them by nature, to resist the perpetual winter of these inhospitable climates; their broad belly, the situation of their feet far behind, and their fins, which supply the place of wings, are constructed with equal wisdom to facilitate the progress of their otherwise lumpish bodies through the water. The one that we had now shot weighed eleven pounds and a half. The blue petrels which are seen throughout this immense ocean, and which now settled in flocks of several hundreds on the smooth surface of the water, were not worse fitted out against the cold than the penguins. Their plumage was amazingly abundant, and increased their bulk in a great proportion; and two feathers instead of one, proceeded  
out.

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out of every root, lying within each other, and formed a very warm covering. As they are almost continually in the air, their wings are very strong, and of a great length to support them. On the ocean, between New Zealand and America, we have found them above seven hundred leagues from any land; a distance which it would have been impossible for them to have passed, without an amazing strength in their bones and muscles, and the assistance of long wings. Possibly these birds spreading over the whole ocean far from any land, may live a considerable time without fresh supplies of food; that being the case with many animals of prey, both in the class of quadrupeds and that of birds. Our experience should seem in some measure to contradict, and in some degree to confirm, this supposition. For whenever we lamed any of them, they disgorged a quantity of viscid food, to all appearance recently digested, which the rest immediately swallowed up with such avidity as seemed to indicate a long fast. Therefore it may be probable, that several sorts of blubbers (*mollusca*) inhabit these icy seas, which may come to the surface in fair weather, and supply the weary birds with food. We were glad to meet with subjects from whence these little reflections could be drawn. They afforded us a momentary relief from that gloomy uniformity with which we slowly passed dull hours, days, and months in this desolate part of the world.

world. We were almost perpetually wrapt in thick fogs, beaten with showers of rain, sleet, hail, and snow, the temperature of the air being constantly about the point of congelation in the height of summer; surrounded by innumerable islands of ice against which we daily ran the risk of being shipwrecked, and forced to live upon salt provisions, which concurred with the cold and wet to infect the mass of our blood. These severities naturally inspired a general wish for a happier change of situation and climate, though our seamen coming fresh and strong from England, were not yet dispirited amidst the numberless fatigues and inclemencies to which they were exposed. The prophylactics, with which we had been supplied, and which were regularly served to the crew, namely portable broth, and sour krout, had a wonderful effect in keeping them free from the sea-scurvy. Two or three men however, of a bad habit of body, could not resist this dreadful disease; one of them in particular, George Jackson, a carpenter, fell ill ten days after leaving the Cape; his gums were ulcerous, and his teeth so loose, as to lie sideways. A marmalade of carrots, which had been much recommended was tried, but without success, it having no other effect than that of keeping him open. Our surgeon, Mr. Patton, then began the cure with fresh wort, i. e. the infusion of malt, by which he gradually recovered, and in the space of a few weeks was perfectly cured, his teeth

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fast, and his gums entirely renewed. As the efficient cause of his complaint still existed, he was obliged to continue the use of wort even after his cure, and by that means was kept free from all scorbutic symptoms. 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.

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JANUARY.  
Friday 1.

The new year began with snow-showers and fresh cold gales, which carried us to the westward, under the meridian, where M. Bouvet placed the discovery, which he called Cape Circumcision. The sight of seals and penguins once more revived the hopes of some of our fellow-voyagers, who bid us look out for land, which by their account could not be far off. Our course however soon disappointed their expectations, and only served to invalidate their testimonies of the proximity of land.

Sunday 3.

The wind shifted to the north-westward in the night, and we stood back again to the east, having first proceeded beyond the meridian of M. Bouvet's discovery. We passed the spot where we had met with much ice on the 31st of December, and found it drifted away from thence; after which we continued our course to the S. E.

On

On the 9th, in the morning, we saw a large island of ice, surrounded with many small broken pieces, and the weather being moderate we brought to, hoisted out the boats, and sent them to take up as much of the small ice as they could. We piled up the lumps on the quarter-deck, packed them into casks, and after dinner melted them in the coppers, and obtained about thirty days water, in the course of this day, and in the latitude of  $61^{\circ} 36'$  south. Two days afterwards we had another opportunity of supplying our sloops with ice, which our people performed with great alacrity, notwithstanding the excoriation of their hands, which the cold and the sharpness of the sea produced. A picturesque view of some large masses of ice, and of our ships and boats employed in watering from small ice, is inserted in Captain Cook's account of this voyage. Some white whales of a huge size, seemingly sixty feet long, were observed here, and many penguins floated past us, standing upright on small bits of ice. The water we melted out of this ice was perfectly fresh, and had a purer taste than any which we had on board. If any fault could be found with it, it was that the fixed air was expelled from it, by which means almost every one who used it was affected with swellings in the glands of the throat. Water melted from snow or ice is known always to have this effect, and the constant use of it in mountainous countries produces those enormous wens

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(*goûtres*) which are common among Alpine nations, and are become so habitual that they are looked upon as ornamental. Several persons on board, unacquainted with natural philosophy, were very seriously afraid that the ice, when it began to melt, would burst the casks in which it was packed, not considering that its volume must be greater in its frozen than in its melted state, since it floated on the surface. The Captain, to undeceive them, placed a little pot filled with stamped ice in a temperate cabin, where it gradually dissolved, and in that state took up considerably less space than before. Ocular demonstration always goes farther than the clearest arguments; but reasoning never has less weight than with sailors.

Sunday 17.

On the 17th, in the forenoon, we crossed the antarctic circle, and advanced into the southern frigid zone, which had hitherto remained impenetrable to all navigators. Some days before this period we had seen a new species of petrel, of a brown colour, with a white belly and rump, and a large white spot on the wings, which we now named the antarctic petrel, as we saw great flights of twenty or thirty of them hereabouts, of which we shot many that unfortunately never fell into the ship. About five o'clock in the afternoon, we had sight of more than thirty large islands of ice a-head, and perceived a strong white reflexion from the sky over the horizon. Soon after we passed through vast quantities of broken ice, which looked  
honey-

honey-combed and spongy, and of a dirty colour. This continually thickened about us, so that the sea became very smooth, though the wind was fresh as before. An immense field of solid ice extended beyond it to the south, as far as the eye could reach from the mast-head. Seeing it was impossible to advance farther that way, Captain Cook ordered the ships to put about, and stood north-east by north, after having reached  $67^{\circ} 15'$  south latitude, where many whales, snowy, grey, and antarctic petrels, appeared in every quarter.

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On the 19th and 20th we saw a bird, which a gentleman, who had been at Falkland's islands, called a Port-Egmont hen\*, and which proved to be the skua or great northern gull (*larus catarractes*), common in the high latitudes of both hemispheres. The appearance of this bird, was likewise construed into a prognostick of land; but our disappointments had already been so frequent in this respect, that we were not easily led to give credit to bare assertions. We saw a bird of this species again on the 27th, when we had a great variety of all kinds of petrels and albatrosses around us. It always soared up to a great height, perpendicularly over our heads, and looked down upon us, as it should seem with great attention, turning its head now on one side, and now on the other. This

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\* This bird is mentioned in Lieutenant Cook's voyage in the Endeavour. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 283.

was

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was a novelty to us, who were used to see all the other aquatic birds of this climate keep near the surface of the sea. The next evening, and on the 29th, we had several porpoises passing by us with amazing swiftness in all directions. They were pied, and had a large blotch of white on the sides, which came almost up to the back behind the dorsal fin. Their velocity was at least triple that of our vessels, though we now went at the rate of seven knots and a half. In the afternoon we saw a small black and white bird, which some called an ice-bird, and others a murr, and which seldom or never go out of sight of land; but as we could not come near enough to examine it more accurately, we rather believed that it might be a species of petrel. We stood however off and on this night and the next, finding the sea very moderate, though the wind blew very fresh. We were the more induced to take this precaution as we had received intelligence at the Cape of Good Hope of a discovery of land hereabouts, by the French captains M. de Kerguelen and M. de St. Alouarn, in January 1772.

As the journal of that voyage has been suppressed in France, I shall here insert such particulars as were communicated to us by several French officers at the Cape of Good Hope. M. de Kerguelen, a lieutenant in the French navy, commanding the vessel (*flute*) la Fortune, and having with him a smaller vessel (*gabarre*) le Gros Ventre, commanded

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manded by M. de St. Allouarn, failed from the Isle of France or Mauritius, the latter end of 1771. On the 13th of January 1772, he saw two isles, which he called the Isles of Fortune; and the next morning one more, which from its shape they called Isle Ronde. Almost about the same time, M. de Kerguelen saw land, of a considerable extent and height, upon which he sent one of the officers of his ship a-head in the cutter to sound. But the wind blowing fresh, M. de St. Allouarn in the Gros Ventre shot ahead of the boat, and finding a bay, which he called the Gros Ventre's bay, sent his own yawl to take possession of the land which was performed with the utmost difficulty. Both the boats then returned aboard the Gros Ventre, and the cutter was cut adrift on account of the bad weather. M. de St. Allouarn then spent three days in quest of M. de Kerguelen, who had been driven sixty leagues to leeward, on account of his weak masts, and was returned towards the Isle of France. M. de St. Allouarn continued to take the bearings of this land, and doubled its northern extremity beyond which it tended to the south-eastward. In this direction he coasted it for the space of twenty leagues, and seeing it was very high, inaccessible, and destitute of trees, he left it, standing over to the coast of New Holland, from thence to Timor and Batavia, and at last back to the Isle of France, where he died soon after his arrival. On M. de Kerguelen's return to Europe, he was immediately sent

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sent out again with a 64 gun ship called the Roland, and the frigate l'Oiseau, captain Rosnevet; but after having just seen the land, which he had discovered in his former voyage, he returned without making farther discoveries. The northern coast of the land which he discovered, is situated in about 48 degrees south latitude, and about 82 degrees east longitude from Ferro, or 6 degrees east of the Isle of France, (i. e. in about  $64^{\circ} 20'$  east from Greenwich.)

M. de Marion in his expedition of 1772, in January, fell in with small islands in three different places, about the latitude of  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and about the longitudes of  $37^{\circ}$ ,  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and  $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east from Greenwich. These islands were all of inconsiderable extent, high, rocky, destitute of trees, and almost entirely barren. M. de Marion had two ships under his command, one the Mascarin, captain Crozet, the other the Castric, captain Du Clefmure. They proceeded to the southern extremity of New Holland, or Diemen's land, first seen by Tasman; and from thence to the bay of islands in New Zealand, where M. de Marion was killed with 28 of his men by the natives, of which more shall be said in the sequel. After this loss M. de Crozet, on whom the command devolved, passed through the western part of the South Sea to the Philippinas, from whence he returned to the Isle de France. Agreeably to these accounts, the discoveries of the French voyagers have been laid down in an excellent

lent chart of the southern hemisphere, by M. de Vaugondy, under the direction of the duke de Croy, and published in March 1773.

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FEBRUARY 4

On the 31st in the evening, our latitude being nearly that of  $50^{\circ}$  south, we passed by a large island of ice, which at that instant crumbled to pieces with a tremendous explosion. The next morning a bundle of sea-weeds was seen floating past the sloop; and in the afternoon, captain Furneaux in the Adventure having hailed us, acquainted captain Cook that he had seen a number of divers, resembling those in the English seas, and had past a great bed of floating rock-weeds. In consequence of these observations we stood off and on during night, and continued an easterly course the next morning. We saw many petrels and black shear-waters, some rock-weed, and a single tern (*Sterna*) or as the seamen call it an egg-bird, which had a forked tail. At noon we observed in  $48^{\circ} 36'$  south latitude, which was nearly the same in which the French discoveries are said to be situated. After noon we stood south-westward, but the next day the gale increased to such a degree, as obliged us to hand our topsails, and stand on under the courses all night: however, at eight o'clock on the 4th, we found a smooth sea again, and set more sail, changing our course to the north-westward at noon. On the 6th our latitude at noon was nearly 48 degrees south, about 60 degrees east from Greenwich, when not seeing

Monday 1.

Tuesday 2.

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any land, we gave over the attempt to stand in search of it, and directed our course once more to the south-eastward, to the main object of our voyage. The smoothness of the sea, whilst we had strong easterly gales, however persuaded us, that there was probably some land near us to the eastward, and the situation given to the French discoveries, in M. Vaugondy's late chart, has confirmed our supposition; for, according to it, we must have been at least 2 degrees of longitude to the west of it, on the second of February, when we were farthest to the east in the given latitude. Though we did not fall in with the land itself, yet we have done so much service to geography by our track, as to put it beyond a doubt, that the French discovery is a small island, and not, what it was supposed at first to be, the north cape of a great southern continent.

Monday 8.

On the 8th in the morning, we had an exceeding thick fog, during which we lost sight of the Adventure, our consort. We fired guns all that day and the next, at first every half hour, and afterwards every hour, without receiving any answer; and at night we burnt false fires, which likewise proved ineffectual.

Wednesd. 10.

On the 10th in the morning, notwithstanding all our endeavours to recover our consort, we were obliged to proceed alone on a dismal course to the southward, and to expose ourselves once more to the dangers of that frozen climate, without the hope of being saved by our fellow-voyagers,

voyagers, in case of losing our own vessel. Our parting with the Adventure, was almost universally regretted among our crew, and none of them ever looked around the ocean without expressing some concern on seeing our ship alone on this vast and unexplored expanse, where the appearance of a companion seemed to alleviate our toils, and inspired cheerfulness and comfort. We were likewise not entirely without apprehensions, that the Adventure might have fallen in with land, as the sight of pinguins, of little diving petrels, and especially of a kind of grebe, seemed to vindicate its vicinity. Indeed, according to the chart of M. Vaugondy we must have been but very little to the south of it at that time.

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On the 17th we were near 58 degrees south, and took up a great quantity of small ice, with which we filled our water-casks. A variety of petrels and albatrosses, had attended us continually; and from time to time the skua, or great northern gull (*larus catarraetes*), which our people called a Port Egmont hen, many pinguins, some seals, and some whales had made their appearance near us. A beautiful phenomenon was observed during the preceding night, which appeared again this and several following nights. It consisted of long columns of a clear white light, shooting up from the horizon to the eastward, almost to the zenith, and gradually spreading on the whole southern part of the sky. These columns sometimes were

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bent sideways at their upper extremity, and though in most respects similar to the northern lights (*aurora borealis*) of our hemisphere, yet differed from them, in being always of a whitish colour, whereas ours assume various tints, especially those of a fiery, and purple hue. The stars were sometimes hid by, and sometimes faintly to be seen through the substance of these southern lights, (*aurora australis*), which have hitherto, as far as I can find, escaped the notice of voyagers. The sky was generally clear when they appeared, and the air sharp and cold, the thermometer standing at the freezing point.

Wednesd. 24.

On the 24th, being in about 62 degrees south latitude, we fell in once more with a solid field of ice, which confined our progress to the south, very much to the satisfaction of every body on board. We had now been long at sea, without receiving any refreshment; the favorable season for making discoveries towards the frozen zone, drew to an end; the weather daily became more sharp, and uncomfortable, and presaged a dreadful winter in these seas; and, lastly, the nights lengthened apace, and made our navigation more dangerous than it had hitherto been. It was therefore very natural, that our people, exhausted by fatigues and the want of wholesome food, should wish for a place of refreshment, and rejoice to leave a part of the world, where they could not expect to meet with it.

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We continued however from this day till the 17th of March

to

to run to the eastward, between  $61^{\circ}$  and  $58^{\circ}$  of south latitude, during which time we had a great share of easterly winds, which commonly brought fogs, and rains with them, and repeatedly exposed us to the most imminent danger of being wrecked against huge islands of ice. 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 cruize, which the sight of birds, porpoises, seals, and whales, now too familiar to our eyes, could not prevent from falling heavily upon us. Notwithstanding our excellent preservatives, especially the four-kroot, several of our people had now strong symptoms of sea-scurvy, such as bad gums, difficult breathing, livid blotches, eruptions, contracted limbs, and greenish greasy filaments in the urine. Wort was therefore prescribed to them, and those who were the most affected drank five pints of it per day; the contracted limbs were bathed in it, and the warm grains applied to them. By this means we succeeded to mitigate, and in some individuals entirely to remove the symptoms of this horrid disease. The rigours.

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MARCH.

gours of the climate likewise violently affected the live sheep, which we had embarked at the Cape of Good Hope. They were covered with eruptions, dwindled to mere skeletons, and would hardly take any nourishment. Our goats and fows too, miscarried in the tempestuous weather, or their off-spring were killed by the cold. In short, we felt, from the numerous concurrent circumstances, that it was time to abandon the high southern latitudes, and retire to some port, where our crew might obtain refreshments, and where we might save the few sheep, which were intended as presents to the natives of the South-sea islands.

On the 16th, being in about 58 degrees of south latitude, we saw the sea luminous at night, though not to such a degree as we had observed it near the Cape, but only by means of some scattered sparks. This phenomenon was however remarkable, on account of the high latitude we were in, and the cold weather, our thermometer being at  $33\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$  at noon. We saw the southern lights again during the nights of the 16th and 19th; and this last time, the columns formed an arch across the sky, rather brighter than any we had hitherto seen. We now stood to the north-eastward, in order to reach the south end of New-Zeeland; and on this course we had strong gales, and frequently saw weeds, especially rock-weeds, together with numbers of petrels, and other birds. We were much amused by a singular chase of several skuas or great grey gulls,  
after

after a large white albatross. The skuas seemed to get the better of this bird, notwithstanding its length of wings, and whenever they overtook it, they endeavoured to attack it under the belly, probably knowing that to be the most defenceless part; the albatrosses on these occasions had no other method of escaping, than by settling on the water, where its formidable beak seemed to keep them at bay. The skuas are in general very strong and rapacious birds, and in the Ferro Islands frequently tear lambs to pieces, and carry them away to their nests. The albatrosses do not seem to be so rapacious, but live upon small marine animals, especially of the *mollusca*, or blubber class. They appeared in great numbers around us, as we came to the northward of 50 degrees south, only few solitary birds having gone so far to the south as we had penetrated; from whence it may be inferred, that they are properly inhabitants of the temperate zone:

As we stood to the northward, we also observed more seals every day, which came from the coast of New Zealand. A large trunk of a tree, and several bunches of weeds were seen on the 25th, and greatly exhilarated the spirits of our sailors. Soon after, the land was descried, bearing N. E. by E. at a vast distance. About five o'clock in the afternoon we were within a few miles of it, and saw some high mountains inland, and a broken rocky coast before us, where several inlets seemed to indicate an extensive bay or sound.

We:

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Thursday 25.

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MARCH.

We tried soundings in 30 fathoms, but found none; however, at the mast-head they observed sunken rocks close to us, on which we immediately tacked, and stood off shore, as the weather was growing dark and misty. The next morning we found this part of New Zealand lay to the southward of Cape West, and had not been explored by captain Cook, in the Endeavour.

Thus ended our first cruise in the high southern latitudes, after a space of four months and two days, out of sight of land, during which we had experienced no untoward accident, and had been safely led through numerous dangers by the guiding hand of Providence, which preserved our crew in good health during the whole time, a few individuals excepted. Our whole course, from the Cape of Good Hope to New Zealand, was a series of hardships, which had never been experienced before: all the disagreeable circumstances of the sails and rigging shattered to pieces, the vessel rolling gunwale to, and her upper works torn by the violence of the strain; the concomitant effects of storms, which have been painted with such strong expression, and blackness of *Colorit*, by the able writer of Anson's Voyage, were perhaps the least distressing occurrences of ours. We had the perpetual severities of a rigorous climate to cope with; our seamen and officers were exposed to rain, sleet, hail, and snow; our rigging was constantly encrusted with ice, which cut the hands of those who were obliged to touch it; our provision

provision of fresh water was to be collected in lumps of ice floating on the sea, where the cold, and the sharp saline element alternately numbed, and scarified the sailors' limbs; we were perpetually exposed to the danger of running against huge masses of ice, which filled the immense Southern ocean: the frequent and sudden appearance of these perils, required an almost continual exertion of the whole crew, to manage the ship with the greatest degree of precision and dispatch. The length of time which we remained out of sight of land, and the long abstinence from any sort of refreshment were equally distressful; for our hooks and lines distributed in November (See pag. 90.) had hitherto been of no service, on account of our navigation in high southern latitudes, and across an unfathomable ocean, where we saw no fish except whales, and where it is well known no others can be expected; the torrid zone being the only one where they may be caught out of soundings.

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MARCH.

—————Atrium

Defendens pisces hiemat mare.

HORAT.

We may add to these the dismal gloominess which always prevailed in the southern latitudes, where we had impenetrable fogs lasting for weeks together, and where we rarely saw the cheering face of the sun; a circumstance which alone is sufficient to deject the most un-

1773.  
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daunted, and to four the spirits of the most cheerful. It is therefore justly to be wondered at, and ought to be considered as a distinguishing mark of divine protection, that we had not felt those ill effects which might have been expected, and justly dreaded as the result of such accumulated distresses.

CHAP.

MARCH.  
1773.

## C H A P. V.

*Stay at Dusky Bay; description of it, and account of our transactions there.*

AFTER an interval of one hundred and twenty-two days, and a run of above three thousand five hundred leagues, out of sight of land, we entered Dusky Bay on the 26th of March about noon. This bay is situated a little to the northward of Cape West, and captain Cook, in his voyage in the Endeavour, had discovered and named it without entering into it\*. The soundings gave about 40 fathoms in the entrance, but as we advanced, we had no ground with 60, and therefore were obliged to push on farther. The weather was delightfully fair, and generally warm, when compared to what we had lately experienced; and we glided along by insensible degrees, wafted by light airs, past numerous rocky islands, each of which was covered with wood and shrubberies, where numerous evergreens were sweetly contrasted and mingled with the various shades of autumnal yellow. Flocks of aquatic birds enlivened the rocky shores, and the whole country resounded with the wild notes of the feathered

Friday 26.

\* See Hawkesworth's compilation, vol. III. p. 424.

1773.  
MARCH.

tribe. We had long and eagerly wished for the land and its vegetable productions, and therefore could not but eye the prospect before us with peculiar delight, and with emotions of joy and satisfaction which were strongly marked in the countenance of each individual.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we dropped an anchor under a point of an island, where we were in some measure sheltered from the sea, and so near the shore, as to reach it with a hawser. The sloop was no sooner in safety, than every sailor put his hook and line overboard, and in a few moments numbers of fine fish were hauled up on all parts of the vessel, which heightened the raptures we had already felt at our entrance into this bay. The real good taste of the fish, joined to our long abstinence, inclined us to look upon our first meal here, as the most delicious we had ever made in our lives. The view of rude sceneries in the style of *Rosa*, of antediluvian forests which cloathed the rock, and of numerous rills of water, which every where rolled down the steep declivity, altogether conspired to complete our joy; and 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

by distresses ; and with such warmth of imagination they have viewed the rude cliffs of Juan Fernandez, and the impenetrable forests of Tinian !

1772.  
MARCH.

Immediately after dinner two boats were sent out to reconnoitre different parts of the bay, and chiefly to look for a safe harbour for our vessel, the first anchoring-place being open, inconvenient, and only serving the necessity of the moment. We improved these opportunities of pursuing our researches in natural history, and separated in order to profit by both excursions. Each of the parties found convenient and well-sheltered harbours, with plenty of wood and water ; and wherever they went they met with such abundance of fish and water-fowl, that they entertained hopes of a constant supply of refreshments during their stay in these parts. This prospect prevailed upon Capt. Cook, who had but cursorily examined the southern extremities of New-Zeeland in his former voyage, to spend some time there, in order to gain a more competent knowledge of its situation and productions. On our part, we perceived a new store of animal and vegetable bodies, and among them hardly any that were perfectly similar to the known species, and several not analogous even to the known genera. With these therefore we hoped to be wholly employed during our stay, in spite of the approach of autumn, which seemed to threaten the vegetable creation.

Early

1772.  
MARCH.  
Saturday 27.

Early the next morning, a small boat having been sent out towards the shore, returned in three hours time with as many fishes, caught by the hook, as supplied a plentiful dinner to all on board. The best and most favourable fish was a species of the cod, which, from its external colour, our sailors called a coal-fish: besides this we caught several species of excellent flat cavalhas (*sciænæ*), some scorpens, mullets, horse-mackrel, and many other sorts of a fine taste, which were entirely unknown in Europe. At nine o'clock we got under fail and went into Pickerfgill harbour, one of those examined the preceding day, where the ship was moored head and stern in a small creek, and so near the shore, that we could reach it by means of a stage of a few planks. Nature had assisted us for this purpose with a large tree, projecting in an horizontal position over the water, of which we placed the top on our gunwale, connecting our planks with it. This situation facilitated all our operations, and was particularly adapted to the conveniency of wooding and watering, for our sloop's yards were locked in the branches of surrounding trees, and about half a musket shot a-stern we had a fine stream of fresh water.

We now began to clear away the woods from a neighbouring hill, in order to fix the astronomer's observatory upon it, and to establish our forge there, as our iron-works wanted repairs. Near the watering-place we pitched tents for the fail-

fail-makers, coopers, waterers, and wood-cutters. These occupations served to lower the great idea which our people had conceived of this country; for the prodigious intricacy of various climbers, briars, shrubs, and ferns which were interwoven throughout the forests, rendered the task of clearing the ground extremely fatiguing and difficult, and almost precluded the access to the interior parts of the country. It is indeed reasonable to suppose, that in the southern parts of New-Zeeland, the forests have never been touched by human industry, but have remained in the rude unimproved state of nature since their first existence. Our excursions into them gave us sufficient grounds for this supposition; for not only the climbing plants and shrubs obstructed our passage, but likewise numbers of rotten trees lay in our way, felled by winds and old age. A new generation of young trees, of parasitic plants, ferns, and mosses sprouted out of the rich mould to which this old timber was reduced by length of time, and a deceitful bark sometimes still covered the interior rotten substance, whereon if we attempted to step, we sunk in to the waist. The animal creation afforded another proof that this country had not yet undergone any changes from the hands of mankind, and indeed at first raised the idea, that Dusky Bay was wholly uninhabited. Numbers of small birds which dwelt in the woods were so little acquainted with men, that they familiarly hopped upon the  
nearest

1773.  
MARCH.

1773.  
MARCH.

nearest branches, nay on the ends of our fowling-pieces, and perhaps looked at us as new objects, with a curiosity similar to our own. This little boldness in reality at first protected them from harm, since it was impossible to shoot them when they approached so near; but in a few days it frequently proved the means of their destruction; for a fly cat on board, had no sooner perceived so excellent an opportunity of obtaining delicious meals, than she regularly took a walk in the woods every morning, and made great havock among the little birds, that were not aware of such an insidious enemy.

As we had plenty of fish, and saw a number of water-birds which might afford us a variety of animal food, some of our botanical excursions were in a great measure instituted in search of useful vegetables, to be eaten as greens. From thence the most salutary effects might be expected, by a set of people who had been above seventeen weeks at sea, and whose blood must have been more or less corrupted by living so long on salt provisions.

On the first day after our arrival we found a beautiful tree in flower, something related to the myrtle genus, of which an infusion had been drank instead of tea in Capt. Cook's former voyage. We immediately repeated the experiment with great eagerness, as we had not yet seen any plant which was fit to be used at our tables. Its leaves were finely aromatic, astringent, and had a particular pleasant

fant flavour at the first infusion; but this fine taste went off at the next filling up of the tea-pot, and a great degree of bitterness was then extracted. We therefore never suffered it to be twice infused. The use of this plant, which became general among our crew, probably contributed greatly to restore their strength, and to remove all scorbutic symptoms. A plant, which might be of service to future navigators, deserved to be drawn, in order that they might know it again. We have therefore very readily permitted Captain Cook to make use of our drawing of it, from which a plate has been engraved by order of the Admiralty, intended to accompany his own account of this voyage. In a fine soil in thick forests it grows to a considerable tree, sometimes thirty or forty feet high, and above a foot in diameter; on a hilly arid exposure I have, on the contrary, found it as a little shrub, six inches high, which bore flowers and seed; but its usual size is about eight or ten feet, and about three inches in diameter. In that case its stem is irregular and unequal, dividing very soon into branches which rise at acute angles, and only bear leaves and flowers at top. The flowers are white and very ornamental to the whole plant. Another tree, which grew in great plenty round about us, was likewise tried, and afforded a good infusion; but the resemblance it bore to the trees of the fir tribe, and a kind of resinous taste, soon convinced us that it was fitter to serve the purposes of

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the American spruce-tree, and that a palatable and wholesome liquor might be brewed from it, as a kind of substitute for spruce-beer\*. In effect, with the addition of the inspissated juice of wort, and of some molasses, we brewed a very good sort of beer, which we improved very considerably afterwards, by correcting the too great astringency of our new spruce, with an equal quantity of the new tea-tree. Its taste was pleasant, and something bitter; and the only fault we could observe in it was, that being taken on an empty stomach, it frequently caused a nausea or sickness; but in all other respects it proved a very salutary drink. The spruce of New-Zeeland is a very beautiful tree, and conspicuous on account of its pendant branches, which are loaded with numerous long thread-like leaves, of a vivid green. It frequently grows to the height of fifty or sixty, and even one hundred feet, and has above ten feet in girth. Though the spruce and the tea-trees alone afforded articles of refreshment in Dusky Bay; yet we found the woods full of trees of various kinds, very fit for the use of shipwrights, joiners, and other mechanics; and Capt. Cook was of opinion that, except in the river Thames on the northern island, he had not observed a finer growth of timber on all New-Zeeland.

\* This useful plant deserves a description for the benefit of the navigator; but, notwithstanding all our researches, we could never find it either in flower or in fruit, owing to the unfavourable seasons in which we visited New-Zeeland.

We

We had not been above two days in this bay, before we found that our opinion of its being uninhabited was premature. On the 28th in the morning several of our officers went a shooting in a small boat, and on entering a cove two or three miles from the ship, perceived several natives upon a beach, who were about to launch their canoe. The New Zealanders halloo'd at their approach, and seeming by this means more numerous than they really were, the officers thought proper to return and acquaint the captain with their discovery; a step which they found the more necessary, as the weather was very rainy, and might, in case of danger, have prevented their pieces from going off. They were scarcely returned on board, when a canoe\* appeared off a point, at about a mile's distance from the sloop; there were seven or eight people in it, who looked at us for some time, but notwithstanding all the signs of friendship which we could make, such as calling to them to come to us, waving a white cloth, and promising beads, they did not care to come nearer, and paddled back again the same way they came. They appeared to be dressed in mats, and had broad paddles with which they managed their canoe, like the inhabitants in the northern parts of New Zealand.

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Sunday 28.

\* We shall always make use of this word to signify an Indian embarkation, unless we mean to describe or specify it more particularly.

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MARCH.

Captain Cook resolved to visit them in the afternoon, in order to quiet the apprehension which they seemed to have entertained. We went in two boats, accompanying him and several of the officers into the cove, where the natives had been first seen. Here we found a double canoe hauled upon the shore, near some old, low huts, about which we saw vestiges of fire places, some fishing-nets, and a few scattered fish. The canoe which appeared to be old and in bad order, consisted of two troughs or boats joined together with sticks, tied across the gunwales with strings of the New Zealand flax-plant\*. Each part consisted of planks sowed together with ropes made of the flax-plant, and had a carved head coarsely representing a human face, with eyes made of round pieces of ear-shell, which somewhat resembled mother of pearl. This canoe contained two paddles, a basket full of berries of the *coriaria ruscifolia* Lin. and some fishes; but the natives were not to be seen or heard, which gave us reason to believe that they had retired into the woods. To conciliate their good will, we left some medals, looking-glasses, beads, &c. in the canoe, and embarked again after a short stay. We then rowed to the head of the cove, in order to survey it, where we found a fine brook of fresh water coming down on a flat beach, from whence the water continued shallow to a con-

\* See Hawkesworth's compilation, vol. III. p. 443.

siderable

siderable extent, so that our boat ran aground several times. Ducks, shags, black oyster-catchers, and some sorts of plovers were very numerous here. At our return we visited the canoe again, added a hatchet to the other presents which we had left before, and to shew the use of it, we cut several chips out of a tree, and left it sticking there. No natives appeared this second time, though we imagined they could not be far off, as we thought we could smell the smoke of a fire. However, captain Cook desisted at present from searching in the woods, since they purposely avoided us, and choosing to leave it to time and their own free will to cultivate an intercourse with us, he returned on board late in the evening.

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MARCH.

Monday 29.

Heavy showers of rain fell all the next morning, but intermitted in the afternoon, giving us an opportunity of going into the woods above our cove, where the rains had so thoroughly soaked the soil, that together with the other impediments in walking in this country, the prodigious slipperiness rendered our excursion laborious and fatiguing. We met however with a few plants, which still shewed some late blossoms, notwithstanding the advanced season; but we were at the same time greatly tantalized by the appearance of numerous trees and shrubs, which had already lost their flowers and fruits, and only served to give us an idea of the great profusion of new vegetables in this country.

The

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APRIL.  
Thursday 1.

The two following days we were entirely confined on board, on account of the rain and stormy weather; which not a little damped our spirits, and gave us reason to fear we should spend the remainder of our time very disagreeably. However, on the 1st of April in the afternoon, we took the advantage of a lucid interval to make another visit to the cove where we had seen the Indians. We found every thing in the same situation as we had left it, and it did not appear that any person had been near the canoe since that time. The weather being now fair, we saw this cove in all its perfection. It is so spacious that a whole fleet of ships may lie at anchor in it, and some of the loftiest hills in all the bay encompass it on the south-west side, and are entirely covered with woods from the summit to the water's side. The different projecting points, and the various islands in the bay; form altogether a picturesque and pleasing scene. The smoothness of the water, illumined by the setting sun, the different degrees of verdure, and the various notes of birds which resounded throughout the whole cove during this calm evening, greatly softened the rude, uncultivated outlines of this landscape.

The pleasure we had enjoyed in the evening, induced us to return to the cove again the next day, which continued to be perfectly fair. We set out at sun-rise, and did not return till late in the evening, with a considerable

able.

able acquisition of new birds, and plants. We had a young dog with us at this time, which the officers had taken on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and intended to try, whether we could not train him up to the gun: but we had no sooner discharged the first fowling-piece, than he ran into the woods, and would not return, though we used all possible means to recover him. Captain Cook likewise took the opportunity of the fair weather, to examine different parts of the bay; and touched at a little rock, near our first anchoring place, which had already at that time acquired the name of Seal-rock, from the animals that came to sleep upon it. Here he found a number of seals, and killed three of them, among which one afforded him great sport: for having been repeatedly wounded, it became quite furious, and attacked the boat, where it was at last killed. It weighed 220 pounds, was about six feet long, and very lean. After he had passed several isles, he reached the north-west part of the bay, formed by the land of Point Five-fingers: there, at the bottom of a fine cove, he found a great variety of aquatic birds, of which he killed and brought on board a considerable number.

Another rainy pause of three days followed this excursion, confining us to our ship, where a sort of little crane-flies (*tipula alis incumbentibus*), which had plagued us ever since our entrance into Dusky Bay, became remarkably troublesome during the bad weather. They were numerous in the skirts.

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skirts of the woods, not half so large as gnats or musketoes, and our sailors called them sand-flies. Their sting was extremely painful, and as often as the hand or face grew warm, caused a troublesome itching, the least irritation of which brought on a very violent swelling, attended with great pain. We were, however, not all equally affected; myself in particular, never felt any great inconvenience from them; others, on the contrary, suffered in a very violent degree, especially my father, who could not hold a pen to write down the common occurrences in a journal, and fell into a high fever at night. Various remedies were tried, but all proved ineffectual, except the simple unction with soft pomatum, and the constant use of gloves.

Tuesday 6.

Early on the 6th, several of the officers went into the cove, which the captain had discovered on the 2d; and the latter, accompanied by Mr. Hodges, Dr. Sparrman, my father, and myself proceeded in another boat, to continue the survey of the bay, to copy views from nature, and to search for the natural productions of the country. We directed our course to the north side, where we found a fine spacious cove, from which we had not the least prospect of the sea. Along its steep shores we observed several small but beautiful cascades, which fell from vast heights, and greatly improved the scene; they gushed out through the midst of the woods, and at last fell in a clear column, to which a ship might lie so near, as to fill her casks on board with the greatest safety,

safety, by means of a leather tube, which the sailors call a hose. At the bottom there was a shallow muddy part, with a little beach of shell-sand, and a brook, as in all the greater coves of the bay. In this fine place, we found a number of wild fowl, and particularly wild ducks, of which we shot fourteen, from whence we gave it the name of Duck Cove. As we were returning home, we heard a loud hallooing on the rocky point of an island, which on this occasion obtained the name of Indian Island; and standing in to the shore, we perceived one of the natives, from whom this noise proceeded. He stood with a club or battle-axe in his hand, on a projecting point, and behind him on the skirts of the wood we saw two women, each of them having a long spear. When our boat came to the foot of the rock, we called to him, in the language of Taheitee, *tayo, barre mai*, "friend, come hither;" he did not, however, stir from his post, but held a long speech, at certain intervals pronouncing it with great earnestness and vehemence, and swinging round his club, on which he leaned at other times. Captain Cook went to the head of the boat, called to him in a friendly manner, and threw him his own and some other handkerchiefs, which he would not pick up. The captain then taking some sheets of white paper in his hand, landed on the rock unarmed, and held the paper out to the native. The man now trembled very visibly, and having exhibited strong marks of fear in his countenance,

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APRIL 4.

1773-  
APRIL.

took the paper: upon which captain Cook coming up to him, took hold of his hand, and embraced him, touching the man's nose with his own, which is their mode of salutation. His apprehension was by this means dissipated, and he called to the two women, who came and joined him, while several of us landed to keep the captain company. A short conversation ensued, of which very little was understood on both sides, for want of a competent knowledge of the language. Mr. Hodges immediately took sketches of their countenances, and their gestures shewed that they clearly understood what he was doing; on which they called him *töä-töä*, that term being probably applicable to the imitative arts. The man's countenance was very pleasing and open; one of the women, which we afterwards believed to be his daughter, was not wholly so disagreeable as one might have expected in New Zealand, but the other was remarkably ugly, and had a prodigious excrescence on her upper lip. They were all of a dark brown or olive complexion; their hair was black, and curling, and smeared with oil and ruddle; the man wore his tied upon the crown of the head, but the women had it cut short. Their bodies were tolerably well proportioned in the upper part; but they had remarkable slender, ill-made, and bandy legs. Their dresses consisted of mats made of the New Zealand flax-plant\*,

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 443.

interwoven

interwoven with feathers; and in their ears they wore small pieces of white albatross skins stained with ruddle or ochre. We offered them some fishes and wild fowl, but they threw them back to us, intimating that they did not want provisions. The approaching night obliged us to retire, not without promising our new friends a visit the next morning. The man remained silent, and looked after us with composure and great attention, which seemed to speak a profound meditation; but the youngest of the two women, whose vociferous volubility of tongue exceeded every thing we had met with, began to dance at our departure, and continued to be as loud as ever. Our seamen passed several coarse jests on this occasion, but nothing was more obvious to us than the general drift of nature, which not only provided man with a partner to alleviate his cares and sweeten his labours, but endowed that partner likewise with a desire of pleasing by a superior degree of vivacity and affability.

The next morning we returned to the natives, and presented them with several articles which we had brought with us for that purpose. But so much was the judgment of the man superior to that of his countrymen, and most of the South Sea nations\*, that he received almost every thing with indifference, except what he immediately con-

Wednesday 71

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation.

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APRIL.

ceived the use of, such as hatchets and large spike-nails. At this interview he introduced his whole family to us, consisting of two women, whom we supposed to be his wives; the young woman, a boy of about fourteen years of age, and three smaller children, of which the youngest was at the breast. One of the wives had the excrescence or wen on the upper lip, and was evidently neglected by the man, probably on account of her disagreeable appearance. They conducted us soon after to their habitation, which lay but a few yards within the wood, on a low hill, and consisted of two mean huts, made of a few sticks thatched with unprepared leaves of the flax-plant, and covered with the bark of trees. In return for our presents they parted with several of their ornaments and weapons, particularly the battle-axes, but they did not choose to give us their spears. When we were preparing to re-embark, the man came to the water-side, and presented to Captain Cook a dress made of the flax plant, a belt of weeds, some beads made of a little bird's bones, and some albatross skins. We were at first of opinion that these were only intended as a retribution for what he had received, but he soon undeceived us by shewing a strong desire of possessing one of our boat-cloaks\*. We were not charitable enough to part with our cloaths, when we knew the defi-

\* Boat-cloaks are commonly of prodigious dimensions and great width, so that the whole body may be wrapped into them several times.

ciency

ciency could not be supplied again; but as soon as we came on board, Captain Cook ordered a large cloak to be made of red baize, which we brought to the man at our next visit.

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APRIL.

The rain prevented our going to him the next morning, Thursday 8. but in the afternoon, the weather being a little more promising, we returned to Indian Island. However, at our approach, instead of being welcomed by the natives on the shore, we saw none of them, and received no answer when we shouted to them. We landed therefore, and having proceeded to their habitation, soon found the reason of this unusual behaviour. They were preparing to receive us in all their finery, some being already completely adorned, and others still busy in dressing. Their hair was combed, tied on the crown of the head, and anointed with some oil or grease; white feathers were stuck in at the top; some had fillets of white feathers all round the head, and others wore pieces of an albatross's skin, with its fine white down in their ears. Thus fitted out, they shouted at our approach, and received us standing, with marks of friendship and great courtesy. The captain wore the new cloak of baize on his own shoulders, and now took it off and presented the man with it; he, on his part, seemed so much pleased with it, that he immediately drew out of his girdle a pattoo-pattoo, or short flat club made of a great fish's bone, and gave it to the Captain in return.

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return for so valuable an acquisition. We endeavoured to enter into conversation; but, though Captain Cook had taken Gibson, the corporal of marines, with him for that purpose, he being supposed to know more of the language\* than any other person on board, yet all our attempts to be understood proved fruitless, because it seemed this family had a peculiar harshness of pronunciation. We therefore took leave of them, and proceeded to survey different parts of the bay, fishing at intervals, shooting birds, and collecting shells, and other marine productions among the rocks. The weather was cloudy all this time, though it did not rain where we were; but when we returned to our ship's cove, we were told it had rained there incessantly in our absence. The same observation we had frequent opportunities of making during our sojourn in Dusky Bay. The probable cause of this difference of weather at such little distances, are the high mountains which run along the south shore of the bay, gradually sloping towards the west cape. These mountains being almost constantly capped with clouds, our cove, which lay immediately under, and was surrounded by them, was of course exposed to the vapours, which perpetually appeared moving with various velocities along the sides of the hills, involving the tops of the trees over which they passed in a

\* He was particularly versed in the language of the isle of O-Taheitee; and there is only a difference of dialect between it and the language of New Zealand.

kind

kind of white semi-opaque mist, and descending upon us at last in rains or in fogs which wetted us to the skin. The isles in the northern part not having such high hills to attract and stop the clouds coming from the sea, permitted them to pass freely on to the very bottom of the bay to the Alps, which we saw covered with perpetual snow. The two next days the rains were so heavy that no work could be done; the perpetual moisture which descended in this place caused such a dampness in all parts of our vessel, as could not fail to become very unwholesome, and to destroy all the collections of plants which had been made. Our sloop lying so near the shore, which was steep and shaggy with over-hanging woods, was involved in almost constant darkness, even in fair weather, and much more so during the fogs and rains, so that we were obliged to light candles at noon. But the constant supply of fresh fish considerably alleviated these disagreeable circumstances, and, together with the spruce-beer and the myrtle-tea, contributed to keep us healthy and strong even in this damp climate. We were now indeed become perfect *ichtbyophagi*, for many amongst us entirely lived upon fish. The fear of being cloyed with this delicious food, often set us at work to invent new methods of preparing it, in order to deceive the palate; and we accordingly made soups, and pasties, boiled, fried, roasted, and stewed our fishes. But it was pleasant to observe, that

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all

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all the arts of cookery only tended to surfeit the sooner, for those who wisely confined themselves to plain boiling in sea water, always did honour to their meals;

As if increase of appetite had grown

By what it fed on.—

SHAKESPEARE.

But what was more singular than all, was, that in order to prevent any dislike to our food, we confined ourselves, among a great variety of different sorts, chiefly to one species of fishes, which our sailors from its dark colour, called the coal-fish, and which in taste nearly resembled our English cod, being of the same genus. Its meat was firm, juicy, and nutritive; but not so rich and fat as that of many other species, which we found very delicious, but could not continually feed upon. A very fine species of crayfish (*cancer homarus* Lin.) larger than the lobster, some shell-fish, and now and then a cormorant, duck, pigeon, or parrot gave us an agreeable variety at our table, which, compared to its appearance when at sea, was now luxurious and profuse.

Every person in our sloop experienced the good effects of this change of diet; nay every animal on board seemed to be benefited by it, except our sheep, which were not likely to fare so well as ourselves. The nature of the country accounts for this disagreeable circumstance. The whole southern extremity of Tavai-poe-namoo, or the southern island of New Zealand, and especially the land  
about

about Dusky Bay consists entirely of steep rocky mountains, with craggy precipices, clad with thick forests, and either barren or covered with snow on their summits. No meadows and lawns are to be met with, and the only flat land we found, was situated at the head of deep coves, where a brook fell into the sea, which probably by depositing the earth and stones it brought from the hills, had formed this low and level ground. But even there the whole was over-run with woods and briars, and we could not find a single spot of ground which might have afforded pasture, the grafs which grew on some beaches being very hard and coarse. However, after we had taken pains to furnish our sheep with the freshest sprouts which we could meet with, we were surpris'd that they would not touch any of them: but upon examination we found that their teeth were loose, and that many of them had every symptom of an inveterate sea scurvy. Of four ewes and two rams which captain Cook brought from the Cape of Good Hope, with an intent to put them on shore in New Zealand, we had only been able to preserve one of each sex, and these were in so wretched a condition, that their further preservation was very doubtful. If future navigators mean to make such valuable presents, as cattle of any sort to the inhabitants of the South Sea, the only probable method of bringing them safely thither, would be to take the shortest route possible from the Cape to New

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Zeeland, in the middle latitudes, and in the best of seasons, when they may expect a quick passage, and no severe cold.

On the 11th, the sky being clear and serene promised a fair day, which was very much wanted, in order to dry our sails and linen, as we had not been able to do either since our arrival in this bay. We likewise obtained the use of a boat, in order to increase the number of our observations on the productions of nature. We directed our course to the cove where we had seen the first canoe of the natives, and particularly to a water-fall, which we had observed from afar a few days ago, and which had induced us to call this inlet Cascade Cove. This water-fall, at the distance of a mile and a half, seems to be but inconsiderable; on account of its great elevation; but after climbing about two hundred yards upwards, we obtained a full prospect of it, and found indeed a view of great beauty and grandeur before us. The first object which strikes the beholder, is a clear column of water; apparently eight or ten yards in circumference, which is projected with great impetuosity from the perpendicular rock, at the height of one hundred yards. Nearly at the fourth part of the whole height, this column meeting a part of the same rock, which now acquires a little inclination, spreads on its broad back into a limpid sheet of about twenty-five yards in width. Here its surface is curled, and dashes upon every little eminence  
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in its rapid descent, till it is all collected in a fine basin about sixty yards in circuit, included on three sides by the natural walls of the rocky chasm, and in front by huge masses of stone irregularly piled above each other. Between them the stream finds its way, and runs foaming with the greatest rapidity along the slope of the hill to the sea. The whole neighbourhood of the cascade, to a distance of an hundred yards around, is filled with the steam or watery vapour formed by the violence of the fall. This mist however was so thick, that it penetrated our clothes in a few minutes, as effectually as a shower of rain would have done. We mounted on the highest stone before the basin, and looking down into it, were struck with the sight of a most beautiful rainbow of a perfectly circular form, which was produced by the meridian rays of the sun refracted in the vapour of the cascade. Beyond this circle the rest of the steam was tinged with the prismatic colours, refracted in an inverted order. The scenery on the left consists of steep, brown rocks, fringed on the summits with over-hanging shrubs and trees; on the right there is a vast heap of large stones, probably hurried down from the impending mountain's brow, by the force of the torrent. From thence rises a sloping bank, about seventy-five yards high, on which a wall of twenty-five yards perpendicular is placed, crowned with verdure and shrubberies. Still farther to the right, the broken rocks are clothed with mosses, ferns, grasses,

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and various flowers ; nay several shrubs, and trees to the height of forty feet, rise on both sides of the stream, and hide its course from the sun. The noise of the cascade is so loud, and so repeatedly reverberated from the echoing rocks, that it drowns almost every other sound ; the birds seemed to retire from it to a little distance, where the shrill notes of thrushes, the graver pipe of wattle-birds, and the enchanting melody of various creepers resounded on all sides, and completed the beauty of this wild and romantic spot. On turning round we beheld an extensive bay, strewed as it were with small islands, which are covered with lofty trees ; beyond them on one side, the mountains rise majestic on the main land, caped with clouds and perpetual snow ; and on the other, the immense ocean bounded our view. The grandeur of this scene was such, that the powers of description fall short of the force and beauty of nature, which could only be truly imitated by the pencil of Mr. Hodges, who went on this voyage with us ; and whose performances do great credit and honour to his judgment and execution, as well as to the choice of his employers. Satisfied with the contemplation of this magnificent sight, we directed our attention next to the flowers which enlivened the ground, and the small birds which sung very cheerfully all round us. We had as yet found neither the vegetable nor animal creation so beautiful, or so numerous, in any part of this bay ; perhaps, because  
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the strong refraction of the sun-beams from the perpendicular walls of rock, and the shelter from storms, made the climate considerably more mild and genial in this spot than in any other part. The soil was in nothing different here from that in other parts round the bay, but seemed to be the same vegetable mould; and the rocks and stones about the cascade consisted of masses of granite, or moorstone (*saxum*), and of a kind of brown talcous clay-stone, in strata, which is common to all New Zealand.

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We returned on board before sun-set, well pleased with our acquisitions during this excursion. At our return we were told, that the Indian family, whom we had seen paddling into the cove, in the morning, in their best attire, had gradually approached the ship with great caution. Captain Cook meeting them in a boat, quitted it, and went into their canoe, but could not prevail on them to come along-side of the ship, and was obliged to leave them to follow their own inclination. At length they went ashore, in a little creek hard by ours, and afterwards came and sat down on the shore abreast of the vessel, to which they were near enough to be heard, and spoken to. The captain gave orders to play the fife and bagpipe, and to beat the drum; but they entirely disregarded the two first, and were not very attentive to the last, nor could any thing induce them to come on board. Several of our officers and seamen then going on shore to them, were received with great good-nature,

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nature, and attempted to converse with them by signs, which were for the most part unintelligible, or misunderstood. However, the young woman shewed a great partiality to a young seaman, and from her gestures it was supposed she took him for one of her own sex; but whether he had taken some improper liberties, or whether she had any other reason to be disgusted, she would never suffer him to come near her afterwards. We likewise went on shore to them, after returning from our excursion, and the man desiring us to sit down by him, frequently pointed at our boats that plyed between the ship and the shore, and it appeared that he was desirous of possessing one of them. They staid all night about a hundred yards from our watering place, lighted a fire, and dressed some fish there, thus evidently placing great confidence in us. In the evening a party of officers set out in a small boat, to the north side of the bay, where they intended to pass the night, and continue shooting all the next day.

Monday 12.

Captain Cook, accompanied by my father, went in his boat the next morning, to survey the rocks and isles in the mouth of the bay. They entered a fine snug cove, on the S. E. side of the island, under which we had found our first anchorage, and which was therefore named Anchor Island. Here they sat down by the side of a pleasant brook, and made a slight repast on some boiled craw-fish, which they had brought with them. From thence they proceeded to  
the

the outermost islands, where they discovered a number of seals on the rocks, shot fourteen of them with ball, which they carried away with them, and might have killed many more, had the surf permitted them to land upon all the rocks in safety. The seals in Dusky Bay are all of the species called sea-bears\*, which professor Steller first described on Bering's Island, near Kamtchatka, and which are consequently common to both hemispheres. They are very numerous on the southern extremities of the continents of America and Africa, likewise at New Zealand, and on Diemen's Land. The only difference we could perceive between these at Dusky Bay, and those described at Kamtchatka, consisted in the size, in respect of which ours were inferior. They found it difficult to kill them, and many, though grievously wounded, escaped into the sea, and tinged the rocks and the water with their blood. Their meat, which is almost black, and their heart and liver were eatable, the former, by the help of a good appetite, and a little imagination, might be eaten for beef, and the last were perfectly similar to a calf's pluck. We were, however, obliged to cut away every bit of fat, before we dressed the meat, which otherwise had an insupportable taste of train-oil. Captain Cook availed himself of this opportunity of laying in a provision of lamp-oil; which was boiled

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\* *Phoca ursina* Linn. Ursine Seal, *Pennant. Syn. Quad.* 271.

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out of the seals fat: he also ordered the skins to be made use of for repairing our rigging.

Tuesday 13.

The success of the preceding day encouraged him to make another trip to the Seal Islands, on which my father accompanied him again; but the sea ran so very high, that it was by no means practicable to come near, and much less to land on them. With a great deal of difficulty they weathered the S. W. point of Anchor Island, where the sea tumbled in with great impetuosity, and was so much agitated, as to affect the mariners with sickness. They then rowed along the north shore of that island, where the captain landed to take the bearings of different points. It happened very fortunately, that they had taken this route; for they now discovered the small boat adrift, which set off from the sloop on the 11th in the evening, and laid hold of it the moment before it was going to be dashed against the rocks. The boat was immediately secured in a small creek, and after refreshing the people with some provisions which they found in it, captain Cook proceeded to the place where he supposed the party of officers to be, from whom it was drifted away. Between seven and eight in the evening they reached the cove, and found them on a small island, to which they could not then approach, because the tide had left it. They landed therefore on an adjacent point, and after many fruitless attempts, at length succeeded in making a fire. Here they broiled some fish, and after  
supper

supper lay down; the stony beach was their bed, and their covering the canopy of heaven.

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At three o'clock in the morning the tide permitted them to take the sportsmen from their barren island; after which they immediately sailed with a fair wind, accompanied with showers of rain, to the cove where they had secured the other boat. Here they found an immense number of petrels of the bluish species, common over the whole southern ocean\*, some being on the wing, and others in the woods, in holes under ground formed between the roots of trees and in the crevices of rocks, in places not easily accessible, where they probably had their nests and young. In day time, not one of them was to be seen there, the old ones then being probably out at sea in quest of food. They now saw them going out for that purpose, and two days ago they had been observed at the Seal Islands, returning in the evening in order to feed their young with the food which they had collected. They now heard a great variety of confused sounds coming from the sides of the hill, some very acute, others like the croaking of frogs, which were made by these petrels. At other times we have found innumerable holes on the top of one of the Seal Islands, and heard the young petrels making a noise in them; but as the holes communicated with each other it was impossible to come at one of them. We had

\* See page 91.

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already frequently observed the old petrels flying about us in the evening, when we returned late from our excursions, but till now they had always been taken for bats. They have a broad bill, and a blackish stripe across their bluish wings and body, and are not so large as the common shear-water or Mank's petrel of our seas. The instinct is very wonderful which actuates these birds to burrow holes under ground for their young, to roam all over the ocean in quest of food for their support, and to find their way to the shore when they are several hundred leagues distant from it.

Having replaced the sportsmen in their boat, they all proceeded to the ship, which they reached at seven in the morning, not a little fatigued from the night's expedition. The natives, probably foreseeing the bad weather, which continued all this day, had left the place they occupied near the ship on the preceding night, and had retired to their habitations on Indian Island.

Thursday 15.

The weather cleared up a little on the 15th in the morning. Captain Cook therefore set out to continue his survey of the N. W. part of the bay, and we accompanied a party of officers to the cove in that part where we intended to take up our quarters for the next night. In our way we rowed along-side of our fishing-boat, which constantly went out in the morning to provide all our crew with their dinner, and took in a sail which we stood

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in need of. We were surpris'd to see the young black dog in the boat with them, which ran away from us on the 2d instant; and were told, that, taking their station near the shore, at day-break they had heard a very piteous howling on the next point, and had found the dog, which came into the boat very readily as soon as they put in shore. Though this animal had been in the woods during a fortnight, yet it was by no means famished, but on the contrary looked well fed and very sleek. A large species of rails, which we called water-hens, and which are very numerous in this part of New Zealand, with perhaps some shell-fish on the rocks, or some dead fish thrown up by the sea, had in all probability afforded it sufficient support. We may from hence conclude, that as there is abundance of food for carnivorous animals in New Zealand, they would probably be very numerous if they existed there at all, and especially if they were endowed with any degree of sagacity, like the fox, or cat tribes. In that case they could not have escaped the notice of our numerous parties, nor of the natives, and the latter would certainly have preserved their furs, as a valuable article of dress in their moist and raw climate, for want of which they now wear the skins of dogs and of birds. The question, whether New Zealand contained any wild quadrupeds, had engaged our attention from our first arrival there. One of our people, strongly per-

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suaded that so great a country could not fail of possessing new and unknown animals, had already twice reported that he had seen a brown animal, something less than a jackal or little fox, about the dawn of morning, sitting on a stump of a tree near our tents, and running off at his approach. But as this circumstance has never been confirmed by any subsequent testimony, nothing is more probable than that the want of day-light had deceived him, and that he had either observed one of the numerous wood-hens, which are brown, and creep through the bushes very frequently; or that one of our cats, on the watch for little birds, had been mistaken for a new quadruped.

Having taken the sail on board, we continued our course, and began our researches in the cove, where we killed many ducks of four different species. One of them was remarkably beautiful, and of the size of the eider duck. Its plumage was of a blackish brown, elegantly sprinkled with white; all the coverts of the wing were white, the rump and vent ferruginous, the quill and tail-feathers black, and the secondaries green. Another species was nearly of the size of our mallard, but all of a light-brown, every feather being edged with a yellowish white, of which there was a line on the cheek and eye-brows; the eyes of this sort had irides of a bright yellow, and on the wings there was a spot of fine bluish green inclosed in  
black

black lines. The third sort was a bluish grey whistling duck, about the size of a wigeon; its bill had a remarkable membranaceous substance at the extremity on both sides, probably because the bird is intended to live by sucking the worms, &c. in the mud, when the tide retires from the beaches. Its breast was sprinkled with ferruginous feathers, and on the wings it had a large white spot. The fourth and most common sort is a small brown duck, which is nearly the same as the English gad-wall. A little before dark, the captain, having examined all the harbours which lay in his way, shot a number of wild fowl, and caught fish sufficient for all our party, arrived at our rendezvous, where we had erected a tent, by means of the sails and oars. Our keen appetites dispensed with the arts of cookery, and our fish broiled *à l'Indienne*, over a strong fire, on a bit of a stick, tasted as deliciously as we could desire. With this supper, and a draught of spruce-beer, of which we had carried a small keg with us, we composed ourselves to sleep, and contrived to pass the night, though not quite so comfortably as in our beds. The next morning a boat went up to the head of the cove to start the game, which was done so effectually that almost all the wild-ducks escaped, the rain having wetted all our fire-arms. The captain now landed in the cove, and walked across a narrow isthmus, which separates it from another cove on the north side of the Five-finger Land.

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Land. Here he found a prodigious number of the water-hens before mentioned, and brought away ten couple of them, which recompensed him for the trouble of crossing the isthmus, through intricate woods, where the water was frequently up to the waist. At nine o'clock we were all assembled again, and set out on our return to the ship; but as we continued examining every creek and harbour which we found on our way, and encreasing our collection of wild-fowl, we did not return till seven o'clock in the evening. We brought seven dozen of various sorts of birds with us, among which were near thirty ducks, and immediately distributed them to the several messes of officers, petty-officers, and seamen, as far as they would go. We may take this opportunity to observe, that there is no part of New Zealand so well stocked with birds of all kinds as Dusky Bay. We found several sorts of wild-ducks, shags, corvorants, oyfter-catchers or sea-pies, water or wood-hens, albatrosses, gannets, gulls, pinguins, and others of the aquatic kind. The land-birds were hawks, parrots, pigeons, and many lesser ones of new and unknown species. The parrots were of two sorts; one small and green, and the other very large, greyish-green, with a reddish breast. As the birds of that genus are commonly confined to the warmer climates, we were much surpris'd to find them in the latitude of  $46^{\circ}$ , expos'd to the raw rainy weather, which

which the height of the mountains almost constantly produces in Dusky Bay.

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The next day was so rainy, that none of us could venture to stir out of the sloop; but the day after proving a very fine one, my father went up the hill, along the course of the brook, from which we filled our casks. About half a mile upwards, through ferns, rotten trees, and thick forests, he came to a fine lake of fresh water nearly half a mile in diameter. Its water was limpid and well tasted, but had acquired a brownish hue, from the leaves of trees which dropped into it on all sides; he observed no other inhabitant in it than a small species of fish (*esox*), without scales, resembling a little trout; its colour was brown, and mottled with yellowish spots in the shape of some ancient Asiatic characters. The whole lake was surrounded by a thick forest, consisting of the largest trees, and the mountains rose all round it in a variety of forms. The environs were deserted and silent, not the least note of the common birds was heard, for it was rather cold at this elevation; and not a single plant had blossoms. The whole scene was perfectly fitted to inspire a kind of pleasing melancholy, and to encourage hermit-meditation. The fine weather induced our friends the natives to pay us another visit; they took up their quarters on the same spot, where they had been this day sevennight, and when they were again invited to come on board, they promised

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup>

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to come the next morning. In the mean while they had a quarrel among themselves, the man beat the two women who were supposed to be his wives; the young girl in return struck him, and then began to weep. What the cause of this disagreement was, we cannot determine; but if the young woman was really the man's daughter, which we could never clearly understand, it should seem that the filial duties are strangely confounded among them; or which is more probable, that this secluded family acted in every respect, not according to the customs and regulations of a civil society, but from the impulses of nature, which speak aloud against every degree of oppression.

Monday 19.

In the morning, the man resolved to come on board with the young woman, but sent the rest of his family fishing in the canoe. He walked with her round the cove, to the place where we had made a stage or temporary bridge from the vessel to the shore. Before they entered upon this, they were conducted to a place on the hill, where we kept our sheep and goats, which they seemed to be much surprised with, and desired to possess; but as we foresaw that they must die for want of proper food if we left them here, we could not comply with this request. Captain Cook, and my father met them at the stage, and this man after saluting them with his nose against theirs, gave each of them a new cloak or piece of cloth made of the flax-plant, curiously interwoven with  
parrot's

parrot's feathers, and presented the captain with a piece of green nephritic stone, or *jadde* \*, which was formed into the blade of a hatchet. Before he stepped on the bridge, he turned aside, put a piece of a bird's skin with white feathers through the hole in one of his ears, and broke off a small green branch from a neighbouring bush. With this he walked on, and stopping when he could just reach the ship's sides with his hand, struck them and the main-  
sails several times with his branch. He then began to repeat a kind of speech or prayer, which seemed to have regular cadences, and to be metrically arranged as a poem; his eyes were fixed upon the place he had touched, his voice was raised, and his whole behaviour grave and solemn. The young woman, though at other times laughing and dancing, now kept close to the man and was serious all the while he spoke, which lasted about two or three minutes; at the close of his speech he struck the ship's side again, threw the branch into the main chains, and came aboard. This manner of delivering solemn orations, and making peace, is practised by all the nations which have been seen in the South Sea before our voyage, as appears from the testimonies of various voyagers. Both the man and woman had a spear in their hands when they were conducted on the quarter-deck; there they admired every thing they saw: a few geese

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\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 286.

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in our coops particularly attracted their attention ; a handsome cat, was likewise much courted, but they always stroked it the wrong way, so as to make the hair stand upright, though we showed them to do it in a contrary direction ; probably they admired the richness of the furr. The man looked upon every new object with surprize, but as his attention could not be fixed to any one object for more than a single moment, many of our works of art must have appeared to him as incomprehensible, as those of nature. However, the number and strength of our decks and of other parts of our vessel engrossed his admiration more than any thing else. The girl, seeing Mr. Hodges, whose pencil she had much admired, made him a present of a piece of cloth, of the same kind as those which the man had given to captain Cook and my father. This custom of making presents is not so usual in other parts of New Zealand, as in the tropical islands : but it appears on the whole, that this family were not always guided by national customs, but took such measures as prudence and integrity suggested in their situation, which left them at the mercy of a greater force. We desired them to come into the cabin, and after a long debate among themselves, they accepted the invitation, and descended by the ladder. Here they admired every thing, and were particularly pleased to learn the use of chairs, and that they might be removed from place to place. They were presented with hatchets  
by

by the captain and my father, and received a great number of trinkets of less value. These last the man laid down in a heap, and would have gone away without them, had we not reminded him of them; whereas he never let a hatchet or spike-nail go out of his hand, after he had once taken hold of it. They saw us sit down to our breakfast, and were seated near us; but all our intreaties could not prevail on them to touch our victuals. They likewise expressly inquired where we went to sleep, and the captain showed them his cot, which was suspended, at which they were mightily pleased. From the cabin they proceeded to the gun-room, on the deck below; and having received several presents there, they returned to the captain again. The man now pulled out a little leather bag, probably of seals skin, and having, with a good deal of ceremony, put in his fingers, which he pulled out covered with oil, offered to anoint captain Cook's hair; this honour was however declined, because the unguent, though perhaps held as a delicious perfume, and as the most precious thing the man could bestow, yet seemed to our nostrils not a little offensive; and the very squalid appearances of the bag in which it was contained, contributed to make it still more disgusting. Mr. Hodges did not escape so well; for the girl, having a tuft of feathers, dipt in oil, on a string round her neck, insisted upon dressing him out with it, and he was forced to wear the odoriferous present, in pure civility.

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We left them to amuse themselves in the other parts of the ship, and set out in two boats, with the captain and several officers, to examine a long inlet which ran to the eastward, in sight of our cove. In proportion as we receded from the sea, we found the mountains much higher, more steep, and barren: the trees gradually diminished in height and circumference, and dwindled to shrubs, contrary to what is observed in other parts of the world, where the inland countries have finer forests and better timber than the sea shores. The interior ranges of mountains called the Southern Alps, appeared very distinctly, of a great height, and covered with snow on their summits. We passed by a number of shady islands, which contained little coves and rivulets; and on one of the projecting points, opposite the last island, we saw a fine cascade falling into the water, over a steep rock, clothed with thick bushes and trees. The water was perfectly calm, polished, and transparent; the landscape was distinctly reflected in it, and the various romantic shapes of the steep mountains, contrasted in different masses of light and shade, had an admirable effect. About noon we put into a small cove, where we caught some fish, and shot a few birds. From thence we rowed again till dusk, when we entered a fine cove, at the extremity of this long arm, and were obliged to take up our quarters on the first beach we could land upon, after being prevented by shoals from proceeding to the head of the cove. There

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we thought we perceived something similar to a smoke, but finding nothing to confirm this opinion, and especially seeing no fire at night, we readily acquiesced in the idea of having been deceived by some misty vapour, or other object, which we might have indistinctly seen. We prepared with great alacrity to pass the night here, and no one was excepted from his task on these occasions. As it may be curious to know the nature of our marooning parties, as our seamen called them, I shall here give some account of our proceedings this night. Having found a beach to land on, with a brook, and a wood close to it, our first care was to bring on shore the oars, sails, cloaks, guns, hatchets, &c. not forgetting a little keg of spruce-beer, and perhaps a bottle of strong liquor. The boats were next secured at a grappling, and with a rope made fast to a tree on shore. Some of us were then busied in collecting dry pieces of wood for fuel, which in such a wet country as New Zealand, was sometimes very difficult; some erected a tent or wigwam, made of the oars and sails together with strong branches of trees, in a convenient dry spot, sheltered as much as possible, in case of wind and rain. Others lighted the fire in front of the tent, by burning some oakum, in which they had previously rubbed a quantity of gunpowder. The preparations for supper were very short: some of the sailors cleaned our fishes, skinned the waterfowl, split, and lastly broiled them; when they were dressed,

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one of the boat's gang-boards, washed clean, answered the several purposes of a table, of dishes, and plates; and our fingers and teeth did yeoman's service, instead of knives and forks. A keen appetite, procured by strong exercise, and excited by the sharp air of the country, soon taught us to overcome the ideas of indelicacy, which civilized nations connect with this way of living; and we never so strongly felt how little is wanting to satisfy the cravings of the stomach, and to support the existence of human beings, as on these occasions. After supper we listened a while to the original comic vein of our boat's crew, who huddled round the fire, made their meal, and recited a number of droll stories, intermixed with hearty curses, oaths, and indecent expressions, but seldom without real humour. Then strewing our tent with heaps of fern leaves, and wrapping ourselves in our boat-cloaks, with our guns and shooting-bags for our pillows, we composed ourselves to sleep.

At day-break Captain Cook and my father, with two men, went in a small boat to take a view of the head of the cove, where they saw some flat land. They went on shore upon it at one corner, and ordered the boat to meet them at the opposite point. They had not walked a great way before they saw some wild-ducks, and, by creeping through the bushes, came near enough to fire and kill one of them. The moment they had fired they heard a hideous shout of several loud and piercing voices round about them

them from different quarters. They shouted in their turn, and taking up the duck retired towards the boat, which was full half a mile off. The natives continued their clamours, but did not follow them; for indeed a deep branch of a river was between them, and their numbers were too inconsiderable to attempt hostilities; but these circumstances we only learnt in the sequel. We had in the mean while taken a ramble into the woods in search of plants; but hearing the shout of the natives, we embarked immediately in the remaining boat and joined the other, which by this time had taken Captain Cook and my father on board. We therefore proceeded up into a river; which was deep enough for the boats, and amused ourselves with shooting ducks, which were here in great plenty. We now saw a man, woman, and child on the left shore, and the woman waved to us with a white bird's skin, probably in sign of peace and friendship. On this occasion I could not help admiring, that almost all nations on our globe have tacitly agreed upon the white colour, or upon green branches, as tokens of a peaceable disposition, and that with these in their hands they confidently rely on a stranger's placability. Perhaps this general agreement had its origin anterior to the universal dispersion of the human species; this will seem the more probable when it is considered, that neither the white colour, nor the green boughs of a tree, have any intrinsic character, to which

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the idea of amity is naturally and necessarily referred. Our boat being nearest to these natives, Captain Cook desired the officer in it to land, and accept their proffered friendship, whilst he meant to take the advantage of the tide to get as high up in the river as possible. Whether the officer did not understand Captain Cook's meaning, or whether he was too deeply engaged with duck shooting, we did not land; and the poor people, to all appearance apprehensive of the worst consequences, from a set of men who rejected their proposals of peace, fled into the woods with the utmost precipitation. The Captain in the meanwhile rowed about half a mile higher, where his boat was stopped by the violence of the stream, and by several huge stones which lay across the bed of the river, and redoubled the rapidity of the water. Here, however, he found a new species of ducks, the fifth we had observed in Dusky Bay. Its size was something less than that of a teal, the colour of a shining greenish black above, and a dark footy grey below; it had a purple cast on the head, a lead-coloured bill and feet, a golden eye, and a white bar in the lesser quill feathers. On Captain Cook's return to us, we perceived two men in the woods along the bank opposite to that where we had seen the friendly family. The captain endeavoured to form an acquaintance with them, but when the boat came close along shore, they always retired into the woods, which were so thick, that they

not

not only covered them from our sight, but also made it unadvisable to follow them. The ebbing tide obliged us to retire out of this river to the place where we had spent the night; and, after breakfasting there, we embarked in order to set out on our return to the Resolution. However, when we had scarce put off, we perceived the two natives, who had walked across the woods to an open spot, from whence they halloo'd to us. The captain immediately ordered both the boats to row up to them, and coming into shallow water, he got out unarmed, attended by two men, and waded to the shore, with a sheet of white paper in his hand. The two natives stood about one hundred yards from the water's side, each of them with a long spear in his hand. When the captain advanced with his two men they retired; he then proceeded alone, but could not prevail on them to lay aside their spears. At last one of them stuck his spear in the ground, and taking a bunch of grass in his hand met the captain, and giving him one end of the grass to hold while he kept the other, he pronounced a solemn speech in a loud tone of voice, during a minute or two, in which he made several pauses, perhaps waiting for a reply. As soon as this ceremony was over, they saluted each other, and the New Zeelander took a new garment from his own shoulders and presented it to the captain, for which he received a hatchet in return. Peace and friendship being thus firmly established, the

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other man likewise came up to salute the captain, and was presented with a hatchet; and several of us came ashore to them, at which they were not the least alarmed, but received every new comer with great cordiality. We now perceived several other natives, probably women, on the skirts of the wood, and the two men earnestly intreated us to go up to their habitations, intimating by signs, that they would give us something to eat there; but the tide and other circumstances did not permit us to accept their invitation. When we had taken leave of them, the two men followed us to our boats, where they desired us to remove the muskets which lay across the stern, and having complied with their request, they came along-side, and assisted us to launch the boats, which were aground on account of the ebb. We found however that it was necessary to have an eye upon them, because they seemed to covet the possession of every thing they saw or could lay hands on, except the muskets, which they would not touch, being taught to respect them as instruments of death, on account of the havock they had seen us make among the wild-fowl. We observed no canoes among them, and their only means of transporting themselves across the river, was on a few logs of wood connected together into a kind of raft, which was perfectly sufficient for that purpose. Fish and wild-fowl were in such plenty here, that they can have little occasion to roam to any distance

tance

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tance in quest of them, as their numbers did not seem to exceed three families; and the whole bay being almost entirely destitute of inhabitants, one single family more excepted, they need not be apprehensive of disturbance from bad neighbours. The features of these men were rather wild, but not ill-favoured; their complexion resembled that of the family on Indian Island, of a mahogany brown; their hair bushy, and their beards frizled and black. They were of a middling stature and stout, but their legs and thighs very slender, and their knees too much swelled in proportion. Their dress and general behaviour seemed to be the same as that of the other family before mentioned. The courage of this people has something singular in it, for it should seem, that in spite of their inferiority of force, they cannot brook the thought of hiding themselves, at least not till they have made an attempt to establish an intercourse, or prove the principles of the strangers who approach them. It would have been impossible for us, among the numerous islands and harbours, and in the mazy forests upon them, to have found out the family which we saw on the Indian Island, if they had not discovered themselves, and thus made the first advances. We might also have departed from the cove without knowing that it was inhabited, if the natives had not shouted at the discharge of our muskets. In both cases a certain openness and honesty, appear strongly to mark

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their character; for if it had the least admixture of treachery, they would have tried to fall upon us unawares, as they could not have failed of meeting with frequent opportunities of cutting off our numerous small parties, when dispersed in different parts of the woods.

It was noon when we left these two men, and proceeded down on the north side of the long arm, of which captain Cook took the bearings in his way. The night overtook us before he had completed this survey; so that we were forced to leave another arm unexplored, and to hasten to the vessel, which we reached about eight o'clock at night. We were told that the native with his companion, the young woman, had staid on board till noon, after our departure; and having been informed, that we had left some presents in his double canoe in Cascade Cove, he employed some of his people to bring them away from thence, after which the whole family remained in the neighbourhood of the ship till this morning. They then took their departure, and we never saw them again, which was the more extraordinary, as they never went away empty handed from us, but had at different times received nine or ten hatchets, and four times that number of large spike-nails, besides other articles. As far as these things may be counted riches among them, this man was the wealthiest in all New Zealand, being possessed of more hatchets, than there were in the whole country besides, before the second  
arrival

arrival of British vessels. The thin population in this part of the island makes it probable, that the few families in it lead a nomadic or wandering life, and remove according as the season, the conveniency of fishing, and other circumstances render it necessary. We were therefore of opinion, that our friendly family had only removed upon this principle; but we were likewise told that before they went away, the man had made signs of going to kill men, and employing the hatchet as an offensive weapon. If this circumstance was rightly understood, we cannot sufficiently wonder that a family so secluded from all the rest of the world, in a spacious bay, where they have a superfluity of food, and of all the necessaries of life, the fewness of their wants considered, should still have a thought of warring with their fellow-creatures, when they might live peaceably and happily in their retirement. The pleasing hope of facilitating the œconomical operations of these people, and of encouraging some degree of agriculture among them, by presenting them with useful tools, was defeated by this determination. The state of barbarism, in which the New Zealanders may justly be said to live, and which generally hearkens to no other voice than that of the *strongest*, might make them more liable than any other nation to resolve upon the destruction of their fellow-citizens, as soon as an opportunity offered; and their innate and savage valour may probably assist them

to

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to put such projects in execution. On this occasion, I cannot omit mentioning a remarkable instance of courage which characterised the old man who had now left us; our officers having fired several musquets in his presence, he became desirous of discharging one himself, which they easily granted; the young woman, supposed to be his daughter, fell prostrate on the ground before him, and entreated him, with the strongest marks of fear, to desist from his undertaking; but he was not to be diverted from his purpose, and fired the musquet with the greatest resolution, repeating it afterwards three or four times. This warlike disposition, together with the irascible temper of the whole nation, that cannot brook the least injury, is probably the cause which has induced this single family, and the few in the long inlet we had visited, to separate from the rest of their fellow-creatures. All the disputes of savage people commonly terminate in the destruction of one of their parties, unless they evade it by a well-timed flight: this may have been the case of the inhabitants of Dusky Bay, and admitting it, their design of going to fight, is no more than a project of being revenged on their foes and oppressors.

Friday 23.

On the 23d, early in the morning, several officers, accompanied by Dr. Sparrman, went to Cascade Cove, in order to ascend one of the highest mountains in the bay, which was situated on one side of it. About two o'clock they  
reached

reached the summit, which they made known to us by lighting a great fire there. We should have accompanied them on this excursion, but a violent flux attended with gripes confined us on board. It was owing to the carelessness of our cook, who had suffered our copper kitchen-furniture to become full of verdigrise. In the evening however, we went to meet our travellers in Cascade Cove, and after searching the woods some time for plants and birds, we brought them on board with us. At night the fire had spread in a bright circular garland all round the summit of the mountain, and made a very elegant illumination in honour of St. George's day. Our party related that they had a prospect of the whole bay, and of the sea beyond the mountains to the south, S. W. and W. N. W. for more than twenty leagues all round them, the weather being remarkably fine and clear. The inland mountains were very barren, and consisted of huge broken and craggy masses, all covered with snow on their summits; the top of that on which they stood, afforded several low shrubs and various alpine plants, which we had seen nowhere else. A little lower down they saw a taller shrubbery; below this a space covered with dry or dead trees, and next to those the living woods began, which increased in size as they descended. The ascent had been fatiguing enough, on account of the intricacy of briars and climbers, but the descent also was dangerous, because of many precipices

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precipices which they met on their way, and along most of which they contrived to slide down by the help of trees and bushes. At a considerable height they met with three or four trees, which they took for palms, and of which they cut down one, and used its middlemost shoot for their refreshment. These trees, however, were not the true cabbage-palms, nor did they belong at all to the class of palms, which are generally confined to more temperate climates. They were properly speaking, a new species of dragon-trees, with broad leaves, (*dracena australis*) of which the central shoot when quite tender, tastes something like an almond's kernel, with a little of the flavour of cabbage. We afterwards observed more of them in other parts of this bay.

The next morning I accompanied captain Cook to the cove on the N. W. part of the bay, which from the transaction of this day, received the name of Goose Cove. We had five tame geese left, of those which we had taken on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and these we intended to leave in New Zealand to breed, and run wild. This cove was looked upon as the most convenient place for that purpose, since there were no inhabitants to disturb them, and because it afforded an abundance of proper food. We set them on shore, and they immediately ran to feed in the mud, at the head of the cove where we left them, pronouncing over them the *crescite & multipliciamini*, for the benefit

benefit of future generations of navigators and New Zealanders. There can be little doubt indeed, but that they will succeed in this secluded spot, and in time spread over the whole country, answerable to our original intention. The rest of this day was spent in shooting, and among the different birds killed was a white heron (*ardea alba*), common to Europe.

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The fair weather, which had lasted eight days successively, was entirely at an end on the 25th, when the rain set in again towards evening, and continued till the next day at noon. We had reason to believe such a continuance of dry weather very uncommon in Dusky Bay, and particularly at this season, because we never experienced above two fair days one after another, either before or after this week. We had, however, improved this opportunity to complete our wood and water, and put the sloop in condition to go out to sea, and having taken on board all our men, we cast off our bridge, and removed out of the creek, into the middle of our cove, ready to sail with the first fair wind. The superiority of a state of civilization over that of barbarism could not be more clearly stated, than by the alterations and improvements we had made in this place. In the course of a few days, a small part of us had cleared away the woods from a surface of more than an acre, which fifty New Zealanders, with their tools of stone, could

Sunday 25.

Monday 26.

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not have performed in three months. This spot, where immense numbers of plants left to themselves lived and decayed by turns, in one confused inanimated heap; this spot, we had converted into an active scene, where a hundred and twenty men pursued various branches of employment with unremitting ardour :

*Quales apes æstate nova per florea rura  
Exercet sub sole labor.*

VIRGIL.

Such was their toil, and such their busy pains,  
As exercise the bees in flowery plains,  
When winter past and summer scarce begun,  
Invites them forth to labour in the sun. DRYDEN.

We felled tall timber-trees, which, but for ourselves, had crumbled to dust with age; our sawyers cut them into planks, or we split them into billets for fuel. By the side of a murmuring rivulet, whose passage into the sea we facilitated, a long range of casks, which had been prepared by our coopers for that purpose, stood ready to be filled with water. Here ascended the steam of a large cauldron, in which we brewed, from neglected indigenous plants, a salutary and palatable potion, for the use of our labourers. In the offing, some of our crew appeared providing a meal of delicious fish for the refreshment of their fellows. Our caulkers and riggers were stationed on the sides and masts of the vessel, and their occupations gave life

life to the scene, and struck the ear with various noises, whilst the anvil on the hill resounded with the strokes of the weighty hammer. Already the polite arts began to flourish in this new settlement; the various tribes of animals and vegetables, which dwelt in the unfrequented woods, were imitated by an artist in his noviciate; and the romantic prospects of this shaggy country, lived on the canvas in the glowing tints of nature, who was amazed to see herself so closely copied. Nor had science disdained to visit us in this solitary spot: an observatory arose in the centre of our works, filled with the most accurate instruments, where the attentive eye of the astronomer contemplated the motions of the celestial bodies. The plants which clothed the ground, and the wonders of the animal creation, both in the forests and the seas, likewise attracted the notice of philosophers, whose time was devoted to mark their differences and uses. In a word, all around us we perceived the rise of arts, and the dawn of science, in a country which had hitherto lain plunged in one long night of ignorance and barbarism! But this pleasing picture of improvement was not to last, and like a meteor, vanished as suddenly as it was formed. We re-embarked all our instruments and utensils, and left no other vestiges of our residence, than a piece of ground, from whence we had cleared the wood. We sowed indeed a quantity of European garden seeds of the best kinds; but it is obvious that the shoots of the surrounding weeds will shortly stifle

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every salutary and useful plant, and that in a few years our abode no longer discernible, must return to its original chaotic state.

Thursday 29.

A new passage out to sea, to the northward, was discovered on the 27th; and it being more convenient for our purpose, than that by which we entered, we weighed on the 29th in the afternoon, in order to stand up the bay towards it. However, the wind falling calm, we were obliged to come to again in 43 fathom, under the north side of an island which we named Long Island, about two leagues from

Friday 30.

our cove. At nine the next morning we proceeded with a light breeze at west, which with all our boats towing ahead, was scarce sufficient to stem the current; for after struggling till six in the evening, we had gained no more than five miles, and anchored under the same island, only a hundred yards from the shore.

MAY.  
Saturday 1.

At daylight the next morning we attempted to work to windward, having a gentle air down the bay, but the breeze dying away, we lost ground, and came with the stern so close to the shore, that our ensign-staff was entangled in the branches of trees, on a perpendicular rock, close to which we could find no bottom. We were towed off without receiving any damage, and dropt an anchor below the place we set out from, in a little cove on the north side of Long Island. Here we found two huts, and two fire-places, which seemed to prove that the place had lately been

been

been inhabited. During our stay here, we discovered several new birds and fish; and indeed caught some fish which are common to Europe, viz. the horse-mackarel, the greater dog-fish, and the smooth hound\*. The captain was taken ill of a fever and violent pain in the groin, which terminated in a rheumatic swelling of the right foot, contracted probably by wading too frequently in the water, and sitting too long in the boat after it, without changing his cloaths.

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We were detained in this cove by calms, attended with continual rains, till the 4th in the afternoon, when, assisted by a light breeze at S. W. we entered the reach or passage leading out to sea. The breeze coming a-head just at that time obliged us to anchor again under the east point of the entrance, before a sandy beach. These little delays gave us opportunities of examining the shores, from whence we never failed to bring on board new acquisitions to the vegetable and animal system. During night we had heavy squalls of wind, attended with rain, hail, and snow, and some loud thunder claps. Day-light exhibited to our view all the tops of the hills round us covered with snow. At two o'clock in the afternoon a light breeze sprung up at S. S. W. which carried us down the passage, though not without the help of our boats, to the last point near the opening into the sea, where we anchor-

Tuesday 4.

Wednesday 5.

\* *Scomber trachurus*, *squalus canis*, & *sq. mustelus*, Linn.

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ed at eight in the evening. The shores on both sides of the passage were steeper than any we had seen before, and formed various wild landscapes, ornamented with numerous little cascades, and many dragon-trees (*dracæna*.)

Thursday 6.

The captain being confined to the cabin by his rheumatism, sent an officer, accompanied by my father and myself, to explore the southernmost arm, which ran up eastward from our new passage into the interior country. During our absence he ordered the Resolution to be well cleaned and aired with fires between decks, a precaution which ought never to be neglected in a moist and raw climate.

We rowed up this new inlet, were delighted with many cascades on both sides of it, and found a number of good anchoring places, with plenty of fish and wild-fowl. However, the woods consisted chiefly of shrubberies, and began to look very bare, the leaves being mostly shed, and what remained looking faded of a pale yellow colour. These strong marks of approaching winter seemed to be peculiar to this part of the bay, and it is probable that the adjacent high mountains, all which were now crowned with snow, caused their premature appearance. We put into a little cove about two o'clock to broil a few fishes for our dinner, and then went on till it was dark, taking up our night's quarters on a little beach, almost at the head of the inlet. Here we made a fire, but slept very  
little

little on account of the cold of the night and the hardness of our pillows. The next morning we saw a cove, with a little flat land, to the north of us, which formed the end of this spacious inlet or arm, about eight miles from its entrance. Here we amused ourselves with shooting for some time, and then set out to return towards the Resolution; but the fair weather which had favoured us hitherto, was now succeeded by a storm at N. W, which blew in hard squalls, attended with violent showers of rain. We made shift to row down the arm into the entrance which led to the floop, and there sharing the remains of a bottle of rum among our boat's crew, by way of encouragement, we entered the hollow sea in the passage. The violence of the wind, and the height of the short waves were such, that in spite of our utmost efforts we were thrown above half a mile to leeward in a few minutes, and narrowly escaped being swamped. With the greatest difficulty we regained the inlet out of which we had passed, and about two o'clock in the afternoon we put into a small snug cove, at its north entrance. After securing our boat in the best manner possible, we climbed on a bleak hill, where we made a fire on a narrow rock, and attempted to broil some fishes; but though we were soaked with rain, and severely cut by the wind, yet it was impossible for us to keep near our fire, of which the flames were continually whirled about in a vortex by the storm, so that we were forced to  
change

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Friday 7.

1773.  
MAY.

change our places every moment, in order to escape being scorched or burnt. The storm now encreased to such a violence, that we could hardly stand on this barren spot; and therefore it was resolved, for our own and the boat's greater safety, to cross the cove, and take up our night's quarters in the woods immediately under the lee of the high mountains. Every one of us seized a firebrand and stepped into the boat, where we made a formidable appearance, as if we were bound on some desperate expedition. To our great disappointment the woods were almost worse than the rock we had left, being so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty our fire would burn; we had no shelter from the heavy rains which came down upon us in double portions from the leaves; and the wind not allowing the smoke to ascend, we were almost stifled with it. Here we lay down on the moist ground, wrapped in wet cloaks thoroughly soaked and cold, supperless, and tormented with rheumatic pains; and, notwithstanding all these inconveniencies, fell asleep for a few moments, being entirely exhausted with fatigue. But about two o'clock we were roused by a loud thunder-clap. The storm was now at its height, and blew a perfect hurricane. The roar of the waves at a distance was tremendous, and only overcome at times by the agitation of the forests, and the crashing fall of huge timber-trees around us. We went to look after our boat, and at that instant a dreadful  
flash

flash of lightning illuminated the whole arm of the sea; we saw the billows foaming, and furiously rolled above each other in livid mountains; in a word, it seemed as if all nature was hastening to a general catastrophe.

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Non han piu gli elementi ordine o segno,  
S'odono orrendi tuoni, ognor piu cresce  
De' fieri venti il furibondo sdegno.  
Incespa, e inlividisce il mar la faccia,  
E s'alza contra il ciel che lo minaccia.

TASSONI.

The lightning was instantaneously followed by the most astonishing explosion we had ever heard, reverberated from the broken rocks around us; and our hearts sunk with apprehension lest the ship might be destroyed by the tempest or its concomitant ætherial fires, and ourselves left to perish in an unfrequented part of the world. In this dismal situation we lingered out the night, which seemed the longest we had ever known. At last about six in the morning the violence of the storm abated, we embarked about day break, and reached the vessel soon after, which had been obliged to strike yards and top-masts. The inlet we had now surveyed, received the name of Wet Jacket Arm, from the dreadful night we passed in it. There now remained only one inlet to the northward of this unexplored; and captain Cook, finding himself recovered, set out, immediately after our return, to examine it. He proceeded

Saturday 8.

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Sunday 9.

up about ten miles, and saw nearly the end of this arm, which like the other, contains good harbours and plenty of fresh water, wood, fish, and wild fowl. On his return his people had the wind and heavy rains to struggle with, and all returned on board thoroughly wet, at nine in the evening. The next morning the sky being clear, but the wind unfavourable for going out to sea, we accompanied captain Cook once more on a shooting party up the new arm, where we spent the whole day, and met with tolerable good sport; but another party, who had taken a different route, came back almost empty-handed.

The wind continuing westerly and blowing very hard, the captain did not think it adviseable to put to sea; but it falling moderate in the afternoon, he made an excursion to an island in the entrance, on which were abundance of seals. He and his party killed ten of them, of which they took five on board, leaving the rest behind them.

Tuesday 11.

The next morning it was pretty clear, the air very cold and sharp, and all the hills covered with snow almost half way down to the water, so that the winter was now fairly set in. A boat was sent to fetch off the seals killed last night, which had been left behind; and in the mean time we weighed and sailed from Dusky Bay, getting clear of the land at noon.

The

The stay which we had made here of six weeks, and four days, together with the abundance of fresh provisions which we enjoyed, and the constant exercise we used, had contributed to recover all those who had been ill of the scurvy at our arrival, and given new strength to the rest. However it is much to be doubted, whether we should have preserved our health so well as we did, without the use of the fermented liquor or spruce-beer which we brewed. The climate of Dusky Bay, is I must own, its greatest inconvenience, and can never be supposed a healthy one. During the whole of our stay, we had only one week of continued fair weather, all the rest of the time the rain predominated. But perhaps the climate was less noxious to Englishmen than to any other nation, because it is analagous to their own. Another inconvenience in Dusky Bay is the want of celery, scurvy-grass, and other antiscorbutics, which may be found in great plenty at Queen Charlotte's sound, and many parts in New Zealand. The intricate forests which clothe the ground, the prodigious steepness of the hills, which on that account are almost incapable of cultivation, and the virulent bite of sand-flies, which causes ulcers like the small-pox, are certainly disagreeable circumstances; but of small consequence to those who only put in here for refreshment, when compared to the former. With all its defects, Dusky Bay is one of the finest places

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in New Zealand, for a set of people to touch at in our situation, exhausted with labours and hardships of long continuance, and deprived of the sight of land above four months. Nothing is more easy than to sail into it, there being no danger except what is visible above water, and so many harbours and coves existing in every part of it, that it is impossible to miss a convenient anchoring-place, where wood, water, fish, and wild-fowl are to be found in plenty.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Passage from Dusky Bay to Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Junction with the Adventure.—Transactions during our stay there.*

HAVING hoisted in our boat, which returned laden Tuesday 11. with seals, we stood to the northward, with a heavy S. W. swell, and numerous footy albatrosses and blue petrels attending us. As we advanced along shore, the mountains seemed to decrease in height, and in four and twenty hours the thermometer rose  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, having been at  $46^{\circ}$  on the day after we left Dusky Bay, and standing at  $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  the next morning at eight o'clock.

On the 14th, being off Cape Foul-wind, our favourable Thursday 13. gale left us, as if it meant to authenticate the propriety of the denomination, and we really had a contrary wind. It blew a hard gale all the 16th, attended with heavy Sunday 16. rains, and we kept plying the whole day, making one of our boards close in shore under Rock's Point.

At four o'clock in the morning on the 17th we stood to the eastward with a fair wind, so that we were abreast of Cape Farewell at eight o'clock. Here we saw the land appearing low and sandy near the sea-shore, though it rose into high snow-capt mountains in the interior parts. Vast flocks of the little diving petrel, (*procellaria tridactyla*.) were seen.

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seen fluttering on the surface of the sea, or sitting on it, or diving to considerable distances with amazing agility: They seemed exactly the same which we had seen on the 29th of January and the 8th of February, in the latitude of  $48^{\circ}$  S. when we were in search of M. Kerguelen's Islands.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, we were nearly opposite Cape Stephens, and had little or no wind. We observed thick clouds to the S. W. about that time, and saw that it rained on all the southern parts of that cape. On a sudden a whitish spot appeared on the sea in that quarter, and a column arose out of it, looking like a glass tube; another seemed to come down from the clouds to meet this, and they made a coalition, forming what is commonly called a water-spout. A little while after we took notice of three other columns, which were formed in the same manner as the first. The nearest of all these was about three miles distant, and its apparent diameter, as far as we could guess, might be about seventy fathom at the base. We found our thermometer at  $56\frac{1}{2}$  when this phenomenon first took its rise. The nature of water-spouts 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

yellowish when illuminated by the sun. The column was of a cylindrical form, rather encreasing 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-spouts 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 fathom 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 strait column of a cylindrical form. We could distinctly observe the  
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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-spout 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-spouts 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 cluing up our topfails; 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-spouts, 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 this experiment. How far electricity

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  $54^{\circ}$  or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees lower, than when they began to make their appearance. The depth of water we had under us was thirty-six fathom. The place we were in was analogous to most places where water-spouts have been observed, inasmuch as it was in a narrow sea or strait. Dr. Shaw and Thevenot saw them in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulph; and they are common in the West-Indies, the Straits of Malacca, and the Chinese sea. Upon the whole, we were not fortunate enough to make any remarkable discoveries in regard to this phenomenon; all our observations only tend to confirm the facts already noticed by others, and which are so largely commented upon by the learned Dr. Benjamin Franklin, F. R. S. His ingenious hypothesis, that whirlwinds and water-spouts have a common origin, has not been invalidated by our observations. We refer our philosophical readers to his papers, as containing the most complete and satisfactory account of water-spouts\*.

\* See his Experiments on Electricity, &c. 4to. fifth edition, London, 1774.

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Tuesday 18.

About five o'clock the next morning we opened Queen Charlotte's Sound, and about seven we saw three flashes rising from the south end of the *Motu-Aro*, where a *bippab*, or strong hold of the natives, was situated, which is described in Lieutenant Cook's voyage in the *Endeavour*\*. We immediately conceived that they were signals made by Europeans, and probably by our friends in the *Adventure*; and upon firing some four-pounders, had the pleasure of being answered out of the Ship Cove, opposite the island. Towards noon we could discern our old consort at anchor; and soon after were met by several of her officers, who brought us a present of fresh fish, and gave us an account of what had happened to them after our separation. In the afternoon it fell calm, so that we were obliged to be towed into the cove, where we anchored at seven in the evening. In the mean time Captain Furneaux came on board, and testified his satisfaction at rejoining us, by a salute of thirteen guns, which our people cheerfully returned. Those who have been in situations similar to ours, may form an adequate idea of the reciprocal pleasure which this meeting produced. It was heightened on both sides, by the recent impressions of accumulated dangers to which our separate courses had exposed us, and which under Providence we had happily escaped.

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 395, 400.

The Adventure, after losing our company, had continued her course to the northward of us, between the latitudes of  $50^{\circ}$  and  $54^{\circ}$  south, experiencing very heavy gales from the westward during the whole time. On the 28th of February, being in about  $122^{\circ}$  of longitude west from Greenwich, Captain Furneaux thought it adviseable gradually to descend into the latitude of Diemen's Land, or the extremity of New Holland, discovered by Abel Janffen Tafman in November 1642. On the 9th of March he fell in with the S. W. part of this coast, and running along its southern extremity, came to an anchor on the 11th in the afternoon, in a bay on the east side, which he called Adventure Bay, and which is probably the same where Tafman lay at anchor, distinguished by the name of Frederick Henry Bay. The southern extremities of this coast consisted of large broken masses of barren and blackish rocks, resembling the extreme points of the African and American continents. The land round the bay rose in sandy hillocks, of which the innermost were covered with various sorts of trees, rather remote from each other, and without any brush-wood. They also found a lake of fresh water on the west side, covered with great flocks of wild-ducks and other aquatic fowls. Several islands in the offing to the N E. along shore, were of a moderate height, and likewise covered with wood. Tafman probably took them for one great island, which in his charts

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bears the name of Maria's Island. The Adventure lay only three days in this bay, during which Captain Furneaux took in a small quantity of fresh water, and collected several curious animals, among which was a species of Viverra, and a fine white hawk. Our Europeans perceived no inhabitants during their stay, but thought they observed some smoke at a great distance in the country.

On the 15th in the evening they weighed and sailed out of Adventure Bay, standing along shore to the northward. They found it consisted of sandy hills of a moderate height, but saw at the same time some much higher in the interior country. At different parts of this coast they met with several islands, particularly those which Tasman named Schouten's and Vander Lyn's Islands. About the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 15'$  south, they opened a little bay, which, on account of several fires, probably lighted by the natives, they named the Bay of Fires. They continued examining the coast, not without running some danger from numerous shoals, till the 19th of March at noon, when being in the latitude of  $39^{\circ} 20'$  south, and still seeing the land about eight leagues to the north-westward, they concluded that Diemen's Land was connected with the continent of New-Holland, and directed their course towards the rendezvous at New Zealand. However, as they had been obliged, by the frequency of shoals, to keep out of sight of the coast several times, and there remained a space of twenty leagues from  
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the northernmost land they had seen, to Point Hicks, the southern boundary of captain Cook's discoveries in the Endeavour; it is still undetermined, whether a strait or passage does not exist between the main of New Holland and Diemen's Land, though the appearance of quadrupeds upon the latter, rather seems to favour the idea of their being connected together. Be this as it may, there is perhaps no part of the world which so well deserves future investigation as the great continent of New Holland, of which we do not yet know the whole outline, and of whose productions we are in a manner entirely ignorant. Its inhabitants, from the accounts of all the voyagers who have visited them, are but few in number, probably dwell on the sea-coasts only, go perfectly naked, and seem by all description to lead a more savage life than any nation in warm climates. There is consequently a vast interior space of ground, equal to the continent of Europe, and in great measure situated between the tropics, entirely unknown, and perhaps uninhabited: nothing is more certain, from the vast variety of animal and vegetable productions, collected on its sea-coasts in captain Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, than that the inner countries contain immense treasures of natural knowledge, which must of course become of infinite use to the civilized nation, which shall first attempt to go in search of them. The south-west corner  
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of this continent, which hitherto remains wholly unexplored, may perhaps open a way to the heart of the country; for it is not likely, that so great an extent of land, situated under the tropic, should be destitute of a great river, and no part of the coast seems better situated than that for its passage into the sea.

After leaving this coast, the Adventure continued fifteen days at sea, on account of contrary winds, and at length made the coast of New Zealand, near Rock's Point, on the southern island, on the third of April, at six in the morning, and came to an anchor at Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 7th.

During their stay here, they had made the same establishments on shore as we had done at Dusky Bay, except the brewery, which they were not yet acquainted with. They had found the *hippab*, or strong-hold of the natives, at the southern end of Motu-Aro forsaken, and their astronomer had fixed his observatory upon it. The inhabitants of this sound, who amount to some hundred persons, in several distinct and independent parties, often at variance with each other, had begun an intercourse with them, and paid them several visits, coming from the interior parts. They had been extremely well received, and did not hesitate to come on board, where they eat freely of the sailor's provisions, showing a particular liking to our biscuit, and  
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pease-soup. They had brought with them great quantities of their clothing, tools, and weapons, which they eagerly exchanged for nails, hatchets, and cloth.

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On the 11th of May, being the same day we failed out of Dusky Bay, several of the Adventure's people, who were at work on shore, or dispersed on shooting parties, distinctly felt a shock of an earthquake; but those who remained on board, did not perceive any thing of it. This circumstance may serve to evince the probability of volcanoes on New Zealand, as these two great phenomena on our globe seem to be closely connected together.

We arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, at the time when the Adventure's crew began to despair of ever meeting with us again, and had made preparations to spend the whole winter in this harbour, in order to proceed to the eastward, with the ensuing spring, to explore the South Sea in high latitudes. Captain Cook, however, was by no means inclined to lie inactive during so many months, especially as he knew, that considerable refreshments were to be had at the Society Isles, which he had visited in his former voyage. He therefore gave directions to put both floops in condition to go to sea, as soon as possible; and the Resolution being entirely prepared for that purpose, her crew assisted that of the Adventure for the sake of greater dispatch.

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We began our excursions the day after our arrival, and found the productions of the forests very similar to those of Dusky Bay, but the season and climate infinitely more favourable to our botanical researches. We were fortunate enough to meet with several species of plants still in flower, and also found some birds, which we had not seen before. But the antiscorbutic plants, which grew on every beach, gave this port the most distinguished advantage over our first place of refreshment. We immediately gathered vast quantities of wild celery, and of a well-tasted scurvy-grass (*lepidium*) which were daily boiled with some oat-meal or wheat for breakfast, and with pease-soup for dinner; and the people on board the Adventure, who had hitherto not known the use of these greens, now followed our example. We also found a species of sow-thistle (*sonchus oleraceus*,) and a kind of plant which our people called lamb's quarters, (*tetragonia cornuta*\*,) which we frequently used as sallads; and if we had not such plenty of wild-fowl and fishes as at Dusky Bay, we were amply recompensed by these excellent vegetables. The spruce and the tea-tree of New Zealand likewise grew in great plenty hereabouts, and we taught our friends to make use of both for their refreshment.

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. III. p. 442.

The next day we went to the Hippah, or fortification of the natives, where Mr. Bailey, the astronomer of the Adventure had fixed his observatory. It is situated on a steep insulated rock, which is accessible only in one place, by a narrow difficult path, where two persons cannot go abreast. At the top it had been surrounded by some palisades, but these were in most parts removed, and had been used for fuel by our people. The huts of the natives stood promiscuously within the enclosure, and had no walls, but consisted only of a roof, which rose into a steep ridge. The inner skeletons of these huts were branches of trees plaited so as to resemble hurdles; on these they had laid the bark of trees, and covered the whole with the rough fibres of the flax, or New Zealand flax-plant. We were told, that the people from the Adventure had found them exceeding full of vermin; and particularly fleas, from which it should seem that they had been but lately inhabited; and indeed it is not unlikely, that all these strong places are only the occasional abode of the natives, in case of danger from their enemies; and that they forsake them, whenever their personal safety does not require their residence. Our fellow-voyagers likewise found immense numbers of rats upon the Hippah rock, so that they were obliged to put some large jars in the ground, level with the surface, into which these vermin fell during night, by running backwards and forwards; and great number of them were caught in this

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manner. It is therefore very probable, that rats are indigenous in New Zealand, or at least that their arrival there, is prior to its discovery by European navigators. Captain Furneaux shewed us several spots of ground on the top of this rock, which he had ordered to be dug, and on which he had sown a great variety of garden-seeds; these succeeded so well that we frequently had sallads, and many dishes of European greens at our table, notwithstanding the season of winter was now far advanced. But the climate in this part of New Zealand is extremely mild, when compared to that of Dusky Bay; and notwithstanding the vicinity of the snowy mountains, I am inclined to believe it seldom freezes hard in Queen Charlotte's Sound; at least we experienced no frost during our continuance there to the 6th of June.

Saturday 22.

On the 22d we went over to an island in the sound, to which captain Cook had given the name of Long Island in his former voyage. It consists of one long ridge, of which the sides are steep, and the back or top nearly level, though in most places very narrow. On its N. W. side we saw a fine beach, surrounding a little piece of flat land, of which the greatest part was marshy, and covered with various grasses; the rest was full of antiscorbutics, and the New Zealand flax-plant (*phormium*), growing round some old abandoned huts of the natives. We cleared some spots of ground here, and sowed European garden seeds on them, which

which we thought were likely to thrive in this place. We also climbed to the top of the ridge, which we found covered with dry grasses, intermixed with some low, shrubby plants; and among them a number of quails exactly like those of Europe, had their residence. Several deep and narrow glens which ran down the sides of the ridge to the sea, were filled with trees, shrubs, and climbers, the haunt of numerous small birds, and of several falcons; but where the cliffs were perpendicular, or hanging over the water, great flocks of a beautiful sort of shags, built their nests on every little broken rock, or if possible in small cavities about a foot square, which seemed in a few instances to be enlarged by the birds themselves. The argillaceous stone, of which most of the hills about Queen Charlotte's Sound consisted, is sometimes sufficiently soft for that purpose. It runs in oblique strata, commonly dipping a little towards the south, is of a greenish-grey, or bluish, or yellowish-brown colour, and sometimes contains veins of white quartz. A green talcous or nephritic stone, is also found in this kind of rock, and when very hard, capable of polish, and semi-transparent; it is used by the natives for chisels, hatchets, and sometimes for pattoos: it is of the same species which jewellers call the jade. Several softer sorts of this stone, perfectly opaque, and of a pale green colour, are more numerous than the flinty semi-transparent kind; and several species of horn-

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stone and argillaceous slate likewise are seen running in great strata through some of the mountains. The latter is commonly found in great quantity, and broken pieces, on the sea beaches, and is what our seamen call shingle, by which name it is distinguished in the account of captain Cook's former voyage. On these beaches we also met with several sorts of flinty stones and pebbles, and some loose pieces of black, compact, and ponderous basalt, of which the natives form some of their short clubs, called pattoo-pattoos. In many places we likewise saw strata of a blackish *saxum* Lin. consisting of a black and compact mica or glimmer, intermixed with minute particles of quartz. The argillaceous slate is sometimes found of a rusty colour, which seems evidently to rise from iron particles; and from this circumstance, and the variety of minerals just enumerated, there is great reason to suppose that this part of New Zealand contains iron ore, and perhaps several other metallic bodies. Before we left this place, we found some small pieces of a whitish pumice-stone on the sea-shore, which, together with the basaltine lava, strongly confirm the existence of volcanoes in New Zealand.

Sunday 23.

On the 23d in the morning, two small canoes came towards us, in which were five men of the natives, the first we had seen since the arrival of our sloop in this harbour. Their appearance was nearly the same as that  
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of the Dusky Bay people, with this difference, that they seemed much more familiar and unconcerned. We bought some fish of them, and likewise made them some presents, conducting them into the cabin, as they did not hesitate to come on board. Seeing us sit down to dinner, they freely partook of our provisions, but drank pure water, refusing to touch either wine or brandy. They were so restless, that they removed from our table to that of the officers in the steerage, where they likewise eat with great appetite, and drank great quantities of water sweetened with sugar, of which they were remarkably fond. Every thing they saw, or could lay hands upon they coveted, but upon the least hint, that we either could not, or would not part with what they had taken up, they laid it down without reluctance. Glass bottles, which they called *taw-haw*, were however particularly valuable to them; and whenever they saw any of them, they always pointed to them, and then moved the hand to their breast, pronouncing the word *mòkb*, by which they used to express their desire of possessing any thing. Among the variety of little presents we made them they did not notice beads, ribbons, white paper, &c. but were very eager after iron, nails, and hatchets; a proof that the intrinsic value of these tools cannot fail to make an impression on the minds of these people in the long run, though they were at first indifferent to them, as not knowing their use and durability.

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bility. Some of our people having made use of their canoes in the afternoon to transport themselves to the shore, they came into the cabin complaining to the captain, whose authority over the rest they very well conceived; and their embarkations being restored to them, they all went away highly pleased.

Monday 24.

The next morning at day-break they returned, but brought four other persons with them, one of them a woman, with some children, and traded as usual about the ships. The captains embarked with us after breakfast, in order to visit an extensive inlet on the northern shore of the sound, which was called West Bay in the Endeavour's voyage. On our way we met a double canoe, manned with thirteen persons, who, coming along side, made acquaintance with Captain Cook, and seemed to recollect him, by enquiring for Tupaya, the native of O-Taheitee, whom he had taken on board during his former voyage, and who had lived to visit this country with him. When they were told that he was dead, they seemed much concerned, and pronounced some words in a plaintive tone. We made signs for them to go on board the vessels lying in Ship Cove; but when they saw us going on to the south, they returned to the cove from whence they came.

We found the country not quite so steep as at the southern extremity of New Zealand, and the hills near the sea-side were in general of an inferior height. In most parts, however,

however, they were covered with forests, equally intricate and impenetrable as those of Dusky Bay, but containing a greater number of pigeons, parrots, and small birds, which perhaps abandon that rude climate during the cold season, and pass their winter in these milder regions. Oyster-catchers or sea-pies, and various sorts of shags, likewise enlivened the sea shores here, but ducks were extremely scarce. West Bay contains a number of fine coves, each of which affords excellent anchorage; the hills rise gently all round it, covered with shrubs and trees, and many of their summits are clear of woods, but overgrown with a common species of fern, (*acrosticum furcatum*.) This is likewise the case with many islands in the sound, and great part of the south-east shore of the sound from Cape Koamaroo to East Bay. After collecting a number of new plants, among which was a species of pepper, very much resembling ginger in the taste, and shooting many birds of all sorts, we returned on board late in the evening.

The launch, which had been sent out in the morning to an adjacent cove, in order to cut greens for the ship's company and some grafs for our goats and sheep, did not return that day; but staying out all the next likewise, we began to be very uneasy about the twelve people in her, among whom were our third lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, Mr. Hodges, the carpenter, and the gunner. Our apprehensions were the more just, as the wind and weather

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ther had been favourable for their return from almost any part of the bay, till the morning of the 25th; soon after which it began to be very rainy and stormy. On the day we had gone to West Bay, a large canoe with twelve of the natives came from the north to our ship, and after selling a variety of their dresses, some stone hatchets, clubs, spears, and even paddles, they returned the way they came.

On the 26th, after noon, the weather being somewhat cleared up, our launch arrived on board, but all the people in her were exhausted with fatigue and hunger. All the provision they had taken out with them consisted of three biscuits and a bottle of brandy; and they had not been able to succeed in catching a single fish during the tempestuous weather. After being tossed about by the waves, attempting in vain to return to the vessels, they had put into a cove, on which they found a few deserted huts of the natives, where they took shelter, and just kept themselves from starving by eating a few muscles that adhered to the rocks.

The next morning we made our researches round the bottom of the cove, in quest of plants and birds; and in the afternoon we went out along the rocky shores towards Point Jackson, to kill some shags, which we had now learnt to relish instead of ducks. Between these two excursions we received another visit of the Indian family, whom we had seen before, on the 23d. They seemed to be come for

no other purpose than that of eating with us, having brought nothing with them to exchange for our iron-work. We now enquired for their names, but they were a long time before they could understand us; however, comprehending our meaning at last, they gave us a collection of words, which had a singular mixture of gutturals and vowels. The oldest among them was called Towahàngha; the others Kotughâ-a, Koghoää, Khoää, Kollàkh, and Taywaherüa. This last was a boy about twelve or fourteen years of age, who had a very promising countenance, and seemed to be the liveliest and most intelligent among them. He came into the cabin and dined with us, eating very voraciously of a shag-pye, of which, contrary to our expectation, he preferred the crust. The captain offered him some Madeira wine, of which he drank something more than one glass, making a great many wry faces at first. A bottle of a very sweet Cape wine being brought upon the table, a glass was filled out to him, which he relished so well that he was continually licking his lips, and desired to have another, which he likewise drank off. This draught began to elevate his spirits, and his tongue ran on with great volubility. He capered about the cabin, insisted on having the captain's boat-cloak, which lay on a chair, and was much vexed at the refusal; he next desired one of the empty bottles, and this request likewise proving fruitless, he went out of the cabin

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highly offended. On deck he saw some of our servants folding up linen which had been hung out to dry, and immediately seized on a table-cloth; but this being taken from him, his passion was at the highest pitch, he stamped, threatened, then grumbled, or rather grunted awhile, and at last became so fullen that he would not speak a word. The impatient temper of this nation never appeared more distinctly than in this boy's conduct; but at the same time we had room to consider, seeing the effect of strong liquors upon him, how fortunate it was that they were used to no kind of intoxicating draught, which would perhaps serve to make their temper still more fierce and ungovernable than it is at present.

Saturday 29.

About thirty natives surrounded us in several canoes the next morning, and brought a few of their tools and weapons to sell, for which they received great quantities of our goods in exchange, owing to the eagerness with which our crews outbid each other. There were a number of women among them, whose lips were of a blackish blue colour, by punctuation; and their cheeks were painted of a lively red, with a mixture of ruddle and oil. Like those at Dusky Bay, they commonly had slender and bandy legs, with large knees; defects which evidently are deducible from the little exercise they use, and their mode of sitting cross-legged and cramped up almost perpetually in canoes. Their colour was of a clear brown, between the olive and mahogany

mahogany hues, their hair jetty black, the faces round, the nose and lips rather thick but not flat, their black eyes sometimes lively and not without expression; the whole upper part of their figure was not disproportionate, and their assemblage of features not absolutely forbidding. 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

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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 alledged, that as the New Zealanders place no value on the continence of their unmarried women, the arrival of Europeans among them, did 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 them 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

their morals. If these evils were in some measure compensated by the introduction of some real benefit in these countries, or by the abolition of some other immoral customs 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 nations 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.

Several of these people were invited into the cabin, where Mr. Hodges applied himself to sketch the most characteristic faces, while we prevailed on them to sit still for a few moments, keeping their attention engaged, by a variety of trifles which we shewed, and some of which we presented to them. We found several very expressive countenances among them, particularly some old men, with grey or white heads and beards; and some young men, with amazing bushy hair, which hung wildly over their faces, and increased their natural savage looks. The stature of these people was middle-sized in general, and their form and colour almost entirely the same as that of the Dusky Bay people; their dress was likewise made in the same man-

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ner of the flax-plant, but never interwoven with feathers, in lieu of which they had bits of dog-skin at the four corners of their cloaks, which the others were not fortunate enough to possess. The *bogbee-bogbee*, or shaggy-cloak, which hangs round their neck like a thatch of straw\*, was almost constantly worn by them, on account of the season, during which the air began to be sharp, and rains were very frequent. But their other kinds of cloth ‡ were here commonly old, dirty, and not so neatly wrought as they are described in captain Cook's first voyage. The men wore their hair hanging in a very slovenly manner about them, but the women had theirs cut short, which seems to be the general practice among them. They also wore the head-dress, or cap of brown feathers, mentioned in the account of captain Cook's former voyage. After these people had been on board a few hours, they began to steal, and secrete every thing they could lay their hands on. Several of them were discovered in conveying away a large four-hour glass, a lamp, some handkerchiefs, and some knives; upon which they were ignominiously turned out of the sloop, and never permitted to come on board again. They felt the whole weight of shame, which this proceeding brought upon them; and their fiery temper, which cannot brook any humiliation, was up in arms at this

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. III. p. 453, &amp;c.

‡ Ibid. p. 455.

punish-

punishment ; so that one of them uttered threats, and made violent gestures in his canoe. In the evening they all went on shore, abreast of the floops, and made some temporary huts of the branches of trees, near which they hauled their canoes on the dry land, and made fires, over which they prepared their suppers. Their meals consisted of some fresh fishes, which they had caught in their canoes not far from shore, with a kind of scoop-net, described in captain Cook's former voyage, which they managed with a dexterity peculiar to themselves.

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The next morning we had fine mild weather, and made a trip over to Long Island, in order to look after some hay, which our people had cut there, and to collect greens for the ship's company, near the huts which the natives had abandoned. We were fortunate enough at the same time to find some new plants, and shoot several little birds, different from those which had hitherto fallen into our hands. 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

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fested 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.

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 Unde

Hæc tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes ?

JUVENAL.

Before they returned on board again, a woman stole a jacket belonging to one of our sailors, and gave it to a young fellow of her own nation. The owner finding it in the young man's hands, took it from him, upon which he received several blows with the fist. These he believed were meant in joke, but as he was advancing to the water-side, in order to step into the boat, the native threw several large stones at him. The sailor was roused, and returning to the fellow, began to box him after the English manner, and in a few moments had given the New Zeelanders a black eye, and bloody nose; upon which the latter, to all appearance much terrified, declined the combat, and ran off.

Captain Cook, who was determined to omit nothing which might tend to the preservation of European garden-plants in this country, prepared the soil, sowed seeds, and transplanted the young plants in four or five different parts

of

of this found. He had cultivated a spot of ground on the beach of Long Island, another on the Hippah rock, two more on the Motu-Aro, and one of considerable extent at the bottom of Ship Cove, where our vessels lay at anchor. He chiefly endeavoured to raise such vegetables as have useful and nutritive roots, and among them particularly potatoes, of which we had been able to preserve but few in a state of vegetation. He had likewise sown corn of several sorts, beans, kidney-beans, and pease, and devoted the latter part of his stay in great measure to these occupations.

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Early on the first of June several canoes full of natives came on board, whom we had not seen before. Their canoes were of different sizes, and three of them had sails, which are but seldom seen among them. The sail consisted of a large triangular mat, and was fixed to a mast, and a boom joining below in an acute angle, which could both be struck with the greatest facility. The upper edge, or broadest part of the sail, had five tufts of brown feathers on its extremity. The bottom of these canoes consisted of a long hollow trunk of a tree, and the sides were made of several boards or planks above each other, which were united by means of a number of strings of the New Zealand flax-plant, passed through small holes, and tied very fast. The seams between them are caulked with the downy or woolly substance of the reed-mace (*typha latifolia*.) Some of the ca-

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noes were double, that is, two fastened along side of each other, by means of transverse sticks, lashed on with ropes ; but where that was not the case, they had an outrigger, or narrow piece of plank fixed parallel to one side of the canoe, by means of transverse poles, to prevent their upsetting. All those we now saw had not that profusion of carving and fine workmanship, mentioned in captain Cook's first voyage, which he observed in the canoes of the northern islands ; but seemed rather old, and worn out ; they were not, however, different in the general conformation from those described there, and always had the distorted human face at the head, the high stern, and the neat sharp-pointed paddles. The people in them brought for sale several ornaments, which were new to us, especially pieces of green nephritic stone, cut into various forms. Some were of a flat shape, with a sharp edge, and served as the blades of hatchets, or adzes ; some were formed into long pieces, which are hung into the ear ; others were little chissels, inserted in a wooden handle, and again others were cut out with great labour into a contorted and squatted figure, something resembling the caricature of a man, in which a pair of monstrous eyes were inserted, made of the mother of pearl of an ear-shell. This last, which they called *é teegbee*, was worn by persons of both sexes, hanging on the breast, from a string passed about the neck, and may perhaps relate to some religious matters. They sold us an apron, made

made of their close-wrought cloth, covered with red feathers, faced with white dog-skin, and ornamented with pieces of the ear-shell, which is said to be worn by the women in their dances. They brought a number of their fish-hooks, which are of a remarkable clumsy form, made of wood, and barbed with a piece of bone, which was jagged, and which they assured us was human bone. Several rows of human teeth, drawn on a thread, hung on their breasts, in the place of, or along with the *teegbee*, but they readily sold them to us, in exchange for iron tools, or trinkets. A good many dogs were observed in their canoes, which they seemed very fond of, and kept tied with a string, round their middle; they were of a rough long-haired sort, with pricked ears, and much resembled the common shepherd's cur, or count Buffon's *chien de berger* (see his Hist. Nat.) They were of different colours, some spotted, some quite black, and others perfectly white. The food which these dogs receive is fish, or the same as their masters live on, who afterwards eat their flesh, and employ the fur in various ornaments and dresses. They sold us several of these animals, among which the old ones coming into our possession, became extremely sulky, and refused to take any sustenance, but some young ones soon accustomed themselves to our provisions. Several of the New Zealanders came into the vessel, and some were conducted into the cabin, where they received some presents;

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but none of them shewed that astonishment, and that degree of reflection and attention, which our old friend at Dusky Bay had manifested on coming aboard. Some of them were strangely marked in the face with deeply excavated spiral lines; and one of them in particular, a tall and strong man, and nearly middle-aged, had these marks very regular on his chin, cheeks, forehead, and nose, so that his beard, which would otherwise have been very thick, now consisted only of a few straggling hairs. This man's name was Tringho-Waya, and he seemed to have some authority with his people, which was more than we had hitherto observed among the small number who had visited us. The chief object of their commerce were shirts and bottles, of which last they were remarkably fond: perhaps because they have nothing in which to keep liquors, except a minute kind of calabash or gourd, which grows only in the northern island, and was extremely scarce among the people in Queen Charlotte's Sound. They were not inclined however to make disadvantageous bargains, and demanded the best price for every little trifle which they offered for sale, though they were never offended with a refusal. Some of them being in remarkable good spirits, gave us a *beiva*, or dance, on the quarter-deck. They placed themselves in a row, and parted with their shaggy upper garments: one of them sung some words in a rude manner, and all the rest accompanied the gestures

he

he made, alternately extending their arms, and stamping with their feet in a violent and almost frantic manner. The last words which we might suppose the burden of the song, or a chorus, they all repeated together; and we could easily distinguish some sort of metre in them, but were not sure they had rhimes. The music was extremely rough, and of no great extent in these kinds of songs. In the evening they all went off again, and returned to the upper part of the sound from whence they came.

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The next morning we accompanied the captains Cook and Furneaux to East Bay, and Grass Cove, where they intended to collect a load of antiscorbutic greens. We had not only endeavoured to leave useful European roots in this country, but we were likewise attentive to stock its wilds with animals, which in time might become beneficial to the natives, and to future generations of navigators. To this purpose captain Furneaux had already sent a boar and two sows to Canibal Cove, where they had been turned into the woods to range at their own pleasure; and we now deprived ourselves, with the same view, of a pair of goats, male and female, which we left in an unfrequented part of East Bay. These places had been fixed upon, in hopes that our new colonists would there remain unmolested by the natives, who indeed were the only enemies they had to fear; as their inconsiderate and barbarous temper would not suffer them to make any reflection on  
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the advantages which future ages might reap from the propagation of such a valuable race of animals. On this excursion we saw a large animal in the water about Grays Cove, which seemed to be a sea-lion by its magnitude, but which we could not get a shot at. We had already discovered a small species of bats in the woods, so that the list of the indigenous quadrupeds in New Zealand was increased to five, including the domestic dog of the natives; and it is much to be doubted whether it is possible to add a sixth to that number. After we had ranged the woods in different parts, collected several plants, shot a few birds, and taken in a great load of wild celery and scurvy-grass, we returned late on board.

On the third of June, we sent some boats to Long Island to fetch our hay on board; and having laid in a sufficient quantity of wood and water, put the ship in a condition to go to sea, and refreshed our crews with vast quantities of greens, we were ready to sail with the first opportunity. One of our boats in returning saw a large double canoe, and another in which they counted about fifty men, who immediately chased them: but our people not being armed, hoisted sail, and soon got away from them, so that the New Zealanders gave over the pursuit, and returned towards East Bay from whence they came. We can by no means pretend to assert that their intentions were hostile in any degree, but prudence naturally suggested to our  
people

people, not to place themselves in the power of a set of uncivilized men, who follow their own caprice instead of laws.

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The next morning we hoisted St. George's colours, the Friday 4.  
jack and pennant in honour of His Majesty's birth-day, which we prepared to celebrate with the usual festivities. The family of natives, whose name I have mentioned page 209, and who by living constantly in a neighbouring cove, were now intimate with us, came on board very early, and breakfasted with us. Whilst we were sitting in the steerage, an officer acquainted the captain with the approach of a large double canoe, well manned with New Zealanders, coming from the northward. We immediately went on deck, and saw the canoe about a musket shot from us, containing twenty-eight men, making towards our sloop, which from her size they probably took to be the commanding one. Our friends on board very earnestly told us they would be our enemies, and persisted to fire at them; nay Towahanga, the head of the family jumped on the arm chest, which was placed on our quarter deck, and taking hold of a stick, made a number of warlike motions with it, and soon after spoke to them very violently, but with some degree of solemnity, at the same time brandishing, as it seemed in defiance, a large hatchet of green nephritic stone, which he had never shewn us before. In the mean time the canoe approached, without taking

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taking much notice of our friend, whom we persuaded at last to be silent. Two people of a fine stature, one at the stern, and another about the middle of the canoe stood upright, while all the rest continued seated. The former had a perfect black cloak of the close-wrought kind, patched in compartments with dog-skin; he held a green plant of the New Zealand flag in his hand, and now and then spoke a few words. But the other pronounced a long speech well articulated, loud, and very solemn, and gave his voice great variety of falls and elevations. From the various tones in which he spoke, and a few gestures with which he accompanied his words, he appeared by turns to question, to boast, to threaten, to challenge, and to persuade us; he was sometimes running on in a moderate tone, then all at once breaking out into violent exclamations; after which he made short pauses in order to recover his breath. Having finished his oration, he was invited to come on board by the captain, who came to the ship's side; he seemed at first dubious and mistrustful, but his natural spirit soon overcoming that diffidence, he ventured on board, and was presently followed by all his people, who traded with the greatest eagerness for our iron wares. They immediately saluted the family of natives on board, with the usual application of noses, or as our sailors expressed it, they nosed each other, and paid every one of us upon the quarter-deck the same compliment. The

two speakers were taken into the cabin, where we learnt the second orator's name was Teiratu, and that he came from the opposite shore of the northern island, called Teera Whittee. They immediately enquired for Tupia (*Tupaya*), and, like those mentioned p. 206, seemed much concerned, and pronounced some words in a mournful or plaintive voice on hearing of his death. 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.

Teiratu and all his companions were a taller race of people than we had hitherto seen in New Zealand, none of them being below the middle size, and many above it. Their dress, ornaments, and arms were richer than any we had observed among the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and seemed to speak a kind of affluence, which was entirely new to us. Among their dresses were several cloaks entirely lined with dog-skin, upon which

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they set a high value, and which indeed gave them a very comfortable appearance in the cold weather that now began to be felt. Many of their cloaks, made of the fibres of the New Zealand flax (*phormium*), were new, and had elegant borders, very symmetrically wrought in red, black, and white; so that they might have passed for the work of a much more polished nation\*. The black is so strongly fixed upon their stuffs, that it deserves the attention of our manufacturers, who greatly want a lasting dye of that colour on vegetable productions; but the little progress we could make in their language, rendered it impossible to gain intelligence from them on this point. Their cloaks are square pieces, of which two corners were fastened on the breast by strings, and stuck together by a bodkin of bone, whalebone, or green jade. A belt of a sort of close matting of grass, confined the lower extremities of their cloak to their loins, beyond which it extended at least to the middle of the thigh, and sometimes to the mid-leg. Notwithstanding this superiority over the natives of Queen Charlotte's Sound, they resembled them perfectly in their uncleanness, and swarms of vermin marched about in their cloaths. Their hair was dressed in the fashion of the country tied on the crown, greased, and stuck with white feathers; and several of them had large combs, of some cetaceous animal's bone, stuck upright just

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. III.

behind

behind the bunch of hair on the head. Many of them were strongly carved with spirals in the face; several had painted it with red ochre and oil, and were always much pleased when we laid some vermilion on their cheeks. We likewise saw some little calabashes among them, neatly carved, in which they kept some stinking oil; but whether it was animal or vegetable I could never learn. All their tools were very elegantly carved, and made with great attention. They sold us a hatchet, of which the blade was of the finest green jade, and the handle curiously ornamented with fretwork. They also brought some musical instruments, among which was a trumpet, or tube of wood, about four feet long, and pretty strait; its small mouth was not above two inches, and the other not above five in diameter; it made a very uncouth kind of braying, for they always sounded the same note, though a performer on the French horn might perhaps be able to bring some better music out of it. Another trumpet was made of a large whelk, (*murex tritonis*,) mounted with wood, curiously carved, and pierced at the point where the mouth was applied; a hideous bellowing was all the sound that could be procured out of this instrument. The third went by the name of a flute among our people, and was a hollow tube, widest about the middle, where it had a large opening, as well as another at each end. This and the first trumpet were both made of

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two hollow femicylinders of wood, exactly fitted and moulded together, so as to form a perfect tube. Their double canoe was about fifty feet long, and seemed to be new; both the high stern and the head were very curiously carved with fretwork and spiral lines, as described in Capt. Cook's former voyage. A mishapen thing, which with some difficulty we perceived was meant to represent a human head, with a pair of eyes of mother of pearl, and a long tongue lolling out of its mouth, constituted the foremost extremity or *prora* of the canoe. This figure is the most common in all their ornaments, and principally in every thing that relates to warlike affairs. The custom of lolling out the tongue in contempt and defiance of the enemy, seems to have given rise to the frequent representations of it; the figure of the tongue forms the heads of their war-canoes, it is placed on the narrow extremity of their battle-axes, and they wear it on their breast, tied to a string round the neck; nay they carve it on their very scoops with which they bale the water, and on the paddles with which they manage their canoes.

These people made but a very short stay with us, for seeing it began to blow fresh, they all embarked and paddled over to the Motu-Aro. The captain, accompanied by several gentlemen, followed them about noon, and found seven canoes there hauled on shore, which had carried about ninety persons to that island, who were all busied making

making huts for their temporary shelter. Our people were received with every mark of friendship, and the captain distributed many presents to them. Among these was a number of brass medals, gilt, about one inch and three quarters in diameter, which had been struck on purpose to be left as a memorial of this voyage among the nations we should meet with: on one side was the head of his present majesty, with the inscription, GEORGE III. KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, &c. On the reverse, the representation of two men of war, with the names RESOLUTION and ADVENTURE over them; and the exergue SAILED FROM ENGLAND MARCH MDCCLXXII\*.

Some of these medals had already been given to the natives of Dusky Bay, and those of Queen Charlotte's Sound. In exchange for iron, cloth, and beads, our people collected a great number of arms, tools, dresses, and ornaments, as curiosities among them, they having greater quantities of these things than any New Zealanders we had seen. The captain and his company perceived that Teiratu seemed to be the principal or chief among them, by a certain degree of regard which the rest paid to him: they could not, however, determine any thing with precision on this subject. Respect is always paid to the old men among them, who may be supposed to owe their consequence to the long experience they have gained. But their

\* It was originally intended that the sloop should sail so early as March.

chiefs,

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chiefs, such as we believed this Teiratu to be, are strong, active, young men, in the prime and flower of their age. These are perhaps elected, as among the North American savages; being men of avowed courage, strength, and military sagacity; from a consciousness that a body of men, in case of war, necessarily requires a leader to animate them as a soul, and upon whose superior talents they may confidently place all their hopes. The more we consider the warlike disposition of the New Zealanders, and the numerous small parties into which they are divided, this form of government will appear indispensable; for it must be evident to them that the qualifications of a chief are not to be inherited, or propagated from father to son; and it is likewise probable, that this free people may have had opportunities of making the obvious reflection, that hereditary government has a natural tendency towards despotism.

Captain Cook, apprehensive lest the natives should find our garden and destroy it, not knowing for what purpose it was intended, conducted Teiratu thither, and shewed him every plant in it, especially the potatoes. He expressed a great liking to the last, and seemed to know them very well, evidently because a similar root, the Virginian or sweet potatoe, (*convolvulus batatas*,) is planted in some parts of the Northern Island, from whence he came. The captain parted from him, after obtaining the promise that

that he would not destroy his plantations, but leave every thing to grow up and propagate, and returned aboard the Resolution, where the marines fired three vollies, and our crews gave three hearty cheers in token of affection to their king.

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The wind freshened considerably after noon, and continued to blow very hard for two days following, so that we were obliged to lie at anchor till the 7th in the morning, when we weighed and sailed out of Ship Cove, in company with the Adventure. Our stay here had proved so beneficial to our crews, that they might now be said to be to the full as healthy as when they left England; and we had only a single sick man, a marine, on board our sloop, who had laboured under a consumption and dropfy ever since we had left England. Monday 7<sup>th</sup>

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## C H A P. VII.

*Run from New Zealand to O-Tabeitee.*

WE entered Cook's Strait after noon, and standing down to the southward, beheld the immense ocean before us, which goes by the name of the South Sea. This vast expanse of sea, through which many former navigators had passed, in the happy climate of the torrid zone, but whose middle latitudes no European vessel, except the Endeavour bark, had hitherto attempted to explore, has always been believed to contain a large tract of land, distinguished by geographers with the name of a Southern Continent. Previous to the Endeavour's voyage, New Zealand was thought the western coast of this unknown land, and certain pretended discoveries near America were asserted as its eastern shores. Captain Cook in that voyage having cut off both these by his course, and even penetrated to 40 degrees of south latitude without finding land, the southern continent was restrained within narrower limits, though these were still considerable enough to engage the attention of future navigators. We were now to enter on this unexplored part, and running to the eastward between the 50th and 40th degrees of south latitude, to search for undiscovered countries in the depth of winter.

winter. Many among our fellow-voyagers proceeded on this dangerous expedition in the firm belief that we should speedily find the coasts we went in quest of, whose novelty and valuable productions would amply reward our perseverance and fatigues. But captain Cook, and several others, judging from what had been done in the former voyage, and what they had already experienced on this, were far from expecting to discover new lands, and greatly doubted the existence of a southern continent.

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We were still in the mouth of the strait at eight the next morning, and saw the high mountains of the southern isle loaded with snow, from whence they had their name, whilst the weather below was clear and mild, our thermometer being about  $51^{\circ}$  in the shade. 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\*. We went at the

Tuesday 8.

\* See Pennant's British Zoology.

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rate of three knots and a half at this time, so that it was not thought proper to bring to, for the sake of taking up the dead fish.

Wednesday 9.

An infinite number of albatrosses, of all the three species, hovered about us, after we were out of sight of the land. The common or large sort were of diverse colours, which we believed to differ according to age, and that the oldest were almost wholly white, those next them somewhat more sprinkled with brown, and the youngest quite brown. Some of our sailors, who had formerly sailed on board of East-India ships, after comparing the facility of those voyages to the hardships of the present, propagated the ludicrous idea among their messmates, that these birds contained the departed souls of old India captains; who now, exiled to a part of the ocean which they shunned before, were forced to gather a precarious subsistence instead of enjoying their former affluence, and were made the sport of storms which they had never felt in their cabbins. This stroke, which may pass for witty enough, confirms what I have before observed of the original humour of sea-faring men.

The officers, who could not yet relish their salt provisions, after the refreshments of New Zealand, had ordered their black dog, mentioned p. 135, to be killed, and sent the captain one half of it; this day therefore we dined for the first time on a leg of it roasted, which tasted so exactly like mutton, that it was absolutely undistinguishable. In  
our

our cold countries where animal food is so much used, and where to be carnivorous perhaps lies in the nature of men, or is indispensibly necessary to the preservation of their health and strength, it is strange that there should exist a Jewish aversion to dogs-flesh, when hogs, the most uncleanly of all animals are eaten without scruple. Nature seems expressly to have intended them for this use, by making their offspring so very numerous, and their encrease so quick and frequent. It may be objected, that the exalted degree of instinct, which we observe in our dogs, inspires us with great unwillingness to kill and eat them. But it is owing to the time we spend on the education of dogs, that they acquire those eminent qualities which attach them so much to us. The natural qualities of our dogs may receive a wonderful improvement, but education must give its assistance, without which the human mind itself, though capable of an immense expansion, remains in a very contracted state. In New Zealand, and (according to former accounts of voyages) in the tropical isles of the South Sea, the dogs are the most stupid, dull animals imaginable, and do not seem to have the least advantage in point of sagacity over our sheep, which are commonly made the emblems of silliness. In the former country they are fed upon fish, in the latter on vegetables, and both these diets may have served to alter their disposition. Education may perhaps likewise graft new

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instincts ; the New Zealand dogs are fed on the remains of their masters' meals ; they eat the bones of other dogs, and the puppies become true cannibals from their birth. We had a young New Zealand puppy on board, which had certainly had no opportunity of tasting any thing but the mother's milk before we purchased it ; however it eagerly devoured a portion of the flesh and bones of the dog, on which we dined to-day ; while several others of the European breed taken on board at the Cape, turned from it without touching it.

Wednesd. 16.

We kept standing to the south-eastward till the 16th at noon, attended by numerous birds of the petrel and albatross kind, together with now and then a skua, or Port-Egmont hen. 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

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. Having reached the latitude of  $46^{\circ} 17'$  south, we directed our course to the north-eastward, as much as the wind would permit.

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On the 23d, the weather being mild and the wind very moderate, captain Furneaux came on board, and dined with us. He acquainted captain Cook, that all his people continued in good health, except one or two, who were infected with a nauseous disease, which is propagated by connections with the other sex. This information gave us great uneasiness, it being evident that the distemper had already reached New Zealand, since our men must have received it there. Struck with the horrid consequences which this evil would entail on the New Zealanders, we recapitulated the opportunities which those people had of catching the infection from Europeans. The first discoverer of this country, in 1642, Abel Janssen Tasman, had not the least amicable intercourse with the inhabitants, and none of his people appear to have been ashore upon it. Captain Cook, the next navigator, who visited it in the Endeavour Bark, 1769 and 1770, came from O-Taheitee and the Society Isles, where several of his people had contracted venereal complaints. However, as his passage lasted

nearly

Wednesd. 23.

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nearly two months, the surgeon reported, when they made the coast, that no man had any symptoms of the distemper about him. Notwithstanding this assurance captain Cook had the precaution, not to suffer any person to go on shore, who had been under cure, and might be suspected to have some latent remains of this infectious evil; and to preclude the possibility of communicating it to a guiltless people, he never suffered the women to come on board. M. de Surville, a French navigator, sailed from Pondichery in the St. Jean Baptiste, passed through the Straits of Malacca, touched at the Bashee Isles, went round Manila, saw land to the S. E. of New Britain, about the latitude of  $10\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ , and longitude  $158^{\circ}$  east, which he called Port Surville; touched at New Zealand, and proceeded to Callao, in South America, in order to trade there: but being drowned in the landing, and all his letters of recommendation being lost with him, the ship was detained near two years, and then sent to France, with all her merchandize. M. de Surville lay in Doubtless Bay, on the 9th of December, 1769, and saw the Endeavour standing past him, though captain Cook could not see his vessel, which lay under the land. What stay M. de Surville made there, and upon what terms he was with the natives, I know not; but the distance between this place and Queen Charlotte's Sound, and the want of intercourse between the inhabitants of both ports, make it improbable, even supposing the complaint to have existed among

among

among his crew, that it could have reached so far south.

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The same thing may be said with regard to M. de Marion and captain Crozet, two French officers, whose expedition, in 1772, I have mentioned page 112; for the communications which their crews had with the natives, was confined to the environs of the Bay of Islands, in the northernmost part of the northern isle. Our two floops were the next in order, which touched at New Zealand; but we had not the least reason to suppose, that they carried any venereal complaint to that country. They had left the Cape of Good Hope, the last place where it is possible the sailors might contract this disorder, six months before they came to Queen Charlotte's Sound, five of which they had been at sea; an interval in which a radical cure may be expected, unless the disease be of too inveterate a nature. However, they were far from having any patients of this sort on board, and it is not likely that the poison could lay dormant during that long interval of time, in a set of men who had no other than salt provisions to live upon, and spirituous liquors to drink, and who were exposed to wet and cold, and all the rigours of southern climates. We therefore concluded, that from all the concurring circumstances, the venereal disease was indigenous in New Zealand, and not imported by Europeans; and we have hitherto had no reason to alter our opinion on this subject. But if, in spite of appearances, our conclusions should prove erroneous, it is another

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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, infils another poison into the mind, and destroys the moral principles, while the disease corrupts and enervates the body. (see pag. 212.) 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.

JULY.

The wind still continued as changeable as before, till the beginning of July, having veered all round the compass against the sun, more than four times. During this space albatrosses, petrels, and sea-weeds, were frequently seen; rainbows also appeared almost every morning, nay one night we observed this phenomenon pretty strong, caused by the refracted light of the moon.

Friday 9.

On the 9th of July we were nearly in the same longitude, where captain Cook, in the Endeavour, had reached  $40^{\circ} 22'$  south\*, but our latitude was about two degrees and a quarter more southerly. Here we lost a young he-

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 282.

goat,

goat, which fell over board, and notwithstanding all possible means were tried for his recovery, such as chafing, injecting cyflers of the fumes of tobacco, &c. our endeavours proved entirely ineffectual.

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July 17th, having past the longitude of  $227^{\circ}$  east, and being in about  $40^{\circ}$  south latitude, we began to run due north, after a very tedious course in search of the southern continent, the existence of which, in the latitudes we had now passed through, had been positively asserted. 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 had gained by it, was the certainty that no great land was situated in the South Sea about the middle latitudes. In five days time our latitude being  $31^{\circ}$  south, we began to lose sight of albatrosses and petrels, and the thermometer was risen to  $61\frac{1}{2}$ , so that we began to change our winter clothes for others, considerably thinner, for the first time after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. 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. We saw a tropic bird on the 25th in the afternoon, a sure sign that we were arrived into the tem-

Saturday 17.

Sunday 25.

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JULY.

perate climates below  $30^{\circ}$  of latitude. The setting sun illumined the clouds with the most brilliant tints of gold, which confirmed us in the opinion that the colours of the sky are no where so rich and beautiful as between or near the tropics.

Wednesd. 28.

On the 28th we spoke with the Adventure, and heard that they had buried their cook three days ago, and that about twenty of her people were very ill of the scurvy. This was the more surprizing to us, as we had but very few people affected with any symptoms of that disorder, and only one who was dangerously sick. The next day captain Cook sent one of his seamen with a warrant to act as cook on board the Adventure; and several of our gentlemen took the opportunity of going to dine with their friends. They found captain Furneaux and some others very ill of a rheumatic complaint, and many of the people had fluxes. Their carpenter was remarkable ill of the scurvy, and had great livid blotches on his legs. This 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 four-kroust 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. On this occasion it is not improper to remark, that the scurvy is more dangerous  
and

and virulent in warm climates than in cold. As long as we had kept in high latitudes it did not make its appearance, or was at least confined to a few individuals, who were naturally of a bad habit of body; but we had scarcely had ten days of warm weather when one man died, and a number of others were affected with the worst symptoms of this dreadful distemper, on board the Adventure. It should therefore seem that the heat contributes to inflammation and putrefaction; and its general effect, even among those who had no dangerous scorbutic complaints, was a great degree of languor and debility.

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On the 4th of August a young bitch, of the terrier breed, taken on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and covered by a spaniel, brought ten young ones, one of which was dead. The New Zealand dog, mentioned above, which devoured the bones of the roasted dog, now fell upon the dead puppy, and ate of it with a ravenous appetite. This is a proof how far education may go in producing and propagating new instincts in animals. European dogs are never fed on the meat of their own species, but rather seem to abhor it. The New Zealand dogs, in all likelihood, are trained up from their earliest age to eat the remains of their master's meals; they are therefore used to feed upon fish, their own species, and perhaps human flesh; and what was only owing to habit at first, may have become instinct by length of time. This was

Wednesday 4.

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remarkable in our canibal-dog, for he came on board so young, that he could not have been weaned long enough to acquire a habit of devouring his own species, and much less of eating human flesh; however, one of our seamen having cut his finger, held it out to the dog, who fell to greedily, licked it, and then began to bite into it.

On the 6th, in the afternoon, being in about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  deg. of south latitude, we got the easterly trade-wind, which set in fresh after several calms, attended with heavy showers of rain. The sun being at this time still in the opposite hemisphere, was probably the cause of our meeting with this wind so much later than usual, the tropics being generally reckoned its limits. Agreeable to the observation which we now made, we had found the trade-wind, in August 1772, at Madeira, though that island is situated in  $33^{\circ}$  of north latitude. But the most remarkable occurrence in our run was the nature of the winds previous to our obtaining the trade-wind. We had expected that, by going in a middle latitude between  $50$  and  $40$  deg. south, we should meet with regular westerly winds, which are common in our seas during the winter months; instead of this we found them veering round the compass in two or three days time, never settling in any other than the eastern quarter, and sometimes blowing with great violence. Thus the name of Pacific Ocean, which has formerly been given to the whole South Sea, is, in my opinion, applicable

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ble only to a part of it between the tropics, where the winds are steady and uniform, the weather in general fair and mild, and the sea not so much agitated as in higher latitudes.

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Albecores, bonitos, and dolphins gave chase to many shoals of flying-fish, in the same manner as we had observed them in the Atlantic; while several large black-birds, with long wings and forked tails, which are commonly called men of war (*pelecanus aquilus*, Linn.) soared at a vast height in the air, and sometimes descending into a lower region, viewed a fish swimming under them, and darted down with amazing velocity, never failing to strike the fish with their bill. It is a well known fact, that gannets, which are birds of the same genus in the English seas, catch fish in a similar manner. The fishermen on the coast frequently fix a pilchard or herring on the point of a knife fastened to a floating board, and the bird darting down upon it transfixes itself on the knife.

On the 11th, in the morning, we discovered a low island to the southward of us, which seemed about four miles long, and about six miles distant. It appeared to be almost level with the sea, only some groups of trees rose above the horizon, and among them a few cocoa-nut palms out-topped the rest. To people in our situation, exhausted with a tedious passage, the bare sight of land was sufficient to give some consolation, though we could not expect

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Thursday 12.

expect to reap any benefit from its productions; and therefore this island, though divested of every thing strikingly beautiful, yet pleased the eye by the simplicity of its form. 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, and our awnings were spread over the quarter-deck. This island, which was called RESOLUTION Island, seems to have been seen by M. de Bougainville. Its latitude is  $17^{\circ} 24'$  south, and its longitude  $141^{\circ} 39'$  west from Greenwich. Our observation at noon was  $17^{\circ} 17'$  south, our course being nearly east. In the evening, at half past six o'clock, we saw another island of the same nature as the preceding, about four leagues distant, which was named DOUBTFUL Island. It being after sun-set, we stood to the northward till we had passed by it. The next morning, before day-break, we were alarmed by the sudden appearance of breakers within half a mile a-head of us. We changed our course instantly, apprized our consort of the danger by proper signals, and then stood along the reef. As soon as it was light we distinguished an island of a circular form, including a large basin or lagoon of sea-water; the northern shores were covered with trees and palms in various clusters, which had a very elegant appearance; but all the rest was a narrow ledge of rocks, over which the surf beat  
with

with great violence; within it the lagoon was shallow near us, but deeper under the wooded part; a difference which could easily be distinguished by the whiter or the bluer colour of the water. Captain Cook gave this isle the name of FURNEAUX Island; it is situated in  $17^{\circ} 5'$  south latitude, and  $143^{\circ} 16'$  west longitude. Standing along this reef we saw a canoe sailing near the northern part of the isle, and by the help of glasses we observed six or seven men in it, one of which was placed at the stern steering with a paddle. They did not seem to have embarked in order to reconnoitre us, as they did not approach the southern reef, but kept close in with the wooded part of the island. We proceeded all day with a favourable breeze and fair weather till sun-set; but the navigation between these low islands and reefs being extremely dangerous, because they can only be seen at short distances, we were obliged to bring to at night in order to avoid meeting with them unawares. Early the next morning we left another island of this kind on our starboard quarter, which was called ADVENTURE Island; it lies in  $17^{\circ} 4'$  south latitude, and  $144^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude. We spoke with the Adventure about the same time, and were told she had above thirty men on the sick list, most of them ill of the scurvy. Our sloop still kept rather free of this distemper, and every precaution was taken to preserve our crew in health by a plentiful use of four-kroust, by airing the hammocks

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Friday 13.

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hammocks every day, and frequently smoaking the ship with gunpowder and vinegar.

In the afternoon we saw an island right a-head, consisting of several clumps of trees, united by one reef, and from its situation we judged it was the same which Captain Cook named Chain Island in his former voyage\*. To prevent losing our time by bringing the sloops to at night, we hoisted a boat out, and sent it to sail ahead of our vessels, with a light, and to make signals in case of danger. The South Sea between the tropics contains many low islands, singularly constructed, which are level with the sea in most places, and at the utmost a yard or two above it. They have frequently a circular form, including a lagoon or basin of sea-water in their centre, and the depth of the sea all round them is unfathomable, the rocks rising perpendicularly from the bottom. Their productions must be few, and cocoa nut-trees are probably the most useful which they contain; but notwithstanding this circumstance and their small size, many of them are inhabited. The question how such little spots came to be peopled is not easily to be answered; but it is not easier to determine how the higher islands in the South Sea have acquired their inhabitants. Commodore (now Admiral) Byron, and Captain Wallis, who sent some of their people on shore upon these low islands, found their inhabitants shy and jealous of

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 77.

strangers;

strangers; a disposition which is perhaps owing to the difficulty of preserving their existence from the scanty provisions on their narrow circle, and which may be heightened by the consciousness that their small numbers render them liable to oppression. The language of these people, and their customs, are therefore still unknown, and these are the only circumstances from which the origin of nations, who have no records among them, can be traced.

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Early on the 15th of August we saw a high peak with a flattish summit, first discovered by Captain Wallis, who called it Osnabruck Island, and afterwards by M. de Bougainville, in whose chart it has the names of Pic de la Boudeuse, or le Boudoir. The mountain appeared of a considerable height, and its top was broken or excavated perfectly like the crater of a volcano, which seemed evidently to have existed here. The island was nearly of a circular form, and the mountain rose steep to a conical shape from all parts of the sea-shore, there being but little level land round its foot. The whole mountain was green, and the bottom or low land was covered with trees. While we eagerly feasted our eyes with this pleasing prospect, one of our officers, who had formerly been sent close in shore there by Captain Wallis, told us that the trees were of the kind which bear the bread-fruit, so much extolled in the voyages of Anson, Byron, Wallis, and Cook. He acquainted us at the same time, that the natives were of the

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race as those who dwell on O-Taheitee and the Society Isles, of which the first is within half a day's sail; and that they give the name of *Maâtea*\* to their own island. We never came nearer than four leagues to it, which was probably the reason that no canoes came off to visit us. Having very little wind we hoisted a boat out, which went on board the Adventure, and brought Captain Furneaux to dine with us. We had the pleasure to learn from him, that the flux among his crew was ceased, and that none of his people were in any imminent danger from the scurvy; we hoped therefore, from our vicinity to O-Taheitee, to have a speedy opportunity of restoring their health by a wholesome vegetable diet.

In the evening, about sun-set, we plainly saw the mountains of that desirable island, lying before us, half emerging from the gilded clouds on the horizon. Every man on board, except one or two who were not able to walk, hastened eagerly to the fore-castle to feast their eyes on an object, of which they were taught to form the highest expectations, both in respect of the abundance of refreshments, and of the kind and generous temper of the natives, whose character has pleased all the navigators who have visited them. The first discoverer was probably a Spaniard, PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, who sailed from Lima in Peru, on the 21st of December 1605. He made

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 78. Maitea,

an island on the 10th of February 1606, calling it *la Sagittaria*\*, which, from all the concurring circumstances, seems to have been O-Taheitee. He found no harbours on the south part, where he fell in with it; but the people he sent ashore were treated with the greatest marks of friendship and kindness. Captain Wallis next found this island on the 18th of June 1767, and called it George the Third's Island. Some unhappy misunderstanding arising between him and the natives at first, he fired upon them, killed about fifteen, and wounded a great number; but these good tempered people, forgetting the great loss they had sustained, and the wounds their brethren had received, made peace with him soon after, and furnished him with a profusion of refreshments, consisting of several roots, many sorts of rich fruit, fowls, and hogs. M. de Bougainville arrived in the eastern part on the 2d of April 1768, or about nine months and a half after the departure of Captain Wallis, and discovered the true indigenous name of this island; sensible of the amiable character of the inhabitants, he staid ten days among them, giving and receiving frequent marks of friendship and regard. Captain Cook, in the Endeavour, arriving here in April 1769, to observe the transit of Venus, circumnavigated the whole island in a boat; and, during a stay of three months, had

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\* See an Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. vol. I. p. 109 to 117.

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daily opportunities of confirming the observations already made upon this subject.

We stood on towards this island all night, and the favourable ideas which were raised by the accounts of former navigators, made us pass some happy hours in expectation of the morning. We resolved to forget our fatigues and the inclemencies of southern climates; the clouds which had hitherto hung lowering upon our brows were dispersed; the loathed images of disease and the terrors of death were fled, and all our cares at rest.

———— Somno positi sub nocte filenti  
Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum,

VIRGIL.

C H A P.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Anchorage in O-Aitepeba harbour, on the lesser peninsula of O-Taheitee.  
—Account of our stay there.—Removal to Matavai Bay.*

Devenere locos lætos et amœna vireta  
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas.  
Largior hic campos æther, et lumine vestit  
Purpureo.

VIRGIL.

**I**T was one of those beautiful mornings which the poets Monday 16<sup>th</sup>  
of all nations have attempted to describe, when we  
saw the isle of O-Taheite, 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 every thing seemed  
as yet asleep, the morning scarce dawned, and a peaceful  
shade still rested on the landscape. We discerned however,  
a number of houses among the trees, and many canoes  
hauled

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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.

The canoes soon passed through the openings in the reef, and one of them approached within hail. In it were two men almost naked, with a kind of turban on the head, and a sash round their waist. They waved a large green leaf, and accosted us with the repeated exclamation of *tayo* \*! which even without the help of vocabularies, we could easily translate into the expression of proffered friendship. The canoe now came under our stern, and we let down a present of beads, nails, and medals to the men. In return, they handed up to us a green stem of a plantane, which was their symbol of peace, with a desire that it might be fixed in a conspicuous part of the vessel. It was accordingly stuck up in the main shrouds, upon which our new friends immediately returned towards the land. In a short time we saw great crowds of people on the sea-shore gazing at us, while numbers in consequence of this

\* See Bougainville's Voyage, English Edition, p. 217.

treaty of peace, which was now firmly established, launched their canoes, and loaded them with various productions of their country. In less than an hour we were surrounded by an hundred canoes, each of which carried one, two, three, and sometimes four persons, who placed a perfect confidence in us, and had no arms whatsoever. The welcome sound of *tayo* resounded on all sides, and we returned it with a degree of heart-felt pleasure, on this favourable change of our situation. Coco-nuts, and plantanes in great quantity, bread-fruit and several other vegetables, besides some fresh fish were offered to us, and eagerly exchanged for transparent beads, and small nails. Pieces of cloth, fish-hooks, hatchets of stone, and a number of tools, were likewise brought for sale and readily disposed of; and many canoes kept plying between us and the shore, exhibiting a picture of a new kind of fair. I immediately began to trade for natural productions through the cabin-windows, and in half an hour had got together two or three species of unknown birds, and a great number of new fishes, whose colours while alive were exquisitely beautiful. I therefore employed the morning in sketching their outlines, and laying on the vivid hues, before they disappeared in the dying objects.

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

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round their middle of their own manufacture, and another wrapped about the head in various picturesque shapes like a turban. Among them were several females, pretty enough to attract the attention of Europeans, who had not seen their own country-women 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. Both sexes were adorned, or rather disfigured, by those singular black stains, occasioned by puncturing the skin, and rubbing a black colour into the wounds, which are mentioned by former voyagers. They were particularly visible on the loins of the common men, who went almost naked, and exhibited a proof how little the ideas of ornament of different nations agree, and yet how generally they all have adopted such aids to their personal perfection. It was not long before some of these good people came aboard. That peculiar gentleness of disposition

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 shoulder, 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.

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 voyagers, 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 modification of their 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 other observations, we immediately found that the O or E with which the greatest part of the names and words in lieutenant Cook's first voyage, begin, is nothing else than the article, which many eastern languages affix to the greater part of their

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substantives. In consequence of this remark, I shall always in the sequel either omit this prefix, or separate it from the word itself by a hyphen: and I cannot help taking notice that M. de Bougainville has been fortunate enough to catch the name of the island without the additional O, and expressed it as well as the nature of the French language will permit, by Taïti, which, with the addition of a slight aspirate, we pronounce Taheïtee, or Tahitee.

Seeing an opening in the reef before us, which was the entrance to the harbour of Whai-Urua, in the lesser peninsula of O-Taheitee, we sent a boat to found in it, which found convenient anchorage. The boat afterwards proceeded to the shore, where a croud of the natives gathered round it, and we heard the squeaking of pigs, which was at this time a more welcome sound to us, than the music of the most brilliant performer. Our people, however, were not so fortunate as to purchase any of them, all their offers being constantly refused, under the pretext that these animals belonged to the *aree*, or king.

A canoe now came alongside, of a somewhat larger size than the rest, and brought a handsome man, above six feet high, and three women, who all came on board. The man who immediately informed us, that his name was O-Tai, seemed to be a person of some consequence in this part of the island, and we supposed he belonged to that class

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class of vassals, or freeholders, who are called Manahounas in the first voyage of captain Cook. He came on the quarter-deck, to all appearance thinking, that a place where our chiefs were stationed, best became him. He was remarkable fairer than any of the natives we had yet seen, and resembled in colour the West Indian Mestizos. His features were really handsome and regular; he had a high forehead, arched eyebrows, large black eyes, sparkling with expression, and a well-proportioned nose; there was something remarkably sweet and engaging about his mouth; the lips were prominent, but not disagreeably large; and his beard was black, and finely frizzled; his hair was of a jetty colour, and fell in strong curls down his neck; but seeing that we all had ours queued, he made use of a black silk neckcloth, which Mr. Clerke made him a present of, to imitate our fashion. The body was in general well proportioned, though somewhat too lusty, and his feet were rather too large to harmonize perfectly with the rest. By the help of vocabularies we asked this man several questions. One of the first was, whether Tootahah was well? to this we were answered, that he was dead, being killed by the men of Tiarraboo, or the smaller peninsula, and that O-Aheatua was *e-aree*, or the king of the latter; which was confirmed by all the other natives. Of his three female companions, one was his wife, and the other two his sisters: the latter took great pleasure in teaching us to

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call them by their names, which were both sufficiently harmonious, one was called Maroya, and the other Marorai. They were still fairer than O-Tai, but their stature was small in comparison to his, being at least nine or ten inches less. The last mentioned was a graceful figure, with the most delicate and beautiful contours, in the hands and all above the zone. Their face was round, and their features far from being so regular as those of the brother; but an ineffable smile sat on their countenances. They seemed never to have been aboard of a ship before, so much were they struck with admiration on beholding its variety of objects. They did not content themselves with looking around the deck, but descended into the officers cabins, whither a gentleman conducted them, and curiously examined every part. Marorai took a particular fancy to a pair of sheets which she saw spread on one of the beds, and made a number of fruitless attempts to obtain them from her conductor. He proposed a special favour as the condition; she hesitated some time, and at last with seeming reluctance consented; but when the victim was just led to the altar of Hymen, the ship struck violently on the reef, and interrupted the solemnity. The affrighted lover, more sensible of the danger than his fair mistress, flew in haste upon deck, whither all the rest of our people crowded from their several occupations. The tide, during a perfect calm, had driven us by insensible degrees towards the reef  
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of rocks ; and actually set us upon it, before we could come into the entrance of the harbour, which was as it were within our reach. Repeated shocks made our situation every moment more terrifying ; however, providentially there was no swell which broke with any violence on the rocks, and the sea breeze, which must have brought on absolute destruction to us, did not come in all day. The officers, and all the passengers, exerted themselves indiscriminately on this occasion, hoisted out the launch, and afterwards by heaving upon an anchor, which had been carried out to a little distance, succeeded in bringing the vessel afloat. The natives on board, seeing us work so hard, assisted us in manning the capstan, 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. The heat during this violent exertion of our strength was immense ; the thermometer being upwards of ninety degrees in the shade, and the sun blazing in a perfectly clear sky. The Adventure was close to us, and escaped sharing the same distresses, by dropping an anchor in time. It was another fortunate circumstance, that the reef shelved in this place so as to admit of anchorage, which is indeed rarely the case, the coral rock being perpendicular in most parts. It was about three o'clock when

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when we were afloat again, after working for about an hour and a half. We now took some refreshments in a hurry, and as our situation was still extremely precarious, in case an easterly wind had come on, we manned the boats of both floops, and were towed off to sea, where we felt a land-breeze gently swelling our sails, about five o'clock. As soon as we were sure of it, we dispatched the boats to the assistance of the Adventure; but she had already slipped her cables, in order to take advantage of the favourable wind, and followed us. We stood off and on all night, and saw the dangerous reefs illuminated by a number of fires, by the light of which the natives were fishing. One of the officers retiring to rest, found his bed deprived of the sheets, which in all probability the fair Marorai had taken care of, when forsaken by her lover; though she must have managed this little concern with considerable ingenuity, as she had appeared on deck before any suspicion had fallen upon her.

Tuesday 17.

The next morning we resumed our course towards the shore, and stood in along the north part of the lesser peninsula. We were in a short time surrounded, as the day before, by the natives, who in a great number of canoes brought us abundance of vegetable, but no animal food, and whose clamours were sometimes loud enough to stun our ears. These canoes very frequently overset, but the natives were not much discomposed by such accidents, as

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both sexes were expert swimmers, and re-established themselves in a moment. Seeing that I enquired for plants, and other natural curiosities, they brought off several, though sometimes only the leaves without the flowers, and vice versa; however, among them we saw the common species of black night-shade, and a beautiful *erythrina*, or coral-flower; I also collected by these means many shells, coralines, birds, &c.

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\*About eleven o'clock we anchored in a little harbour called O-Aitepeha, on the north-east end of the southern or lesser peninsula of Taheitee, named Tiarraboo. Here the concourse of natives still increased, and we saw their canoes coming towards us from all parts. They were eager to obtain our beads, nails, and knives, for which an immense quantity of their cloth, mats, baskets, and various tools, as well as abundance of coco-nuts, bread-fruit, yams, and bananas were exchanged. Many of them came on deck, and took the opportunity of conveying away a number of trifles; nay, some went so far as privately to throw over board the coco-nuts, which we had already purchased, to their comrades, who immediately picked them up, and sold them to our people again. To prevent our being imposed upon for the future in this manner, the thieves were turned out of the vessel, and punished with a whip, which they bore very patiently.

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The heat was as great as it had been the day before, the thermometer standing at  $90^{\circ}$  in the shade, when the sky was covered with clouds; the wind likewise dying away again at noon to a perfect calm. Notwithstanding the waste of fluids which the weather occasioned, we could not say that we found the climate affected us too much, or was very disagreeable. On the contrary, allowing for the violent exercise we had undergone at the striking of the ship, we found ourselves more refreshed by the bare proximity of the shore, than we could have expected. The bread-fruit and yams proved a luxurious and most welcome substitute for worm-eaten biscuit; while plantanes, and a fruit of the shape of an apple, called *e-vee* by the natives, furnished out a delicious desert. Our only remaining wish, with regard to eatables, was to be able to purchase some hogs and fowls, which might supply the place of salt beef.

In the afternoon the captains, accompanied by several gentlemen, went ashore the first time, in order to visit O-Aheatua, whom all the natives thereabouts acknowledged as *aree*, or king. Numbers of canoes in the meanwhile surrounded us, carrying on a brisk trade with vegetables, but chiefly with great quantities of the cloth made in the island. The decks were likewise crowded with natives, among whom were several women who yielded without difficulty to the ardent solicitations of our sailors.

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Some of the females 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, (see his *Histoire Naturelle*.) 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 replaced the want of beauty, that our sailors were perfectly captivated, and carelessly disposed of their shirts and cloaths to gratify their mistresses. The simplicity of a dress which exposed to view a well proportioned bosom and delicate hands, might also contribute to fan their amorous fire; and the view of several of these nymphs swimming nimbly all round the sloop, such as nature had formed them, was perhaps more than sufficient entirely to subvert the little reason which a mariner might have left to govern his passions. A trifling circumstance had given cause to their taking the water. One of the officers on the

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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, already mentioned in Captain Cook's former voyage, 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. They continued this sport, and their other occupations about us, till sun-set, when they all withdrew by degrees to the shore.

In the evening the captains with their company returned on board, without having seen the king, who, perhaps mistrusting their intentions, had sent word, that he intended to visit us the next day. They had taken a walk along the shore to the eastward, attended by a great croud of  
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the natives, who insisted on carrying them on their shoulders over a fine brook. After they had passed it, the natives left them, and they proceeded accompanied by one man, who guided them to an uncultivated projecting point, where different kinds of plants grew in wild luxuriance among several sorts of shrubs. On coming out of the shrubbery they saw a building of stones, in form of the frustum of a pyramid; the base might measure about twenty yards in front, and the whole consisted of several terraces or steps above each other, which were ruinous and overgrown with grasses and shrubs, especially on the back or inland part. This the native said was a burying-place and place of worship, *marai*, and distinguished it by the name of *marai no-Aheatua*, the burying-place of Aheatua, the present king of Tiarroboo. Around it were placed perpendicularly, or nearly so, fifteen slender pieces of wood, some about eighteen feet long, in which six or eight diminutive human figures of a rude unnatural shape were carved, standing above each other, male or female promiscuously, yet so that the uppermost was always a male. All these figures faced the sea, and perfectly resembled some which are carved on the sterns of their canoes, and which they call *e-tee*. Beyond the *morai* they saw a kind of thatch erected on four posts, before which a lattice of sticks was placed in the ground, hung with bananas and cocoa-nuts *no t' Eatua*, "for the Divinity." They sat down to rest them-

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elves under the shade of this roof, and their guide seeing them a good deal exhausted, took several of the bananas and offered them, with the assurance that they were *mâa-maitai*, "good eating." They accepted them after this recommendation, and finding them really as delicious as they had been described, made no scruple to feast with the gods. As the evening was now advancing, they returned to the sea-shore, well pleased with their reception among these good-natured people, and brought on board a few plants, which we soon recognized as the productions common to tropical countries.

Wednesd. 18.

We contemplated the scenery before us early the next morning, when its beauties were most engaging. The harbour in which we lay was very small, and would not have admitted many more vessels besides our own. The water in it was as smooth as the finest mirror, and the sea broke with a snowy foam around us upon the outer reef. The plain at the foot of the hills was very narrow in this place, but always conveyed the pleasing ideas of fertility, plenty, and happiness. Just over against us it ran up between the hills into a long narrow valley, rich in plantations, interspersed with the houses of the natives. The slopes of the hills, covered with woods, crossed each other on both sides, variously tinted according to their distances; and beyond them, over the cleft of the valley, we saw the interior mountains shattered into various peaks and spires, among

among which was one remarkable pinnacle, whose summit was frightfully bent to one side, and seemed to threaten its downfall every moment. The serenity of the sky, the genial warmth of the air, and the beauty of the landscape, united to exhilarate our spirits.

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The launches of both ships were sent to *o Whai-urua*, to fetch the anchors which we had left there when we struck on the reef. A party of marines and seamen were ordered on shore at the same time, to carry on a trade for provisions, and to fill our empty casks with fresh water. For this purpose they occupied the remains of an abandoned shed or cottage on the beach, which at once gave them shelter from the sun, and secured them against the thievish disposition of the people. Before captain Cook went ashore he received a visit from a man of some note, called *o-Poòe*, who brought his two sons on board. They presented the captain with some of their cloth and some little trifles, and in return they received knives, nails, beads, and a shirt, in which having dressed themselves, they accompanied us to the shore.

Our first care was to leave the dry sandy beach, which could afford us no discoveries in our science, and to examine the plantations, which from the ships had an enchanting appearance, notwithstanding the brownish cast which the time of the year had given. We found them indeed to answer the expectations we had formed of a  
country

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country described as an elysium by M. de Bougainville, (see the English edition, p. 228.) We entered a grove of bread-trees, on most of which we saw no fruit at this season of winter, and followed a neat but narrow path, which led to different habitations, half hid under various bushes. Tall coco-palms nodded to each other, and rose over the rest of the trees; the bananas displayed their beautiful large leaves, and now and then one of them still appeared loaded with its clustering fruit. A sort of shady trees, covered with a dark-green foliage, bore golden apples, which resembled the anana in juiciness and flavour. Betwixt these the intermediate space was filled with young mulberry-trees (*morus papyrifera*.) of which the bark is employed by the natives in the manufacture of their cloth; with several species of arum or eddies, with yams, sugar-canes, and other useful plants.

We found the cottages of the natives scattered at short distances, in the shade of fruit-trees, and surrounded by various odoriferous shrubs, such as the gardenia, guettarda, and calophyllum. The neat simplicity of their structure gave us no less pleasure than the artless beauty of the grove which encompassed them. The pandang\* or palm-nut tree had given its long prickly leaves to thatch the

\* *Athrodactylis*. Char. Gen. Novor. Forster. London 1776. *Bromelia sylvestris*. Linn. Flor. Zeyl. *Keura*. Forskal. Flora Arab. *Pandanus*. Rumph. Amboin.

roofs of the buildings, and these were supported by a few pillars made of the bread-tree, which is thus useful in more respects than one. As a roof is sufficient to shelter the natives from rains and nightly dews; and as the climate of this island is perhaps one of the happiest in the world, the houses seldom have any walls, but are open on all sides. We saw, however, a few dwellings constructed for greater privacy, which were entirely enclosed in walls of reeds, connected together by transverse pieces of wood, so as to give us the idea of large bird-cages. In these there was commonly a hole left for the entrance, which could be closed up with a board. Before every hut, on the green turf or on dry grass, we observed groups of inhabitants lying down or sitting in the eastern stile, and passing their happy hours away in conversation or repose. Some of them got up at our approach, and joined the croud that followed us; but great numbers, especially those of a mature age, remained in their attitude, and only pronounced a kind *tayo* as we passed by them. Our attendant croud seeing us gather plants, were very ready to pluck and offer the same sorts to us, which they found attracted our notice. Indeed a variety of wild species sprung up amidst the plantations, in that beautiful disorder of nature, which is so truly admirable when checked by the hand of industry, and infinitely surpasses the trimness of regular gardens. Among them we found several species  
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of grasses, which though thinner than in our northern countries, yet by growing always in the shade, looked fresh and formed a soft bed of verdure. The soil was by their means kept sufficiently moist to give nourishment to the trees, and both were in a thriving state, owing to the reciprocal assistance which they gave each other. Various little birds dwelt in the shade of the bread-fruit and other trees, and had a very agreeable note, though common report among Europeans has denied the powers of harmony (I know not on what grounds) to the birds of warm climates. The heads of the tallest coco-trees were the usual residence of a kind of very small parroquets of a beautiful sapphirine blue, while another sort of a greenish colour, with a few red spots, were more common among the bananas, and appeared frequently tame in the houses of the natives, who seemed to value them for their red feathers. A king's fisher, of a dark-green, with a collar of the same hue round his white throat, a large cuckoo, and several sorts of pigeons or doves, were frequently seen hopping from branch to branch, and a bluish heron gravely stalked along the sea side, picking up shell-fish and worms. A fine brook, rolling over a bed of pebbles, came down a narrow valley, and supplied our waterers at its discharge into the sea. We followed its stream for a little while till we were met by a great croud of natives at the heels of three men, dressed in various pieces of their red and yellow cloth,

cloth, and provided with elegant turbans of the same. Each of them had a long stick or wand in his hand, and one of them was accompanied by a woman, whom upon enquiry we found to be his wife. We demanded what their appearance meant, and were answered they were the Te-apoonee; but when they observed we did not understand enough of their language to comprehend this term, they added that they were Tata-no-t'Eatooa, men belonging to the divinity, and to the Marai, or burying-place; I suppose we might call them priests. We stopped with them some time, but as we did not see that any religious, or other ceremony was performed, we returned to the beach. About noon captain Cook re-imbarked with us, and with the two sons of O-Poe mentioned page 269, without having seen Ahea-tua, who for reasons unknown to us, still refused to admit us to his presence.

The two young fellows sat down to dinner with us, and partook of the vegetables, but did not touch our salt provisions. After dinner, one of them took an opportunity of stealing a knife and a pewter spoon, not contented with a number of presents which he had received from the captain, without having made any return on his part, and which ought to have prevented him from infringing the laws of hospitality. The theft being discovered, he was kicked from the deck, jumped overboard, and swam to the next canoe, where he seated himself, perhaps in defiance

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of our power. Captain Cook fired a musket over his head, upon which he took to the water again, and overfet the canoe. A second musket was levelled at him, but he dived when he saw the flash, and did the same when the *third* was discharged. Captain Cook now manned his boat, and went to take the canoe, under which the man took shelter; but he soon abandoned it, and swam to a double canoe near the first, which was accordingly pursued. This canoe however got ashore through the surf, and the natives on the beach took up stones, which they levelled at our boat's crew, who thought it adviseable to retreat. However, a four pounder directed towards the shore, frightened the inhabitants sufficiently, so that our people could seize two large double canoes, and bring them along-side of the ship.

We left the ship after this disturbance, in order to take an afternoon's walk ashore near the watering-place, and to restore the confidence of the people, who had entirely forsaken us on account of our open hostilities. We pursued a different path from that which we had taken in the morning, and found great quantities of bananas, yams, eddies, &c. planted round every cottage, inhabited by friendly good-natured people, who seemed however a little more shy or reserved than usual, on account of what had happened. At last we arrived at a large house, neatly constructed of reeds, which we were told belonged to Aheatua, who was in another district.

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at present. Here we saw a hog, and a couple of fowls, the first which the natives exposed to our sight, having hitherto been very careful to conceal them, and always refusing to part with them, under the pretext that they were the property of the aree or king. They made use of the same excuse at present, though we offered a hatchet, which in their eyes was the most valuable merchandise we had. After a short stay, we returned the same way we came, and brought a small collection of new plants on board. About sun-set a boat was sent off, out of the harbour, to bury in the sea one Isaac Taylor, a marine, who died this morning of a complication of disorders. Ever since we had left England, this man had been feverish, consumptive, and asthmatic; his complaints always kept increasing, and at last turned to a dropsy, which carried him off. All our people on board were now well, except one, whose remarkable scorbutic habit of body always laid him up as soon as we came out to sea, where prophylactics and wort could but just keep him alive. However this man, as well as the Adventure's crew, who were much affected with the scurvy when they came in here, recovered amazingly by walking on shore, and eating quantities of fresh fruit.

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Early the next morning some of the natives came off to us in a small canoe, and begged for the restitution of those larger ones which had been taken from them on the

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day before. Captain Cook, who perceived the trade to have slackened in consequence of that seizure, none of the inhabitants coming to the ship, and few to the watering-place, returned the canoes, as the best means to reconcile us to the confidence of the natives; and though the effects of his indulgence were not instantaneous, yet in a day or two our trade was perfectly re-established.

After this peaceful prelude we went on shore, in pursuit of botanical discoveries. A smart shower of rain which had fallen over night, had cooled the air considerably, and made our walk extremely pleasant, before the sun could become troublesome. The whole country had profited by this rain, for every plant and tree seemed revived by it, and the groves exhaled a sweet refreshing smell. Whether it was owing to the early hour of our excursion, or to the beauty of the morning, our ear was saluted by the song of many small birds, which enlivened this delightful country. We had not walked far, when we heard a loud noise in the wood, which resembled the strokes of a carpenter's hammer. We followed the sound, and at last came to a small shed, where five or six women were sitting on both sides of a long square piece of timber, and beat the fibrous bark of the mulberry-tree here, in order to manufacture it into cloth. The instrument they used for this purpose was a square wooden club, with longitudinal and parallel furrows, which run smaller and closer together on the  
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different sides \*. They ceased a little while to give us time to examine the bark, the mallet, and the timber on which they performed their operations. They also shewed us a kind of glutinous water in a coco-nut shell, which was made use of from time to time, to make the pieces of bark cohere together. This glue, which, as we understood, was made of the *hibiscus esculentus*, is indispensibly necessary in the manufacture of those immense pieces of cloth, sometimes two or three yards wide, and fifty yards long, which are composed of little bits of bark, taken from trees never so thick as the wrist. We carefully examined their plantations of mulberry-trees, but never found a single old one among them; as soon as they are of two years growth they are cut down, and new ones spring up from the root, for fortunately this tree is one of the most prolific in nature, and if suffered to grow till it flowered and could bear fruits, might perhaps totally over-run the country. The bark must always be taken from young trees; and these are carefully drawn into long stems, without any branches, except just at the top, so that the bark is as entire as possible. The method of preparing it before it comes under the mallet, we were not yet acquainted with at this time. The women employed in this manner, were dressed in old and dirty rags of their cloth, and had very hard and callous

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\* See Dr. Hawkesworth's compilation, vol. II. p. 212, and plate No. 9.

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hands. We proceeded a little farther up in a narrow valley, where a well-looking man invited us to sit down in the shade before his house. There was a little area paved with broadish stones, on which he spread banana leaves for us, and brought out a little stool made of the bread-tree-wood, cut out of one piece, on which he desired one of us to sit down, whom he took to be the principal person. Seeing us all seated he ran into his house, and brought out a quantity of bread-fruit baked, which he laid before us on fresh banana leaves. To this he added a matted basket full of the vee, or Taheitee apples, a fruit of the *spondias* genus, which resembles the anâna, or pine-apple in the taste, and entreated us to partake of these refreshments. We breakfasted with a hearty appetite, sharpened by the exercise we had taken, the fine air of the morning, and the excellence of the provisions. We found the Taheitee method of dressing bread-fruit and other victuals, with heated stones under ground, infinitely superior to our usual way of boiling them; in the former all the juices remained, and were concentrated by the heat; but in the latter, the fruit imbibed many watery particles, and lost a great deal of its fine flavour and mealiness. To conclude this treat our host brought us five fresh coco-nuts, which he opened by pulling the fibres off with his teeth. The cool limpid liquor contained in them he poured into a clean cup, made of a ripe coco-nut-shell, and offered that to each of us in our turns.

turns. The people in this country had on all occasions been good-natured and friendly, and for beads sometimes fold us coco-nuts and fruit, if we called for them; but we had not yet seen an instance of hospitality exercised in so complete a manner during our short stay. We therefore thought it our duty to recompense our friend as much as lay in our power, and presented him with a number of transparent beads and iron nails, with which he was highly satisfied and contented.

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We continued our walk into the country from this feat of patriarchal hospitality, notwithstanding the uneasiness which many of the natives expressed, among the croud that followed us. When they saw us persist in our expedition, the greatest part of them dispersed to their different habitations, and only a few of them attended us, who made it their business to act as our guides. We came to the foot of the first hills, where we left the huts and plantations of the natives behind us, and ascended on a beaten path, passing through an uncultivated shrubbery mixed with several tall timber-trees. Here we searched the most intricate parts, and found several plants and birds hitherto unknown to natural historians. With these little acquisitions we returned towards the sea, at which our friends the natives expressed their satisfaction. We found a vast concourse of inhabitants on the beach at our trading-place, and saw that our people had brought a great quantity of  
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large eddies and other roots, but few bread-fruits, which were now very scarce, only a few trees bearing them so late in the season, while most of the others were already shooting forth the embryo of a new crop. The excessive heat of the sun, now tempted us to bath in a branch of the adjacent river, which formed a deep pond of some extent; and being refreshed with this bath we returned on board to dinner. In the afternoon we had heavy rains, attended with wind, during which the Adventure drove from her moorings, but was brought up again by a timely manœuvre. This bad weather confined us on board, where we arranged the plants and animals which we had hitherto collected, and made drawings of such as were not known before. Our three days excursions had supplied us only with a small number of species, which in an island so flourishing as Tabeitee, gave a convincing proof of its high cultivation; for a few individual plants occupied that space, which in a country entirely left to itself, would have teemed with several hundred different kinds in wild disorder. The small size of the island, together with its vast distance from either the eastern or western continent, did not admit of a great variety of animals. We saw no other species of quadrupeds than hogs, and dogs which were domestic, and incredible numbers of rats, which the natives suffered to run about at pleasure, without ever trying to destroy them. We found however a tolerable number  
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of birds, and when the natives gave themselves the trouble to fish, we commonly purchased a considerable variety of species, as this class of creatures can easily roam from one part of the ocean to the other, and particularly in the torrid zone, where certain forts are general all round the world.

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If the scarcity of spontaneous plants was unfavourable to the botanist, still it had the most salutary effects with regard to the whole company on board of both our vessels, since their place was occupied by great quantities of wholesome vegetables. We daily bought abundance of yams, eddies, and Taheitee apples; together with some bananas and bread-fruit, which, on account of the season, were grown very scarce. The wholesome regimen which we had by this means been able to keep, had visibly, and I might almost say miraculously, operated to restore to their health, all those who were ill of the scurvy at our arrival; and the only inconvenience we felt from it was a kind of flux, owing to the sudden change of diet, with which a few of the people were afflicted. Not content with this fortunate supply, we could not help casting longing eyes towards the hogs which we saw in great numbers on all our excursions into the country, though the natives were always careful to hide them in low styes, covered over with boards, forming a kind of platform, on which they sat or lay down. We tried all possible means to engage the people to sell some of them to us, and offered hatchets, VOL. I. O o shirts,

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shirts, and other goods of value to the Taheitiens, 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 sick, 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.

Friday 20.

Our acquisitions in natural history being hitherto so inconsiderable, we had leisure every day to ramble in the country in search of others, as well as to pick up various circumstances which might serve to throw a light on the character, manners, and present state of the inhabitants.

On the 20th towards noon, I directed my walk, in company with several officers, to the eastern point of the harbour. We soon came to a rivulet, which was wide and deep enough to admit a canoe upon it, by means of which we ferried over to the opposite shore, where we perceived a house of some extent, among the bushes. Before it we saw a quantity of the finer sorts of Taheitee cloth spread out on  
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the grags, which the natives told us, had been washed in the river; and close to the house, suspended on a pole, we observed a target of a semicircular form, made of wicker-work, and plaited strings (of the coco-nut fibres,) covered with the glossy bluish-green feathers of a kind of pigeon, and ornamented with many shark's teeth, displayed in three co-centric semicircles; I enquired whether it was to be purchased, but was answered in the negative, and concluded that it was only exposed to the air, in the same manner as we are used to do from time to time, with things which we preserve in close boxes. A middle-aged man, who lay stretched at his ease in the hut, invited us to sit down by him, and curiously examined my dress; he had long nails on his fingers, upon which he valued himself not a little, and which I found were a mark of distinction, since only such persons, as had no occasion to work, could suffer them to grow to that length. The Chinese have the same custom, and pride themselves as much in it; but whether the Tahitians derive it from them, or whether chance has led them both to the same idea, without any communication with each other, is possibly beyond the art of Needham and Des Guignes to determine. In different corners of the hut we saw some women and some men, separately eating their dinner of bread-fruit and bananas, and both parties, as we approached them, desired us to partake of their provisions. The singular custom, which forces

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the sexes to shun each others company at their meals, is already mentioned by former voyagers, who have been equally unsuccessful with ourselves in discovering its cause.

We left this hut, and strolled through an odoriferous shrubbery to another, where we found O-Tai, his wife, and children, and his sisters Maroya and Maroraï. The officer who had lost his bed-sheets was with us, but thought it to no purpose to enquire for them, and rather tried to ingratiate himself with the fair one. Beads, nails, and various trifles were presented to her, which she readily accepted, but remained inexorable to the passionate sollicitations of her lover. As she had in all probability obtained the possession of the sheets, which she coveted, and for which alone she could have submitted to prostitution, it seems nothing could afterwards tempt her to admit the transient embraces of a stranger. This is the most likely construction we could put upon her conduct, and it became more probable to us, when we considered, that she belonged to a family of some note, and that, during captain Cook's long stay on the island in the Endeavour, there had been few, if any instances, that women among the better sort of people had demeaned themselves so far. After a short stay with them, I returned to our trading place, but finding all our boats gone off, ventured to embark in a single canoe, without an outrigger, and was safely brought on board the Resolution.

solution for a single bead, which was all I had left after this excursion.

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At day-break the next morning we went ashore again, on another walk to the eastward. We observed the plain to widen, as we advanced beyond the east point of Aitepè-ha harbour, and of course growing richer in bread-fruit and coco-nut trees, bananas, and other vegetable productions, on most of which we saw the buds of a future crop. The houses of the natives were likewise found to be more numerous, and many seemed to us neater and newer than those near our anchoring-place. In one of them, which was of the closer sort, walled in with reeds, we saw a great many bundles of cloth, and cases for targets suspended from the roof, all which, as well as the house itself, we were informed belonged to Aheatua. We walked about two miles in the most delightful groves or plantations of fruit-trees, where the natives were just returning to their various employments. Among them we easily noticed the manufacturers of cloth, by the hollow sound of the mallet. However, it must not be supposed, that the necessities of these people urgently required their constant application to work; for our appearance soon gathered a crowd of them about us, who followed us all day as far as we went, and sometimes even neglected their meals on our account. It was not without some interested motives, that they attended upon us. Their general behaviour towards

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wards us was good-natured, friendly, and I may say officious; but they watched every opportunity of conveying away some trifles with amazing dexterity, and many among them, whenever we returned the kind looks they gave us, or smiled upon them, thought that a proper time to take advantage of our good disposition, and immediately with a begging tone said, *tayo, pòë*, "friend, a bead!" which, whether we complied with or refused, did not alter their good temper. When these petitions became too frequent, we used to mock them, by repeating their words in the same tone, which always produced a general peal of good-humoured laughter amongst them. Their conversation was commonly loud, and it seemed that our appearance was their principal topick; every new-comer was immediately made acquainted by the others with our names, which they reduced to a few vowels and softer consonants, and was entertained with a repetition of what we had said or done that morning. His first request was generally to hear a musket fired off, which we complied with on condition that he should shew us a bird as a mark. However, we were frequently at a loss how to behave, when he pointed out a bird at four or five hundreds yards distance, as they had no idea that the effects of our fire-arms were limited to a certain space. As it was not prudent to let them into this mystery, we always pretended that we could not see the bird, till we came near enough to shoot it. The first  
explosion

explosion frightened them considerably, and on some produced such violent consternation that they dropped down on the ground, or ran back about twenty yards from us, where they remained till we quieted their fears by professions of friendship, or till their more courageous brethren had picked up the bird which we had killed. But they soon became more familiar, and though they always expressed some sudden emotion, yet they conquered by degrees the appearance of fear.

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Notwithstanding the friendly reception which we met with on all sides, the natives were very anxious to keep their hogs out of sight, and whenever we enquired for them seemed uneasy, and either told us they had none, or assured us they belonged to Aheatua their king. As we perceived their reluctance to part with these animals, we thought it best to take no farther notice of them, and though we saw great numbers of them confined in pigstyes almost in every hut, we pretended not to know that there were any, or not to care for them; this proceeding we always found had the good effect of encreasing the confidence of the people towards us.

Having advanced a mile or two, we sat down on a few large stones, which formed a kind of paved area before one of the cottages, and desired the inhabitants to bring us some bread-fruit and coco-nuts, in exchange for beads. They very readily supplied us with a quantity of each, on  
which

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which we breakfasted. The croud who followed us, sat down at a distance from us, at our desire, in order that they might have no opportunity of snatching up any of our arms, or other apparatus, which we were obliged to lay out of our hands, while we made our meal. To add to our good cheer, we were presented with a coco-nut shell full of a kind of diminutive fresh fish, which the natives are used to eat raw, without any other sauce than salt water. We tasted them, and found them far from disagreeable; however, as we were not used to eat them without being dressed, we distributed them, with the remains of the fruit, to our favourites among the croud.

Thus refreshed, we continued our walk, but turned towards the hills, notwithstanding the importunities of the natives, who urged us to continue on the plain, which we easily perceived arose merely from their dislike to fatigue. We were not to be diverted from our purpose; but leaving behind us almost the whole croud, we entered, with a few guides, a chasm between two hills. There we found several wild plants which were new to us, and saw a number of little swallows flying over a fine brook, which rolled impetuously along. We walked up along its banks to a perpendicular rock, fringed with various tufted shrubberies, from whence it fell in a crystalline column, and was collected at the bottom into a smooth limpid pond, surrounded with many species of odoriferous flowers. This spot, where we  
had

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had a prospect of the plain below us, and of the sea beyond it, was one of the most beautiful I had ever seen, and could not fail of bringing to remembrance the most fanciful descriptions of poets, which it eclipsed in beauty. In the shade of trees, whose branches hung over the water, we enjoyed a pleasant gale, which softened the heat of the day, and amidst the solemn uniform noise of the waterfall, which was but seldom interrupted by the whistling of birds, we sat down to describe our new acquisitions before they withered. Our Tahitian companions seeing us employed, likewise rested among the bushes, viewing us attentively and in profound silence. We could have been well pleased to have passed the whole day in this retirement; however, after finishing our notes, and feasting our eyes once more with the romantick scenery, we returned to the plain. Here we observed a great croud of the natives coming towards us, and at their near approach perceived two of our shipmates, Mr. Hodges and Mr. Grindall, whom they surrounded and attended on their walk. We soon joined them, and resolved to continue our excursion together. A youth, of a very promising countenance, who had distinguished himself by shewing a particular attachment for these gentlemen, was entrusted with Mr. Hodges's port-folio, where he preserved the sketches and designs, which he had frequent opportunities of making on his walk. No favour, or mark of affection could I believe have given this youth

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so much real pleasure, as the confidence they had placed in him, upon which he seemed to value himself among his countrymen. Perhaps this circumstance, joined to the peaceable appearance of our gentlemen, who walked without arms of any kind, had a general effect upon all the people that surrounded us, as their familiarity and affection seemed much increased. We entered a spacious hut together, where we saw a large family assembled. An old man, with a placid countenance, lay on a clean mat, and rested his head on a little stool, which served as a pillow. His head, which was truly venerable, was well furnished with fine locks of a silvery grey, and a thick beard as white as snow descended to his breast. His eyes were lively, and health sat on his full cheeks. His wrinkles, which characterize age with us, were few and not deep; for cares, trouble, and disappointment, which untimely furrow our brows, cannot be supposed to exist in this happy nation. Several little ones, whom we took to be his grand-children, and who, according to the custom of the country, were perfectly naked, played with their aged ancestor, while his actions and looks convinced us, that the simple way of living to which he had been used, had not yet blunted his senses. Several well-made men and artless nymphs, in whom youth supplied the want of beauty, surrounded the old man, and as we came in seemed to be in conversation after a frugal meal. They desired us to sit  
down

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down on the mats among them, and we did not give them time to repeat their invitation. Their curiosity, which had perhaps never before been gratified with the sight of strangers, now prompted them to examine our drefs and our arms, without bestowing their attention longer than a moment on any single object. They admired our colour, pressed our hands, seemed to wonder that we had no punctures on them, nor long nails on our fingers, and eagerly enquired for our names, which when known, they were happy to repeat. These names, as they pronounced them, were not so like the originals that an etymologist could easily have deduced them, but in return they were more harmonious, and easily pronounced. Forster was changed into *Matara*, Hodges into *Oreo*, Grindall into *Terino*, Sparrman into *Pamane*, and George into *Teoree*. The hospitality which we had found under every roof, was not wanting here, and we were offered some coco-nuts and *e-vees* to quench our thirst after the last walk. One of the young men had a flute made of a bamboo, which had but three holes; he blew it with his nostrils\*, whilst another accompanied him with the voice. The whole music, both vocal and instrumental, consisted of three or four notes, which were between half and quarter notes, being neither whole tones nor semi-tones. The effect of these notes, without variety or order, was only a kind of drowsy hum, which could not indeed hurt

\* See Hawkesworth.

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the ear by its discordant sounds, but made no pleasing impression on our minds. It is surprising that the taste for music should be so general all over the world, when the ideas of harmony among different nations are so distinct! Charmed with the picture of real happiness, which was thus exhibited before us, Mr. Hodges filled his port-folio with several sketches, which will convey to future times the beauties of a scene, of which words give but a faint idea. While he was drawing, all the natives looked on with great attention, and were highly pleased to find out the resemblance between his performances and different persons among them. Our acquaintance with their language, which we were at great pains to improve, was as yet very imperfect, and deprived us of the pleasure which we might have received from a conversation with these good people. A few separate words, and an interlude of dumb mimickry, was all that we had to supply the place of a coherent speech. However, even this was sufficient to amuse the natives, and our docility and endeavours to please seemed to be at least as agreeable to them, as their social temper and willingness to give instruction appeared to us. The old man, without changing his attitude, and continuing to recline his head on the stool, asked us several little questions, such as the captain's name, the name of the country we came from, how long we should stay, whether we had our wives on board, &c. It seemed that he was  
already

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already apprised of all these things by common report, but wished to have them confirmed from our own mouths. We satisfied his curiosity as well as we could on these points, and after distributing little presents of beads, medals, and other trifles to his family, we set forwards once more on our excursion. The many pauses which we made at the hospitable huts of the natives, always refreshed us so much, that we felt no manner of inconvenience, and could with ease have walked round the whole island in the same manner. The plain at the foot of the mountains offered no impediment to our progress; on the contrary, its paths were well beaten, and its whole surface perfectly level, and covered in many places with a fine growth of grasses. Not a single noxious animal appeared to deter us, and not even a gnat or musketoë hummed unpleasantly about us, or made us apprehensive of its bite. The bread-fruit groves, with their abundant foliage, intercepted the rays of the meridian sun, whose action was greatly mitigated by a fresh sea-breeze. The inhabitants however, who were used to pass the middle of the day in repose, dropt off one by one in the bushes, so that only a few remained with us. After we had walked about two miles farther to the south eastward, we came to the sea-shore at a place where it formed a little inlet. Here, surrounded on all sides with plantations, we met with a glade or lawn, in the midst of which we saw a marai (burying-place) built up of three  
ranges.

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ranges of stones, like steps, each about three feet and a half in height, and covered with grasses, ferns, and small shrubs. Towards the country, at some distance from the building, there was an oblong enclosure round it made of stone, about three feet high, within which two or three solitary coco-palms and some young casuarinas, with their weeping branches, gave an air of solemnity and pleasing melancholy to the scene. At a little distance from the marai, surrounded by a thick shrubbery, we saw an inconsiderable hut or shed, (*tupapow*,) where, on a kind of stage about breast high, a corpse was placed, covered with a white piece of cloth, which hung down in various folds. Young coco-trees and bananas were springing up, and dragon-trees blossoming around it. Near this we saw another hut, where a quantity of eatables lay for the divinity, (*eatua*,) and a pole was stuck in the ground, on which we saw a dead bird wrapped in a piece of a mat. In this last hut, which stood on a small eminence, we observed a woman sitting in a pensive attitude, who got up at our approach, and would not suffer us to come near her. We offered her a small present, but she refused to touch it. We understood from the natives who were with us, that she belonged to the marai, and that the dead corpse was also a woman's, whose obsequies the first perhaps was performing.

After

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After Mr. Hodges had made several drawings we returned from this place, which had really something grand in its appearance, and seemed calculated to favour religious meditation. In our return we kept along the sea-shore, till we came to a spacious house, very pleasantly situated amidst a grove of low coco-palms, loaded with fruit. Two or three fried little fishes, which one of the natives sold us for a few beads, were here shared among us, to stay our appetite, grown very keen again since our breakfast. Several of our company likewise bathed in the sea, as a farther refreshment in this warm climate, and having afterwards bought some pieces of cloth, (*abow's*) of the country fabric, dressed in them, after the Taheitee fashion, to the infinite pleasure of the natives. Our walk continued along the shore beyond another marai, much like the first, to a neat house, where a very fat man, who seemed to be a chief of the district, was lolling on his wooden pillow. Before him two servants were preparing his desert, by beating up with water some bread-fruit and bananas, in a large wooden bowl, and mixing with it a quantity of the fermented sour paste of bread-fruit, (called *mabeî*.) The consistence of this mixture was such, that it could properly be called a drink; and the instrument with which they made it, was a pestle of a black polished stone, which appeared to be a kind of basaltés \*. While this was doing, a woman who sat down

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 202.

near

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near him, crammed down his throat by handfuls the remains of a large baked fish, and several bread-fruits, which he swallowed with a voracious appetite. His countenance was the picture of phlegmatic insensibility, and seemed to witness that all his thoughts centred in the care of his paunch. He scarce deigned to look at us, and a few monosyllables which he uttered, were only directed to remind his feeders of their duty, when we attracted their attention. The great degree of satisfaction which we had enjoyed on our different walks in this island, and particularly the pleasure of this day's excursion, was diminished by the appearance and behaviour of the chief, and the reflections which naturally arose from thence. We had flattered ourselves with the pleasing fancy of having found at least one little spot of the world, where a whole nation, without being lawless barbarians, aimed at a certain frugal equality in their way of living, and whose hours of enjoyment were justly proportioned to those of labour and rest. Our disappointment was therefore very great, when we saw a luxurious individual spending his life in the most sluggish inactivity, and without one benefit to society, like the privileged parasites of more civilized climates, fattening on the superfluous produce of the soil, of which he robbed the labouring multitude. His indolence, in some degree, resembled that which is frequent in India and the adjacent kingdoms of the East, and deserved every mark of indignation

tion which Sir John Mandeville expressed in his Asiatic travels. That worthy knight, who, top-full of chivalry, and the valourous spirit of his time, devoted his life to constant activity, was highly incensed at the sight of a monster of laziness, who passed his days "withouten doynge of ony dedes of armes," and lived "everemore thus in ese, as a swyn that is fedde in sty, for to ben made fatte \*."

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On

\* For the satisfaction of my readers I shall here insert the account which the knight gives of the voluptuary who attracted his censure, especially as several little circumstances serve to make the similarity between him and the Tahitian chief more perfect.—“ From that lond, in returnyng be ten jorneyes thorge out the lond of the grete *Chane*, is another gode yle and a great kyngdom, where the kyng is fulle riche and myghty. And amonges the riche men of his contree is a passyng riche man, that is no prynce, ne duke, ne erl; but he hath mo that holden of him londes and other lordschipes: for he is more riche. For he hathe every zeer of annulle rente 300000 hors charged with corn of dyverse greynes and ryzs; and so he ledethe a fulle noble lif and a delycate, after the custome of the contree. For he hathe every day 50 fair damyseles, alle maydenes, that serven him evere more at his mete, and for to lye by him o night, and for to do with hem that is to his plesance. And when he is at the table, thei bryngen him hys mete, at every tyme 5 and 5 togedre. And in bryngyng hire servyce, thei syngen a song. And after that, thei kутten his mete, and putten it in his mouthe, for he touchethe no thing, ne handlethe nought, but holdethe everemore his hondes before him upon the table. For he hathe so longe nayles, that he may take no thing, ne handle no thing, for the nobleffe of that contree is to have longe nayles, and to make hem growen alle ways to ben as longe as men may.— And alle weys theise damyseles, that I spak of befor, syngen all the tyme that this riche man etethe: and whan that he etethe no more of his first cours, thanne other 5 and 5 of faire damyseles bryngen him his seconde cours alle weys syngyng as thei dide befor. And so thei don contynuelly

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On leaving this Taheitian drone we separated, and I accompanied Mess. Hodges and Grindall, whose good-natured friend, the carrier of the port-folio, had earnestly invited us to his habitation. We arrived there towards five in the evening, and found it a small but cleanly cottage, before which a great abundance of fresh leaves were spread on a stony place, and a prodigious quantity of the best coco-nuts and well-roasted bread-fruit were laid out in fine order. He immediately ran to two elderly persons, who were busy in frightening the rats from this plentiful store of provisions, and introduced them to us as his parents. They expressed great joy on seeing the friends of their son, and entreated us to sit down to the meal which lay before us. We were at first struck with astonishment on finding it entirely prepared at our arrival, but we soon recollected that our friend had sent off one of his comrades several hours beforehand, very probably with directions to provide for our entertainment. As this was the first regular meal to which we sat down this day, it will easily be conceived that we fell to with a good appetite, and gave infinite satisfaction to the good-natured old people and the generous-minded youth, who all seemed to

“ every day to the ende of his mete. And in this manere he ledethe his lif, and  
 “ so did thei befor him that weren his auncestres, and so schulle thei that  
 “ comen astre him.” See the *Voyages and Travaylls of Sir John Maundevile, knight,*  
 pag. 376.

think

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think themselves happy in the honour which we did to their excellent cheer. With such a venerable pair ministering to us, if I may be allowed to indulge in a poetical idea, we ran some risk of forgetting that we were men, and might have believed ourselves feasted by the hospitable Baucis and Philemon, if our inability to reward them had not reminded us of mortality. However, all the beads and nails which we could muster amongst us were offered to them, rather as a mark that we preserved a grateful sense of their good heart, than as any retribution. The youth went on with us to the beach opposite to our vessels, and brought on board a great quantity of provisions, which we had left unconsumed at our dinner. He was there presented with a hatchet, a shirt, and various articles of less value by his friends, and returned that very evening on shore to his parents, being probably enriched beyond his warmest expectation.

The usual trade had been carried on about the ships, and on the beach opposite to them, during our absence, without any material incident, except Captain Cook's meeting with TUAHOW, the same native who had accompanied him a considerable way when he made the circuit of Tahitee in a boat, in the course of his first voyage\*. We found him and two of his countrymen on board at our return, they having resolved to take up their night's lodging

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 160, 162, &c.

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with us, which, though usual at Matavai Bay during the Endeavour's voyage, none had hitherto ventured upon in this place. Tuahow being already familiarized with our way of living, and acquainted with the various objects which commonly struck his countrymen with wonder, eagerly entered into discourse with us, as he found us attentive to his questions. He enquired after *Tabane*, Mr. Banks; *Tolano*, Dr. Solander; *Tupaya*, (Tupia) and several persons in the Endeavour whose names he recollected. He rejoiced to hear that Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were well, and having often renewed his question, always received the same answer to it; upon which he asked whether they would not come back to Taheitee, accompanying it with a look which strongly expressed the wish of seeing them again. When he heard of *Tupaya's* death, he was desirous of being informed whether it had been violent or natural, and was well pleased to hear from such circumstances as we could by broken words and signs communicate to him, that sickness had put a period to his life. In return, we questioned him concerning the death of *Tootabab*, who had appeared as the acting chief of the island in Captain Cook's former voyage. We plainly understood that a great naval fight had happened between that chief and old *Abeatua*\*; the father of the present king of Tiarraboo; in which neither party had gained a decisive advantage;

\* Called *Wabeatua* in Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 157, 158.

but

but that Tootahàh afterwards marching his army across the isthmus, which separates the two peninsulas, had been defeated in an obstinate engagement, in which himself, Tuborai-Tamaide, and many other persons of distinction on his side were slain. A peace was soon after concluded with O-Too the king of O-Taheitee\*, who, after Tootahàh's decease, had assumed the power of the sovereignty, of which before he had only enjoyed the title. Old Aheatua, according to Tuahow's account, died but a few months after this peace; and his son, of the same name; who, according to the custom of this country, had already, during his father's life-time, borne the title of *te-aree* † (the king,) and received the honours annexed to that dignity, now likewise succeeded to its more essential part, the management of affairs.

This subject being exhausted; we took out the map of O-Taheitee, (engraved for captain Cooke's former voyage) and laid it before Tuahow; without telling him what it was. He was however too good a pilot, not to find it out presently; and overjoyed to see a representation of his own country, immediately with his finger pointed out the situation of all the whennuas or districts upon it, naming them at the same time in their order, as we saw them written.

\* Called *Outou* in Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 154.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 158, 159, 160, 175; where this title is constantly expressed as his *name*.

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on the chart. When he came to O-Whai-urua the next district with a harbour, to the south of our present anchoring-place, he pulled us by the arm to look on attentively, and related that there had been a ship (pahei) which he called pahei no Peppe, and which had lain there five days; that the people in her had received ten hogs from the natives, and that one of the crew ran away from the ship, and now lived upon the island. From this account we concluded that the Spaniards had sent another vessel to examine O-Taheitee, probably first discovered by their navigators, and which of late years had been so frequently visited by the English, as might justly rouse their attention, on account of the proximity of their own extensive possessions in South America. Strange as it may seem, the name of Peppe confirmed us in our conjectures, notwithstanding its vast difference from España, from whence we supposed it originated; because we were by this time well acquainted with the custom of mutilating all foreign names, which the Tahitians possess, even in a higher degree than the French and English. We put several questions relative to this ship to Tuahow, but could never obtain any farther intelligence from him, except that the man who had left it, always accompanied Aheatua, and had given him the advice not to furnish us with any hogs. Whatever self-interested or bigoted motives that man may have had to give Aheatua such an advice, yet it seems to have been in reality

reality the most friendly and valuable which he could have offered to his protector. The way to keep the riches of his subjects, among which are their hogs in the country, and to prevent new wants from prevailing among a happy people, was to get rid of us as soon as he could, by denying us the refreshments of which we stood most in need. It were indeed sincerely to be wished, that the intercourse which has lately subsisted between Europeans and the natives of the South Sea islands may be broken off in time, before the corruption of manners which unhappily characterises civilized regions, may reach that innocent race of men, who live here fortunate in their ignorance and simplicity. But it is a melancholy truth, that the dictates of philanthropy do not harmonize with the political systems of Europe!

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Several of our people having taken a walk on shore, the next day returned on board with the news, that they had met with Aheatua, who was at last come to this district in order to give us an audience. They had been admitted into his presence without any ceremony, and his majesty, in the midst of all his court, had given up one half of his stool (pappa), to Mr. Smith, one of our mates, who was of the party. He had at the same time graciously assured him, that he wished to speak to captain Cook, and had as many hogs to give him, as *he* had hatchets to pay for them, which was by far the most agreeable news we had heard

Sunday 22.

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heard for some time. They also reported that they had seen a man resembling an European in colour and feature, but that upon speaking to him, he had retired into the croud. Whether this was really an European, or whether the story which Tuahow had told us the evening before, had wrought upon the fancy of our men we cannot determine; so much however is certain, that none of us ever saw him afterwards.

Monday 23.

In consequence of Aheatua's declaration, the captains, with several officers, Dr. Sparrman, my father, and myself, went on shore early on the 23d. We proceeded about a mile along the river from which we filled our casks, being conducted by Opao, one of the natives, who had lodged on board. A great croud coming down towards us, those who surrounded us pulled off their upper garments, so as to uncover their shoulders, which is a mark of respect due to the king. We presently joined the croud, in the midst of whom Aheatua sat down on a large stool, cut out of solid wood, which one of his people had hitherto carried. He immediately recollected captain Cook, and made room for him on his stool, while captain Furneaux, and the rest of us, chose large stones for our seats. An immense number of natives thronged about us on all sides, and included us in a very narrow circle, increasing the heat to such a degree, that the king's attendants were frequently obliged to keep them back, by beating them.

O-AHEATUA,

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O-AHEATUA, the king of O-Taheitee-eetee, (Little Taheitee) which is otherwise called Tiarraboo, was a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, well-made, about five feet six inches high, and likely to grow taller. His countenance was mild, but unmeaning; and rather expressed some signs of fear and distrust at our first meeting, which suited ill with the ideas of majesty, and yet are often the characteristics of lawless power. His colour was of the fairest of his people, and his lank hair of a light-brown, turning into reddish at the tips, or being what is commonly called sandy. He wore at present no other dress than a white sash, (marro) round the waist to the knees, made of the best kind of cloth, and his head as well as all the rest of his body was uncovered. On both sides of him sat several chiefs and nobles, distinguishable by their superior stature, which is the natural effect of the immense quantity of food which they consume. One of them was punctured in a surprising manner, which we had never seen before, large black blotches of various shapes, almost covering his arms, legs, and sides. This man, whose name was E-Tee, was also remarkable for his enormous corpulence, and for the deference which the aree (king) paid to him, consulting him almost upon every occasion. The king, during the time he sat on the stool, which was his throne, preserved a grave or rather stiff deportment, scarce to be expected at his years, though it seemed to be

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studied and assumed, only to make our meeting more solemn. This may be looked upon as a kind of recommendation by some men, but it is unhappily a mask of hypocrisy, which we should hardly have expected at Tahitee. After the first salutation, captain Cook presented Aheatua with a piece of red baize, a bed-sheet, a broad axe, a knife, nails, looking-glasses, and beads; and my father gave him similar presents, among which was an aigrette or tuft of feathers fixed on a wire, and dyed of a bright crimson; upon this his majesty set a particular value, and at the sight of it the whole croud gave a general shout of admiration, expressed by the word *awbay!* The king now enquired for Mr. Banks, which only Tuahow had done before him, and then asked how long we intended to stay, expressing at the same time, that he wished we might remain five months. Captain Cook's answer was, that as he did not receive sufficient supplies of provisions, he must sail immediately. The king confined his first request to one month, and at last to five days, but captain Cook persisted in his resolution; Aheatua then promised to send us hogs the next day, but as this had been repeatedly said without any consequence, we took no notice of it now; for even in a state so little refined as Tiarraboo, we found that the real benevolence of the middle class, which manifested itself towards us in hospitality and a number of good  
and

and noble actions, gave us no right to trust the specious politeness of the court and courtiers, who fed our hopes with empty promises.

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During this conference the croud, amounting at least to five hundred persons, was so excessively noisy, that it was impossible at times to distinguish a word; and on those occasions some of the king's attendants with a Stentor's voice called out *mamod!* (be silent,) and enforced his command by dealing out hearty blows with a long stick. The king seeing that captain Cook was not to be persuaded to prolong his stay in this harbour, got up, and walked down along the river with us, while his attendants carried his wooden stool, and the kingly presents which he had received. On this walk he laid aside the gravity, which was not natural to him, and talked with great affability to our common people. He desired me to tell him the names of all the persons from on board both sloops, who were present, to which he added the question, whether they had their wives on board? Being answered in the negative, his majesty in a fit of good humour desired them to look for partners among the daughters of the land, which they understood it was meant at present, in the light of a mere compliment. He sat down soon after close to a house of reeds, into which we all retired, when the sun appeared through the clouds. Here he called for some coco-nuts, and began to tell the story of the *Pabez no Peppe*, or Spanish

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ship, of which Tuahow had given us the first intimation. According to the king's account it seemed clear, that the ship had been at Whai Urua five months before us, and had lain there ten days. He added, that the captain had hanged four of his people, and that the fifth had escaped the same punishment by running away. This European, whom they named O-Pahoòtu, we enquired after to no purpose, for a long while ; till his majesty's attendants seeing us very eager to become acquainted with him, assured us he was dead. We have since 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 O-Taheitee, but what the particulars of that voyage are, has never transpired. While we remained in the house E-Tee, the fat chief, who seemed to be the principal counsellor of the king, very seriously asked us, whether we had a God (*Eatuá*) in our country, and whether we prayed to him (*epoore?*) When we told him, that we acknowledged a Divinity, who had made every thing, and was invisible, and that we also were accustomed to address our petitions to him, he seemed to be highly pleased, and repeated our words with notes of his own to several persons who sat round him. To us he seemed to signify, that the ideas of his countrymen corresponded with ours in this respect. Every thing concurs indeed to convince us, that this simple and only just conception of the Deity, has been familiar to mankind  
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in all ages and in all countries, and that only by the excessive cunning of a few individuals, those complex systems of absurd idolatry have been invented, which disgrace the history of almost every people. The love of empire, or the pursuit after voluptuousness and indolence, seem to have inspired the numerous branches of heathen priests with the idea of keeping the minds of the people in awe, by awakening their superstition. The natural love of the miraculous has made it easy for them not only to put their projects in execution, but likewise to weave their prejudices so firmly into the web of human knowledge, that to this moment the greater part of mankind pay them homage, and blindly suffer themselves to be cheated in the grossest manner.

While E-Tee was conversing on religious matters, king Aheatua was playing with Captain Cook's watch. After curiously examining the motion of so many wheels, that seemed to move as it were spontaneously, and shewing his astonishment at the noise it made, which he could not express otherwise than by saying it "spoke," (*parou*.) he returned it, and asked what it was good for. With a great deal of difficulty we made him conceive that it measured the day, similar to the sun, by whose altitude in the heavens he and his people are used to divide their time. After this explanation, he called it a little sun, to shew us that he perfectly understood our meaning. We were just getting  
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ting up to return towards the beach, when a man arrived who brought a hog along with him, which the king presented to the captain, at the same time promising to give him another. With this small beginning we rested satisfied, and taking our leave, without any troublesome ceremony, only pronouncing a hearty *tayo*, (friend,) which had more meaning in it than many a studied speech, we returned on board.

In the afternoon the captains went on shore with us again to the king, whom we found where we had left him in the morning. He took that opportunity of requesting the captains again to prolong their stay at least a few days; but he received the same answer as before, and was plainly told, that his refusing to provide us with live-stock was the reason of their intended departure. Upon this he immediately sent for two hogs, and presented one to each of the captains, for which he received some iron-wares in return. A highlander, who was one of our marines, was ordered to play the bagpipe, and its uncouth music, though almost insufferable to our ears, delighted the king and his subjects to a degree which we could hardly have imagined possible. The distrust which we perceived in his looks at our first interview was now worn off; and if we had staid long enough, an unreserved confidence might have taken its place, to which his youth and good-nature seemed to make him inclinable. The studied gravity which he had then affected,

fects, was likewise laid aside at present, and some of his actions rather partook of puerility, among which I cannot help mentioning his amusement of chopping little sticks and cutting down plantations of bananas with one of our hatchets. But, instead of cultivating any farther acquaintance with him, we took our last leave towards the close of the evening, and returned to the floops, which unmoored before night.

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The inhabitants seeing us prepare for sailing the next morning, came off in a vast number of small canoes, loaded with coco-nuts and other vegetable provisions, which they sold excessively cheap, rather than miss the last opportunity of obtaining European goods. The taste for baubles, which unaccountably prevails all over the world in different degrees, was so extravagant here, that a single bead was eagerly purchased with a dozen of the finest coco-nuts, and sometimes preferred even to a nail, though the last might be of some use, and the bead could serve merely as an insignificant ornament. We observed that the trade was carried on much fairer this time than at our arrival, the natives being perhaps apprehensive that any little fraud might break off a commerce, in which they now appeared deeply interested. They accompanied us for this purpose till we were a mile or two without the reefs, and then returned to the beach, where we had left lieutenant Pickers-  
gill

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gill with a boat, in order to take advantage of their present disposition.

We were now able to breathe a little, after the continual hurry which had been the necessary consequence of the multiplicity of new objects around us, and of the short space of time which we had to observe them. This interval of repose was the more acceptable, as it gave us leisure to indulge the reflections which had crowded upon us during our stay. The result of these was a conviction, that this island is indeed one of the happiest spots on the globe. The rocks of New Zealand appeared at first in a favourable light to our eyes, long tired with the constant view of sea, and ice, and sky; but time served to undeceive us, and gave us daily cause of dislike, till we formed a just conception of that rude chaotic country. But O-Taheitee, which had presented a pleasing prospect at a distance, and displayed its beauty as we approached, became more enchanting to us at every excursion which we made on its plains. Our long run out of sight of land might have been supposed at first to have had the same effect as at New Zealand; but our stay confirmed instead of destroying the emotions which we had felt at the first sight; even though we had no room to be so well pleased with the refreshments we had obtained, which were not by far so plentiful as the fish and wild-fowl of New Zealand, and still obliged us to have recourse

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recourse to salt provisions. The season of the year, which answered to our month of February, had naturally brought on a scarcity of fruits; for though it does not manifest itself here by refrigerating the air, as in countries remote from the tropics, yet it is the season when all vegetation recovers the juices which have formed the late crop, and prepares them for a new one. At this time several trees entirely shed their leaves, several plants died away to the very root, and the remaining ones looked parched on account of the want of rain, which commonly takes place then, because the sun is in the opposite hemisphere. The whole plain therefore was arrayed in a sober brownish and sometimes fallow colour. Only the lofty mountains preserved richer tints in their forests, which are supplied with more moisture from the clouds that hang on their summits almost every day. From thence, among other things, the natives brought great quantities of wild plantanes (*vebee*), and that perfumed wood (*e-abai*), with which they give their coco-nut oil (*mondë*), a very fragrant smell. The shattered state in which we saw the tops of these mountains, seemed to have been the work of an earthquake; and the lavas, of which many of the mountains consist, and of which the natives make several tools, convinced us of the existence of former volcanoes on this island. The rich soil of the plains, which is a vegetable mould, mixed with volcanic decays, and a black iron sand, which is

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often found at the foot of the hills, are farther proofs of this assertion. The exterior ranges of hills are sometimes entirely barren, and contain a great quantity of yellowish clay, mixed with iron-ochre; but others are covered with mould, and wooded like the higher mountains. Pieces of quartz are sometimes met with here, but we never saw indications of precious minerals or metals of any kind, iron excepted, and of that there were but small remains in the lavas which we picked up; but the mountains may perhaps contain some iron-ore rich enough for fusion. As to the piece of salt-petre, as big as an egg, which Captain Wallis mentions as a product of Taheitee\*, with all respect for his nautical abilities, I beg leave to doubt of its existence, since native salt-petre has never yet been found in solid lumps, as appears from Cronstedt's Mineralogy.

The view of O-Taheitee, along which we now sailed to the northward, suggested these cursory observations on its fossil productions, while our eyes remained eagerly fixed on the spot which had afforded us such a fund of real amusement and instruction. Our reflections were only interrupted by the summons to dine on fresh pork, which was instantly obeyed with an alacrity, that sufficiently proved our long abstinence. We were agreeably surprised to find this pork entirely free from the luscious richness which makes it resist the stomach so soon in Eu-

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. I. p. 457.

rope; the fat was to be compared to marrow, and the lean had almost the tender taste of veal. The vegetable diet which the hogs are used to at O-Taheitee, seems to be the principal cause of this difference, and may have had some influence even on the natural instincts of these animals. They were of that small breed which is commonly called the Chinese, and had not those pendulous ears, which according to the ingenious count de Buffon, are the characters of slavery in animals. They were likewise much cleaner than our European hogs, and did not seem to have that singular custom of wallowing in the mire. It is certain that these animals are a part of the real riches of the Tahitians, and we saw great numbers of them at Aitepèha, though the natives took great pains to conceal them. But they are so far from being their principal dependence, that I believe their total extirpation would be no great loss, especially as they are now entirely the property of the chiefs. They kill their hogs very seldom, perhaps only on certain solemn occasions; but at those times the chiefs eat pork with the same unbounded greediness, with which certain sets of men are reproached at the turtle-feasts in England; while the common sort rarely, if ever taste a little bit, which is always held as a great dainty among them. Notwithstanding this, all the trouble of breeding, bringing up, and fattening the hogs is allotted to the lowest class of people.

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We were becalmed in the evening, and during a great part of the night, but had a S. E. wind the next morning, so that we stood in shore again, in sight of the northernmost part of O-Taheitee, and of the adjacent isle of Eimeo. The mountains here formed larger masses, which had a more grand effect than at Aitepeha. The slopes of the lower hills were likewise more considerable, though almost entirely destitute of trees or verdure; and the ambient border of level land, was much more extensive hereabouts, and seemed in some places to be above a mile broad. Towards ten o'clock we had the pleasure to see several canoes coming off from the shore towards us. Their long narrow sails, consisting of several mats sowed together, their streamers of feathers, and the heap of coco-nuts and bananas on board, had all together a picturesque appearance. For a few beads and nails they disposed of their cargoes, and returned on shore to take in another. About noon our boat arrived with lieutenant Pickersgill, who had been very successful in trading at Aitepeha, having purchased nine hogs and a quantity of fruit. His majesty, Aheatua, had been present at the trading-place the whole time, and after seating himself near the heap of iron wares, which our people had brought on shore, desired to market for them, and was extremely equitable in giving hatchets of different kinds for hogs of proportionate sizes. In the intervals however, he amused himself as he had done the evening

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evening before, with chopping small sticks, with which our sailors were much entertained, and after their manner made many shrewd observations on triflers. Mr. Pickersgill having expended his stock in trade, put off from Aitepeha in the afternoon, and came the same evening to Hiddea, the district of O-Rettee (Ereti) where M. de Bougainville lay at an anchor in 1768. Here he was hospitably entertained by the worthy old chief, who is so justly celebrated by that gallant French navigator; and the next morning his brother Tarooree embarked with our officer, in order to visit the ships which they saw in the offing. When he came on board we found he had a kind of impediment in his organs of speech, by which means he substituted a K wherever the language required a T; a fault which we afterwards observed in several other individuals. He favoured us with his company at dinner, as well as another native named O-Wahow, who was the first that had come aboard from this part of the island, and to whom my father had immediately presented a few beads and a small nail, merely to try his disposition. In return he produced a fish-hook neatly made of mother of pearl, which he gave to his new friend. A larger nail was the reward of this good natured action; and on the receipt of this he sent his boy to the shore in his canoe. Towards four o'clock the canoe returned, and brought on board this man's brother, and a present of a number of coco-nuts, several bunches

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bunches of bananas, and a clothing-mat. There was something so generous in O-Wahow's way of acting, above all the little ideas of bartering, that we could not fail to express the highest regard for him. A much more considerable present was returned to him, rather to confirm him in his noble sentiments, than as a compensation for his gift. With that he retired in the evening, promising to return to us again, and expressing such extravagant emotions of joy as are commonly the effects of unexpected good fortune.

In the mean while we gradually approached the shore, a faint breeze helping us on, and the evening-sun illuminating the landscape with the richest golden tints. We now discerned that long projecting point, which from the observation made upon it, had been named Point Venus, and easily agreed, that this was by far the most beautiful part of the island. The district of Matavai, which now opened to our view, exhibited a plain of such an extent as we had not expected, and the valley which we traced running up between the mountains, was itself a very spacious grove, compared to the little narrow glens in Tiarraboo. We hauled round the point about three o'clock, and saw it crowded with a prodigious number of people, who gazed at us with fixed attention; but as soon as we came to an anchor, in the fine bay which it shelters, the greater part of them ran very precipitately round the whole beach, and across

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One-tree-hill to O-Parre, the next district to the westward. Among the whole croud, we saw only a single man whose shoulders were covered with a garment, and he, according to our friend O-Wahow's testimony, was O-Too, the king of O-Taheitee-Nuc (the Greater Taheitee.) His person was tall, and very advantageously proportioned, but he ran very nimbly along with his subjects, which the natives on board attributed to his apprehensions on our account.

Though it was near sun-set when we came to an anchor, yet our decks were in a short time crowded with natives of all ranks, who recognized their old friends in many of our officers and sailors, with a degree of reciprocal joy, which cannot easily be described. Among them was the old, venerable O-Whaw, whose peaceable character and good offices to our people, are taken notice of in the account of Lieutenant Cook's first voyage, particularly upon the occasion when one of the natives was murdered\*. He immediately recollected Mr. Pickersgill, and calling him by his Taheitean name, Petrodero, enumerated on his fingers, that this was the third visit he made to the island, that gentleman having been here both in the *Dolphin* and the *Endeavour*. A chief, named Maratata †, paid captain Cook a visit with his lady, (Tedia)-Erararee, who was a very well-looking young woman, and both received a number

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 83, 90, 91.

† Ibid. p. 157. Maraitata.

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of presents, though it appeared that these were their sole motives for coming on board. A very tall, fat man, the father-in-law of Maratata, accompanied them, and was equally fortunate in collecting presents amongst us, which he took no other method to obtain, than down right begging. They all exchanged names with us in sign of friendship, every one choosing a particular friend, to whom he was attached; customs which we had never observed in our former anchoring place, where the natives were infinitely more reserved, and in some degree diffident of our intentions. Towards seven o'clock they left the ship, not without promising to return the next morning, which, from the good reception they had met with, did not seem to admit of a doubt.

All night the moon shone clear in a cloudless sky, and silvered over the polished surface of the sea, while the landscape lay before us like the gay production of a fertile and elegant fancy. A perfect silence reigned in the air, which was agreeably interrupted by the voices of several natives that had remained on board, and enjoyed the beauty of the night with their friends, whom they had known in a former voyage. They were seated at the sides of the vessel, and discoursed on several topics, making their words more intelligible by different signs. We listened to them, and found that they chiefly put questions concerning what had happened to our people since their last separation, and  
gave

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gave accounts in their turn of the tragical fate of Tootahah, and his friends. Gibson, the marine, who was so much delighted with this island, in captain Cook's former voyage, that he made an attempt to stay behind\*, was now chiefly engaged in this conversation, as he understood more of the language than the rest of the crew, and was on that account greatly valued by the natives. The confidence which these people placed in us, and their familiar, unreserved behaviour, gave us infinite satisfaction, as it contrasted so well with the conduct of the people of Aitepèha. We now saw the character of the natives in a more favourable light than ever, and were convinced that the remembrance of injuries, and the spirit of revenge, did not enter into the composition of the good and simple Tahitians. It must surely be a comfortable reflection to every sensible mind, that philanthropy seems to be natural to mankind, and that the savage ideas of distrust, malevolence, and revenge, are only the consequences of a gradual depravation of manners. There are few instances where people, who are not absolutely sunk to a state of barbarism, have acted contrary to this general peaceable principle. The discoveries of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro in America, and those of Mendanna, Quiros, Schouten, Tasman †, and Wallis in the South Sea, agree in this particular. It is highly probable,

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 176, 179.

† We except the savages of New Zealand.

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that the attack which the Taheitians made upon the Dolphin, took its origin from some outrage unknowingly committed by the Europeans ; and supposing it did not, if self-preservation be one of the first laws of nature, surely from all appearances these people had a right to look on our men as a set of invaders, and what is more than all, to be apprehensive that even their liberty was at stake. When, after a fatal display of superior European force, they were convinced that nothing farther than a short stay for refreshment was intended, that the strangers who came among them were not entirely destitute of humane and equitable sentiments ; in short, when they found that Britons were not more savage than themselves, they were ready to open their arms to them, they forgot that they had had a difference, and bid them partake of each kindly production of their isle. They all exerted themselves in acts of hospitality and testimonies of friendship from the lowest subject to the queen, that every one of their guests might have reason to say, he regretted his departure from this friendly shore :

*Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi !*

VIRGIL.

C H A P.

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## C H A P. IX.

*Account of our Transactions at Matavai Bay.*

CAPTAIN Cook, in his voyage in the Endeavour, had Thursday 26.  
 observed that, in order to obtain a sufficient supply of refreshments at Matavai Bay, it was absolutely necessary to conciliate the favour of the sovereign, unless peaceable measures were entirely to be rejected, and the tragedies of former times be repeated. With this view he resolved to begin his operations here in the morning, by going to the province of O-Parre, where king O-Too resided. He did not, however, leave the ship till Maratata and his wife had been on board agreeable to their promise. In return for the presents which they had received the evening before, they gave some pieces of their best cloth to the captain, and were very proud to be admitted into the great cabin, while the rest of their countrymen were obliged to stay without. As soon as Captain Furneaux was come on board from the Adventure, Captain Cook embarked in the pinnace with him, accompanied by Doctor Sparrman, my father, and myself. Maratata, without any ceremony, likewise came in with his wife, and immediately occupied the best place in the stern. A croud of attendants followed them, till the boat was so full, that our people found it impossible to ply  
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their oars. The greater part of these unbidden guests were therefore obliged to leave it, to their visible disappointment; for they seemed to have set a great value upon the liberty of sitting in our boat, which was fresh painted, and had a pleasant green awning to screen us from the sun. We rowed across the bay, and approached the shore near a point where a thick shrubbery surrounded a marai of stone, such as we had already observed in Aitepèha. This cemetery and place of worship was known to Captain Cook by the name of Tootahah's marai, but when he called it by this name, Maratata interrupted him, intimating that it was no longer Tootahah's after his death, but was known at present as O-Too's marai. A fine moral for princes, daily reminding them of mortality whilst they live, and teaching them that after death they cannot even call the ground their own which their dead corpse occupies!—The chief and his wife on passing by it, took their upper garment from their shoulders, which is a mark of respect indiscriminately paid at the marai by all ranks of people, and seems to annex a particular idea of sanctity to these places. Perhaps they are supposed to be favoured with the more immediate presence of the Deity, agreeably to the opinion that has been entertained of public places of worship at all times and among all nations.

After passing the marai, we rowed for some time close along one of the finest districts of O-Taheitee, where the  
 plains

plains seemed to be very spacious, and the mountains ran with a very easy slope into a long point. A prodigious number of inhabitants lined the shores, which were covered with grasses, and shaded with numerous palms close to the water's edge. Here we landed, amidst the joyful acclamations of the multitude, and were conducted to a group of houses, hid under spreading fruit-trees. Before one of the largest we saw an area twenty or thirty yards square, surrounded by an enclosure of reeds, not above eighteen inches high, in the middle of which the king was seated cross-legged on the ground, in a great circle of persons of both sexes, who seemed to be of the highest rank in the island from their stature, colour and deportment. Some of our sailors laid down a number of presents before him, which served as Captain Cook's credentials. We all followed, and were intreated to sit down around the king. The respect which was paid to the sovereign by all ranks of people, and which consisted in uncovering the shoulders in his presence, did not prevent them from thronging around us on all sides with the greatest eagerness of curiosity. The croud was beyond comparison more numerous than at our interview with Aheatua, and the king's attendants in different corners of the area were obliged to exert themselves in order to keep them within bounds. One in particular displayed his activity in a furious manner to clear the way for us,

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by beating them unmercifully, breaking several sticks on their heads, and no doubt breaking their heads too.

E come quel ch' ancor de la pazzia  
Non era ben guarito interamente ;  
Per allargare innanzi al Rè la via,  
Menava quella mazza fra la gente,  
Ch' un imbrocchio svizzero paria  
Di quei, che con villan modo insolente,  
Sogliono innanzi 'l Papa il dì di festa,  
Rompere a chi le braccia, a chi la testa,

TASSONI.

Notwithstanding this severe treatment, they returned as obstinately to the charge as an English mob, but bore the insolence of the king's officers with more patience. The king of O-Taheitee had never seen our people during captain Cook's first voyage, probably in consequence of the political views of his uncle Tootahah, who at that time had the whole management of affairs in his hands, and who might be apprehensive of losing his consequence among the Europeans, if they should once know that he was not the greatest man on the island. Whether Tootahah's power was to be considered as an usurpation, or not, is not easily to be determined; so much however may be alledged against him, that the king himself seemed to us to be a man of twenty-four or twenty-five years of age. O-Too was the tallest man whom we saw on the whole island which he governs, measuring six feet and three inches in height. His whole body was proportionately strong and well-made, without

without any tendency to corpulence. His head, notwithstanding a certain gloominess which seemed to express a fearful disposition, had a majestic and intelligent air, and there was great expression in his full black eyes. He wore strong whiskers, which with his beard, and a prodigious growth of curled hair, were all of a jetty black. His portrait is engraved from Mr. Hodges's drawing, for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same habit of body, and the same singular quantity of hair, which stood puffed up all about the head intricately entwined and curled, characterised his brothers, one a youth of about sixteen, another ten years of age, and likewise his sisters, of which the eldest now present seemed about twenty-six. The women of O-Taheitee in general, cut their hair rather short; it was therefore a very uncommon appearance on the heads of these ladies, and may, for ought we know, be a privilege reserved only to those of the royal family. Their rank however did not exclude them from the general etiquette of uncovering the shoulders in the king's presence, a ceremony which afforded the whole sex numberless opportunities of displaying an elegant figure to the greatest advantage. The simple drapery of a long white piece of cloth, like a muslin, was to be turned an hundred different ways, according to the convenience, or the talents and fine taste of the wearer; no general fashions force them to disfigure, instead of adorning themselves, but an innate gracefulness

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was the companion of simplicity. The only person exempted from the general custom of uncovering the shoulder was the king's *hòà*\*, one of his servants, whom we could not better compare than to the lord in waiting, and of whom we understood there were twelve who officiated by turns. Some of them were the same gentlemen who had displayed their dexterity before, by dealing out hearty blows to the crowd. The number of uncles, aunts, cousins, and other relations of his majesty, amongst whom we were seated, vied with each other in bestowing kind looks upon us, making professions of friendship, and—begging for beads and nails. The methods to obtain these trifles 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

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 243. *eeoua no l'earce*, by which is meant *e-hòà no te arce*, (a friend to the king.)

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 careffes, the old lady began, *Aima poe-èetee 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.

In a little time we met with an ample return for our presents, especially from the ladies, who immediately sent their attendants (Towtows) for large pieces of their best cloth, dyed of a scarlet, rose, or straw colour, and perfumed with their choicest fragrant oils. These they put over our cloathes, and loaded us so well that we found it difficult to move in them. A variety of questions concerning Tabane (Mr. Banks), Tolano (Dr. Solander), and many of their former acquaintances, immediately followed the more material business of receiving presents; but Tupaya (Tupia) or as he was more commonly called Parua, notwithstanding

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the extensive knowledge of which he seems to have been possessed, and which we expected should have endeared him to his countrymen, was only mentioned by one or two persons, who received the news of his death with perfect indifference. Whilst we were engaged in this conversation, our Highlander performed on the bag-pipe to the infinite satisfaction of all the Tahitians, who listened to him with a mixture of admiration and delight. King O-Too in particular was so well pleased with his musical abilities, which I have already observed were mean enough, that he ordered him a large piece of the coarser cloth as a reward for his trouble.

As this visit was merely a visit of ceremony, we soon got up to return to our boat, but were detained a little longer by the arrival of E-Happai\* the father of the sovereign. He was a tall, thin man, with a grey beard and hair, seemed to be of a great age, but was not yet entirely worn out. He received the presents which our captains made him, in a cold careless manner, which is natural to old people whose senses are considerably impaired. The accounts of former voyagers had already apprised us of that strange constitution, by virtue of which the son assumes the sovereignty in his father's life time †, but we could not without surprize, behold the aged Happai,

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II, p. 154. Whappai.

† Ibid, p. 154,

naked to the waist in his son's presence, conform to the general custom. Thus the ideas universally annexed to consanguinity, are suppressed in order to give greater weight to the regal dignity, and I cannot help thinking that such a sacrifice to political authority, argues a greater degree of civilization than has been allowed to the Tahitians by our former navigators. However, though Happai was not invested with the supreme command, his birth and rank entitled him to deference from the common people, and to a proper support from the king. The province or district of O-Parre, was therefore under his immediate orders, and supplied not only his wants, but those also of his attendants. After a very short stay with this old chief, we parted from him, and from the king his son, and returned on board in the pinnace, which Maratata had occupied during the whole time of our interview, priding himself very much on his supposed interest with us. During our absence several tents had been erected on Point Venus, for the convenience of our wood-cutters and waterers, and the sick of the Adventure. The astronomers of both vessels had likewise fixed their observatory nearly on the same spot, where Mr. Green and captain Cook had observed the transit of Venus. We found a great number of inhabitants about the vessels, and among the rest several of the better sort of people, who having access to all parts of the ship, followed every body with their petitions for

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beads and other presents. The captains to evade their endless importunities went on shore to the tents, and thither we accompanied them in order to see what natural productions the country afforded. Another excursion of the same kind was made in the afternoon, but as both were confined to an inconsiderable distance, our discoveries only consisted of a few plants and birds which we had not seen at Aitepèha.

Friday, 27.

The next morning very early, a number of canoes came to the ship from Parre, and in one of the smallest, the king in person brought many presents to captain Cook. A live hog, a very large fish called a cavalha (*scomber hippos*), and an albecore ready dressed, about four feet long, with many baskets of palm-leaves containing bread-fruit and bananas, were handed up to the deck successively. Captain Cook stood on the ship's side, entreating his majesty to come on board, but he did not stir from his seat, till an immense quantity of the best cloth of the country had been wrapped round the captain, encreasing his bulk to a prodigious dimension. After this ceremony, Too, with a countenance which betrayed a good deal of diffidence, ventured to come upon the quarter-deck, and embraced the captain, who in conjunction with his officers and ourselves, devised all possible means to quiet these apprehensions. Our quarter-deck was now so crowded with the king's relations, that he was requested to come into the  
cabin ;

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cabin ; but the descent between decks was so hazardous an enterprize according to his ideas, that he could by no means be prevailed on to attempt it, till he had sent down his brother, a fine active youth about sixteen years of age, who placed a perfect confidence in us. Having reconnoitred the cabin, and finding it to his liking, he made his report accordingly to the king, who immediately ventured down. He received a great number of valuable presents from captain Cook, who began to find himself very warm under his load of cloth. The principal people accompanied his majesty into the cabin, but they crowded in so fast, that it was almost impossible to stir for them. Every one of these, as I have already mentioned, chose his particular friend amongst us, and reciprocal gifts sealed every new connection. Captain Furneaux being arrived on board, we took an opportunity of sitting down to our breakfast, when they seemed perfectly easy, having prevailed on them to seat themselves on chairs, which struck them with their novelty and convenience. The king paid great attention to our breakfast, which was a mixture of English and Taheitian provisions, and was much surpris'd to see us drink hot-water \*, and eat bread-fruit with oil †. Though he could not be persuaded to taste our food, several of his attendants were not so cautious, but eat and drank very heartily of whatever we set

\* Tea.

† Butter.

before:

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before them. After breakfast O-Too saw my father's spaniel, a fine dog, but in very bad order at that time, and very dirty from the pitch, tar, and other uncleanness on board the ship. Notwithstanding these defects, the king expressed a great desire of becoming his master, and made a request to that purpose, which was readily complied with. He immediately commanded one of the lords in waiting, or *hòas*, to take the dog into his custody; and in conformity to his orders, this man ever after carried the dog behind his majesty. The king soon after told captain Cook that he wished to return on shore, and went on deck with all his attendants, carrying with him the presents which he had received. Captain Furneaux took that opportunity of presenting to him a fine pair of goats, male and female, which he had brought from on board his own vessel the same morning. We succeeded very well in our attempt to make him comprehend the value of these animals, and the manner of treating them; for he promised that he would never kill nor separate them, and take great care of their offspring. The pinnace was now ready, and the king embarked in it, with the captains and several other gentlemen, and proceeded to the royal residence at O-Parre. During this passage he appeared highly contented, asked a number of questions, and seemed to have entirely conquered his former fears. His enquiries chiefly concerned the goats, which had attracted all his attention, and we could

could never tell him too often what they should feed upon, and how they were to be managed. As soon as we came on shore, we pointed out to him a fine spot of ground, covered with a good bed of grasses, in the shade of bread-fruit trees, and desired that the goats might always be kept in such places. At our landing the shore was crowded with people, who expressed their joy on seeing their sovereign by loud acclamations. Among them we discerned the late Tootahah's mother, a venerable grey-headed matron, who, on seeing captain Cook, ran to embrace him, as the friend of her deceased son, and wept aloud at the remembrance of her loss. We paid the tribute of admiration due to such sensibility, which endears our fellow-creatures to us wherever it is met with, and affords an undeniable proof of the original excellence of the human heart.

From hence we hastened away to our tents at Point Venus, where the natives carried on a regular trade with vegetables of all sorts, which sold at very low rates, a single bead being given for a basket of bread-fruit or a bunch of coco-nuts. My father there met his friend O-Wàhow, who presented him with a great quantity of fruit, some fish, some good cloth, and some mother of pearl hooks. This present deserved a compensation, but the generous Tahitian absolutely refused to take any thing, saying that he gave these things as a friend, and without any lucrative view. It seemed as if every thing had

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had conspired this day to give us a favourable idea of the amiable nation among whom we resided.

We returned on board to dinner, and passed the afternoon there in the occupations of describing and drawing objects of natural history. The decks in the mean while were constantly crowded with natives of both sexes, prying into every corner, and stealing whenever they found an opportunity. In the evening we beheld a scene new and striking to ourselves, though familiar to those who had been at Taheitee before. A great number of women of the lowest class, having been previously engaged by our sailors, remained on board at sun-set, after the departure of all their country people to the shore. We had observed instances of the venality of the Taheitian females at Aitepèha; but whatever might have been their condescension towards our people in day-time, they had never ventured to pass a night on board. The women of Matavai had studied the dispositions of British seamen much better, and knew that they ran no risk by entrusting themselves to their care; but on the contrary might make sure of every bead, nail, hatchet, or shirt which their lovers could muster. This evening was therefore as completely dedicated to mirth and pleasure, as if we had lain at Spithead instead of O-Taheitee. Before it was perfectly dark the women assembled on the fore-castle, and one of them blowing a flute with the nostrils, all the rest danced a variety of dances

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dances usual in their country, amongst which there were some that did not exactly correspond with our ideas of decency. However, if we consider that the simplicity of their education and of their dress, makes many actions perfectly innocent here, which, according to our customs, would be blameable, we cannot impute that degree of unbounded licentiousness to them, with which the prostitutes of civilized Europe are unhappily reproached. As soon as it was dark they retired below decks, and if their lovers were of such a quality as to afford them fresh pork, they supped without reserve, though they had before refused to eat in the presence of their own countrymen, agreeably to that incomprehensible custom which separates the sexes at their meals. The quantities of pork which they could consume were astonishing, and their greediness plainly indicated that they were rarely if ever indulged with that delicious food in their own families. The instances of sensibility in Tootahah's mother and in O-Wahow, and the favourable ideas which we had from thence formed of the Tahitians were so recent in our memories, that we were much hurt at the sight of these creatures, who had entirely forgot the duties of life, and abandoned themselves to the brutal sway of the passions. That there should exist so great a degree of immorality in a nation, otherwise so happy in its simplicity, and in the fewness of its wants, is a reflection very disgraceful to human nature in general, which, viewed to its

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greatest advantage here, is nevertheless imperfect. Is it not to be lamented, that the best gifts of a benevolent Creator seem to be the most liable to frequent abuse, and that nothing is so easy to mankind as error?

Saturday 22.

Early the next morning O-Too, with his sister Tedua-Towrai, and several relations, came along-side, and sent up a hog and a large albecore into our vessel, but would not come on board. He had a similar present for captain Furneaux, but refused to go to the Adventure till my father went with him. The ceremony of swaddling the captain in O-Taheitee cloth was performed again before his majesty ventured on board; but that being over, he seemed to think himself safe amongst us, and came on the deck, where captain Furneaux gave him a variety of presents. His sister Tedua-Towrai was on board the Resolution in the mean while, and all the women paid her the same respect by uncovering the shoulders, which the whole nation owes to the king. The active youth T'-Aree WATOW, who was with the king his brother, had the same honours paid to him; and it appeared to us that the title *Aree*, though common to all the chiefs of districts, and the nobility in general, was yet applied by way of excellence to the persons of the royal family. O-Too soon left the Adventure, rejoined his sister on board the Resolution, and was accompanied by both the captains to Parre.

On:

On the 29th at day-break we landed at our tents, and proceeded into the country with an intention to examine its productions. A copious dew, which had fallen during night, had refreshed the whole vegetable creation, and contributed, together with the early hour of the morning, to make our walk extremely pleasant. We found but few natives at the tents, some of whom attended us to the ford in the river, and for a bead a-piece carried us across, where it was twenty yards wide, without our wetting a foot. As we entered the grove, we perceived the inhabitants in their houses just getting up, and saw many of them performing their customary ablution in the adjacent river of Matavai. There can be no doubt, that frequent bathing in this warm climate is extremely salutary, and particularly in the morning, when the water, being fresh and cool, cannot but be highly instrumental in bracing the fibres, which might otherwise become too much relaxed. The cleanliness which results from this custom, is certainly one of the best preservatives against putrid disorders, and has the farther advantage of making these people enjoy the comforts of society in a higher degree than those savages who seem to shun the water, and become indifferent to each other, and loathsome to strangers by their squalid appearance, and fetid exhalations. We walked on till we came to a little hut, the lowly dwelling of a poor widow with a numerous family. Her eldest son, Noona, a lively boy

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about twelve years old, had always been particularly attached to the Europeans, and being extremely quick of apprehension, understood us much better at half a word, than many of his countrymen with all the gestures we could invent, and after we had ransacked our vocabularies. This boy, who, with a dark almost chestnut-brown colour, combined a set of pleasing, good-natured features, had agreed the evening before, to become our guide on this day's excursion. At our approach we found his mother, who had provided a number of coco-nuts and some other provisions for us, sitting on the stones before her cottage, and her children assembled about her, the youngest of which was not above four years old. She seemed to be active enough, but however of such an age, that we had some difficulty to believe her the mother of such young children, in a country where we knew that the commerce of the sexes begins at an early age. The arrival of a well-looking woman, about three or four and twenty years old, who was Noona's eldest sister, soon accounted for the wrinkles on her mother's brow. Instead of verifying the general observation, that women in hot countries lose their youthfulness much sooner than with us, we had now reason to be surpris'd, that they should be so prolific here, as to bear children during a period of almost twenty years. It was natural that our thoughts should return to the happy simplicity in which the life of the Tahitians smoothly rolls along,

along, and which, undisturbed by cares and wants, is the cause of the great population of their island.

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A stout fellow, whom we hired for a few beads, carried the provisions which the hospitable old woman had offered us, suspending them in equal portions on the two extremities of a strong pole, about four feet long, which he placed on his shoulder. Young Noona, and his little brother Toparree, about four years old, cheerfully accompanied us, after we had enriched the whole family with beads, nails, looking-glasses, and knives.

The first part of our march was a little difficult, on account of a hill on which we mounted, in hopes of meeting with something to reward our trouble. But, contrary to our expectations, we found it entirely destitute of plants, two dwarfish shrubs, and a species of dry fern excepted. Here, however, we were much surpris'd to see a large flock of wild ducks rising before us, from a spot which was perfectly dry and barren, without our being able to imagine what had brought them thither from the reeds and marshy banks of the river, where they commonly resided. We soon crossed another hill, where all the ferns and bushes having lately been burnt, blackened our clothes as we passed through them. From thence we descended into a fertile valley, where a fine rivulet, which we were obliged to cross several times, ran towards the sea. The natives had placed several stone weirs across this rivulet, in order  
to

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to raise the water, which might by that means be introduced into their plantations of the tarro, or eddy-root (*arum esculentum*,) that requires a very marshy, and sometimes an inundated soil. We found two species of it, one of which has large glossy leaves, and roots about four feet long, but is very coarse; the other with velvet leaves and small, but more palatable roots. Both are excessively pungent and caustic, till boiled in several waters; however, hogs eat them raw without any reluctance. The valley became narrower as we advanced up along the rivulet, and the hills which included it were much steeper, and covered with forests. Every part of the level ground was, however, planted with coco-nut, apple, and bread-fruit trees, with bananas, cloth-trees, and various roots, and a number of houses were conveniently situated at short distances from each other. In different parts we met with immense beds of loose pebble-stones in the rivulet and on its banks, which seemed to have been washed out of the mountains, and worn into round or oblong shapes, by the continual motion and agitation of the water. On the sides of the hills we gathered several new plants, sometimes at the risk of breaking our necks, on account of the pieces of rock which rolled away under our feet. A great number of inhabitants assembled about us, and among them several who brought us abundance of coco-nuts, bread-fruit, and apples for sale. We bought as much as we thought necessary

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cessary for our provision, and hired some of the natives to carry it. After proceeding up about five miles from the sea-side we sat down in the shade of a number of trees, on a pleasant green turf, and made our meal, which consisted of the fruit we had purchased, and of some pork and fish which we had taken from on board. The natives formed a circle round us; but those who had been our guides and assistants were permitted to sit by us, and partook of our cheer with a very good appetite. They were most surprised at the salt, which we had taken care to provide, and which they saw us eat with all sorts of victuals, bread-fruit not excepted. Some of them were desirous of tasting it, and among these there were a few who relished it very well, because they are used to employ sea-water as a sauce both to fish and to pork\*.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we thought of returning to the sea-side with our acquisitions. About this time a number of inhabitants came across the hills with loads of horse-plantanes, a coarse sort, which grows almost without cultivation, and which they brought for sale to our ships. We followed them along the side of the rivulet to a place where some children offered us a few little prawns picked out between the stones in the bed of the river. We had no sooner taken them as a curiosity, and rewarded the children with beads, than

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 200, 201.

upwards

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upwards of fifty persons of different ages and sexes set about the same employment, and brought us so many of these little creatures, that we were soon obliged to refuse them. In the space of two hours we reached our tents on Point Venus, where we found O-Wahow, the generous native who had brought my father another present of provisions. In the course of this walk, we had observed more idle persons than at Aitepèha; the houses and plantations appeared more ruinous and neglected, and from several people instead of invitations, or marks of hospitality, we only received importunate petitions for beads and nails. Still upon the whole we had great reason to be contented with our reception among them, and the liberty of roaming at pleasure through all parts of their delightful country. We had now and then experienced their disposition to theft, but had never lost any thing of value; for our handkerchiefs, which were the easiest to come at, were made of their own thinner cloth, so that they found themselves disappointed as often as they had dextrously picked our pockets, and with great good humour returned them to us. In my opinion this vice is not of so heinous a nature among the Tahitians, as amongst ourselves. People whose wants are so easily satisfied, and in whose manner of living there is so much equality, can have very few motives to steal from each other, and their open houses without doors and bars, are so many proofs of mutual safety

safety. The blame then lies in a great measure upon us, for bringing temptations in their way too powerful to be withstood. They seem indeed not to think their transgressions of great signification, perhaps from a reflection that they do not materially injure us by any little larceny.

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During our absence the captains had paid a visit to the king at Parre, where they were highly entertained by the sight of a dramatic dance, which her royal highness Towraï performed, in a dress exactly described in captain Cook's former voyage, and with the same gestures which are there mentioned\*. Two men danced at different intervals, when the princess rested, and, with many strange distortions, spoke or sung some words, probably relative to the subject of their dance, which was unintelligible to our people. The whole entertainment lasted about an hour and a half, during which Tedua Towraï displayed a wonderful activity, which surpassed every thing that had been seen at the isle of Ulietea in the former voyage.

Early the next morning captain Cook sent lieutenant

Monday 30.

Pickersgill to the south-west part of the island, in order to purchase some fresh provision, and particularly some hogs, of which we had hitherto received only two from the king. We continued on board the whole day, describing the plants which we had found on our last excursion. In the even-

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 264, 265. See also the plate No. 7. though that conveys no idea of Tahitians.

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ing, about ten o'clock, we heard a great noise on shore abreast of our vessels, apparently occasioned by some of our men. The captains immediately sent their boats ashore, with proper officers, who brought on board several marines and a sailor. They had obtained leave to take a walk from the commanding officer at the tents, but had exceeded their time, and beaten one of the natives. They were immediately secured in irons, as it was of the utmost consequence towards continuing upon an amicable footing with this nation, to punish them in an exemplary manner. O-Too had promised to come on board with his father the next morning, but this noise, of which he had received advice within half an hour after it had happened, made him so justly diffident of our intentions, that he sent his messenger or ambassador (*Whanno no t'aree*\*,) who was one of the principal lords of his court, named E-Tee, to make an apology for his non-appearance. Before he came on board, however, Dr. Sparrman went on shore with me near the place where the disturbance had happened, with a view to make another excursion into the interior parts of the country. O-Whaw †, the old man, who had on former occasions shewed his pacific disposition, met us on the beach, and spoke of the offence of the last night not without expressing some displeasure; but when we assured him that the of-

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 243.

† See before, p. 412; and Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 83, 90, 91.

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fenders were in irons, and would be severely punished, he seemed perfectly satisfied. As we had nobody from the vessel to assist us, we desired O-Whaw to point out a native whom we might entrust with the botanizing apparatus. Several people having offered their services, he chose a strong well-made man, who was immediately furnished with an empty bag, for the reception of plants, and with some baskets full of Taheitee apples, which we had purchased on the spot. We crossed One-tree-hill, and descended into one of the first vallies of O-Parre, where we were gratified with the sight of one of the most beautiful trees in the world, which we called the *Barringtonia*. It had a great abundance of flowers, larger than lilies and perfectly white, excepting the tips of their numerous chives, which were of a bright crimson. Such a quantity of these flowers were already dropped off, that the ground underneath the tree was intirely strewed with them. The natives called the tree *buddoo*, and assured us that the fruit, which is a large nut, when bruised, mixed up with some shell-fish, and strewed into the sea, intoxicates or poisons the fish for some time, so that they come to the surface of the water and suffer themselves to be taken with the hands. It is singular that various maritime plants in tropical climates have such a quality; the *cocculi indici*, in particular, are well known and used for that purpose in the East-Indies. We were unwilling to defer the examination of so remark-

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ble a plant till after our return on board, and therefore retired to a neat house, built up of reeds, round which several odoriferous shrubs and some very fine coco-trees were planted. The owner, with that hospitality which I have already often celebrated, sent a boy up one of the tallest palms to procure us some of the nuts, which he performed with surprizing agility. He tied a piece of the tough rind of a banana stalk to both his feet, in such a manner that they could just encompass the tree on both sides, the piece of rind serving as a sort of step or rest, whilst he lifted himself higher with his hands. The natural growth of the coco-palm, which annually forms a kind of elevated ring on the stem, certainly facilitated the boy's ascent, but the quickness and ease with which he walked up and down were really admirable. We should have ill deserved this mark of kindness and attention if we had not made our host a little present at parting, and rewarded the boy for the pleasure which we had felt in observing his dexterity.

From hence we proceeded up the valley, which having no rivulet in its middle, began to rise in proportion as we advanced. We resolved therefore to go upon the steep hill on our left, and with much difficulty accomplished our plan. Our Tahitian friend laughed at us, when he saw us faint with fatigue, and sitting down every moment to recover our breath. We heard him blow or breathe slowly  
but

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but very hard, with open mouth, as he walked behind us ; we therefore tried the same experiment, which nature had probably taught him, and found it answered much better than our short panting, which always deprived us of breath. At last we reached the ridge of the hill, where a fine breeze greatly refreshed us, after our fatiguing ascent. When we had walked upwards along that ridge for some time, exposed to the burning rage of the sun, reverberated from all parts of the barren soil, we sat down under the scanty shade of a solitary *pandang*, or palm-nut tree \*, which was at this time acceptable even to our friendly native. The prospect from hence was delightful ; the reef which surrounded O-Taheitee, the bay with the ships, and numerous canoes, and the whole plain of Matavaï with its beautiful objects, lay as it were under our feet, while the meridian sun threw a steady and calm light on the whole landscape. At the distance of about six leagues, the low island called Tedhuroa, appeared before us, forming a little circular ledge of rocks, covered with a few palms ; and far beyond it the immense ocean bounded the view. The Taheitian who was with us, pointed out the direction of all the neighbouring islands which were not in sight at present, and informed us of their produce, whether they were high or low, inhabited or only occasionally visited. Tedhuroa,

\* *Pandanus*. Rumph, Herbar. Amboin.—*Athrodactylis*. Forst. Nov. Gen. Plantar.—*Keura*. Forskol.

which

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which we saw was of the last sort, and two canoes with their sails set, were at that time returning from thence, where our guide informed us they often went to catch fish in the lagoon. Having rested a little while, we advanced up towards the interior mountains, which now appeared distinctly before us. The rich groves which crowned their summits, and filled the vallies between them, invited us to advance, and promised to reward our perseverance with a load of new productions. But we soon perceived a number of barren hills and vallies which lay between us and those desirable forests, and found it was in vain to attempt to reach them this day. We consulted amongst ourselves, whether we should venture to pass a night on these hills, but this was unadvisable, on account of the uncertainty of the time when our ships were to sail, and likewise impracticable for want of provisions.—Our Tahitian told us, we should meet with no inhabitants, dwelling, or provisions on the mountains, and pointed out a narrow path which led down the steep side of the hill into the valley of Matavai. We began to descend therefore, but found it more dangerous than when we came up: we stumbled every moment, and in many places were obliged to slide down on our backs. Our shoes were rather a disadvantage to us, being made extremely slippery by the dry grasses over which we had walked, while the native with his bare feet was surprisingly sure-footed. In a short time we gave him our fowling-pieces,

to enable us to make use of our hands, and at last we resumed them again, and letting him go before, leaned on his arm in the most difficult places. When we were about half-way down, he hallooed very loud to some people whom he saw in the valley; but we did not believe at that time that they had heard him, especially because he received no answer. However, presently after we observed several people coming up towards us, who ascended very fast, so as to meet us in about half an hour. They brought us three fresh coco-nuts, which, whether they were really excellent in their kind, or whether our great fatigue recommended them to our taste, we looked upon as the best we had ever emptied. The natives bid us rest a while, and told us that a little farther down they had left a number of coco-nuts, which they would not bring up lest we should drink too hastily at first. Their precaution was very laudable, but our thirst made us very impatient till they would permit us to move forward. At last we set out, and coming on a more level ground, entered a delicious little shrubbery, where we sat down in the fresh grass, and indulged with the cool nectar which our friends had provided. This draught enabled us to come down into the valley, where we were presently surrounded by a croud of the natives, and prepared to return with them over the plain to the sea-side; when a well-looking man, accompanied by his daughter, a young girl about sixteen, invited us to his house,

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house which lay farther up, where he wished to entertain us with a dinner. Though we were much exhausted with fatigue, we agreed not to disappoint him, and returned about two miles along the delightful banks of the river Matavai, through groves of coco, bread-fruit, apple, and cloth-trees, and numerous plantations of bananas and eddoes. The river formed various windings in the valley from side to side, so that we were obliged to cross it several times, and our new host with one of his servants always insisted upon carrying us over on their backs. At last we arrived at his house, which was situated on a little eminence, where the river gently murmured over a bed of pebbles. An elegant mat was spread for us on the dry grass in a corner of the house, which was of the closer sort, being walled in with reeds. We were immediately surrounded by a great number of our friend's relations, who seated themselves near us; and his daughter, who in elegance of form, clearness of complexion, and agreeable features, equalled, if not surpassed the Tahitian beauties we had hitherto seen, together with some of her young companions, were very assiduous in their endeavours to be agreeable. The most efficacious remedy they employed besides their smiles, to recover us from the great weariness which we felt, was to chafe our arms and legs with their hands, squeezing the muscles gently between the fingers and the palm. Whether this operation facilitated the circulation  
of

of the blood through the minuter vessels, or restored the over-strained muscles to their natural elasticity, I cannot determine; but its effect was certainly so salutary, that our strength was perfectly restored, and we did not feel the least remaining inconvenience from the fatiguing journey of the day. Captain Wallis mentions a similar instance of the excellence of this remedy, and of the beneficence of the inhabitants of Taheitee\*; and Osbeck, in his voyage to China, describes this operation as a common practice among Chinese barbers, who are said to be very expert at it †. Mr. Grose too, in his voyage to the East Indies, gives a very circumstantial account of the art of *champing*, which seems to be a luxurious refinement upon this wholesome restorative. It deserves to be mentioned here, that this ingenious author has given quotations from Martial and Seneca, which make it evident that the Romans were acquainted with this practice ‡.

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Percurrit agili corpus arte tactatrix,  
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.

MARTIAL.

We had no longer reason to complain of the want of appetite which had been the consequence of our fatigue; but as soon as our dinner was placed before us, consisting

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. I. p. 463.

† See Osbeck's and Torcen's Voyages to China, vol. I. p. 231. and II. p. 246.

‡ See Grose's Voyage, vol. I. p. 113.

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of vegetable food, suitable to the frugal simplicity of the natives, we partook of it very heartily, and soon found ourselves in as good spirits as we had set out with in the morning. We passed about two hours with this hospitable family, and during that time distributed the greatest part of the beads, nails, and knives which we had brought from the ship to our generous host, to his fair daughter, and her companions, whose care had restored our strength much sooner than we had a right to expect after so laborious an expedition. About three o'clock we set out on our return, and walked past numerous dwellings, whose inhabitants enjoyed the beauty of the afternoon in various parties, under the shade of their fruit-trees. In one of these houses we observed a man at work, in preparing a red dye, for some cloth made of the bark of the paper-mulberry, which we commonly called the cloth-tree. Upon enquiring for the materials which he made use of, we found to our great surprize that the yellow juice of a small species of fig, which they call mattee, and the greenish juice of a sort of fern, or bind-weed, or of several other plants, by being simply mixed together, formed a bright crimson, which the women rubbed with their hands; if the whole piece was to be uniformly of the same colour, or in which they dipped a bamboo reed, if it was to be marked or sprinkled in different patterns. This colour fades very soon and becomes of a dirty red, besides being  
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liable to be spoiled by rain and other accidents; the cloth, however, which is dyed or rather stained with it, is highly valued by the Tahitians, and only worn by their principal people. We bought several pieces of cloth of different kinds for beads and small nails, and then walked on till we arrived at the tents, which stood at least five miles from the place where we had dined. Here we discharged our trusty friend whom O-Whaw had recommended, and who had behaved with a degree of attachment and fidelity to us, which from the thievish character of the nation we had no room to expect. This behaviour was the more meritorious as our situation frequently had afforded him excellent opportunities of running off with all our nails and knives, and with one of our fowling-pieces; temptations which required an uncommon degree of honesty to withstand. We next embarked in one of the canoes which plied between the ships and the shore, and for a couple of beads were safely brought on board. Here we found the captain and my father just returned from a long excursion to the westward. E-Tee, the king's ambassador, who arrived on board immediately after our departure, had brought a present of a hog and some fruit, but acquainted the captain that O-Too was *matòw*, a term which at once expressed that he was afraid and displeased. To convince him that the outrages of last night were not approved of, the offenders were brought to the gangway,

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and received a dozen of lashes in his presence, to the great terror of all the Tahitians on board. Captain Cook then ordering three wether-sheep from the Cape, which were all we had left, to be put in his boat, embarked with captain Furneaux and my father, in order to regain the confidence of O-Too, without which he knew that no provisions were to be bought in the country. When they arrived at Parre, they were told that he was gone to the westward; accordingly they went after him, about four or five miles farther, and landing in a district called Tittahàh, waited several hours for him there; his fears having been so strong, as actually to make him remove about nine miles farther from us than usual. There was something in this conduct seemingly too much allied to cowardise; but we should likewise consider, that the power of Europeans had formerly been displayed here in the terrific shape of destruction. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before he arrived with his mother; he expressing the most manifest signs of fear and distrust, and she with her eyes swimming in tears. The report of E-Tee, the present of a new kind of animals, and all possible assurances of friendship on the part of our people, succeeded to quiet their apprehensions. At the king's desire, the bagpiper was ordered to play before him, and his performance produced an effect similar to that of David's harp, whose harmonious sounds soothed the atrabilarious temper of Saul. He  
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sent for a hog, which was presented to captain Cook; and soon after for another, which he gave to captain Furneaux. The captains believing this to be the last opportunity of obtaining presents from him, desired that a third might be brought for *Matarra* (my father's Tahitian name.) A little pig was given him, at which our people expressed some dislike; upon this, one of the king's relations, in the ascending line, who are all styled *Medooa* (Father,) stepped forward from the throng, and spoke very loud, with many violent gestures, to O-Too, pointing at our people, at the sheep they had presented, and at the little pig which they had received. As soon as his speech was finished, the pig was taken back again, and after a short interval a large hog brought in its stead. Our people then produced their iron wares and a variety of trinkets, which they distributed very freely; and in return were wrapped up in several *abòws*, or pieces of Indian cloth. They then took their leave of the whole court, and returned to their vessels about five o'clock.

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Preparations were made for sailing from this island the next morning, whilst the natives crowded about us with fish, shells, fruit, and cloth, of which we purchased all that was to be had. Lieutenant Pickersgill returned from his excursion to the westward about three in the afternoon. He had advanced beyond the fertile plains of Paparra, where

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O-AMMO\*, who had once been the king of all Taheitee, resided with his son the young *T'-Aree* DERRE †. He took up his first night's lodging on the borders of a small district, which was now the property of the famous queen O-POOREA (*Oberea.*) As soon as she heard of his arrival she hastened to him, and met her old acquaintance with repeated marks of friendship. She had separated from her husband ‡ some time after the departure of captain Wallis, and was now entirely deprived of that greatness which had once rendered her conspicuous in story, and august in the eyes of Europeans §. The civil wars between the two peninsulas of the island had stripped her, as well as the whole district of Paparra, of the greatest part of her wealth, so that she complained to the lieutenant that she was poor, (*teètee,*) and had not a hog to give her friends. The next morning therefore they left her, and in their return touched at Paparra, where they saw Ammo, who, after parting with O-Poorea, had taken one of the handsomest young women of the country to his bed, and appeared to be aged and indolent. His fair one gave a hog to our people, and, with some of her female attendants, stepped into the boat at their departure, and went the whole day with them, her own canoe attending to take her back again.

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 153, 154. *Oamo.*

† Ibid. vol. II. p. 154. *Terridirri.*

‡ Ibid. vol. II. p. 154.

§ Ibid. vol. II. p. 106.

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On this excursion she expressed a great degree of curiosity, which seemed never to have been gratified before by the sight of Europeans, insomuch that she was doubtful whether they were formed at all points like her own countrymen, till her eyes removed every doubt. With her they landed at Attahooroo, where a chief named POTATOW\* received them very cordially, and entertained them at his own house during the second night. He too had parted with his wife *Polatebèra*, and taken a younger to his bed, while the lady had provided herself with a lover or a husband, and they all continued to live very peaceably in the same family. The next morning at parting Potatow promised to accompany Mr. Pickersgill to Matavaï, in order to visit captain Cook, provided he might be sure of good treatment. Mr. Pickersgill assured him of the best reception; but the chief, for greater safety, produced a few small yellow feathers, tied together into a little tuft, which he desired Mr. Pickersgill to hold, whilst he repeated his promise, “that *Tòòte* (captain Cook) would be the friend of Potatow.” This done, he carefully wrapped the feathers into a bit of Indian cloth, and put it in his turban. We knew, from former accounts, that red and yellow feathers were employed by the inhabitants of this island to fix their attention while they prayed to the Deity; but this ceremony conveyed an idea of a solemn affirmation or oath,

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 170.

which:

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which was quite new to us. Potatow was so well satisfied of the integrity of his friends, after this ceremony, that he and his wives, and several of their attendants, carrying with them two hogs and abundance of cloth, marched towards the boat, amidst an immense croud of people. He was, however, no sooner arrived at the water's side, than the whole multitude eagerly pressed him not to venture amongst our people, and clinging to his feet endeavoured to hold him back; several women, with a flood of tears, repeatedly cried aloud that Toote would kill him as soon as he came on board; and an old man, who, by living at the chief's own house, seemed to be a faithful servant to the family, drew him back by the skirts of his garment. Potatow was moved; for a moment he expressed some marks of diffidence; but instantly arming himself with all the resolution he was master of, he thrust the old man aside, exclaiming "*Toote aipa matte te tayo,*" (Cook will not kill his friends!) and stepped into the boat with an air of undaunted majesty, that struck our Britons with astonishment. As soon as he was on board the ship, he descended into the cabin, accompanied by his wife *Whainee-òw*, his former wife, and her friend, and brought his presents to captain Cook. Potatow was one of the tallest men we had seen upon the island, and his features were so mild, comely, and at the same time majestic, that Mr. Hodges immediately applied himself to copy from them, as  
from

from the noblest models of nature. His portrait is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage. His whole body was remarkably strong and heavily built, so that one of his thighs nearly equalled in girth our stoutest sailor's waist. His ample garments, and his elegant white turban, set off his figure to the greatest advantage, and his noble deportment endeared him to us, as we naturally compared it with the diffidence of O-Too. Polatehera, his former wife, was so like him in stature and bulk, 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, (*tuabeine no TOOTE*;) 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. After a short stay, being told that we intended to get under way immediately, they asked, with every demonstration of friendship and with tears in their eyes, whether we intended to return. Captain Cook promised to be here again in the space of seven months, with which they rested perfectly satisfied, and departed immediately to the westward, their own canoes having followed our boat all the way.

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In the mean while a young Tahitian, of the common class, who was very well made, and about seventeen years old, having talked to the captain of going *no te whennua tei Bretane*, (to the land of Britain,) for several days past, had arrived on board with his father. His whole equipment consisted of a small piece of the Indian cloth wrapped about his loins; so entirely did he depend upon our care and protection. Captain Cook gave his father, who seemed to be a middle aged man, a hatchet and some presents of lesser value, with which he descended into his canoe with great composure and firmness, without manifesting any signs of grief. We had scarce cleared the reefs, when a canoe arrived with two or three natives, who demanded the youth back in the name of O-Too, and shewed some pieces of cloth which they intended as presents to the captain: but as they could not produce the iron-work which he had bestowed on the poor fellow's account, they were obliged to return without him. The youth, whose name was *Porèa*, spoke to them, but would not leave us, though, to terrify him, we understood that they presaged his death amongst us. However, when they were at some distance, he looked wishfully after them, leaned over the railing on the quarter-deck, and shed a flood of tears in an agony of grief. To divert him from this gloomy mood, we took him into the cabin, where he complained that he must surely die, and that his father would weep for his loss.

Captain

Captain Cook and my father comforted him, saying *they* would be his fathers, upon which he hugged and kissed them, and passed from the extreme of despondence by a quick transition to a great degree of cheerfulness. About sun-set he ate his supper, and lay down on the floor of the cabin; but seeing that we did not follow his example, he got up again, and remained with us till we had supped.

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It was with great regret that we departed from this delightful island, at a time when we were just become acquainted with its happy inhabitants. We had only passed fourteen days on its coast, two of which had been spent in removing from one port to the other. During this short space of time, we had lived in a continual round of tumultuous occupations, which had left us little leisure to study the nature of the people. An immense variety of objects relative to their œconomy, their customs and ceremonies, all which appeared new and interesting to us, had engaged our attention; but we afterwards found most of them had been observed by former navigators. These therefore, for fear of presuming too far on the indulgence of my readers, I have omitted in this narrative, and refer for the particular descriptions of the dwellings, dress, food, domestic amusements, boats and navigation, diseases, religion, and funeral rites, wars, weapons, and government, to the history of captain Cook's voyage in the Endeavour

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bark, compiled by Dr. Hawkesworth (vol. II. from page 184 to page 248). All the merit of the preceding pages concerning the isle of Taheitee, must therefore consist in a few gleanings and elucidations on several subjects. However, I am in hopes that the particular point of view in which I have beheld, and consequently represented circumstances already familiar to the reader from former accounts, will not prove uninteresting, and may in several instances suggest new and valuable reflections.

The breeze with which we sailed was so moderate, that we continued near the shore the whole evening, and were able to distinguish the exuberant scenery of the plain, beautiful enough, even at this dead season of winter, to vie with the richest landscapes, which nature has lavished on different parts of the globe. Its fertile soil, and genial climate, which produces all sorts of nutritive vegetables almost spontaneously, insures the felicity of its inhabitants. Allowing for the imperfect state of sublunary happiness, which is comparative at best, there are not, I believe, many nations existing whose situation is so desirable. Where the means of subsistence are so easy, and the wants of the people so few, it is natural that the great purpose of human life, that of multiplying the number of rational beings, is not loaded with that multitude of miseries which are attendant upon the married state in civilized countries. The impulses of nature are therefore followed  
without

without restraint, and the consequence is a great population, in proportion to the small part of the island which is cultivated. The plains and narrow vallies are now the only inhabited parts, though many of the hills are very fit for culture, and capable of supporting an infinite number of people. Perhaps, in course of time, if the population should encrease considerably, the natives may have recourse to these parts, which are now in a manner usefess and superfluous. The evident distinction of ranks which subsists at Taheitee, does not so materially affect the felicity of the nation, as we might have supposed. Under one general soveraign, the people are distinguished into the classes of aree, manahouàna, and towtow, which bear some distant relation to those of the feudal systems of Europe. The simplicity of their whole life contributes to soften these distinctions, and to reduce them to a level. Where the climate and the custom of the country do not absolutely require a perfect garment; where it is easy at every step to gather as many plants as form not only a decent, but likewise a customary covering; and where all the necessaries of life are within the reach of every individual, at the expence of a trifling labour, ambition and envy must in a great measure be unknown. It is true, the higher classes of people possess some dainty articles, such as pork, fish, fowl, and cloth almost exclusively; but the desire of indulging the appetite in a few trifling luxuries, can at most  
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render individuals, and not whole nations, unhappy. Absolute want occasions the miseries of the lower class in some civilized states, and is the result of the unbounded voluptuousness of their superiors. At O-Taheitee there is not, in general, that disparity between the highest and the meanest man, which subsists in England between a reputable tradesman and a labourer. The affection of the Tahitians for their chiefs, which they never failed to express upon all occasions, gave us great room to suppose that they consider themselves as one family, and respect their eldest-born in the persons of their chiefs. Perhaps the origin of their government was patriarchal, and the king might only be dignified by virtue of being considered as the father of his people, till by degrees the constitution settled into its present form. Still there remains much ancient simplicity in that familiarity between the sovereign and the subject. The lowest man in the nation speaks as freely with his king as with his equal, and has the pleasure of seeing him as often as he likes. This intercourse would become more difficult as soon as despotism should begin to gain ground. The king at times amuses himself with the occupations of his subjects, and not yet depraved by the false notions of an empty state, often paddles his own canoe, without thinking such an employment derogatory to his dignity. How long such an happy equality may last, is uncertain; since the indolence of the chiefs is already, notwithstanding the  
exuberant

exuberant fertility of the soil, a step towards its destruction. Though cultivation is a labour scarce felt at present by the towtoos, to whom it is allotted; yet by insensible degrees it will fall heavier upon them, as the number of chiefs must naturally increase in a much greater proportion, than their own class, for this obvious reason, because the chiefs are perfectly unemployed. This addition of labour will have a bad effect on their bodies, they will grow ill-shaped, and their bones become marrowless: their greater exposure to the action of a vertical sun, will blacken their skins, and they will dwindle away to dwarfs, by the more frequent prostitution of their infant daughters, to the voluptuous pleasures of the great. That pampered race, on the contrary, will preserve all the advantages of an extraordinary size, of a superior elegance of form and features, and of a purer colour, by indulging a voracious appetite, and living in absolute idleness. At last the common people will perceive these grievances, and the causes which produced them; and a proper sense of the general rights of mankind awaking in them, will bring on a revolution. This is the natural circle of human affairs; at present there is fortunately no room to suppose, that such a change will take place for a long series of years to come; but how much the introduction of foreign luxuries may hasten that fatal period, cannot be too frequently repeated to Europeans.

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ropeans. If the knowledge of a few individuals can only be acquired at such a price as the happiness of nations, it were better for the discoverers, and the discovered, that the South Sea had still remained unknown to Europe and its restless inhabitants.

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## C H A P. X.

*Account of our Transactions at the Society Islands.*

THE wind with which we sailed from O-Taheitee, freshened after sun-set, and favoured our departure from that happy island, which we still discerned by moonlight.

The next day, at eleven o'clock, we saw the isle of Huahine, which is about twenty-five leagues from Taheitee, and was first discovered by captain Cook, on the 11th of July, 1769. A number of our people now felt the effects of their intercourse with the women at Matavai Bay, and had symptoms of a disagreeable complaint. All the patients, however, without exception, had this disease only in a very slight and benign degree. The question which has been agitated between the French and English navigators, concerning the first introduction of this evil to Taheitee, might be decided very favourably for them both, by supposing the disease to have existed at Taheitee previous to their arrival. The argument, that none of captain Wallis's people received the infection, does not seem to controvert this supposition, but only proves, that the women, who prostituted themselves to his crew, were free from it: which was per-

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haps 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\*. We heard, however, of another disease of a different nature, whilst we staid upon the island; and which they called *o-pay-no-Peppe*, (the fore 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 five months before us at Taheitee. 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 Taheitee in that ship, might be innocently 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 leperous 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,

\* See M. de Bougainville's Voyage, English Edition, pag. 273, 274, 285, 286. and Hawkesworth, vol. I. p. 489, 490. and vol. II. p. 232. M. de Bougainville, with the politeness of a well-bred man, doubts, whether the disease existed at Taheitee previous to his arrival or not; the English seaman asserts his opinion as fact in positive terms.

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.

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Towards sun-set we brought to within two leagues of Huahine; and the next day, at four o'clock, doubled the north end of that island, and then bore up for the harbour of O-Wharre. Huahine is divided by a deep inlet into two peninsulas, connected by an isthmus entirely overflowed at high-water. Its hills are much inferior to those of Taheitee in height, but their appearance strongly indicated them as the former seats of a volcano. The summit of one of them had much the appearance of a crater, and a blackish spongy rock was seen on one of its sides, which seemed to be lava. At sun-rise we beheld some of the other Society Isles, called *O-Raietea* (Ulietea,) *O-Taba*, and *Borabora* (Bolabola.) The last forms a peak like Maâtea, but infinitely higher and more considerable, on the top of which there appeared also the crater of a volcano. There are two entrances to O-Wharre harbour; of these we chose the southermost, and having a very steady breeze off shore, our navigators tried their skill in working in. The entrance might be about three or four hundred yards long, and barely a hundred yards wide between two reefs. However in this space we made six or seven trips with

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amazing dexterity, each trip lasting about two or three minutes. We had not yet worked in, when the Adventure came in after us, but unfortunately approached too near one of the reefs, just as she was putting about, and leaned on the side of the coral rock. We were for the present intent only in saving our own ship for fear of the worst that might happen, and soon after came to an anchor. As soon as that was done, our boats were dispatched to the assistance of our consort, and she was towed into the harbour. Her bottom being examined, it was found that she had suffered no damage, which was likewise the case with the Resolution, when she struck on the coast of Tiarraboo.

The appearance of the country was exactly the same here as at Taheitee, but upon a much smaller scale; the circumference of the whole isle being only about seven or eight leagues. The plains are therefore very inconsiderable, and there are hardly any intermediate hills between them and the higher mountains, which take their rise immediately from the skirts of the plain. The country, however, contained a variety of pleasant little spots. Not a single canoe came off to us here beyond the reefs, but we had not been long at anchor before a few of them arrived loaded with coco-nuts, bread-fruit, and large fowls. We were very glad to meet with these birds, having obtained only a single pair at Taheitee, where they had been entirely

tirely swept away by former navigators. Amongst the natives who came on board, there was one who had a monstrous rupture or hernia, which did not seem to incumber him much, as he came up the sides of the ship with great agility. The natives spoke the same language, had the same features, and wore the same cloth, made of bark, as those of Taheitee; but none of their women appeared. They bartered very fairly for our beads and nails, and in a little time had sold us a dozen of very large cocks, of a beautiful plumage; but it may be remarked, that they seldom brought the hens for sale. Towards eleven o'clock the captains went on shore to a large shed, of which the sides reached to the ground, and which gave shelter to a double canoe. Here they appointed a person to trade with the natives, which they did so regularly that we collected upwards of twenty hogs this day for large spike nails or small hatchets, and about a dozen of dogs, which seemed to be the most stupid animals of their kind, but were reckoned excellent provision by the natives. During our first walk we found two plants which we had not seen before; and we took notice that all the bread-trees in that part had already young fruit, of the size of small apples, which, as the natives said, would not be ripe in less than four months. The district where we landed seemed to be entirely destitute of bananas; the natives, however, brought us some bunches of this fruit from other parts, which  
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proves that they have the art of managing some of their plantations so as to produce at different seasons; but these late crops are, as may be easily conceived, very trifling in quantity, and reserved for the luxury of their chiefs.

We returned on board to dinner, and afterwards made another excursion on shore, where we were told, that the chiefs of the island would make their appearance the next day. We were not much incommoded by the inhabitants on our rambles, our train seldom exceeding fifteen or twenty, except near a place of general resort, such as the shed where our trade was carried on. The smallness of the island might be the principal cause of the difference from what we had experienced at Taheitee; but it must be added, that the natives here were not well enough acquainted with our disposition to expect to reap any advantage from following us; and did not, upon the whole, express that degree of curiosity, nor of fear, which was inherent in the Taheiti-ans, who had had sufficient cause to dread the superior power of our fire-arms.

Our Taheitian friend Porea went ashore with us in a linen frock and a pair of trowsers, and carried captain Cook's powder-horn and shot-pouch. He told us that he was desirous to be looked upon as one of our people, and therefore never spoke the Taheitian language, but continued to mutter some unintelligible sounds, which actually imposed upon the multitude. To favour the illusion, he  
would

would no longer hearken to his Taheitian name Porea, but desired to have an English one; the sailors immediately called him Tom, with which he was extremely well pleased, and soon learnt the usual answer of Sir, which he expressed Yorro. What aim he proposed to himself in assuming this disguise, we could not conceive, unless it was, that he expected to have greater consequence in the character of an English sailor, than that of a Taheitian towtow.

The next day my father accompanied the captains to the trading-place, and from thence to the north part of the harbour, where they found the acting chief, Oree, who was the uncle of the present king Territarea (perhaps T<sup>r</sup>-Aree-Tarea.) They put ashore near a house on the water-side, where Oree was seated amidst a number of his attendants. Two of the natives who were in the boat, seeing our gentlemen preparing to land, desired them to sit still a while, till they had brought some plantane-stems, in sign of peace and friendship. They presented two of these to our people, and desired them to ornament them with large nails, looking-glasses, medals, &c. This request being complied with, the stems thus loaded were brought on shore and presented, whilst they bid our people pronounce to the first *no t' Eatua*, "for the Divinity," and to the second, *na te tayo O-Toote no Oree*, "from the friend, Cook, to Oree."

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This done, our people received in their turn five plantane-stalks successively under the following denominations.

1. The first, accompanied with a pig, *no t' Aree* "from the king," (meaning T'-aree-tarea who was a boy about seven or eight years old).

2. The second, with another pig, *no t' Eatua*, "for the divinity."

3. The third, *no te Toimoe*. This term was entirely unintelligible to our people at that time, but it appeared from subsequent explanations, to signify "a welcome."

4. The fourth with a dog, *no te Toura*, "from the rope." Here, though the words were understood, the meaning was, if possible, more obscure than in the preceding article, and what is worse, we could never obtain any light upon the subject.

5. The last with a pig, *na te tayo O-Oree no Toote*, "from the friend Oree to Cook."

To conclude this ceremony, the same man who brought all these things, likewise presented a red bag, containing a piece of pewter with this inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's ship, Endeavour. Lieutenant Cook commander, 16th of July, 1769. Huahine," together with a counter\*. This testimony of captain Cook's first visit to the island of Huahine, which he had left to Oree with an injunction never to part

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 253.

with it, was probably laid before him at present, to shew that his directions had been strictly adhered to. As soon as he had received it, he stepped ashore with all his company, and embraced Oree, who was an old man between fifty and sixty, thin, and very blear-eyed. He received our people very cordially as known friends, and presented several large bales of cloth to the captain; after which the inhabitants flocked in great numbers to his house, with abundance of fowls, hogs, and dogs, which they eagerly sold for the trifling consideration of nails, knives, and small hatchets.

In the mean while Dr. Sparrman and myself, after landing at the trading-place, proceeded to Oree's house by land. On this walk we 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 sour 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 a handful of the sour paste in, 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

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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 surpris'd 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 practis'd in Europe\*. The dogs of all these islands were short, and their sizes vary from that of a lap-dog to the largest spaniel. Their head is broad, the snout pointed, the eyes very small, the ears upright, and their hair rather long, lank, hard, and of different colours, but most commonly white and brown. They seldom if ever barked, but howled sometimes, and were shy of strangers to a degree of aversion.

We met with some of the birds here, which we had already seen at Taheitee, and also a blue white-bellied king's-fisher, and a greyish heron. We shot some of each sort, but found a number of people among the croud,

\* The Indian women in America, whose milk is remarkably abundant, have frequent recourse to this expedient to drain their breasts. See the Canon Pauw's Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, vol. I. p. 55.

who

who annexed an idea of holiness to these birds, and called them eatooas, which is the same name by which they design God. There were however at all times, at least an equal, if not greater number of people who desired us to shoot them, and were very ready to point them out. Neither did any of them express a mark of disapprobation after we had killed the birds. It is certain that they do not look upon them as divinities, because these according to their ideas are invisible; but the name of eatooa which they bestow on them, seems to convey an idea of a much greater veneration, than that which protects swallows and other birds in England, against the mischievous pursuit of unlucky boys. Here and in many other circumstances relative to civil, political, and religious institutions, we are entirely at a loss; and on account of our short continuance among these islanders, as well as for want of knowing their language, could never obtain any satisfactory information.

With the acquisitions which we had made, we continued our excursion to the northern arm of the harbour, where Mr. Smith, one of our mates, superintended the waterers. We found a number of natives assembled about him, who brought so many hogs for sale, that we were plentifully supplied with fresh meat, and could serve it every day to both ships companies. Vegetables on the

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other hand were so scarce here, that we rarely got plantanes, bread-fruit, and coco-nuts, but contented ourselves with some good yams, which when boiled supplied the place of bread. Towards noon we reached Oree's house, after walking along a beach of small white shell sand, amidst a low kind of coco-palms, affording a good deal of shade, which is always acceptable in these climates. Captain Cook had been more successful in trading than all the other parties, so that when we returned into the boat, we had scarce room enough to fit in it. In the afternoon we returned to Oree's house, where we found him surrounded by a great number of the principal people of the island. They appeared to be so exactly like the Tahitians, 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 voyagers, but without any of the preparatory circumstances which Ooratooa had

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 254.

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practised †. We had likewise much less reason to extol the hospitality of the inhabitants, their general behaviour being rather more indifferent, and the Taheitian custom of reciprocal presents almost entirely unknown. On our walks we were unmolested, 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. A chief, named *Townia*, entreated my father to come to his house, which lay in the interior part of the plain. He accepted the invitation, and was very well entertained; besides having an opportunity of purchasing one of those targets or breast-plates which I have already mentioned.

Oree came on board early the next morning with his sons, the eldest of them a handsome little boy, about eleven years old, who received our presents with great indifference; but he, as well as all the people of the island, were highly delighted with the bagpipe, and required it to be constantly played. With Oree, who now went by the name of *Cooke*, as he had done whilst the *Endeavour* lay here \*,

Sunday 5.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 125. See also vol. I. p. 438, 440. They lifted up their garments from the knee to the waist.

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 251.

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we returned on shore, where we dispersed in search of plants and other curiosities. In the evening we all met together again, when Dr. Sparrman, who had been entirely by himself towards the north point of the isle, acquainted us that he had met with a large lagoon of salt-water, which extended several miles parallel to the coast, and had an intolerable stench on account of the putrid mud which lay on its shores. Here he had met with several plants, which are common enough in the isles and coasts of the East Indies, but not so frequent in other parts of the South Sea islands. A single native, whom he had entrusted with his plant-bag, had proved extremely faithful to him. Whenever the doctor sat down to describe, the native seated himself behind him, and took both the skirts of his coat, containing his pockets, in his hand, in order, as he said, to prevent the thieves from coming at them. By this means the doctor had not lost any thing when he came on board; several of the natives, however, seeming to think him in their power, had bestowed upon him some ill-natured looks and opprobrious names.

The next day he ventured out again entirely by himself, while we remained at the trading-place with captain Cook. One of the natives, named Tubaii, a tall man, dressed in several large pieces of the cloth of bark, stained with red, and who had several bundles of birds feathers hanging at his girdle, prohibited the sale of hogs and bread-fruit, and  
actually

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actually seized a bag of nails which the captain's clerk held in his hand. However, when the latter called for assistance, he let it go again, and perceiving one of our young gentlemen trying to strike a bargain for a large fowl, he took a nail from him by force, and threatened to beat him with his club. A complaint being made to captain Cook, just as he was going aboard in a boat, he returned ashore, and bid Tubaii to leave the place. Upon his refusal, the captain went up to him and seized two large clubs which the native had in his hand; but the latter struggled with him, till captain Cook drew his hanger, on which he made off. The clubs, which were made of the casuarina wood, were broken and the pieces thrown into the sea, by the captain's order, while he recalled the rest of the natives, who began to be alarmed, and were preparing to leave the trading-place. They all agreed that this Tubaii was a bad man, (*tata-eeno*;) and seemed to think that we had done him justice. However, as captain Cook was going to send his boat on board for a party of marines to protect our traders, the whole crowd dispersed at once and left us alone. We had not been above two minutes at a loss to account for their behaviour, when Dr. Sparrman arrived almost stripped naked, and with the marks of several violent blows. He had been accosted on his walk by two of the natives, who had invited him to proceed farther into the country, with many protestations

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of friendship, and repetitions of the word *tayo*. At once, taking the advantage of an unguarded moment, they tore from his side a hanger, the only weapon he had, and gave him a blow over his head as he was stooping to arm himself with a stone. He stumbled, and they tore a black fat-tin waistcoat and several loose parts of dress from him. However, disengaging himself, he ran towards the beach and outstripped them, when some bind-weeds caught his feet, and detained him till the villains came up. They gave him repeated blows over his temples and shoulders, which stunned him; stripped his shirt over his head, and were just preparing to cut his hands, because the sleeve-buttons held the shirt, when he fortunately opened them with his teeth, and they made off with their booty. Not above fifty yards farther on, some natives were at dinner, who, seeing him passing by, came out and invited him to stop, but he hurried on towards the sea. In his way, however, he met two natives, who immediately took off their own cloth, (*abow*,) dressed him in it, and attended him to the trading-place. These honest people were rewarded to the best of our power with various presents, and we all hurried on board to reinforce our party. Dr. Sparrman being dressed again, accompanied us to Oree's house to whom we made our complaint. The old chief immediately resolved to assist captain Cook in the search after the thieves, but his noble resolution filled all his relations with

with terror. Upwards of fifty people of both sexes began to weep when he stepped into the boat; some with the most pathetic and moving gestures tried to dissuade him; and others held him back and embraced him; but he was not to be prevailed upon, and went off with us, saying, that he had nothing to apprehend, because he was not the guilty person. My father offered to remain on shore as an hostage, but he would not admit of it, and took only one of his relations in the boat with him. We rowed up a deep creek opposite the ships, where this villainy had been committed, and afterwards took a long walk into the country to no purpose; for all Oree's messengers, who were sent to apprehend the robbers, did not perform their duty. At last we returned to the boat, where Oree re-embarked with us, notwithstanding the tears of an old lady and of her handsome daughter. The young woman, in a fit of frantic grief, took up some shells and cut herself on the head with them, but her mother tore them out of her hands, and actually accompanied Oree to the ship. Here he dined with us very heartily, but the woman, according to the custom of the country, would not touch our provisions. After dinner we brought him back to his house, which was crowded with different groups of the principal families on the island, who sat on the ground, and many of whom shed tears plentifully. We sat down amongst these disconsolate people, and with all the Tahei-

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tian oratory we were masters of, endeavoured to soothe them into content and good humour. The women, in particular, shewed a great sensibility, and could not recover for a long while. At last we succeeded to appease their violence of grief; and, as some of us could not behold their distress, without admiring the excellence of their hearts, we naturally sympathized with them, with a degree of sincerity which entirely regained their confidence. It is indeed one of the happiest reflections which this voyage has enabled us to make, that instead of finding the inhabitants of these isles wholly plunged in sensuality, as former voyagers have falsely represented them, we have met with the most generous and exalted sentiments among them, that do honour to the human race in general. Vicious characters are to be met with in all societies of men; but for one villain in these isles, we can shew at least fifty in England, or any civilized country.

In a little time the trade went on as briskly as ever, and we were particularly fortunate in obtaining a supply of vegetables. Towards evening two of Oree's messengers arrived with the hanger and a part of Dr. Sparrman's waistcoat, which were restored to him, and with these soon after we returned on board.

In the morning, at day-break, the captains went to Oree's house, and returned the piece of pewter on which the commemoration of the first discovery was engraved.

At

At the same time they gave him a piece of copper, with this inscription: HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY'S SHIPS RESOLUTION AND ADVENTURE, SEPTEMBER 1773. to which they added a number of medals, and desired him to shew it to any strangers that happened to touch here. As soon as they were on board again, the seamen hove the anchor, and we got under fail, in company with the Adventure. The quantity of live flock which we had purchased during our three days stay was amazing, and shewed how great a value the natives had set upon our iron-work. The Resolution alone had two hundred and nine live hogs, thirty dogs, and about fifty fowls on board, when she failed, and the Adventure had not much less. We were scarce got under way when Oree arrived along-side in a small canoe, and came on board; he acquainted us that the robbers, and the things they had carried off, were taken, and desired both the captains, as well as Dr. Sparrman, to come on shore, in order to see the villains punished. But unfortunately his story was misunderstood, and we lost an opportunity of seeing their method of inflicting punishments. Captain Cook believing that Oree spoke of some of his countrymen who were embarked in the Adventure against his will, immediately dispatched his boat to bring them back; but that vessel being a great way ahead, and we driving out to sea very fast, Oree became impatient, took a cordial leave of us all, and returned on shore in his little

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canoe, with only one of his countrymen to assist him. A little while after our boat returned from the Adventure, and brought on board *O-Mai*, the only native who had embarked in that vessel with a view to go to England. He staid on board our ship till we reached Raietea, whither we now directed our course. As soon as we were come to an anchor there, he returned on board the Adventure, and afterwards came to England in her, and has for some time engrossed the attention of the curious. He seemed to be one of the common people at that time, as he did not aspire to the captain's company, but preferred that of the armourer and the common seamen. But when he reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the captain dressed him in his own clothes, and introduced him in the best companies, he declared he was not a *towtòw*, which is the denomination of the lowest class, and assumed the character of a *bòà*, or attendant upon the king. The world hath been amused at times with different fabulous accounts concerning this man, among which we need only mention the ridiculous story of his being a "Priest of the Sun;" a character which has never existed in the islands from whence he came. His stature was tall, but very slim, and his hands remarkably small. His features did not convey an idea of that beauty which characterizes the men at O-Taheitee; on the contrary, we do him no injustice to assert that, among all the inhabitants of Taheitee and the Society Isles,

Isles, we have seen few individuals so ill-favoured as himself. His colour was likewise the darkest hue of the common class of people, and corresponded by no means with the rank he afterwards assumed. It was certainly unfortunate that such a man should be selected as a specimen of a people who have been justly extolled by all navigators, as remarkably well featured and coloured, considering the climate in which they live. The qualities of his heart and head resembled those of his countrymen in general; he was not an extraordinary genius like Tupaia, but he was warm in his affections, grateful, and humane; he was polite, intelligent, lively, and volatile. For a further account of O-Mai, I refer the reader to the preface, where I have mentioned his stay in England, his progress in knowledge, and his equipment at his return.

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Having left Huahine we sailed to the westward, and doubled the south end of an island, discovered by captain Cook in 1769, which all the natives of Taheitee, and the Society Isles call O-Raietea, but which (upon what foundation I know not) is named Ulietea in captain Cook's charts\*. The next morning we anchored in an opening of the reef, and spent the whole day in warping into Hamaneno harbour. The country hereabouts afforded a prospect much resembling Taheitee; for the island being about three times the size of Huahine, had much broader

Wednesday 8.

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 255, 260.

plains,

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plains, and loftier hills. The natives furrounded us in a number of canoes, and brought a few hogs ; but our people looked at them with a carelefs indifference, and offered very low prices, being difficult to please, fince their fucces at Huahine. In one of the canoes a chief came on board, named Oruwheerra, a native of the adjacent ifle of Borabora (Bolabola.) He was very athletic, but his hands very fmall, and the punctuation, which the natives call tattow, confifted of the moft fingular fquare blotches on his arms, and of large black ftripes acrofs the breast, belly, and back. His loins and thighs were uniformly black. He brought fome green branches, and a little pig which he prefented to my father, being neglected by every body elfe. Having received a few iron-tools as a return, he defcended immediately into his canoe, and was paddled to the fhore. But in a little time, another canoe arrived from him with coco-nuts and bananas, which his fervants offered to his new friend, refufing at the fame time to accept of any retribution. The pleafure which we felt from this circumftance, can eafily be conceived. Philanthropy is never better rewarded, than when its objects are endowed with good and amiable qualities.

In the afternoon another chief, a native of the fame ifle of Borabora, came on board, and exchanged names with my father. His name was Herea, and his perfon the moft corpulent we ever faw in the South Sea iflands ; round his  
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waist he measured no less than fifty-four inches, and one of his thighs was thirty-one inches and  $\frac{3}{4}$  in girth. His hair was likewise remarkable; for it hung down in long black wavy tresses to the small of his back, and in such quantity that it increased the apparent bulk of his head considerably. His corpulence, his colour, and his punctures, like those of Oruwherra, were very distinguishing marks of his rank, to which indolence and luxury are annexed here as well as at Taheitee. It may perhaps want some explanation, how both these chiefs, who were natives of the adjacent isle of Borabora, could have any authority and possessions on Raietea. Already, in captain Cook's former voyage, it was known that O-Poonee the king of Borabora, had conquered not only the isle of Raietea, but likewise that of O-Taha, which is included in the same reef, and that of Mowrua which lies about fifteen leagues to the westward\*. The warriors who had served under him in these expeditions had been rewarded with ample possessions, and a great number of his subjects had received grants in the conquered islands. The king of Raietea Oo-Ooroo, was however confirmed in his dignity, though his power was confined to the district of Opoa; but at Taha, Poonee had placed a viceroy, named Boba, who was nearly related to him. Many of the natives of the conquered islands had retreated to Huahine and Taheitee,

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\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II, p. 266, 267.

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preferring a voluntary exile, to a submission to the conqueror, and hoping one day to rescue their country from oppression. It seems, this was the motive which prompted Tupaia and O-Mai, who were both natives of Raietea, to embark in British ships, as both of them always expressed a hope of obtaining a quantity of our fire-arms. Tupaia might perhaps have carried his scheme into execution, if he had lived; but O-Mai's understanding was not sufficiently penetrative, to acquire a competent idea of our wars, or to adapt it afterwards to the situation of his countrymen. He was, however, so fond of the thought of freeing his country from the Borabora men, that he has frequently said, in England, if captain Cook did not assist him in the execution of his plan, he would take care that his countrymen should not supply him with refreshments. In this opinion he persisted till near the time of his departure, when he was persuaded to adopt more peaceable principles. We were at a loss to conceive the motives which could have induced a native of one of these islands to become a conqueror. If we believed the accounts of the Borabora men, their native island was as fertile and desirable as these of which they had taken possession; therefore nothing but a spirit of ambition could have stimulated them to contentions. Such a spirit ill agreed with the simplicity and generous character of the people, and it gave us pain to be convinced, that

that great imperfections cannot be excluded from the best of human societies.

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On the day after our arrival, the captains went on shore with us to a large house, close to the water's side, which he knew to be the residence of Orèa, the chief of the district. We found him sitting in his house, with his wife, son, daughter, and a great number of persons of distinction. Immediately after our arrival we sat down by them, and were shut in on all sides by a thick croud of the natives, who made the place excessively hot. Orèa was a middle-sized, lusty man, with a very lively intelligent countenance, and thin redish-brown beard. He joked and laughed very heartily with us, and entirely banished all kinds of ceremony and affectation. His wife was an elderly woman, but his son and daughter, about twelve and fourteen years old. The latter was of a very white colour, and her features had not much of the general character of the nation, particularly her nose, which was remarkably well-shaped, and her eyes, which gave her some resemblance to a Chinese. Her stature was low, but her body elegantly proportioned, and her hands graceful beyond description; only the legs and feet were too large for the rest of the figure, and the custom of cutting the hair short, appeared to be a great disadvantage. Her manners were very engaging, and she had a pleasing soft voice, like most of her countrywomen, so that she could not be refused, when she asked

Thursday 9.

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for beads or other trinkets. As it did not agree with our occupations, to stay in the house, we took a walk into the groves, where we shot a few birds, and collected some plants. We found here, to our great satisfaction, that confidence and familiarity amongst the common people, which we had not experienced at Huahine, and we were happy at the same time not to be importuned by them, in the begging strain of the Tahitians. In the afternoon we made another excursion, and shot several king-fishers. As soon as we had shot the last, we met Orèa, and his family walking through the plain with captain Cook; the chief took no notice of the bird which we had in our hands, but his fair daughter lamented the death of her eatua, and ran from us, when we attempted to touch her with it. Her mother, and most of the women, seemed likewise to be grieved at this accident, and at stepping into the boat, the chief desired us with a very serious air, not to kill the king-fishers and herons on his island, allowing at the same time the liberty of shooting any other sorts of birds. We tried again to discover the nature of their veneration for these two species, but all our enquiries were as fruitless as they had been before.

Friday 10.

We walked to the top of one of the neighbouring hills the next day, and found several new plants in the vallies, between them. The soil at the top was a kind of stone marle; on the sides we found some scattered flints, and a few

few small pieces of a cavernous or spongy stone-lava, of a whitish colour, which seemed to contain some remains of iron. This metal, which is of general and extensive utility, is dispersed through almost all parts of the world, by the benevolent hand of nature, and may perhaps even here be contained in the mountains, in great quantity. The lava indicated the existence of former volcanoes in this island, which we had indeed suspected, because all the adjacent isles, we had hitherto seen, strongly, and sometimes evidently bore the marks of changes by subterraneous fire. One of the natives who had attended us, and carried some refreshments, pointed out the direction of several islands in the neighbourhood, but which lay out of sight. About due west, he said, the isle of Mopeehàh was situated, and about S. by W. another, named Whennua òwrah. Both these, according to his accounts, were not inhabited, and consisted only of circular ledges of coral, with palms on them, but were occasionally visited from this and the adjacent isles. They seem to be Lord Howe's Island, and the Scilly Isles, discovered by captain Wallis. We descended about noon, and found that captains Cook and Furneaux had just left the shore, after seeing a great dramatic dance, or heèva, performed by some of the principal women in the island. We hastened on board, as the day proved very hot, and found both our vessels surrounded by a great number of canoes, in which were several persons of distinction.

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of both sexes, who brought vast quantities of cloth, made of the mulberry-tree's bark, and offered them in exchange for small nails. Our beads were much valued by the ladies as ornaments, but by no means current like the nails, so that we could not even purchase fruit with them. The Tahitians set a much higher value on these trifles, which have no intrinsic worth; may we not conclude therefore, that a greater degree of general opulence is the cause of their particular affection for trinkets, especially as affluence commonly tends to luxury?

The heat of the day prevented us from going on shore till near sun-set. We landed at the watering-place, where we found a little *tupapow*, or shed, under which a dead body was deposited on a stage, and a thick grove of various shady trees surrounded it on all sides. As I had never seen the remains of the dead carelessly exposed to all kinds of accidents in these islands, I was a little surprised to find the ground strewn with skulls and bones about this shed; nor could I meet with any native at this time, from whom I could receive the least information on this subject. I rambled about here for some time entirely alone, all the inhabitants having repaired to the chief's house, where the drums gave notice of another heeva, or public dance; for they are so fond of this amusement, that they crowd together from a considerable distance to have the pleasure of seeing it performed. The stillness of the evening, and  
the

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the beauty of the spot made this walk extremely pleasant, while the absence of the inhabitants encouraged some ideas of an enchanted country. Before we returned to our boat, we met, however, with a few of the natives, amongst whom one, a very intelligent man, gave us an account of nine islands in the neighbourhood, with most of which we were unacquainted. Their names were, 1. *Mopeebàb*, 2. *Whennua-Oùrab*, 3. *Adeéba*, 4. *Towtèpa*, 5. *Wouwòu*, 6. *Oobòroo*, 7. *Tubooài*, 8. *Awbàow*, and 9. *Rorotàa*. The two first we had already heard of in the morning, but of the rest he asserted that they all had their own inhabitants, except *Adeéba*, which is occasionally visited. *Oobòroo* he said was a *whennua* or high land, but all the rest he called *mòtoo*, that is low islands, or such as consist of ledges of coral.

Our curiosity was so much raised by these accounts, that we applied for farther information to the chief *Orèa*, who came on board the next morning with his son *Te-haiura*, and several other chiefs. They enumerated the first, second, seventh and ninth islands of the preceding account; but their relations differed in this respect, as they told us the second was regularly inhabited. Besides these they spoke of two more, one called *Woreèò* or *Woureèa*, a large island, and *Oreèmatàrra* another, both which had settled inhabitants. The accounts of the situation and distances of these isles were so various and so vague, that we  
could

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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, 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 Pickerfgill obligingly communicated a copy to me. In this map we found all the names above-mentioned, except Oobòrroo and Tuboòai: but if his drawing had been exact, our ships must have failed 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.

The chief and his son breakfasted with us, and went ashore with a number of presents in return for some of theirs. We followed soon after, and were invited by him to become spectators of a dramatic dance or heeva; which was the more readily accepted by us, as we had never seen one before. The place where it was performed was an area, about twenty-five yards long and ten wide, enclosed between two houses which stood parallel to each other.

The

The one was a spacious building, capable of containing a great multitude of spectators; but the other was only a narrow hut, which was supported on a row of posts, and open towards the area, but perfectly closed up with reeds and mats on the opposite sides; one corner of it was matted on all sides, and this was the dressing-room of the performers. The whole area was spread with three large mats of the best workmanship, striped with black on the edges. In the open part of the smaller hut we saw three drums of different sizes, cut out of solid wood, and covered with shark's skin, which were continually struck with the fingers only by four or five men with amazing dexterity. The largest of these drums was about three feet high and one in diameter. We had already sat some time under the opposite roof, amidst the principal ladies of the island, when the actresses appeared. One of them was Poyadua, the fair daughter of the chief Orèa, and the other a tall well shaped lady, of very agreeable features, and likewise a very fair complexion\*. Their dress was remarkably different from the usual fashion of these islands. It consisted of a piece of the brown cloth, of the country fabric; or, instead of that, of a piece of blue European cloth, closely wrapped round the breast, so as to resemble the close dresses which our ladies wear; a kind of ruff of four rows of their cloth, alternately red and

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\* That is, considering her as a native of the Society Isles.

white,

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white, rested on their hips, being tied on with a string; and from thence a great quantity of white cloth descended to the feet, forming an ample petticoat, which we expected, from its length, would be a considerable impediment to their agility, as it fairly trailed on the ground on all sides. The neck, shoulders, and arms were left uncovered, but the head was ornamented with a kind of turban, about eight inches high, made of several skains of plaited human hair, which they call tamòw. These being laid above each other in circles, which enlarged towards the top, there was a deep hollow left in the middle, which they had filled up with a great quantity of the sweet-scented flowers of the (*gardenia*) Cape jasmine. But all the front of the turban was ornamented with three or four rows of a small white flower, which formed little stars, and had as elegant an effect on the jetty black hair as if it had been set out with pearls. They moved to the sound of the drums, and to all appearance under the direction of an old man, who danced with them, and pronounced several words, which, from the tone of his voice, we took to be a song. Their attitudes and gestures were much varied, and sometimes might admit of being construed into wantonness; but they were entirely free from that positive degree of gross indecency which the chaste eyes of English ladies of fashion are forced to behold at the opera. The movement of their arms is certainly very graceful, and the continual gesticulation of  
their

their fingers has something extremely elegant. The only action which gives offence to all our ideas of gracefulness and harmony, is the frightful custom of writhing their mouths into the strangest distortions, which it was impossible for any one of us to imitate. They screwed their mouth into a slanting direction, and at last threw the lips into a waving or undulated form, which seemed to us to be performed by means of an habitual and sudden convulsion. After they had danced for about ten minutes, they retired into the part of the house which I called their dressing-room, and five men, dressed in mats, took their place, performing a kind of drama. This consisted of dancing in an indecent manner, and of a dialogue which had some cadence, and in which they sometimes pronounced a few words shouting all together. This dialogue seemed to be closely connected with their actions. One of them kneeled down, and another beat him and plucked him by the beard, repeating the same ceremony with two others; but the last seized and beat him in his turn with a stick. After this they withdrew, and the drummers gave notice of the second act of dancing, which the two ladies performed with little variation from the first. The men took their turn a second time; the ladies succeeded them again, and concluded with a fourth act. Then they sat down to rest themselves, appearing fatigued to a great degree, and in a most profuse perspiration; one of them in particular, being

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rather lustier and of a lively disposition, had a suffusion of red in her cheeks, which was the strongest proof of her fair complexion. The other, Orèa's daughter, had performed her part to admiration, notwithstanding the fatigue of the preceding day, when she had acted both in the morning and evening. The officers of both ships, who were present, and ourselves, loaded them with a great variety of beads and ornaments, which they had so well deserved.

In the afternoon Oo-òoroo, the king of the isle of Raietea, came on board with Orèa and several ladies, to visit captain Cook. He brought a hog as an introductory present, and was well repaid with a great quantity of European goods. Among the ladies was one of the dancers, named Teina or Teinamai, who had performed in the morning, and whose complexion we had much admired. She now appeared to much greater advantage than in the cumbrous dress which she wore during the ceremony. Her own hair, which fortunately was not cut, formed finer ebon ringlets than ever the luxuriant fancy of a painter produced, and a narrow fillet of white cloth was carelessly passed between them. Her eyes were full of fire and expression, and an agreeable smile sat in her round face. Mr. Hodges took this opportunity of drawing a sketch of her portrait, which her vivacity and restless disposition rendered almost impossible. This was, perhaps, the reason  
that

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that he was less successful than usual, as the representation which is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage, is infinitely below the delicacy of the original, notwithstanding the excellence of Mr. Sherwin's engraving. But though it has lost the resemblance to Teinamai, it may serve as a specimen of the generality of features in this and the neighbouring islands, and gives a tolerable idea of a Tahitian boy about ten years old. Towards sun-set, all our noble visitors returned ashore, extremely well pleased with the reception which they had met with; a number of women of the lowest rank, however, remained on our decks, with a complaisance equal to that of the Tahitian girls, (see pag. 336.)

It was remarkable that they were not without some degree of vanity, as they never gave themselves any other name than that of *tedua*, (lady,) which is the title of their female nobility, and which, by way of eminence, is particularly applied to the princesses of these islands. If the king's sister happened to pass by while we sat in a house at Tahcotee, the natives who surrounded us were warned to uncover their shoulders, by some one who spied her at a distance, simply saying *tedua barremai*, (the lady comes hither!) or else they only said *aree!* which on such occasions always denoted one of the royal family. Our sailors, who did not understand the language, took it for granted that

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their dulcineas were all of one name, which frequently occasion some pleafant miftakes.

Sunday 12.  
Monday 13.

We fpent the two next days in various rambles along the fhores, in which we found many deep creeks towards the northern part, with marfhes at the bottom, where wild-ducks and snipes refided in great plenty. Thefe birds were more fhy than we expected, which we foon learnt was owing to their being much purfued by the natives, who looked upon them as dainty bits. On the firft of thefe days we were likewise entertained with another heeva or dramatic dance, by the fame perfons who had performed it before. It was in every refpect the fame with that which we faw on the 11th, only its duration was much fhorter.

Tuesday 14.

On the 14th, at day-break, captain Cook fent his launch, and captain Furneaux another boat, to the ifle of O-Tabà, which was two or three leagues diftant, and inclofed in the fame reef within which we lay at anchor. They were in hopes of purchafing fome fruit there, which was very fcarce at Raietea, and to that purpofe provided lieutenant Pickergill and Mr. Rowe the mate of the Adventure, with a quantity of beads and nails. Dr. Sparrman and my father, unwilling to mifs this opportunity of examining another ifland, likewise embarked with them.

OREA, the chief of this part of the ifland, having invited us to come and dine on fhore, the captains, with feveral officers and paffengers of both fhips, and myfelf, went  
on

on shore about noon, taking with us a little pepper and salt, some knives, and a few bottles of wine. A great part of the chief's spacious house was spread with quantities of leaves, which served as a table-cloth, round which we seated ourselves, with the principal inhabitants. We had not waited long, before one of the common people arrived with a hog smoking on his shoulders, roasted whole, and wrapped in a large bundle of plantane-leaves, which he threw upon the floor in the midst of us : a second tossed a smaller to us in the same manner ; and these were followed by several others bringing baskets, full of bread-fruit, bananas, and the fermented paste of bread-fruit, called mahei. Our host now desired us to help ourselves, and in a short time we had cut the two hogs in pieces. All the women, and the common sort of people, applied to us with a begging tone for portions, and what we distributed was handed from our neighbours, to the remotest persons in the croud. The men consumed their share with every mark of a good appetite, but the women carefully wrapped theirs up, and preserved it till they should be alone. The eagerness with which they repeated their importunities, as well as the envious looks of the chiefs, whenever we granted the request, convinced us, that the commonalty were in this island deprived of all sorts of luxuries and dainties. We all agreed that the pork which was set before us, tasted infinitely better, than if it had been dressed

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dressed after the European manner. It was much juicier than our boiled, and beyond comparison more tender than roasted meat. The equal degree of heat with which it stews under-ground, had preserved and concentrated all its juices. The fat was not luscious and surfeiting, and the skin instead of being hard as a stone, which is always the case with our roasted pork, was as tender as any other part. After dinner our bottles and glasses were brought in, and our friend Orèa drank his share without flinching, which appeared to us rather extraordinary, since almost all the natives of these islands expressed a great dislike to our strong liquors. Sobriety is a virtue almost universal with them, and particularly among people of inferior rank. They are however acquainted with an intoxicating beverage, which is much admired by some of the old chiefs. It is made in the most disgusting manner that can be imagined, from the juices contained in the root of a species of pepper-tree. This root is cut small, and the pieces chewed by several people, who spit the macerated mass into a bowl, where some water (milk) of coco-nuts is poured upon it. They then strain it through a quantity of the fibres of coco-nuts, squeezing the chips, till all their juices mix with the cocoa-nut-milk; and the whole liquor is decanted into another bowl. They swallow this nauseous stuff as fast as possible; and some old toppers value themselves on being able to empty a great number of bowls. I was present

present at the whole process one of the first days after our arrival at this island. Our passenger, Porea, who was not so reserved with the natives here as he had been at Huahine, brought one of his new acquaintances into the captain's cabin, and immediately sat down with him to perform the operation. He drank about a pint, which in less than a quarter of an hour made him so dead drunk, that he lay down on the floor without motion; his face was inflamed, and his eyes swelled out of his head. A sound sleep of several hours was necessary to restore him to his senses; but as soon as he had recovered them, he appeared thoroughly ashamed of his debauch. The pepper-plant is in high esteem with all the natives of these islands as a sign of peace; perhaps, because getting drunk together, naturally implies good fellowship. It seems, however, that drunkenness here is punished, like all other excesses, by disease. The old men who make a practice of it are lean, covered with a scaly or scabby skin, have red eyes, and red blotches on all parts of the body. They acknowledge these evils to be the consequence of drinking; and to all appearance, the pepper-plant, which they call awa, tends to produce leprous complaints.

As soon as we had dined, our boat's crew and servants feasted on the remains; and the same crowd who had profited by our liberality before, now paid their court to them. The sailors were complaisant only to the fair sex; and giving

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ing way to their natural disposition for sensuality, for every piece of pork required the performance of an indecent denudation. To complete our entertainment this day, the chief gave orders for performing another heeva, and we were admitted (behind the scenes) to see the ladies dressing for that purpose. They obtained some strings of beads on this occasion, with which we took it into our heads to improve upon their ornaments, much to their own satisfaction. 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 in 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 well pleased for some time; but finding it too heavy, de-  
fired

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fired 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 incumbered 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 tranquility among all her friends. Her adventure had however this good effect, that it cured her and some of her forward country-women of their idle habit of begging. In the evening we returned on board, highly pleased with the hospitality and general good disposition of the natives towards us. We were therefore surpris'd the next morning, that not a single canoe would come off to us, and going to Orèa's house, in order to enquire the reason of this sudden change of behaviour, we to our farther astonishment found it abandoned by him and his family. A few of the natives, who came to us with a good deal of diffidence, told us that he had retired towards the north point of the island, being afraid that we meant to take him prisoner. It was imme-

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diately resolved upon to follow, in order to undeceive him, and give him fresh assurances of friendship. We rowed along shore for several miles, till we came to the place to which he had retired. At our interview all were in tears, so that we were obliged to have recourse to a variety of careffes, to inspire them with new confidence towards us, and our beads, nails, and hatchets, were not the least efficacious arguments. They told us they believed captain Cook would confine them, in order to force their countrymen to bring back those people who were run away from us to O-Taha. We now saw through their mistake, and assured them that our party had not run away, but was sent on purpose, and would certainly return this night. Orèa not yet satisfied, named each of the principal persons in that party singly, and enquired concerning every one, whether he would come back, and the positive answers which we returned, at last quieted his apprehensions. While we were sitting in a circle with them, Porea our Tahitian, who intended to go to England, came running to the captain, returned the powder-horn, which he had hitherto carried for him, and said he would come back to us presently. We waited in vain a good while, and at last were obliged to return on board without him; nor did we see him again during the little time we remained on the island. From the natives we could gather but little information, and the captain fearing lest they should take new alarm,

if

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if he interested himself too strongly in his behalf, entirely dropped the enquiry. After dinner I accompanied him to the shore again, on a visit to Orèa. A very handsome youth, about seventeen years of age, who went by the name of O-Hedeedee, and who appeared to be of the better sort of people by his complexion and good garments, addressed himself to me, expressing a desire to embark for England. I was not inclined to believe at first, that he would forsake the easy way of life, which persons of his rank enjoyed in these islands, and smiling at his proposal, told him the disagreeable circumstances to which he exposed himself by leaving his country. But, though I represented to him the rigours of climate which we had to endure, and the bad provisions to which he should be reduced in time, he was not to be dissuaded from his resolution, and a number of his friends joined with him to desire his admittance into our ship. Upon this I presented him to captain Cook, and he having granted his request, we all returned on board together. Before sun-set our boats returned from O-Taha, where they had collected a load of bananas and coco-nuts, and a few hogs. They landed there on the 14th in the morning, after a few hours sail, in a fine bay on the east side, called O-Hamene. The country and its inhabitants perfectly resembled those of the other islands in this archipelago. Their productions, vegetable and animal, were in general the same, varying only in the abundance or

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scarcity of some articles. Thus, for instance, the tree, which our sailors called the apple-tree, (*Spondias*,) was plentiful at Taheitee, extremely rare at Raietea and Huahine, and not very common at Tahà; fowls were hardly to be met with at Taheitee, but common in the Society Isles; and rats, which infested Taheitee in numberless myriads, were not quite so numerous at O-Tahà; still less frequent at Raietea, and seen in very inconsiderable numbers at Huahine.

After our party had dined in O-Hamene harbour, they removed to the next creek to the north, and walked to the house of a chief named O-Tàh, where the natives said there would be a heeva or public dance. The crowd increased prodigiously as they approached it, and in their way they saw a woman at a considerable distance, dressed in a singular habit\*, and blacked all over. They were told she performed the burial rite, or mourned for a dead person. They found the aree, who was an elderly man, sitting on a wooden stool, of which he offered one half to my father. The dance was begun some time after by three young girls, the eldest not exceeding ten, and the youngest about five years of age. The usual music was performed on three drums, and in the intervals of the dance three men performed something of a pantomime drama, which represented travellers asleep, and thieves dextrously convey-

\* This is to be described in the sequel.

ing away their goods, round which they had, for greater security, placed themselves. During their performance the croud made way for several people who advanced towards the house in pairs, but stopped at the entrance. They were well dressed, with sashes of their red cloth round their loins, and skains of the tamòw or plaited hair round their heads, and the whole upper part of their body was naked and anointed with coco-nut oil. Some among them were grown men and some boys. O-Tàh called them the O-DA-WIDDEE\*, which, from the gestures he made to explain himself, our people understood to be mourners. When they appeared the area of the entrance was spread with cloth of bark, which was, however, taken up immediately and given to the drummers. One of the latter quarrelled with another native, and they fought, pulling each other by the hair, and giving some hearty blows. However, that the entertainment might not be interrupted, another drummer was substituted, and the boxers turned out of the house. Towards the end of the dance the croud made way, and the O-Da-widdee appeared once more, but stood still, as they had done at first, without performing any other particular rite.

A great number of canoes were hauled up along the shore before the chief's house, and in one of them, which

\* Mahine and Omai called them by the name of Hea-biddhee and explained the word to signify relations.

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had a roof or covering, there was a dead corse, for which the mourning rites were instituted. Our gentlemen were obliged, therefore, to lay up their boats a little farther on, where they passed the night under shelter of a good house, whilst it blew and rained excessively hard.

The next morning the chief, O-Tah, went into the boat with them, and they sailed round the north point of the isle, seeing a number of long low islands, covered with palm and other trees, which lay in the reef. They bought a quantity of good bananas about ten o'clock, and dined a little farther to the southward, near the house of the greatest chief in the island, whose name was Boba, and who governed it as a viceroy for O-Poonee, the king of Borabora, (Bolabola) but was not on the island at that time. After dinner they missed a bag, which contained a number of nails, some looking-glasses, and several strings of beads, being their whole stock in trade. After a short debate, the officers resolved to seize as much of the property of the inhabitants as possible, in order to force them to a restitution. They immediately began at the place where they traded, and took away a hog, some mother of pearl shells, and a quantity of cloth, not without being obliged to threaten with fire-arms. The party was then divided; some guarded the boats, some the goods, which were seized, and some, with the lieutenant at their head, advanced into the country in quest of greater seizures. The  
old

old chief, O-Tah, accompanied them, and was under the strongest influence of fear, which manifested itself like that of the dogs in the fable\*. Wherever they came the inhabitants hurried away before them, and drove their hogs into the mountains. The officer ordered three muskets to be fired to frighten them, upon which a chief, who had one leg and foot swelled to an enormous size by the *elephantiasis*, returned and surrendered his hogs and several large bales of cloth. Our people next proceeded to Boba's house, which they stripped of two targets and a drum, and with these spoils they retired to the house which they had occupied before. O Tah left them in the evening, but returned soon after with the stolen bag, containing about one half of the nails, beads, &c. which were taken away with it, and passed the night among our party. Early the next morning the proprietors of the goods which our people had seized, were told that every thing should be restored on condition that they procured the remaining beads and nails. In the mean time they advanced towards O-Herurua Bay on the S. W. part of the island, and, on their way, the chief, O-Tah, together with the other chief with the elephant's leg, who walked as well as any one of the rest, produced most of the missing iron and trinkets, which had been hid in bushes; upon which our people gave up the cloth, hogs, targets, &c. which had

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\* See Phædr. Fab.

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hitherto remained in their hands, and rewarded the owner of the hut, where they had passed the night, as well as the old chief, for their fidelity and kindness. The beads which they had recovered, enabled them to purchase a quantity of bananas in the district of Herurua, and afterwards in a bay called A-Poto-Poto, or the Round Bay, where they saw one of the largest houses in all the Society Isles. It was full of inhabitants, many of whom lodged with their families in different parts of it; the whole appearing to be rather a public building, erected for the casual shelter of travellers, like the carvanfaras of the East, than a private dwelling-house. Here they dined, and after disposing of every bead and nail which they had brought with them, set out on their return to the ships, where they arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon, thoroughly wet by the waves which beat into their boats.

The next morning, the chief Orèa with his family came to take leave of us, and the ship was filled with the friends of O-Hedeede, who embarked with us, bringing him cloth of the country fabric, and a sea-provision of their balls of fermented bread-fruit (mahei) which they are very fond of, and which is one of the most nutritive substances in the world. The daughter of Orèa, who had never ventured to visit us before, came on board on this occasion, to beg for the green awning of the captain's boat, which had mightily struck her fancy. She received abundance of presents, but the

the captain could not possibly grant her request. The trade for their tools, cloth, &c. was very brisk all round the ship about this time, till the anchor was weighed. Our friends parted from us, with the sincerest expressions of grief, and shedding floods of tears, reproached some of us with a want of sensibility. Our civilized education in general tends to stifle the emotions of our heart; for as we are too often taught to be ashamed of them, we unhappily conquer them by custom. On the contrary, the simple child of nature, who inhabits these islands, gives free course to all his feelings, and glories in his affection towards the fellow-creature.

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Mollissima corda

Humano generi dare se natura fatetur,

Quæ lacrymas dedit; hæc nostri pars optima sensûs.

JUVENAL.

A  
V O Y A G E  
R O U N D T H E  
W O R L D.  
B O O K I I.

C H A P. I.

*Run from the Society Isles to the Friendly Isles, with an Account of our  
Transactions there.*

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**W**E cleared the reefs of Hamaneno towards ten o'clock, and steered to the W. S. W. having the islands of Raietea, Tahà, and Borabora in sight. Only one month had elapsed since our arrival at Taheitee, and yet we found ourselves recovered from the effects of a long uncomfortable cruize in cold wet climates, and during the worst of seasons; and all those who had the strongest symptoms of the scurvy at that time, were now as perfectly restored to their health as the rest. The vegetables of this delightful group of islands had, in all likelihood, principally effected our cure, especially as we left our first place of refreshment, Aitepèha, in a tolerable state of convalescence,

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cence, though we had not then tasted any fresh animal food. Our prospect for the next month to come promised a continuance of health, for we carried with us between two and three hundred hogs in each ship, besides a number of fowls and some dogs, together with a great quantity of bananas, which formed a kind of orchard on our poop. It is true the want of room occasioned the death of several hogs, and the obstinacy of the old dogs in refusing to take any sustenance, deprived us of the greatest number of those animals. But we soon took an effectual method of saving our provisions by killing all the hogs which were weakened by confinement, and strewing the meat with salt. By this means it was preserved, and remained palatable and juicy without being so unwholesome as the pickled meat we brought from England, which was now so penetrated with salt, that if we attempted to sweeten it in water, we extracted all the remaining juices. The only inconvenience which the stay among these isles had brought upon our seamen, was a complaint which arose from their own intemperance, in carrying on a free connection with common women. But this, though many of them were affected with it, was fortunately of so slight a nature, that it did not, in general take them from their duty, and yielded quickly to the gentlest remedies.

Our young friend Hedeèdee, whom we had taken with us instead of the Taheitian Porèa, felt himself much affect-

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ed with the sea-sickness, occasioned by the motion of the ship, to which he was not accustomed. He told us, however, as we were looking at the high peak of Borabòra, that he was born in that island, and was nearly related to O-POONEE, the great king who had conquered Tabà and Raietea. He acquainted us, at the same time, that his own name was properly Mahine, he having exchanged it for that of Hedeede with a chief in Eimeo; a custom which, as I have already observed in another place, is common in all these islands. His relation, king O-Poonee, was at present, according to his account, at Mowrùà, an island which we passed in the afternoon. It consisted of a single mountain, of a conic form, rising into a sharp point; and from the reports of the inhabitants of Raietea, some of whom had frequently visited it, we had reason to conclude that its productions are perfectly similar to those of all the other isles in this group.

Our poor friend did not recover his appetite till the next afternoon, when he feasted on part of a dolphin of twenty-eight pounds weight, which had been caught by one of our seamen. We offered to have it dressed for him immediately, but he assured us it tasted much better raw; and accordingly we provided him with a bowl of sea-water, in which he dipped the morsels as in a sauce, and eat them with great relish, alternately biting into a ball of maheï, or four bread-fruit paste, instead of bread. Before he sat  
down

down to his meal, however, he separated a little morsel of the fish and a bit of the maheï, as an offering to the Eatua or Divinity, pronouncing a few words at the same time, which we understood to be a short prayer. He performed the same ceremony two days after, when he dined on a raw piece of shark. These instances served to convince us, that his countrymen have certain fixed principles of religion, and that a kind of ceremonial worship takes place among them, which they have perhaps preserved ever since their first separation from their ancestors on the continent.

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Monday 20.

We continued our course without any event worthy of notice till the 23d, in the morning, when a low island appeared on our larboard bow. We steered towards it, and about noon found it was divided into two parts; the latitude which we observed at that time was  $19^{\circ} 8'$  south. We soon distinguished a quantity of shrubs and tufted trees upon it, over which rose a prodigious number of cocopalms. By the help of our glasses we observed that the shore was sandy, but here and there over-run with verdure, which probably was occasioned by the common bindweed of these climates (*convolvulus Brasiliensis*). A reef as we apprehended, connected the two parts of the island together, which notwithstanding its agreeable appearance, seemed to be entirely uninhabited. Captain Cook gave it the name of Hervey's Isle, in honour of the present earl of Bristol. A bird which resembled a sand-piper in its flight, and

Thursday 23.

note,

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Sunday 26.

OCTOBER,  
Friday 1.

Saturday 2.

note, had appeared about the ship, the day before we made this island, and might be said to have announced its proximity, but though we observed another of the same sort on the 26th, which actually settled in the rigging, yet we did not fall in with another island. We held a westerly course from Hervey's Isle, which lies in  $19^{\circ} 18'$  south latitude and  $158^{\circ} 54'$  west longitude from Greenwich, till the first of October, when we saw land before us about two o'clock in the afternoon. In four hours time we came within two or three leagues of it, and found it of a moderate height; the hills were covered with trees, and offered a pleasing, though not magnificent prospect. At the south-west extremity we observed a small rocky islet, and to the northward a low land of greater extent. From thence we judged, that the isle before us was the same which Abel Janffen Tasman named Middleburg Isle, in 1643, and that the other to the north, was that of Amsterdam, discovered by the same navigator. We lay to all night, and with day-break passed round the S. W. point of Middleburg Isle, and ranged its western coast. 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 coco palms, which seemed to be the effect of winter.

The

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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. It was not long before we perceived some of the inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling towards us. 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 *fagafetai*, 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 Taheitee, 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:

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of the common Tahitians\*, that is, of a clear mahogany, or chefnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tips. 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 Tahitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes in the lap 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. In the mean while we arrived at the N. W. point of the island, where we struck foundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by a number of canoes, each containing three or four

\* As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Tahitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expressly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

people,

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people, who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades, something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of better wood. 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 *fagafetai* 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. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry, that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men; and that the

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other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island) bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives, in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always received the same names in answer.

After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat, and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell, fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat, for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered a few fruits, with a variety of arms and utensils. 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  
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of Tafman who visited the adjacent Amsterdam 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 croud, covered from the waist downwards, whose looks and smiles welcomed us to the shore. Mr. Hodges designed this memorable interview in an elegant picture, which has been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The same candour with which I have made it a rule to commend the performances of this ingenious artist, whenever they are characteristic of the objects which he meant to represent, obliges me to mention, that this piece, in which the execution of Mr. Sherwin cannot be too much admired, does not convey any adequate idea of the natives of Eaowhe or of Tonga-Tabbo. The plates which ornamented the history of captain Cook's former voyage, have been justly criticised, because they exhibited to our eyes the pleasing forms of antique figures and draperies, instead of those Indians of which we wished to form some idea. But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr. Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from NATURE in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas. The connoisseur will find Greek contours and features in this picture, which have never existed in the South Sea. He

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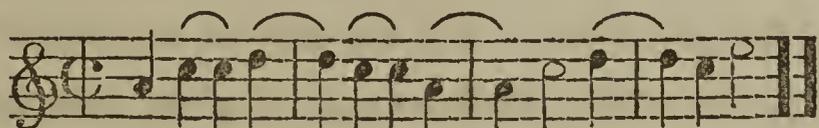
will admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

We soon left the landing-place, and followed the chief, who invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green, which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright, and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

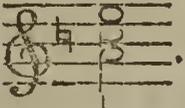
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We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceedingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical when compared to the Tahitian songs. They beat time to it 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 done they were relieved by others, who sang the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island, which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.

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In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow,

and sometimes ending with the chord .

The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable

time

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time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door, which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance, and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed through  
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these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of Taheitee, 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 enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors before mentioned. 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 Islands. But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians 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 bananas, are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared to that of Taheitee, 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

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placed in a fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a profusion of the gifts of nature as the Tahitians, those gifts were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced among them, and 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. The general stature of the men was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than at Tahitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion of strength in their agriculture and œconomy. Their features were extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Tahitian faces, in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and the beard shaven or rather clipped by means of a couple of sharp muscle shells, (*mytili.*) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Tahitee and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely  
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proportioned down to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features, though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same, a light chestnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his orders that we concluded his quality. The custom of puncturing the skin and blacking it, was in full force among the men, and their belly and loins were very strongly marked in configurations more compounded than those of the Taheitians. The tenderest parts of the body were not free from these punctures, the application of which, besides being very painful, must be extremely dangerous on glandulous extremities, and justly excited our astonishment.

———— et picta pandit spectacula cauda!      HOR.

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The women, however, were exempted from this custom of disfiguring themselves, and had only a few black dots on their hands. But besides these, both sexes had three spots on the arms, consisting of concentric circles of punctures, without any blacking, which I have mentioned before. The men in general went almost naked, having only a small bit of cloth round the loins. Some, however, wore a dress nearly resembling that of the women. This was a long piece of cloth made of bark, in the same manner as the Taheitee cloth, but afterwards painted chequerwise, or in patterns nearly resembling our painted floorcloths, and covered with a size, which turned the wet for a long while. This they wrapped round their waist, the men nearly about their middle, the women more immediately under the breast, and in both it commonly descended below the knees. Instead of the cloth they likewise substituted mats, extremely well wrought, in form resembling those of Taheitee, and sometimes, though rarely, covered even their shoulders and breasts with them. The men frequently wore a string round their necks, from which a mother of pearl shell hung down on the breast. The women often had loose necklaces, consisting of several strings of small shells, intermixed with seeds, teeth of fishes, and in the middle of all the round *operculum*, or cover of a shell, as large as a crown-piece. Both their ears were perforated, and sometimes with two holes, and a little cylinder cut out  
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of tortoise-shell or bone, was stuck through both the holes. Sometimes these cylinders were only of reed, filled with a red solid substance, painted and lacquered with different colours in regular compartments. The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was, that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both hands; the differences of sex or age did not exempt them from this amputation; for even amongst the few children, whom we saw running about naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an exception to the general rule. We immediately conjectured that the death of a near relation or friend might require these strange mutilations, in the same manner as is customary among the Hottentots, in Africa\*; the Guaranos, in Paraguay; and the Californians; and our enquiries, though unsuccessful at first, afterwards confirmed the conjecture. Another singularity, which we observed to be very general among these people, was a round spot on each cheek-bone, which appeared to have been burnt or blistered. Some had it quite recent, in others it was covered with a scurf, and many had a very slight mark of its former existence. We could never learn how and for what purpose it was made; but we supposed it could only be

\* See Kolben's account of the Cape of Good Hope; also the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, par M. Pauw, vol. II. p. 224, 229.

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used like the Japanese *moxa*, as a remedy against various complaints.

Notwithstanding the engaging manners of the natives, we foresaw that we should make but a very short stay among them, because our captains could not obtain refreshments in any considerable quantity; which might be owing not so much to their scarcity upon the island, as to the difficulty of making our goods current for such valuable articles, when they could obtain them in exchange for arms and utensils. They had brought indeed a few yams, bananas, coco-nuts, and shaddocks for sale, but they soon dropt that branch of trade. Our people purchased an incredible number of fish hooks made of mother of pearl, barbed with tortoise-shell, but in shape exactly resembling the Tahitee fish-hooks, called *witte-witte*\*; some of which were near seven inches long. They likewise bought their shells, which hung on the breast, their necklaces, bracelets of mother of pearl, and cylindrical sticks for the ear. They had the neatest ornamental combs that can be imagined, consisting of a number of little flat sticks about five inches long, of a yellow wood like box, most firmly and elegantly connected together at the bottom by a tiffue of the fibres of coco-nut, some of which were of their natural colour, and others dyed black. These fibres were likewise employed

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II, p. 218. Also Parkinson's Journal, p. 77, and Tab. XIII. fig. 25.

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in making a great variety of baskets, wrought with regular compartments of two colours, brown and black, or sometimes all brown, and ornamented with rows of round flat beads, which were made by cutting pieces of shells into that shape. The taste and the workmanship of these baskets were elegant in the highest degree, and varied into different forms and patterns. Those little stools, which serve as pillows for the head, were much more frequent here than at Taheitee; flattish bowls, in which they place their meat, and spatulas with which they mix up the bread-fruit paste, were likewise in great abundance, and made of the club-wood (*casuarina equisetifolia*), which had this name from supplying all the islanders in the South Sea with weapons. The clubs of the people of this isle, were of an infinite variety of shapes, and many of them so ponderous that we could scarce manage them with one hand; the most common form was quadrangular, so as to make a rhomboid at the broad end, and gradually tapering into a round handle at the other. But many were spatulated, flattish, and pointed; some had long handles and a blade which resembled the blade of a fleam; others were crooked, knobbed, &c. But by far the greatest part were carved all over in many chequered patterns, which seemed to have required a long space of time, and incredible patience, especially when we consider, that a sharp stone, or a piece of coral, are the only tools which the natives  
can

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can employ in this kind of work. All the different compartments were wrought and divided with a regularity which quite surpris'd us, and the whole surface of the plain clubs was as highly polished, as if our best workmen had made them with the best instruments. Besides clubs, they had spears of the same wood, which were sometimes plain, sharp-pointed sticks, and sometimes barbed with a sting-ray's tail. They had likewise bows and arrows, of a peculiar construction. The bow which was six feet long, was about the thickness of a little finger, and when slack, formed a slight curve. Its convex part was channelled with a single deep groove, in which the bow string was lodged, and which was likewise big enough sometimes to contain the arrow made of reed, near six feet long, and pointed with hard wood. When the bow was to be bent, instead of drawing it so as to encrease the natural curvature, they drew it the contrary way, made it perfectly strait, and then formed the curve on the other side. The bow-string by this means never needed to be tense, as the arrow received sufficient moment by changing the natural bent of the bow; the recoil of which was never violent enough to hurt the arm. Our seamen, unacquainted with the nature of these weapons, broke several of them by drawing them like other bows. The immense quantity of arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific disposition, which had strongly shone

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thone through their whole behaviour towards us, and which still manifested itself in their readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have sometimes quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent, but the people of Ea-oo-we would take no other than black opaque beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as it was let down into the water. Their kind looks, and acclamations followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprosy: complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a high

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high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges. A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to sell.

After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following account of this excursion.

“ At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with

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two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (*erythrina corallodendron*.) Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having crossed it, we met with a most delightful walk about a mile in length, formed of four rows of coco-nut trees, which ended in another lane between plantations of great regularity, surrounded by shaddocks and other trees. It led through a cultivated valley to a spot where several paths crossed each other or met in one. Here we saw a fine lawn covered with a delicate green turf, and surrounded by large shady trees on all sides. In one corner of it there was a house, which was empty at present, its inhabitants being probably by the water's side. Mr. Hodges sat down to draw this delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world, fraught with odours which might have revived a dying man; the sea breeze played with our hair and gently cooled us; a number of small birds twittered on all sides, and many amorous doves cooed harmoniously in the deepest shade of

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the tree under which we were seated. The tree was remarkable for its roots, which came out of the stem near eight feet above the ground, and for its pods of more than a yard long, and two or three inches broad. This secluded spot, so rich in the best productions of nature, where we sat solitary with no other human being besides our two natives, struck us with the idea of enchanted ground, which being the creation of our own gay fancy, is commonly adorned with all possible beauties at once. In fact, there could not have been a more desirable spot for a little place of retirement, according to the elegant imagination of Horace, if it had only been supplied with a crystal fountain or a little murmuring rill! But water is unfortunately the only blessing denied this charming little island. To the left of this spot we discovered a shady walk, that brought us to another grassy lawn, at the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves, were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but the other was empty.

empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (*tòà*), here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches, where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down, certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the funereal cypresses. It is therefore probable that the same train of ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately. We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and I believe we should have been entirely left to ourselves if we had not engaged two of them to become our conductors. The discharge of our guns, and their effect, neither excited their admiration nor their fear; but they always appeared kind and courteous towards us. Their women were, in general,

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reserved, and turned with disgust from the immodest behaviour of ungovernable seamen, some of them however appeared to be of easy virtue, and beckoned to our people with lascivious gestures."

The next morning early the captain went on shore with us, and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words, which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and Mahine (or O-Hedeèdee,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them. They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived its defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit, few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return, however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties. The chief, after felling a number of fish-hooks for nails and beads, hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

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We now sailed along the western shore of Tasman's Amsterdam island, which the natives called Tonga-Tabboo, and found it a very low flat land, compared with that which we had left. The middle of this island is nearly in  $21^{\circ} 11' S.$  latitude, and  $175^{\circ}$  W. longitude. Its highest elevation above the level of the sea, appeared to the eye never to exceed six or seven yards perpendicular. On the other hand, its extent was much more considerable than that of Eaowhe, and by the help of our spying-glasses, we discovered the same regular plantations which we had so much admired there, and saw the shores crowded with inhabitants, who gazed at us, probably with as much attention as we bestowed upon them. When we were about half way between both islands, or nearly three leagues from each, we were met by several canoes full of men, who attempted to come along-side, but as we happened to be too far to windward, they could only fetch the Adventure, where they came on board.

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In the afternoon we approached the northernmost end of the island, and perceived some small isles connected by reefs to the eastward. Their situation and that of the shoal to the north-west, where the sea broke with great violence, convinced us that we were now arrived at the very place where Tasman anchored in 1643, and which he called Van Diemen's Road. Here we dropped an anchor upon a rocky bank, and were immediately surrounded with numbers of the natives, some in canoes, and some swimming, though we lay about a quarter of a mile from the shore. We found them to be of the same nation which inhabited Ea-oo-whe, and their mercantile turn prompted them to bring an immense quantity of their cloth, mats, nets, utensils, arms, and ornaments, which they eagerly exchanged for beads and nails. The ships were no sooner moored, than a prohibition was made against purchasing curiosities, and the natives were told to bring coco-nuts, bread-fruit, yams, and bananas, as well as hogs and fowls, of which we had already learnt the names. We purchased a small quantity of provisions the same evening, to give an example to the rest of the inhabitants, who were obliged to take their merchandize on shore again. The good effects of this step appeared the next morning, when the natives returned from shore at day-break, and had loaded their canoes with vegetables and fowls. Many of them came on board as freely as if we had been old acquaintances, and did not  
appear

appear to have the least idea of distrust. One of them, a well made man, with a handsome open countenance, seemed to have some authority among them, like the chief whom we had seen on Ea-oowhe. He descended into the cabin, acquainted us that his name was Attahha, and received several presents, among which he set a high value on iron, and on red European broad-cloth. After breakfast he went on shore with us in the pinnace. A coral reef surrounded the coast, at the distance of a musket-shot, and a single narrow pass admitted us within it, where we found the water so full of rocks and so shallow, that we were obliged to be carried out of the boat. 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 surprize or dislike at this proceeding, perhaps because they were unacquainted with its meaning. They received us with acclamations of joy as at Ea-oowhe, 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 Hedèedee) traded with great eagerness for ornaments made of bright red feathers, which he assured us had an extraordinary value at Taheitee and the Society Islands. Here they were commonly pasted to aprons used in their dances, and made of the fibres of

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coco-nut, or fixed upon banana leaves, forming rhomboidal frontlets or diadems, &c. With a degree of extasy which gave the greatest weight to his assertion, he shewed us that a little piece of feathered-work, as broad as two or three fingers, would purchase the largest hog in his island. Both this youth and O-Mai were much pleased with the inhabitants of these islands, and began to understand their language tolerably well.

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 *poule 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 enclosed 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,

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other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian *tayo*. The enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style as at Ea-oo-whe, 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 enclosures 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

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at them, and brought down six or eight at once, besides wounding several others which held fast 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 seen some of them who had caught these bats alive, and placed them in a cage of wickerwork very ingeniously contrived, with an entrance like that of a fish-basket, where the animal could easily be put in, but could not come out again. They likewise assured us the bats were very mordacious, for which purpose they seemed indeed to be well provided with large sharp teeth.

We had already observed at Taheitee, at the Society Islands, and even at Ea-oowhe, 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

\* La Rougette, of M. de Buffon. Vampyrus of Linné, and Pennant.

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lead us to a cemetery or place of worship, and the event shewed that we were not mistaken. We found a beautiful green lawn, enclosed on all sides by shady bushes and trees, amongst which casuarinas, pandangs, and wild fago-palms appeared with their various tints of green. A row of Barringtonias, 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-oo whe. Its length was about twenty, the breadth fifteen, and the height of the ridge ten feet. The roof descended sloping nearly to the ground, and was made of banana leaves. We entered into this building with only one of the natives, the rest keeping at some distance. We found the floor covered with broken pieces of white coral rock, and in one corner a heap of blackish pebbles, about eight feet long, which was elevated a foot above the white stones. The native told us that a man lay buried there, and pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified that when his *maduas* or parents\* died, they mutilated their hands. We found two pieces of wood a foot long, carved

\* Perhaps any relations in the ascending line.

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into some resemblance of the human figure, like those which are called *e-tee* at Taheitee, but they were treated in the same manner, that is without the least degree of respect or veneration, being frequently trod upon and kicked about. These burying-places, which are called *a-Fayetooca* in the language of the country, are always delightfully situated on green lawns, and surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described, was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

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 enclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in request with the natives. A walk of three  
miles.

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miles brought us to the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tafman 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\*, the emergence of this island must be of so modern 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. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some

\* See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences at Stockholm.

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mats and pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points, and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells. Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. 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 *Fayetòca* 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, who had a good deal of weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had conducted our gentlemen to two *fayetòcas*, and had pronounced a solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building, but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory

mory seemed to fail, upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration for birds like the Tahitians, but to worship a supreme invisible Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries, especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity of mankind.

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From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds  
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seldom varied much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips. It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part, which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had likewise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Tahitians. They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Tahitian flute had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various other utensils.

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  
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vociferous. Among them were a considerable number of women, who wantoned 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 Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations, for which some of the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general, and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely various in all ages and countries.

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In some parts of India, no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs, Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set, but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part of the inhabitants, under the shade of the wild wood which lined the coast. There they lighted numerous fires, and were heard conversing during the greatest part of the night. It seems their eagerness to continue the trade with us, would not permit them to return to their dwellings, which were probably situated in the remotest part of the island. Our goods were in great repute with them. Nails, which the natives commonly hung on a string round the neck, or stuck through the ear, were very current for fowls, and smaller ones for bunches of bananas, and coconuts. Their fowls were the largest we had ever seen, and extremely well-tasted. Their plumage was commonly very glossy, and beautifully coloured with red and gold. Our sailors bought numbers of them, in order to enjoy the barbarous amusement of seeing them fight. From the time of our leaving Huahine, they had daily followed the cruel occupation of tormenting these poor birds, by trimming their wings, and incensing them against each other. They had

had so well succeeded with those of Huahine, that some of them fought with the most desperate fury of true game-cocks ; but they were well disappointed with those which they purchased at Tonga-Tabboo, and as they could not make them fight, they were forced to eat them in revenge.

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Early the next morning, the captain's friend Attahha or Attagha (see p. 447.) came on board in one of the first canoes, and breakfasted with us. He was dressed 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. An excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing, which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had received as a present. 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 a Tahitian 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* \*

Tuesday 5.

\* *Ooree* signifies a dog at Tahitee; and *ghoorree* at New Zealand.

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near twenty times. We were much surpris'd 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 extasy of joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not possess'd of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct; or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where these animals exist.

I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made upon 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. These embarkations were of different construction. The common small trading-canoes were sharp-bottomed, and ended in a sharp edge at each extremity, which was covered with a board or deck, because their narrow form frequently expos'd these parts to an entire submersion, which would have fill'd them with water without this precaution. They commonly had a slight out-rigger or balancer, made of a few poles, to prevent

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vent their oversetting. The body of the canoe consisted of several planks, of a hard brown wood, sewed together with strings made of the fibrous coco-nut core, and so artfully joined that they appeared to be remarkably tight. The Tahitians simply bore holes in each plank, through which they pass their strings; but by this means their canoes are always leaky. At Tongo-Tabboo they dub the inside of the plank in such a manner as to leave a projecting list or rim close to the edge, and through this they pass their threads. Along the deck or narrow board at each extremity are placed seven or eight knobs, which seem to be an imitation of the little fins, (*pinnulæ spuriaë*,) on the belly of bonitos, albecores, or mackarels; and I cannot but conjecture that the natives have taken these swift fishes for their models in the construction of their boats. Though these canoes are commonly fifteen or eighteen feet long, yet they are as neatly and smoothly polished as our best cabinet-work, which must appear the more surprising when we consider that the tools of the natives are only wretched bits of coral, and rasps made of the skins of rays. Their paddles were equally well polished, of the same wood as the canoe, and had short rhomboidal broad blades, like those of Tahitee. The other sort of canoes were constructed for sailing, and persons skilled in nautical matters acknowledge that they were admirably well adapted for this purpose. We saw one of them in Maria Bay, consisting of two joined together,

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together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes \*. Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails, which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented †. As a farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage. I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the Society Isles.

Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, 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

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

† The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17, 18.

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 irru-  
fet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gebennæ!*" 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.

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My father did not return from his excursion till the evening, having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island. At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coconuts, and having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes, wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly the same as at Tahitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so frequently

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frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and beads, with which he performed the *fagafetai*, by laying them on his head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the road.

Wednesd. 6.

The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon all voyages of discovery. Our goods tempted them at least as much as they had tempted the Tahitians, and they were consequently equally disposed to pilfer. The captains had not been long on shore the next day, when one of the natives took an opportunity of stealing a jacket out of our boat. In a few moments no less than seven shot were fired, without the captain's orders, though in his presence, at the thief, who first dived in the water, and at last ran into the croud, by which means several innocent people were wounded. Notwithstanding this severity, the good-nature of the people was such, that they did not forsake the trading-place, or take umbrage at our proceeding, but heard with unconcern the balls whistling about their ears. A few hours afterwards, one of them was equally nimble on board our ship, and luckily slipping into the master's cabin stole from thence several mathematical books, a sword,

a sword, a ruler, and a number of trifles of which he could never make the least use. He was seen making his escape in a canoe, and a boat being dispatched after him, he threw all the stolen effects overboard. These were picked up by another of our boats, whilst the first continued in the pursuit of the thief. Our men fired a musket into the stern of his canoe, upon which he and some others with him jumped into the sea. The thief was still hunted with incredible eagerness, but displayed a most wonderful agility, diving several times under the boat, and once unshipping the rudder. At last one of our people darted the boat-hook at him, and catching him under the ribs, dragged him into the boat; but he watched his opportunity, and notwithstanding his loss of blood, leaped into the sea again, and escaped to some canoes, which came from the shore to his assistance. It is remarkable that even such a disposition for cruelty, as had been displayed in the pursuit of this poor wretch, did not deprive us of the confidence and affection of his country-men. The captains brought Attagha and another chief on board with them to dinner, and the trade was carried on as quietly as if nothing had happened. The chief who came with Attagha appeared to be of a superior rank, because the latter, who used to sit at table with us on former occasions, now retreated a few steps, sat down on the floor, and could not be prevailed upon to eat in his sight. He was a blear-eyed, elderly man, and having a great in-

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fluence on the people in the canoes, was called the admiral by our sea-men. His dress did not in the least indicate his superior dignity, probably because these islanders are little acquainted with the refinements of luxury, though on the other hand they seem to behave with great submission to their men of rank, directly contrary to what we had observed at the Society Isles. The respect which Attagha paid to the other chief, was however trifling in comparison of that which we heard of on shore after dinner. Here we found a well-looking middle-aged man, sitting on the ground at the trading-place, and all the crowd forming a circle about him. Some of our sportsmen acquainted us, that they had met with him near Maria Bay, where the other natives passing by had prostrated themselves on the ground before him, kissed his feet, and put them on their necks. Upon enquiry, they 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 † Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of which we concluded

\* *Ko* is the article in these Islands and at New Zealand, which answers to the Tahitian *O* or *E*.

† The same word in the Tahitee dialect is pronounced *Aree*.

that

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that the former part (Lattoo) was a title, it being same which Schouten and Le 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 similitude in the behaviour and customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Lattoo, and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble, because his behaviour was most awkwardly passive. He did not return any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head, and pronounced the word *fagafetai*, like the meanest of his subjects. The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water †, which was

\* See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

† Called *awa* at Tahitee, and *kawa* at Tonga-Tabboo, and Horne Island.

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ferred in little square cups made of banana-leaves curiously folded. At his desire, we were very politely presented with this dainty beverage, and in pure civility tasted of it. It had a nauseous insipid taste, which was afterwards followed by a strong pungency, and its colour was somewhat milky. The holy man took such large and frequent draughts of this stuff every evening, as to become perfectly intoxicated. No wonder then that his memory failed him, when he was at prayer (see p. 454.) that his whole habit of body was lean and scabby, his face wrinkled, and his eyes red, and “purging thick amber\*.” He had great authority among all the people; and a number of servants attended to supply him with replenished cups. The presents which he received from us, he retained in his own custody, whereas Attagha and several other chiefs, gave up to their superiors whatever the captains had presented to them. The priest had a daughter, who received many presents from our people. She was extremely well featured, and fairer than most of the women of this country, who seemed to pay her some degree of deference. A fairer complexion, and softer features than those of the common people, are the natural effects of an easy inactive life, unexposed to the blaze of a tropical sun, and pampered with a profusion of the best productions of the country. Must we not conclude therefore that the beginnings of luxury will be introduced even here under the cloak of

\* Shakespeare.

religion, and that another nation will be added to the many dupes of voluptuous priest-craft? So small a spark as the cunning of a single man may in time kindle a dreadful and irresistible fire! The obedience and submission with which these people revere their chiefs, are evident proofs that their government, though perhaps not perfectly despotic, is yet far from being democratical; and this kind of political constitution seems likely to facilitate the introduction of luxury. This seems to hold good likewise in regard to many islands in the western part of the Pacific Ocean, since the faithful descriptions of Schouten, Le Maire, and Tasman, who visited them, correspond in every material particular with our own observations. The general disposition for trading, and the kind and friendly reception which strangers have almost constantly met with in every island belonging to this group, prevailed upon us to give these discoveries of Schouten and Tasman the name of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS. Schouten's boats were indeed attacked at Cocos, Traitors, Hope, and Horne Islands; but these attacks were inconsiderable, though severely punished on the part of the Dutch navigator, who, after the first disturbance at Horne Island, lay there nine days in perfect good understanding with the natives. Tasman, who twenty-seven years afterwards saw several islands near six degrees to the southward of those which Schouten had visited, was received with every demonstration of peace and friendship, though

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though he was the first European that discovered them. Whether this behaviour was only a consequence of the intelligence which the natives of Tonga-Tabboo and Anamocka, (Amsterdam and Rotterdam Islands,) might have received from those of Cocos, Hope, and Horne Islands, concerning the superior strength of the strangers and the havoc which they had made; or whether it was the natural effect of their peaceable disposition, I cannot venture to determine, though I am inclined to adopt the former opinion. Captain Wallis probably saw Cocos and Traitors Islands in 1767, which he called Boscawen's and Keppel's Isles; but his people did the natives no hurt, except frightening them with the discharge of a single musket. M. de Bougainville saw some of the north-eastermost isles belonging to this group, of which the inhabitants had the same general character. He called his discovery the *Archipel des Navigateurs*, justly enough, as many ships have fallen in with it. Since Tasman's time, no other navigator has had any intercourse with the isle of Amsterdam, which he discovered, previous to our arrival. During a space, therefore, of one hundred and thirty years, they have not materially changed their manners, dresses, way of living, disposition, &c. &c. Our ignorance of their language prevented our obtaining positive proof that they still preserved, by tradition, the memory of former visitors; but they possessed some nails, which must have been brought to the island in Tasman's time.

We

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We purchased one of these nails, which was very small and almost consumed with rust, but had been carefully preserved by being fixed on a wooden handle, probably to serve the purposes of a googe or borer, and is now deposited in the British Museum. We likewise bought some small earthen pots, perfectly black with soot on the outside, and suspected them to be memorials of Tasman's voyage; but afterwards we rather believed that they were manufactured by the natives themselves. The accounts of Schouten, Tasman, and M. de Bougainville agree with ours, in respect of the agility with which the natives committed petty thefts. Tasman and captain Wallis have likewise observed their custom of cutting off the little finger; and according to Schouten's and Le Maire's circumstantial narratives, the natives of Horne Island were as submissive to their king as those of Tonga-Tabboo. The experience of the superior power of the strangers, made them respectful even to servility towards the Dutch; their king prostrated himself before a Dutch purser, and their chiefs placed their necks under his foot\*. These excessive marks of submission seem to border upon meanness and cowardice; but *we* never had reason to suppose them tinctured with these vices. Their behaviour towards us was commonly accompanied with that freedom and boldness which the rectitude of intentions

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean, vol. II. p. 41.

inspires;

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inspires; and though really polite, was never unbecoming. 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 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. We continued strolling about for some time, without  
any

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any sinister accident, and returned to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular, whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples, perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity, at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oo-whe, the different voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers, or such

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as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fret-work. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (see pag. 398.) Schouten and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their account of the dances at Horne Island\*. It appeared, upon the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Tahitians, and that 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 their islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of their 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

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

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 Tahitians 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 cheek-bones 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

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profusion is become the source of that great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-Tabboo. 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 Tahcicians, 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 Tahcicians, 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 fabrick 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  
Tahcicians.

Taheitians. 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, 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 Taheitian, 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 necessaries 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

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We did not find that sonorousness in the Tonga-Tabboo dialect, which is prevalent in that of Taheitee, 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.—— But it is time to return from this digression.

We did not part from our friends till sun-set, promising to return to them once more the next morning. Our ships were well provided with bananas, yams, and coco-nuts; and, considering the small size of the island, as well as our short stay, sixty or eighty hogs, besides a vast number of large fowls, were a surprising acquisition. During our stay we had searched the country in vain for water, and the master had been sent to the eastward to survey Maria Bay, and the low isles which shelter that harbour. The situation of these islands he found very exactly represented in the charts of the ever accurate Tasman, and on one of them where he landed, he saw an astonishing number of speckled water-snakes, with flat tails, which are harmless, and distinguished in the system of Linnæus, by the name of *colubri laticaudati*. In our branch we had not been unsuccessful, this little island having afforded us several new plants, among which was a new species of jesuit's bark, or *cinchona*,  
of

of which the bitter bark may perhaps be equally efficacious with that of Peru. We also collected several birds unknown before, and purchased some live species, particularly of the parrot and pigeon tribe, of the natives, who seem to be very expert fowlers. But it did not appear to us, that the pigeons, which many carried perched on crooked sticks, were marks of distinction, though Schouten at Horne Island, where the same custom prevails, is of that opinion\*. In the last boat which had brought our people on board in the evening, the Latoo or king had sent a great quantity of vegetables, together with a whole hog roasted, or dressed under-ground, as a present to the captain. In the morning therefore, we embarked early in the pinnace, and rowed to the shore to make a present in return. We found the Latoo sitting at a little distance from the beach; and captain Cook gave him a shirt, a saw, a hatchet, a brass kettle, and several articles of less moment, all which he received with full gravity; this deportment he never varied, except once, when he was seen to smile as he conversed with Attagha. Among the croud, we observed a single man, who differed from all the rest, by having suffered his hair to grow, and having twisted it into several round bunches, which hung wildly about his ears. This man, and the young girl mentioned page 468. were the only persons we met with, who had

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\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. II. p. 46.

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not conformed to the general custom of cutting off the hair.

After a short conversation with the natives, of whom we bought a variety of their tools, on account of their elegant carving, we returned on board to breakfast, and immediately after weighed the anchors and set sail. The provisions lying in confused heaps on the decks, prevented our going into the open sea immediately. We therefore kept standing off and on, under shelter of this island, and did not take our departure till towards evening, when we shaped our course southerly.

Friday 8.

The next morning, the weather being nearly calm, we caught a shark, eight feet long, consequently bigger than any we had seen before. In the afternoon we saw the little isle which Tasman calls Pylstaerts Island. This name refers to the birds, which the Dutch navigators observed there, and which in all probability were tropic birds. Pylstaert literally signifying arrow-tail, alludes to the two long feathers in the tail of this bird, from whence its French name of *paille-en-queue* is likewise derived\*. Its latitude is  $22^{\circ} 26'$  S. and its longitude  $170^{\circ} 59'$  W. A contrary S. W. wind which sprung up towards evening, obliged us to cruize about till the 10th in the morning, when we came

Sunday 10.

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. p. 75. where they are called *wild ducks*.

in sight of this little islet again. It is of a moderate height, and has two hummocks, of which the southernmost is the highest. We recovered the trade-wind by degrees, so that we were out of sight of this island about two o'clock in the afternoon, and having bid adieu to the tropical islands of this ocean, directed our course a second time towards New Zealand. We had now made such good use of the four months, after our departure from thence, 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 Taheitee, 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 rigours of more inhospitable climates.

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## C H A P. II.

*Course from the Friendly Isles to New Zealand.—Separation from the Adventure.—Second stay in Queen Charlotte's Sound.*

WE had no sooner left the torrid zone, than flocks of sea-fowls attended us on our course, and hovered lightly on the waves, which a favourable gale had raised.

Tuesday 12. On the 12th an albatross appeared, among the rest of the inhabitants of the temperate zone, which never dare to cross the tropic, but roam from thence even to the polar circle; so carefully has nature allotted to each animal its proper place of abode.

Saturday 16. The weather continued fair till the 16th in the morning, when we had a fall of rain. Some of the people who examined the pump-well, found there a dog, which they brought upon deck. This creature, which had been purchased at the island of Huahine, like many others of the same species, had obstinately refused to take any nourishment, and in all probability had lived ever since in that hole without the least support of food, for a space of thirty-nine or forty days. The whole body was reduced to a mere skeleton, the legs were contracted, and he voided  
blood

blood at the anus. The torments in which this poor animal must have lived, were a lesson to our people, to purchase only young puppies of this race for the future, as the grown dogs constantly refused to eat on board.

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The next night several blubbers passed by the ship, which were visible on account of their phosphoric light. Their luminous quality was so great, that the bosom of the sea, seemed to contain brighter stars than the æther.

Sea-weed, sheer-waters, and albatrosses daily appeared, as we advanced towards New Zealand. On the 19th, the sea was luminous, and on the 20th, the diving petrels arrived in flocks about us, and indicated the proximity of the land, which we saw the next morning at five o'clock. Tuesday 21st. We stood in shore all the day, till four in the afternoon, when we were abreast of the Table Cape\*, and Portland Island which adjoins to it by a ledge of rocks. The shores were white and steep towards the sea, and we could perceive the huts and strong holds of the natives, like eagles airies on the top of the cliffs. A great number of natives ran along the rocks, in order to gaze at us, as we passed by them, and many seated themselves at the point which extends to the southward, but did not care to come off to us in their canoes. We failed between the funken rock and the land, and continued our course across Hawke's Bay, and then along shore, as it was growing dark.

\* See the chart of New Zealand, in vol. II. of Hawkesworth's Compilation.

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Friday 22.

In the morning we were to the south of Cape Kidnappers, and advanced to the Black Cape. After breakfast three canoes put off from this part of the shore, where some level land appeared at the foot of the mountains. They soon came on board as we were not very far from the land, and in one of them was a chief, who came on deck without hesitation. He was a tall middle-aged man, clothed in two new and elegant dresses, made of the New Zealand flag or flax-plant. His hair was dressed in the highest fashion of the country, tied on the crown, oiled, and stuck with white feathers. In each ear he wore a piece of albatross-skin covered with its white down, and his face was punctured in spirals and curve lines. Mr. Hodges drew his portrait, and a print of it is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage. His companions sold us some fish, while he was entertained in the cabin. The captain presented him with a piece of red baize, some garden-seeds, two young pigs of each sex, and likewise three pairs of fowls. Our young Borabora man, Mahine, who did not understand the language of the New Zealanders at the first interview like Tupaya, hearing from us that these people were not possessed of coco-nuts and yams, produced some of these nuts and roots with a view to offer them to the chief; but upon our assuring him the climate was unfavourable to the growth of palm-trees, he only presented the yams, whilst we made an effort to convince the chief of the value of the presents.

presents which he had received; and that it was his interest to keep the hogs and fowls for breeding, and to plant the roots. He seemed at last to comprehend our meaning, and in return for such valuable presents, parted with his *mabè-peh* or battle-axe, which was perfectly new, its head well carved, and ornamented with red parrot's feathers and white dog's hair. After a short stay he returned on deck, where captain Cook presented him with several large nails. He received those with so much eagerness that he seemed to value them above any other present; and having observed that the captain took them out of one of the holes in the capstan, where his clerk had put them, he turned the capstan all round, and examined every hole to see if there were not some more concealed. This circumstance plainly shews how much the value of iron tools is advanced in the estimation of the New Zealanders since the Endeavour's voyage, when they would hardly receive them in many places. Before their departure they gave us a heeva or warlike dance, which consisted of stamping with the feet, brandishing short clubs, spears, &c. making frightful contortions of the face, lolling out the tongue, and bellowing wildly, but in tune with each motion. From their manner of treating the fowls which we had given them, we had no great reason to expect success in our plan of stocking this country with domestic animals, and we much feared whether the birds would reach the shore alive. We comforted ourselves, however,

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ever, with the thoughts of having at least attempted what we could not hope to see accomplished.

The wind, which had shifted during our interview with these savages, blew right off shore, and was very unfavourable. It increased towards evening into a hard gale, during which we hauled our wind, and stood on different tacks for fear of being blown too far from the coast. Heavy rains attended this gale, and penetrated every cabin in the ship. Squalls were likewise frequent, and split some old sails, which were not fit to resist the violence of the tempest. We had not expected such a rough reception in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$  south, and felt the air from the bleak mountains of New Zealand very cold and uncomfortable, the thermometer being at 50 degrees in the morning. A few hours of moderate and almost calm weather succeeded these boisterous beginnings, after which the gale freshened to the same height as the night before. By day it abated again, and permitted us to run in shore, but every night it increased and blew in furious gusts, which demanded all our attention. On the 24th, in the evening, we had reached the entrance of Cook's Strait, and saw Cape Palliser before us; but the next morning a gale sprung up, which was already so violent, at nine o'clock, that we were forced to haul our sails and lay to, under a single one. 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

Saturday 23.

Monday 25.

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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, in so much 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 shear-water 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 unmeasurable expanse of sea, furrowed into numberless deep channels;

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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 Mahine assured us that it was harmless, but its appearance alone was horrid enough to fill the mind with apprehension\*. 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. Without any provocation to serve as an excuse, they execrated every limb in varied terms, piercing and complicated beyond the power of description. Inured to danger from their infancy, they were insensible to its threats, and not a single reflection bridled their blasphemous tongues. I

\* See Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II.

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know of nothing comparable to the dreadful energy of their curses, than that disgrace to christianity the Anathema of Ernulphus \*. In this comfortless situation we continued till two o'clock the next morning, when the wind died away suddenly, and was succeeded in an hour's time by another from a favourable quarter. In the calm interval between these two winds, the ship rolled more violently than ever, so that the main-chains were repeatedly dipped under water, with part of the quarter-deck.

We failed all this day towards the land, having been driven off many leagues during the storm. Pintadas, black shear-waters, and other petrels now surrounded us in great flocks, and we passed an albatross sitting fast asleep in the water, perhaps fatigued by the violence of the preceding gale. Tuesday 26.

The next day we were disappointed once more at the mouth of the strait, and got a contrary wind, which blew a storm before night. The same weather continued for two days following, almost without intermission. On the 29th, early in the morning, several water-spouts were seen by the officer at watch; and soon after we had a slight shower and a favourable change of wind. In the evening we lost sight of the Adventure our consort, whom we never rejoined again during this voyage. The foul wind which in the morning on the 30th certainly contributed to sepa- Friday 29.

\* See Tristram Shandy.

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rate her from us entirely, she being so far astern that this wind must have had infinitely more effect upon her than upon our ship.

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Monday 1.

It would be useless and tedious to repeat the many changes from adverse tempests to favourable gales which succeeded those already mentioned, and which made us despair of ever coming to an anchor in New Zealand again. We were buffeted about for nine nights together, during which sleep scarce ever visited our eyes. On the 1st of

Tuesday 2.

November we got into Cook's Strait, but the weather proved so inconstant, that it became contrary to us as soon as we had approached Cape Tera-wittee upon the Northern Island. Our situation permitted us, however, the next day to come to an anchor in a new bay, which we discovered immediately under this promontory to the westward. The environs of this bay were dreary, blackish, barren mountains, of a great height, almost wholly destitute of woods and shrubs, and running out into long spits of sharp columnar rocks into the sea. The bay itself seemed to extend a considerable way up between the mountains, and by its direction left us in doubt, whether the land on which Cape Tera-wittee is situated, is not a separate island from Eaheino-mauwe. This miserable country was, however, inhabited, and we had not been half an hour at anchor, before several canoes full of natives came on board. They were very despicably habited in old shaggy cloaks, which

which they called *bògbee-bòggbee*. The smoke to which they are perpetually exposed in their wretched habitations, and a load of impurities which they had probably never washed off since their birth, perfectly concealed their real colour, and made them look of a vile brownish yellow. The season of winter, which was just at an end, had in all likelihood forced them at times to make their meals on putrid fishes, which, together with the use of rancid oil for the hair, had so penetrated them with an insufferable stench, that we could smell them at a distance. They brought a few of their fish-hooks and some dried tails of craw-fish to sell, for which they eagerly received our iron-ware and Taheitee cloth. Captain Cook likewise presented them with two pair of fowls, with strong injunctions to keep them for breeding; but it is hardly to be expected that these wretched savages will attend to the domestication of animals. 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 more civilized, and are already accustomed to cultivate several roots for their subsistence.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the weather fell perfectly calm; but in a little time a southerly wind came

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up the strait, at sight of which curling the water at a distance, we weighed anchor and got out of the bay. And very fortunate it was that we did so, for the gale increased after a few minutes to such a furious pitch, that we were hurried along with astonishing speed, and after passing close to the dangerous rocks of the Brothers, on which a most dreadful surf was breaking, we came to an anchor at night, under shelter of Cape Koa-maroo in Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Wednesd. 3.

The next day, about noon, we came safely into the Ship-Cove, from whence we sailed on the 7th of June, near five months before. We were in great hopes of being rejoined here by the Adventure, because captain Cook intended to make some stay at this place, though the early season of the year did not promise such abundance of refreshments as we had enjoyed at our first visit.

We had hardly dropped our anchor, before several of the inhabitants, who had been out fishing, came to see us in their canoes, and disposed of the fish which they had caught. We recollected them as some of our old friends, and called them by their names, at which they expressed great satisfaction, 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.

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dressés. We questioned them concerning the health of their absent countrymen, and received various answers; but among the rest they acquainted us, that GooBAÏA, one of their old chiefs, had chased the two goats which we had left in the woods of Grafs-Cove, and had killed and eaten them. This news was most unwelcome to us, as it destroyed all our hopes of stocking the forests of this country with quadrupeds.

In the afternoon we visited all the plantations which we had left on the beach in Ship-Cove, on the Hippah-Rock, and on motu-Aro. We found almost all the radishes and turneps shot into feed, the cabbages and carrots very fine, and abundance of onions and parsley in good order; the peas 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.

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hemp, was however in flower, together with some other early species. We collected all we could find, gathered a quantity of celery and scurvy-grass, and shot some waterfowl, with all which we returned on board in the evening. We immediately made drawings and descriptions of all that was new to us, and particularly of the flag, (*phormium tenax*.) which, on account of the excellent flax that may be prepared from it, deserves to be more universally known. Desirous to promote every improvement which may turn out a real benefit to mankind, we did not hesitate a moment to permit an engraving to be made from our drawing, at the request of the Earl of Sandwich, which is intended to ornament captain Cook's account of this voyage.

Thursday 4.

The natives returned the next morning in more canoes than the preceding day, and among them was Teiratu, the chief, who had made acquaintance with us on the fourth of June, and had pronounced a long harrangue that day. He was now in his old clothes, or what the polite world would call *deshabillé*; quite destitute of the finery of chequered mats edged with dog-skin, and his hair carelessly tied in a bunch, instead of being combed smooth, and delectably greased with stinking oil. In short, from being the orator and leader of a troop of warriors, he seemed to be degraded to a simple fishmonger. It was with some difficulty that we recognized his features under this disguise, upon which he was taken into the cabin, and presented with

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with some nails. Our iron ware, and our provision of Tahitee cloth, were articles of such importance to Teiratu and his people, that they resolved to establish themselves near us, in order to be the first to profit by our commerce, and perhaps to lose no opportunity of laying their hands on any thing which belonged to us. Our ship lay very near the beach where we intended to fill our empty casks with fresh water. Here we had already set up a tent for the people who were employed in this branch of our preparations; another for our wood-cutters, and the astronomical observatory. We went on shore at this place, both before and after-noon, and made our way through a labyrinth of climbers which crossed from one tree to another. Mahine (or Hedeede) likewise came on shore with us, and roamed through its intricate forests, surprised at the number of different birds, their sweet melody, and their beautiful plumage. One of our gardens where the radishes and turneps were in flower, was remarkably full of small birds, which sucked the nectareous juices of the blossoms, and not seldom plucked them from the stalk. We shot several of them, and Mahine, who had never made use of fire-arms in his life before, killed his bird at the first discharge. The senses of all nations, not more polished than his countrymen, are infinitely more acute than ours, which a thousand accidents tend to impair. We never were more clearly convinced of this, than at Tahitee; it was very usual for the natives there, to point out small birds to us in the thickest trees,

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or ducks and other water-fowl between bushes of reeds, where not one of us could ever perceive them.

The weather, which was warm and pleasant, facilitated our zoological researches, so that we brought home a number of birds in the evening.

Friday 5.

The first intelligence which we received from the shore the next day, was a complaint against the natives, who had stolen during the night, a watch-coat from the waterers tent, and a bag filled with linen. The captain immediately went into the cove, where the savages had taken up their quarters, which was only separated by a single hill from our watering-place, and to which he had given the name of Indian Cove. Here he addressed himself to their chief Teiratu, who sent for the stolen goods, and returned them without hesitation, pretending that the theft was committed without his knowledge. Our people were politic enough to believe him on his word, because the address of his countrymen had hitherto supplied us with abundance of fish, for a very moderate compensation of Taheitee cloth, whilst we caught them but very sparingly. In this place they found one of the fows, which captain Furneaux had left in Canibal Cove; and Teiratu being questioned concerning its two companions, pointed to different quarters of the bay, whither he said they had been carried. Thus by separating the animals, and dividing them as a spoil, these barbarians effectually destroy the possibility of propagating  
the

the species. Too much occupied with the wants of the present moment, they overlook the only means of securing a certain livelihood to themselves, and reject every attempt to civilize them.

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They were joined by a strong party on the 6th in the afternoon, who came from various parts of the bay, with a great quantity of fish, and abundance of their clothes, arms, &c. which they exchanged for Taheitee cloth. In the evening they retired to a beach opposite the ship, where they hauled their canoes ashore, made some temporary huts, lighted fires, and broiled some fish for their suppers. Early the next morning looking about us, we found they were all gone off, not excepting those who had lived at the Indian Cove. We were at a loss to guess the reason of their sudden departure, till we perceived that they had taken away six small casks from our watering-place, probably for the sake of the iron-hoops. It is certain, that by supplying us with fish for another day, they would have received three or four times the value of this iron, manufactured for their use; but we have already observed that they are not much troubled with reflections, and probably value a bird in hand more than two in a bush. We were the greatest sufferers on this occasion, being now reduced to catch fish for ourselves, though we could not spare a sufficient number of hands, and were not acquainted with the haunts of the fishes as well as the natives. Our people were occupied

Saturday 6.

Sunday 7.

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in cleaning, caulking, and breaming the ship, setting up and repairing the rigging, and, in short, in fitting her for the next southern cruize. A great party were on shore to fill our empty casks with fresh-water, to make provision of fuel, and to revise the ship's biscuit, which was in a very decayed condition. It had unfortunately been packed into new, or what are called green casks, the staves of which being damp, had communicated the moisture to the bread, a considerable part of which was perfectly rotten, and all the rest, more or less covered with mould. To prevent the fatal effects of this corruption, all the bread was carried ashore, the bad carefully selected from that which was still eatable, and this last put into an oven and baked over again, till it was thoroughly dried.

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,

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 \*, 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  $51^{\circ} 25'$  south; and that of Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound, only  $41^{\circ} 5'$ . This considerable difference of site, will naturally make the climate of New Zealand infinitely 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 Isles, which are not so high.

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The inclemency of the season did not prevent the natives from rambling about in this spacious sound. Having been entirely forsaken by them for three days together, a party arrived near us on the 9th, in three canoes, one of which was elegantly carved in fretwork on the stern. They sold

\* See the Journal of the Winds and Weather, and Degrees of Heat and Cold by the thermometer at Falkland's Island, from February 1766, to January 1767. inserted in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages in the Southern Atlantic Ocean.

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us some curiosities, and then went on shore abreast of the ship; but we did not remember having ever seen them before. The next day two wretched canoes joined these, in which was our friend Towahanga with his family\*. He came immediately on board, with his little boy Khoâa and his daughter Ko-parree, and disposed of a great number of green nephritic stones wrought into chiffels and blades of hatchets. He was introduced into the cabin, where captain Cook gave him many little presents, and dressed his little boy in one of his own white shirts. The boy was so overjoyed at his finery, that we found it absolutely impossible to keep him in the cabin by fair words. He was bent upon parading it before his countrymen on the deck, and persisted to importune us till we let him out. His little vanity, however, had the most disastrous consequences. An old he-goat, which went about our decks, to the great terror of all the New Zealanders, took offence at the ludicrous figure of poor Khoâa, who was lost in the ample turns and folds of his shirt, and awkwardly trotted along with self-complacency. The sturdy mountaineer stepped in his way, and raising himself on his hind-legs, butted with his head full against him, and laid him sprawling on the deck in an instant. The unsuccessful efforts which the boy made to rise, together with his loud lamentations, so provoked the goat, that he prepared to repeat the compliment, and would

\* See page 209.

probably

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probably have silenced this knight of the rueful countenance, if some of our people had not interposed. His shirt was now sullied, and his face and hands covered with dirt; and in this pitiful plight he returned into the cabin. His air was quite dejected, his eyes full of tears, and he seemed to be perfectly cured of his vanity. He told his misfortune, crying, to his father; but far from exciting pity, he provoked the savage's indignation, and received several blows as a punishment of his folly, before we could make his peace. We cleaned his shirt and washed him all over, which had perhaps never happened to him before during his life, and thus succeeded to restore him to his former tranquillity. However, his father, dreading a future misfortune, carefully rolled up the shirt, and taking off his own dress, made a bundle of it, in which he placed all the presents which he and his son had received.

The natives continued to sell their artificial curiosities and some fish to our people this day and the following, both which proved very rainy. On the 12th, 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

Friday 12.

\* See the chart of Cook's Strait in Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II.

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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 valleys and by the sea-side at Dusky Bay, owing to the difference of climate, which is so much more rigorous 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 lamellæ. Its colour is whitish, greyish, and sometimes tinged with a dirty yellowish-red, perhaps owing to iron particles. 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 Terà-wittee beyond the strait. The mountains in the south arose to a vast height, and were caped with snow; and the whole prospect on that side was wild and chaotic. We made a fire as a memorial of our expedition, and then came down the same path by which we had ascended. The next morning we made an excursion to Long Island, where we found a number of  
plants

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plants and some birds which were new to us. In the woods on the east side we heard some petrels in holes under ground croaking like frogs and cackling like hens; and we supposed them to be of the little diving species, which I have noticed before. It seems to be a general custom of the petrel tribe to make their nest in subterraneous holes, as we found the blue or silvery sort lodged in the same manner at Dusky Bay.

Ever since the 12th the weather was mild and very fair; the natives resided abreast of the ship, and supplied us with plenty of fish, whilst our sailors carried on their former amours with the women, amongst whom there was but one who had tolerable features, and something soft and feminine in her looks. She was regularly given in marriage by her parents to one of our shipmates, 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 each other. To-gheeree, for so the girl was called, proved as faithful to her husband as if he had been a New Zeelander, and constantly rejected the addresses of other seamen, professing herself a married woman, (*tirra-tàne.*) 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 crawled in her garments and weighed down the hair of her head.

He

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He therefore visited her on shore, and only 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. Mahine, the native of Borabora, whom we had on board, had been so much accustomed in his own country to obey every call of nature, that he did not hesitate to gratify his appetites in New Zealand, though he was too clear-sighted at the same time not to perceive the vast falling off from his own country-women. The force of instinct triumphed over his delicacy,—and can we wonder at it, when our civilized Europeans set him the example? His conduct towards the New Zealanders in general deserves to be commended. There needed not much penetration to discover that their present existence was very wretched in comparison of that of the tropical islanders; but he also frequently expressed his pity, whilst he enumerated to us a variety of articles of which they were ignorant. He distributed the roots of yams to those who visited the ship at the Black Cape, and always accompanied the captain whenever he went to plant or sow a piece of ground in this harbour. He was not, like Tupaya, so much a master of their language as to converse freely with them, but he soon understood them much better than any one of us, from the great analogy of their language to his own. Our visit to the tropical islands had, however, contributed to make the New Zealand dialect more intelligible to us than before, and we  
plainly

plainly perceived that it had a great affinity to that of the Friendly Isles, which we had just left. From such little *data* we can only guess at the probable route by which a country, so far to the south as New Zealand, has been peopled.

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The weather continuing fair on the 14th at night, the captain and my father went on shore to the observatory with telescopes, to observe the emerfion of one of Jupiter's fatellites. The result of a great number of observations, made at different times by our accurate and indefatigable astronomer, Mr. William Wales, F. R. S. has ascertained the longitude of Queen Charlotte's Sound to be  $174^{\circ} 25'$  East from Greenwich.

Sunday 14<sup>th</sup>

The next morning we accompanied the captain to East Bay, where we visited several small parties of the natives, in three different places. They received us very amicably, presented us with fish, which was always the most valuable article they had to give, and sold us several large hoop-nets\* for our iron and Taheitee cloth. Towards the bottom of the bay we mounted on the same hill which captain Cook had ascended in his first voyage †, intending to look out on the sea if we could perceive the Adventure. But when we reached the summit, we found so thick a haze on the water, that we could see no farther than two or three

Monday 35<sup>th</sup>

\* Of the kind mentioned in Hawkesworth's Compilation, vol. II. p. 392.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 397.

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leagues. The monument which captain Cook had erected here formerly, consisting of a pile of loose stones, under which some coins, bullets, &c. had been buried, was entirely demolished at present; the natives having probably suspected that a treasure of European goods was deposited there. At the foot of this hill some friendly people, like those of which captain Cook took notice at this place in his first voyage, came to us, and disposed of many of their arms, utensils, and dresses. In the afternoon we tried the hoop-nets which we had bought of the natives, and had tolerable success. These nets are made of the split leaves of the flag, so often mentioned, after they have been dried and beaten. No plant promises to become so useful to Europe by transplantation as this flag. The hemp or flax which the New Zealanders make of it, with their coarse materials, is excessively strong, soft, glossy, and white; and that which has been prepared again in England, has almost equalled silk in lustre. It grows on all kinds of soil, and, being perennial, may be cut down to the root every year, and requires scarce any attendance or care in the cultivation.

Wednesd. 17.

On the 17th, we spent the forenoon in cutting down a number of very tall trees, of which we wished to gather the flowers, but all our efforts were in vain. We had no sooner cut a tree, than it hung in a thousand bindweeds and climbers from top to bottom, from which it was not in our power to disengage it. The three following days

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we had much rain, which confined us on board; nor did we receive any visits from the natives during that time.

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On the 21st in the morning, none but women came from the shore in two canoes, and seemed to be under great apprehensions for their men, signifying to us that they were gone to fight with another party. From the direction in which they pointed, we concluded that their enemies dwelt somewhere in Admiralty Bay.

Sunday 21.

On the 22d, the weather being mild and fair, the captain, accompanied by Dr. Sparrman, my father, and myself, went into West Bay, and in its deepest recess carried ashore two sows and a boar, with three cocks and two hens, which we set at liberty a good way up in the woods. We flattered ourselves that having chosen a marshy spot, which is not likely to be frequented by the inhabitants, the animals would be left to multiply their species without any molestation. A few natives only in a single canoe had seen us in the entrance of the bay, and probably would not suspect that we were come on so particular an errand. If therefore the southern isle of New Zealand should in course of time be stocked with hogs and fowls, we have great reason to hope that the care with which we concealed them in the woods, has been the only means of preserving the race.

Monday 22.

At our return seven or eight canoes arrived from the northward, some of which, without paying any attention

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to us, went directly into Indian Cove, whilst the rest came on board with a great variety of dresses and arms, which they fold to our people. 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, patoo-patoos, battle-axes, clothes, green jaddes, fish-hooks, &c. of which the natives of our acquaintance were possessed, continually enquired for more, and shewed them such large and valuable pieces of Taheitee 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.

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Tuesday 23.

In the morning, which was very foggy, the natives at our watering-place were seen to eat a root boiled or baked by means of hot stones; and Mr. Whitehouse the first mate brought some of it on board, which tasted rather better than a turnep. My father returned on shore with him; for a few trifles obtained some large pieces of this root, and with some difficulty prevailed on two of the natives to accompany Mr. Whitehouse and him into the woods, in order to point out to them the species of plant to which the root belonged. They walked up a considerable way without any arms whatsoever, trusting to the honesty of their guides. These men pointed out a species of fern-tree, which they called *mamaghoo*, as having the eatable root; and at the same time shewed the difference between this, and another kind of fern-tree, which they named *ponga*. The first is full of a tender pulp or pith, which when cut exudes a reddish juice of a gelatinous nature, nearly related to fago. This is so much the less singular, as the real fago-tree is a species of fern. The good nutritive root of the mamaghoo must not, however, be confounded with that wretched article of New Zealand diet, the common fern-root, or *acrostichum furcatum* Linn. The latter consists of nothing but insipid sticks, which after being broiled over the fire for some time, are beaten or bruised on a stone with a piece of wood much resembling the Tahitian cloth-beater, but round instead of square, and without any.

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any grooves. The bruised mafs is chewed, what little juice there may be in it sucked out, and the reft thrown afide. The mamaghoo on the contrary is tolerably good eating, and the only fault feems to be, that it is not plentiful enough for a constant fupply. At their return they were witneffes of an instance of the ferocity of manners of this favage nation. A boy about fix or feven years old demanded a piece of broiled pinguin, which his mother held in her hands. As fhe did not immediately comply with his demand, he took up a large ftone and threw it at her. The woman incensed at this action ran to punifh him, but fhe had fcarcely given him a fingle blow, when her hufband came forward, beat her unmercifully, and dafhed her againft the ground, for attempting to correct her unnatural child. Our people who were employed in filling water, told my father they had frequently feen fimilar instances of cruelty among them, and particularly, that the boys had actually ftruck their unhappy mother, whilft the father looked on left fhe fhould attempt to retaliate. Among all favage nations the weaker fex is ill-treated, and the law of the ftrongeft 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 feverity. At New Zeeland it feems they carry this tyranny to excefs, and the males are taught from their earlieft age, to hold their mothers in  
contempt,

contempt, contrary to all our principles of morality. I leave this barbarity without a comment, in order to relate the remaining occurrences of this day, which was pregnant in discoveries relative to the New Zealanders. The captain, with Mr. Wales, and my father, went to Motu-Aro in the afternoon, where they looked after the plantations, collected greens for the ships, &c. In the mean while some of the lieutenants went to the Indian Cove, with a view to trade with the natives. The first objects which struck them were the entrails of a human corse lying on a heap a few steps from the water. They were hardly recovered from their first surprize, when the natives shewed them several limbs of the body, and expressed by words and gestures that they had eaten the rest. The head without the lower jaw-bone, was one of the parts which remained, and from which it plainly appeared, that the deceased was a youth about fifteen or sixteen years old. The skull was fractured near one of the temples, as it seemed by the stroke of a pattoo-pattoo. This gave our officers an opportunity of enquiring how they came in possession of the body. The natives answered, that they had fought with their enemies, and had killed several of them, without being able to bring away any of the dead besides this youth. At the same time they acknowledged that they had lost some of their friends, and pointed to several women who were seated apart, weeping and cutting their foreheads with sharp stones, in commemoration of the dead.

Our

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Our former conjectures were now amply verified, our apprehensions that we were the innocent causes of this disaster encreased, and the existence of anthropophagi confirmed by another strong proof. Mr. Pickersgill proposed to purchase the head, in order to preserve it till his return to England, where it might serve as a memorial of this voyage. He offered a nail, and immediately obtained the head for this price †, after which he returned on board with his company, and placed it on the taffarel\*. We were all occupied in examining it, when some New Zealanders came on board from the watering-place. At sight of the head they expressed an ardent desire of possessing it, signifying by the most intelligible gestures that it was delicious to the taste. Mr. Pickersgill refused to part with it, but agreed to cut off a small piece from the cheek, with which they seemed to be well satisfied. He cut off the part he had promised, and offered it to them, but they would not eat it raw, and made signs to have it dressed. Therefore, in presence of all the ship's company, it was broiled over the fire; after which they devoured it before our eyes with the greatest avidity. The captain arriving the moment after with his company, the New Zealanders repeated the experiment once more in his presence. It operated very

† The head is now deposited in the collection of Mr. John Hunter, F. R. S.

\* The upper part of the stern.

strangely

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strangely and differently on the beholders. Some there were who, in spite of the abhorrence which our education inspires against the eating of human flesh, did not seem greatly disinclined to feast with them, and valued themselves on the brilliancy of their wit, while they compared their battle to a hunting-match. On the contrary, others were so unreasonably incensed against the perpetrators of this action, that they declared they could be well pleased to shoot them all; they were ready to become the most detestable butchers, in order to punish the imaginary crime of a people whom they had no right to condemn. A few others suffered the same effects as from a dose of ipecacuanha. The rest lamented this action as a brutal depravation of human nature, agreeably to the principles which they had imbibed. But the sensibility of Mahine, the young native of the Society Islands, shone out with superior lustre among us. Born and bred in a country where the inhabitants have already emerged from the darkness of barbarism, and are united by the bonds of society, this scene filled his mind with horror. He turned his eyes from the unnatural object, and retired into the cabin, to give vent to the emotions of his heart. There we found him bathed in tears; his looks were a mixture of compassion and grief, and as soon as he saw us, he expressed his concern for the unhappy parents of the victim. This turn which his reflections had taken, gave us infinite pleasure; it spoke a humane heart, filled with

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the warmest sentiments of social affection, and habituated to sympathize with its fellow-creatures. He was so deeply affected, that it was several hours before he could compose himself, and ever after, when he spoke on this subject, it was not without emotion. 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\*. Many weighty objections, however, may be made against this hypothesis; amongst which the following is one of the greatest. There

\* His sentiments are copied by Dr. Hawkesworth, who has disingenuously concealed their author. See his *Compilation*, vol. III. p. 447.

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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 guesses 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 Hesse, 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

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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 Brasil, declared to the Portuguese governor \*, 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 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

\* M. de Pinto, now ambassador from Portugal at the British court; a nobleman equally eminent for his extensive knowledge and his excellent heart.

certainly

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 civil 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 Zeelander, 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 \*

*Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus.*

*Nunquam nisi in dispar feris.*

HOR.

The New Zealanders never eat their adversaries, unless they are killed in battle; they never kill their relations for

\* Bishop Las Casas says, he has seen this atrocious crime committed in America by Spanish soldiers.

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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 bigoted nations, that the custom of offering human flesh to the gods, has prevailed after civilization. Tupaya †, the only man who could freely converse with the New Zealanders, soon learnt that they acknowledged a supreme Being; and this spark of divine revelation probably remains amongst all nations on the globe. To this they add the belief of some inferior divinities, so correspondent to those of the Tahitians, that their system of polytheism must be of very ancient date, and seems to derive its origin from their common ancestors. We never observed a single ceremony in New Zealand, which could be supposed to have a religious tendency; and I know of only two circumstances which may be distantly construed to

\* See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 389, 390.

† See Hawkesworth, vol. III, p. 472.

favour of superstition. The first is the name of *atuee*, "the bird of the divinity," which they sometimes give to a species of creeper\* (*certhia cincinnata*.) This name seems to indicate a veneration like that which is paid to herons, and kingfishers at Taheitee, and the Society Isles; but I cannot say that they ever expressed the least wish to preserve the life of this bird in preference to the rest. The second, is the custom of wearing an amulet of green jadde on the breast, from a string round the neck. This piece of stone is of the size of two crown-pieces, and carved so as to bear a rude resemblance to a human being. These they call e-teeghee, a name which is doubtless equivalent to the Taheitian e-tee †. In that island, and the adjacent group, e-tee signifies a wooden image of the human figure, erected on a pole at their cemeteries, in memory of the dead, but to which no worship nor particular respect is paid. The New Zealand teeghee seems to be worn with a similar view, but not to be better respected; for though they did not part with it for a trifle, yet with half a yard of broad cloth or red kersey, which were our best goods in Queen Charlotte's Sound, we never failed to purchase it. Besides this, they often wear several rows of human teeth round the neck, but we understood that they were only the memorials of

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\* Our sailors called this the poe-bird. Its common New Zealand name is kogo.

† Better pronounced E-Tee-ee.

their

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their prowess, since they had belonged to the enemies whom they had killed. It always appeared to us, that they have no priests or jugglers of any kind among them, which accounts for their having so little superstition. When the comforts of life are multiplied, it is possible that some individuals may be artful enough to improve upon their present ideas of religion, in order to enjoy exclusive advantages ; for it has often been the fate of mankind, that the most sacred, and most inestimable gift of heaven, has served as a cloak under cover of which they have been deluded.

Wednesd. 24.

Having fitted the ship to encounter the rigorous climate of the south, and received on board her provision of fresh water and wood, as well as the biscuit which had been baked over again, we re-imbarked all the tents from the shore, and on the 24th, early in the morning, unmoored and rode by a single anchor. The natives immediately repaired to the beach which we had left, and finding there a heap of bread-dust which had been rejected as unfit for use at the revival of our biscuit, they fell to, and consumed it all, though our hogs had before refused to touch it. We could not attribute this proceeding to necessity, because they had plenty of fresh fish, of which they daily sold us enough for our consumption. It was rather owing to the diversity of their taste from ours, or to the natural inclination for variety, which made them eat the worst of vegetable food, because

because it was a rarity, in preference to fish, which is their constant diet. They had another motive for visiting the place of our late establishment; this was, to pick up any little trifles, such as nails, rags, &c. which we might have left behind. Whilst they were so employed, some others came from the interior parts of the bay, and offered a great quantity of their tools and weapons to sell.

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In the afternoon, a boat was sent on shore to bury a bottle at the foot of a tree, with a letter for captain Furneaux, in case he should come into the harbour after our departure. Another boat, with several officers, and my father, went to Indian Cove, where the entrails of the body still lay on the ground. The war-canoe, in which the expedition had been made, had a carved head ornamented with bunches of brown feathers, and a double-forked prong projected from it, on which the heart of their slain enemy was transfixed. Our gentlemen purchased a quantity of their prepared hemp or flax, and many fish-hooks, armed with bone, which, according to the account of the natives, was taken from the human arm.

At four o'clock the next morning, a boat was sent to the Motu-Aro, in order to take a few cabbages out of our plantations. My father took that opportunity of searching the shore for the last time, and was fortunate enough to find some plants which we had not seen before. In the mean while we hove the anchor, set sail, and took up the

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boat on our way ; but finding the current and wind against us, we were forced to come to again about seven o'clock, between Motu-Aro and Long Island. Here we lay an hour or two, and then set sail with a more favourable breeze, which carried us into Cook's Strait.

We stood close in shore under cape Tera-Wittee, and fired several guns to give the Adventure notice of our approach, in case she had lain in one of the adjacent harbours. Between the Capes Tera-Wittee and Palliser, we discovered a very deep bay, of which the shores had every where a gentle slope, and especially towards the bottom, where the hills were removed to such a distance, that we could but just discern them. If there is a sufficient depth of water for ships in this bay, and of that we had no room to doubt, it appears to be a most convenient spot for an European settlement. There is a great stretch of land fit for cultivation, and easily defensible ; there is likewise plenty of wood, and almost certain indications of a considerable river ; and lastly, the country does not seem to be very populous, so that there would be little danger of quarrels with the natives ; advantages which are not frequently to be met with jointly in many spots of New Zealand. The flag (*phormium tenax*) of which the natives make all their clothes, mats, ropes, and nets, affords such an excellent kind of flax, which is at once glossy, elastic, and strong, that it might become an article of commerce in India, where cordage and canvas is  
wanted.

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wanted. Perhaps in future ages, when the maritime powers of Europe lose their American colonies, they may think of making new establishments in more distant regions; and if it were ever possible for Europeans to have humanity enough to acknowledge the indigenous tribes of the South Sea as their brethren, we might have settlements which would not be defiled with the blood of innocent nations.

We continued firing guns as we stood past this bay, and the next morning having doubled Cape Palliser, we ran along the coast to the northward till the evening, likewise firing guns from time to time. Our attempts to rejoin our consort were to no purpose; we heard no answer to all our signals, though we hearkened with an attention, and an eagerness which plainly shewed how unwillingly we ventured on a second cruise among numberless dangers without a companion. We were forced at last to give up the thought of seeing her again, and about six o'clock took our departure from Cape Palliser, steering to the S. S. E.

Friday 26.

The scurvy, which had afflicted some of our people after the first tedious cruise to the south, between the Cape of Good Hope and Dusky Bay, had been entirely subdued by the wholesome diet on fish, and the drinking of spruce-beer in that harbour; and afterwards by the excellent greens in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Our disagreeable passage in winter from New Zealand to Taheitee, had revived

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the symptoms of the disease in many persons, and in some to a considerable degree; but the continual supply of fresh vegetables, which we received at that island, together with the provision of excellent pork at the Society and Friendly Isles, had entirely re-established them. Our second stay at Queen's Charlotte's Sound had likewise furnished us, as before, with abundance of celery and scurvy-grafs, which counteracted the noxious effects of salted meat; so that we were, to appearance, in a good state of health at our second departure from thence. It may, however, justly be questioned, whether the continual hardships and labours which we had undergone, had not in reality made the shew of health deceitful, and impaired the body so much that it was not able to resist so long as it had formerly done. The officers and passengers entered upon this second cruize under several difficulties which did not exist before. They had now no live-stock 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 cruize to the south could not present any thing  
new,

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new, but appeared in all its chilling horrors before us, and the absence of our comfort 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. The late Abbé Chappe, in his voyage to California, (or his compiler, M. Caffini, in his name,) observes \*, “ that variety alone has charms for “ the traveller, who goes in quest of her from one country “ to another.” His philosophy is at the same time of such an exalted nature, that he pronounces † “ the life which “ is led at sea to be tedious and uniform only to those who “ are not accustomed to look round them, and who be- “ hold all nature with the eye of indifference.” Had the good Abbé been unfortunate enough to make a visit to the antarctic circle, without the company of several hundred fattened fowls, which kept him in good humour on his short trip from Cadiz to Vera Cruz, his philosophy would not have taken so high a flight. But though he found variety at sea, he was not so fortunate in Mexico ‡. Here he crossed great tracts of uncultivated country and extensive forests, he saw nature in a savage state, allowed that she was rich and

\* Pag. 22.

† Pag. 13.

‡ Pag. 22.

beautiful;

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beautiful ; but, in the space of a few days, her multiplicity of charms became insipid and uniform in his eyes. And yet this traveller assures us, that he was astronomer, botanist, zoologist, mineralogist, chymist, and philosopher !

We quitted the shores of New Zealand with ideas very different from those of Abbé Chappe ; and if any thing alleviated the dreariness of the prospect with a great part of our ship-mates, 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.

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## C H A P. III.

*The second course towards the high southern latitudes from New Zealand to Easter Island.*

THE morning after we had taken our departure, we had a N. N. W. wind, which raised the thermometer to 64 deg. The two next days it stood at 54 deg. then at 48; and when we were in about 49° of south latitude, at 44½ deg. On the 28th of November, we observed a number of seals, or perhaps sea-lions, passing by us at a distance towards the land which we had left. From that time to the 6th of December we daily saw great flocks of blue and other petrels, together with the different species of albatrosses, the skuas or grey gulls, many pinguins, and abundance of sea-weed. About seven in the evening, on that day, we were in the latitude of 51° 33' south, and long. 180°; consequently just at the point of the antipodes of London. 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

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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  $180^{\circ}$  long. on the same circle of north latitude, on the coast of California.

Friday 10.

In proportion as we advanced to the southward the thermometer fell; and on the 10th, in the morning, the wind coming more ahead, it descended to  $37^{\circ}$ . At noon we had reached the latitude of  $59^{\circ}$  south, without having met with any ice, though we fell in with it the preceding year on the 10th of December, between the 50th and 51st deg. 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.

Sunday 12.

On the 11th, at night, the cold increased, the thermometer standing at 34 deg. and at four o'clock the next morning a large island of floating ice was seen ahead, which we passed an hour afterwards. At eight o'clock the thermometer was already at  $31\frac{1}{2}$  deg. the air being probably refrigerated

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frigerated by the ice, though we did not see more than this one piece. At noon we found the latitude to be  $61^{\circ} 46'$  south. The next morning the thermometer stood at  $31$  deg. and we ran to the eastward with a fresh breeze, though we had a surprising fall of snow, which filled the air to such a degree that we could not see ten yards before us. Our friend Mahine had already expressed his surprize at several little snow and hail showers on the preceding days, this phenomenon being utterly unknown in his country. The appearance 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. The heavy fall of snow this day surprized 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 of the morning; but two days after, in about  $65$  deg. of south latitude, 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 off at first, till we

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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. Already, at New Zealand, he had collected a number of little slender twigs, which he carefully tied in a bundle, and made use of instead of journals. For every island which he had seen and visited, after his departure from the Society Isles, he had selected a little twig; so that his collection amounted at present to nine or ten, of which he remembered the names perfectly well in the same order as we had seen them, and the white land, or *whennua tèatèa*, was the last. He enquired frequently how many other countries we should meet with in our way to England, and formed a separate bundle of them, which he studied every day with equal care as the first. The tediousness of this part of our voyage probably made him so eager to know how it would end; and the salt provisions, together with the cold climate, contributed to disgust him. His usual amusement was to separate the red feathers from the aprons, used in dancing, which he had purchased at Fonga-Tabboo, and to join eight or ten of them together into a little tuft, by means of coco-nut core. The rest of his time he passed in walking on deck, visiting the officers and petty officers, and warming himself by the fire in the captain's cabin. We took this opportunity to improve in the knowledge of his language, and, by degrees, revised  
the

the whole vocabulary which we had collected at the Society Isles. By this method we became possessed of a fund of useful intelligence concerning his country and the adjacent isles, which led us to make many enquiries at our subsequent return to those islands.

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The ice-fields appeared, in different parts of the horizon, about us on the 15th in the morning, so that we were in a manner embayed; and, as we saw no possibility of advancing to the south, we ran to the N.N.E. to get clear of them. The weather, which was already foggy, became thicker towards noon, and made our situation, amidst a great number of floating rocks of ice, extremely dangerous. 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 suspense for a few minutes, and though we fortunately succeeded, yet the ship passed within her own length to windward of it. Notwithstanding the constant perils to which our course exposed us in this unexplored ocean, our ship's company were far from being so uneasy as might have been expected; and, as in battle the sight of death becomes familiar and often unaffecting, so here, by daily experiencing

\* *i. e.* To go round either with or against the wind.

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such hair-breadth escapes, we passed unconcernedly on, as if the waves, the winds, and rocks of ice had not the power to hurt us. The pieces of ice had a variety of shapes, in the same manner as those which we had observed to the southward of the Indian Ocean; and many pyramids, obelisks, and church-spires appeared from time to time. Their height was not much inferior to that which we had observed among the first islands of ice in 1772; and many likewise resembled them in being of a great extent and perfectly level at top.

The number of birds which we had hitherto met with on our passage, would have persuaded any other voyagers but ourselves of the approach of land. We were, however, so much used to their appearance on the sea at present, as never once to form any expectation of discovering land from that circumstance. Flocks of blue petrels and pintadas, many albatrosses, with now and then a solitary skua had attended us every day; and to these, since our approach to the ice, we could join the snowy and antarctic petrels and the fulmars. However, pinguins, sea-weed, or seals, had not been observed since the 10th.

The weather, which was extremely moist and disagreeably cold, proved unfavourable to the doves and pigeons which many people had purchased at the Society and Friendly Islands, and to the singing-birds which they had been at great pains to catch alive at New Zealand. We had five doves

at

at our departure from this country, all which died one after another before the 16th of December, being much more exposed to the cold in our cabins, than in the sailors births. The thermometer in our cabins was never more than 5 deg. higher than in the open air on deck, and their situation abreast of the main-mast, where the strain of the ship is greatest, exposed them to currents of air, and made them admit water like sieves.

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On the 16th, in the afternoon, and on the 17th, we hoisted out our boats and collected some loose pieces of ice to fill our empty casks with fresh water. The ice which we picked up was old and spongy, and impregnated with saline particles, from having long been in a state of decay; therefore did not afford us very good water, but it was drinkable, particularly if we let the pieces of ice lie on deck for some time, by which means the salt-water was almost entirely drained off. From this time till the 20th we saw no birds about us, which disappeared without any visible cause; but on that day some albatrosses appeared again.

Friday 17.

Having left the ice behind which obstructed our passage, we had gradually advanced to the southward again, that being our principal object, and on the 20th in the afternoon, we crossed the antarctic circle the second time during our voyage. The weather was wet and foggy, ice islands were numerous around us, and the gale was very brisk. Many antarctic petrels, and a whale which spouted up the

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water near us, seemed to indicate our entrance into the frigid zone. At night two seals appeared, which we had not seen for fourteen days past, and gave some faint hopes of seeing land to several of our shipmates; but our course disappointed their expectations, by continuing within the circle as far as  $67^{\circ} 12'$  S. lat. for several days following.

Thursday 23.

On the 23d in the afternoon, we were surrounded with islands of ice, and the sea was in a manner covered with small fragments. The ship was therefore brought to, the boats hoisted out, and a great quantity of good ice taken on board. The birds were at present very numerous about us again, and some antarctic and other petrels were shot and taken up, which we had an opportunity of drawing and describing. About this time many persons were afflicted with violent rheumatic pains, head-aches, swelled glands, and catarrhal fevers, which some attributed to the use of ice-water. My father, who had complained of a cold for several days past, was obliged to keep his bed to-day, having a severe rheumatism with a fever. His complaint seemed rather to arise from the wretched accommodations which he had on board, every thing in his cabin rotting in the wet which it admitted, and being mouldy. The cold was so sensible there this day in particular, that he found only a difference of two degrees and a half between the thermometer there, and that upon the deck.

After

After hoisting in our boats we made sail to the northward, as much as a contrary wind permitted, during all the night and the next day. On the 25th, the weather was clear and fair, but the wind died away to a perfect calm, upwards of ninety large ice islands being in sight at noon. This being Christmas-day, the captain according to custom, invited the officers and mates to dinner, and one of the lieutenant's entertained the petty-officers. The failors feasted on a double portion of pudding, regaling themselves with the brandy of their allowance, which they had saved for this occasion some months before-hand, being sollicitous to get very drunk, though they are commonly sollicitous 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 to pieces against them, could not deter the failors 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 conspired 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

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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.—

THOMPSON.

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

At noon the observation of the sun's altitude determined our latitude to be  $66^{\circ} 22'$  south, so that we were just returned out of the antarctic circle. 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 very short this night likewise, that we had a very strong twilight all the time. Mahine was struck with the greatest astonishment

ment at this phænomenon, 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. The first Venetians who explored the northern extremes of the European continent, were equally surpris'd at the continual appearance of the sun above the horizon, and relate that they could only distinguish day from night, by the instinct of the sea-fowl, which went to roost on shore, for the space of four hours \*. As we were in all likelihood far distant from any land, this indication failed us, and we have often observed numerous birds on the wing about us all the night, and particularly great flocks of different species, so late as eleven o'clock.

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At six in the evening, we counted one hundred and five large masses of ice around us from the deck, the weather continuing very clear, fair, and perfectly calm. Towards noon the next day we were still in the same situation, with a very drunken crew, and from the mast-head observed one hundred and sixty-eight ice-islands, some of which were half a mile long, and none less than the hull of the ship.

Sunday 26.

\* Pietro Quirino sailed in April 1437, and was miserably shipwrecked at the isle of Roest or Rusten, on the coast of Norway, under the polar circle, in January 1432.—See Navigazioni et Viaggi raccolti da G. B. Ramusio. Venet. 1574. vol. II. p. 204, 210.

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The whole scene looked like the wrecks of a shattered world, or as the poets describe some regions of hell; an idea which struck us the more forcibly, as execrations, oaths, and curses re-echoed about us on all sides.

Monday 27.

A faint breeze sprung up in the afternoon, with which we made slow advances to the northward, the number of ice islands decreasing in proportion as we receded from the antarctic circle. About four the next morning, we hoisted out our boats, and took in a fresh provision of ice. The weather changed soon after, the wind coming about to the north-eastward, which brought on much snow and sleet. My father, and twelve other persons were again much afflicted with rheumatic pains, and confined to their beds. The scurvy did not yet appear under any dangerous form in the ship, and all those who had any slight symptoms of it, amongst whom I was one, drank plentifully of the fresh wort, quite warm, twice a day, and abstained as much as possible from salt-diet. A general languor and sickly look however, manifested itself in almost every person's face, which threatened us with more dangerous consequences. Captain Cook himself was likewise pale and lean, entirely lost his appetite, and laboured under a perpetual costiveness.

1774.  
JANUARY.  
Saturday 1.

Tuesday 4.

We advanced to the northward as much as the winds would permit us, and lost sight of the ice on the first of January 1774, in  $59^{\circ} 7'$  S. latitude. On the 4th, the  
wind

1774.  
JANUARY.

Thursday 6.

wind blowing from the westward was very boisterous, and obliged us to keep all our fails double-reefed; the sea ran high, and the ship worked very heavily, rolling violently from side to side. This continued till the 6th at noon, when, having reached  $51^{\circ}$  of S. latitude, we bore away from the wind, to the N. N. E. We were now within a few degrees of the track which we had made in June and July last, in going from New Zealand to Taheitee, and had directed our course towards it, in order to leave no considerable part of this great ocean unexplored. As far as we had hitherto advanced, we had found no land, not even indications of land; our first track had crossed the South Sea in the middle latitudes, or between  $40$  and  $50$  degrees. In our course till Christmas, we had explored the greatest part of it between  $60$  degrees and the antarctic circle; and the present course to the northward had crossed the space between the two former runs. If any land has escaped us, it must be an island, whose distance from Europe, and situation in an uncouth climate cannot make it valuable to this country. It is obvious that to search a sea of such extent as the South Sea, in order to be certain of the existence, or non-existence of a small island, would require many voyages in numberless different tracks, and cannot be effected in a single expedition. But it is sufficient for us, to have proved that no large land or continent exists in the

1774.  
JANUARY.

South Sea within the temperate zone, and that if it exists at all, we have at least confined it within the antarctic circle.

The long continuance in these cold climates began now to hang heavily on our crew, especially as it banished all hope of returning home this year, which had hitherto supported their spirits. At first a painful despondence, owing to the dreary prospect of another year's cruize to the South, seemed painted in every countenance; till by degrees they resigned themselves to their fate, with a kind of sullen indifference. It must be owned however, that nothing could be more dejecting than the entire ignorance of our future destination, which, without any apparent reason, was constantly kept a secret to every person in the ship.

We now stood to the north-eastward for a few days, till we came so far as  $47^{\circ} 52'$  south latitude, where the thermometer rose to 52 degrees. On that day, which was the 11th, at noon, the course was directed to the S. E. again, though this frequent and sudden change of climate could not fail of proving very hurtful to our health in general. On the 15th the wind increased very much, and in a short time blew a tempestuous gale, which took

Monday 11.

Saturday 15.

————— the ruffian billows by the top

Curling their monstrous heads and hanging them

With deaf'ning clamours in the slippery shrouds.

SHAKESPEARE.

At nine o'clock a huge mountainous wave struck the ship on the beam, and filled the decks with a deluge of water.

It

1774.  
JANUARY.

It poured through the sky-light over our heads, and extinguished the candle, leaving us for a moment in doubt, whether we were not entirely overwhelmed and sinking into the abyss. Every thing was afloat in my father's cabin, and his bed was thoroughly soaked. His rheumatism, which had now afflicted him above a fortnight, was still so violent as to have almost deprived him of the use of his legs, and his pains redoubled in the morning. 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 loomed 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.

Sunday 16.

It will appear from hence that this voyage was not to be compared to any preceding one, for the multitude of hardships and distresses which attended it. Our predecessors in the South Sea had always navigated within the tropic, or at least in the best parts of the temperate zone; they had  
almost

1774.  
JANUARY.

almost constantly enjoyed mild easy weather, and failed in sight of lands, which were never so wretchedly destitute as not to afford them refreshments from time to time. Such a voyage would have been merely a party of pleasure to us; continually entertained with new and often agreeable objects, our minds would have been at ease, our conversation cheerful, our bodies healthy, and our whole situation desirable and happy. Ours was just the reverse of this; our southern cruizes were uniform and tedious in the highest degree; the ice, the fogs, the storms and ruffled surface of the sea formed a disagreeable scene, which was seldom cheered by the reviving beams of the sun; the climate was rigorous and our food detestable. 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. This was indeed as the poet says,

———— propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.      JUVENAL.

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 revival, which had been so rigorous, that many a bad biscuit was preserved among those that were eatable, and partly to the neglect of the casks, which had

not

not been sufficiently fumigated and dried. Of this rotten bread the people only received two thirds of their usual allowance, from æconomical 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 captain and complained 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.

The first ice islands which we met with on this run were in  $62^{\circ} 30'$  south, on the 20th, but they did not accumulate in number in proportion to our progress, so that we crossed the antarctic circle again on the 26th, without seeing more than a few solitary pieces. On that day we were amused with the appearance of land; for after standing on towards it for some hours, it vanished in clouds. The next day, at noon, we were in  $67^{\circ} 52'$  south; consequently to the southward of any of our former tracks, and met with no ice to stop us. The blue petrels, the little storm petrels, and the pintadas still accompanied us, but albatrosses had left us some time ago. We were now once more in the regions

1773.  
JANUARY.Thursday 20<sup>th</sup>

Wednesd. 26.

Thursday 27<sup>th</sup>

1774.  
JANUARY.

regions of perpetual day \*, and had sunshine at the hour of midnight.

Friday 28.

On the 28th, in the afternoon, we passed a large bed of broken ice, hoisted out the boats, and took up a great quantity, which afforded a seasonable supply of fresh water. At midnight the thermometer was not lower than  $34^{\circ}$ , and the next morning we enjoyed the mildest sunshine we had ever experienced in the frigid zone. My father therefore ventured upon deck for the first time after a month's confinement.

We now entertained hopes of penetrating to the south as far as other navigators have done towards the north pole; but on the 30th, about seven o'clock in the morning, we discovered a solid ice-field of immense extent before us, which bore from E. to W. A bed of fragments floated all round this field, which seemed to be raised several feet high above the level of the water. A vast number of icy masses, some of a very great height, were irregularly piled up upon it, as far as the eye could reach. Our latitude was at this time  $71^{\circ} 10'$  south, consequently less than 19 deg. from the pole; but as it was impossible to proceed farther, we put the ship about, well satisfied with our perilous expedition, and almost persuaded that no navigator will care to come after, and much less attempt to pass beyond us.

\* In the frozen zone, where the sun remains six months above and six months below the horizon, dividing the year into one long day and night.

Our

1774.  
JANUARY.

Our longitude at this time was nearly  $106^{\circ}$  W. The thermometer here was at  $32^{\circ}$ , and a great many penguins were heard croaking round 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 has 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 by storms, consumed by the action of the sun, and regenerated in winter.

———— flat glacies iners

Menses per omnes. ———

HORAT.

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.

We ran to the northward with moderate winds till the 5th of February, when we got a fine fresh breeze after a

FEBRUARY.  
Saturday 5.

\* See vol. I. page 95.

1774.  
FEBRUARY.

Tuesday 8.

short calm. The day after it shifted to S. E. and freshened so as to blow very hard at night, and split several sails. As it was favourable for the purpose of advancing to the northward, the only circumstance that afforded us comfort, we were far from being concerned at its violence, and in the next twenty-four hours made upwards of three degrees of latitude. The same gale assisted us till the 12th, when we observed the latitude to be  $50^{\circ} 15'$  south, our thermometer being once more returned to the milder temperature of 48 degrees. We were now told that we should spend the winter season, which was coming on apace, among the tropical islands of the Pacific Ocean, in the same manner as we had passed that immediately preceding. The prospect of making new discoveries, and of enjoying the excellent refreshments which those islands afford, entirely revived our hopes, and made us look on our continuance on the western side of Cape Horne with some degree of satisfaction.

A great number of our people were however 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 four krout, 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

1774.  
FEBRUARY.

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 cruize, was afflicted with tooth-aches, swelled cheeks, fore-throat, and universal pain till the middle of February, when he ventured 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 sustenance. This proceeding, instead of removing, encreased 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 inef-

1774.  
FEBRUARY.

fectual; 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 relaxed his body and intestines. This however, was not effected till he had lain above a week in the most imminent danger. Our servant fell ill about the same time with the captain, of the same disorder, and narrowly escaped, but continued weak and unserviceable the greatest part of our cruize between the tropics.

Tuesday 22. During this time we advanced to the northward very fast, so that on the 22d we reached  $36^{\circ} 10'$  S. latitude, where the albatrosses left us. Our longitude being about  $94\frac{1}{2}$  degrees west from Greenwich, we steered to the south-westward, in quest of a supposed discovery of Juan Fernandez, which, according to Juan Luis Arias, a Spanish author, is said to lie in  $40^{\circ}$  south latitude, and by Mr. Dalrymple's chart in  $90^{\circ}$  west from London\*. We stood on to the westward till the 25th at noon, where being in  $37^{\circ} 50'$  S. and about  $101^{\circ}$  W. and seeing no signs of land, we altered our course something to the northward. The dangerous situation of captain Cook, was perhaps the reason, why our track was not continued farther to the

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. I. p. 53, and the Chart.

south,

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FEBRUARY.

fourth, so as to put this matter entirely out of doubt for the future. It was indeed of the utmost importance at present, to hasten to a place of refreshment, that being the only chance to preserve his life.

On the 26th, captain Cook felt some relief from the medicines which had been administered to him, and during the three following days, recovered so far as to be able to sit up sometimes, and take a little soup. Next to Providence it was chiefly owing to the skill of our surgeon, Mr. Patton, 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 this 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 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:

1774.  
FEBRUARY.

extreme punctuality with which he discharged the several duties of his profession.

We had easterly winds ever since the 22d of February, which was probably owing to the situation of the sun, still continuing in the southern hemisphere. The weather was warm and comfortable again, the thermometer being at 70 degrees; and some grey terns were seen from time to time, which according to our friend Mahine's account, never went to a great distance from land. On the first of March, some bonitos appeared swiftly swimming past the ship, and the next day, being in  $30\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude, we saw tropic birds again.

MARCH.  
Tuesday 1.

The scurvy now appeared with very strong symptoms in the ship, and I was particularly afflicted with it. Excruciating pains, livid blotches, rotten gums, and swelled legs, brought me extremely low in a few days, almost before I was aware of the disorder; and my stomach being very weak, through abstinence from an unwholesome and loathed diet, I could not take the wort in sufficient quantity to remove my complaint. The same case existed with regard to a number of other people, who crawled about the decks with the greatest difficulty.

We had almost calm weather from the 3d to the 6th, the sky was clear, and the warmth and serenity of the weather remarkably pleasing; but we were impatient to proceed to  
a place

a place of refreshment, and this delay ill suited with our wishes.

1774.  
MARCH.

On the 5th, at night, we saw some towering clouds and a haze on the horizon to the southward, from whence we hoped for a fair wind. Already, during night, we had some smart showers, and at eight o'clock the next morning we saw the surface of the sea curled to the south-eastward, upon which we trimmed our sails, and advanced again with a fair wind. The next morning four large albecores were caught, the least of which weighed twenty-three pounds. They afforded us a most delicious repast, it being now an hundred days since we had tasted any fresh fish. Shearwaters, terns, noddies, gannets, and men of war birds appeared numerous about us, hunting the shoals of flying-fish which our ship, the bonitos, albecores, and dolphins had frightened out of the water.

Monday 7.

We reached the 27th degree of S. latitude on the 8th at noon, and then shaped our course due west in search of EASTER ISLAND, discovered by Jacob Roggwein in 1722, and since visited by the Spaniards in 1770\*, who gave it the name of St. Charles's Island. On the 10th, in the morning, the birds of the grey tern-kind were innumerable about us, whilst we advanced at the rate of seven miles an hour. We lay to during night, being apprehen-

Tuesday 8.

Thursday 10.

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages, vol. II. pag. 85; also his letter to Dr. Hawkesworth, 1773.

1774.  
MARCH.

five of falling in with the land, which we actually discovered at five o'clock the next morning. The joy which this fortunate event spread on every countenance is scarcely to be described. We had been an 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.

E l'uno a'l altro il mostra, e in tanto oblia  
La noia, e 'l mal de la passata via.

TASSO.

Saturday 12.

We advanced but slowly towards the land by day, to the great disappointment of all on board, who became more eager in proportion as new difficulties arose to prolong their distresses. The land appeared of a moderate height, and divided into several hills, which gently sloped from their summits; its extent did not seem to be considerable, and we were at too great a distance to be able to form any conjecture as to its productions. The next morning we were becalmed within five leagues of the island, which had then a black and somewhat disagreeable appearance. We  
amused

1774.  
MARCH.

amused ourselves with catching sharks, several of which swam about the ship, and eagerly swallowed the hook, which was baited with salt pork or beef. In the afternoon a breeze sprung up, with which we stood towards the shore, in great hopes of reaching an anchoring-place before night. The land did not look very promising as we advanced, there being little verdure, and scarcely any bushes upon it; but to us who had lingered so long under all the distresses of a tedious cruise at sea, the most barren rock would have been a welcome sight. In our way we perceived a great number of black pillars standing upright, near two hummocks, and in different groups. They seemed to be the same which Roggewein's people took for idols\*; but we guessed already, at that time, that they were such monuments, in memory of the dead, as the Tahitians and other people in the South Seas erect near their burying-places, and call E-TEE.

The wind, which was contrary and very faint, the approach of night, and the want of an anchoring-place on the east side of the island, disappointed us once more, and forced us to pass another night under sail, during which we saw several fires in the neighbourhood of the pillars above-mentioned. The Dutch, who likewise observed them, called them sacrifices to the idols; but it seems to be more probable that they were only lighted to dress the food of the natives.

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages, &c. vol. II. p. 91.

1774.  
MARCH.

We passed the night in making several trips, in order to keep to windward of the island and as near it as possible, resolving to pursue our search of anchorage the next day. In the mean time we reflected on the excellent means of ascertaining the longitude, with which our ship had been furnished, and which had carried us exactly to this island, though several former navigators, such as Byron, Carteret, and Bougainville had missed it, after taking their departure from islands at so short a distance from it as those of Juan Fernandez \*. Captain Carteret it seems was only misled by an erroneous latitude in the geographical tables which he consulted; but this could not be the case with the rest. We had the greatest reason to admire the ingenious construction of the two watches which we had on board, one executed by Mr. Kendal, exactly after the model of that made by Mr. Harrison, and the other by Mr. Arnold on his own plan, both which went with great regularity. The last was unfortunately stopped immediately after our departure from New Zealand in June 1773, but the other went till our return to England, and gave general satisfaction. It appears, however, that in a long run the observations of distances of the moon from the sun or stars, are more to be depended upon, if they be made with good instruments, than the watches or time-keepers, which frequently change their rates of going. The method of deducing the longitude

\* Juan Fernandez, properly so called or la de Tierra, and la Mas a fuera.

from

from the distances of the sun and moon, or moon and stars, one of the most valuable acquisitions to the art of navigation, must immortalize its first inventors. TOBIAS MAYER, a German, and professor at Gottingen, was the first who undertook the laborious task of calculating tables for this purpose, for which his heirs received a parliamentary reward. Since his death the method was so much facilitated by additional calculations, that the longitude will perhaps never be determined with greater precision at sea by any other means.

1774.  
MARCH.

The latitude of Easter Island corresponds within a minute or two with that which is marked in admiral Roggewein's own MS. journal \*, and his longitude is only one degree erroneous, our observations having ascertained it in  $109^{\circ} 46'$  west from Greenwich. The Spanish accounts of the latitude are likewise exact, but they err in longitude about thirty leagues.

\* See the Lives of the Governors of Batavia.—It is there expressed  $27^{\circ} 04' S.$  latitude, and  $265^{\circ} 42' E.$  from Tenerif, or  $110^{\circ} 45' W.$  from London.

1774.  
MARCH.

## C H A P. IV.

*An Account of Easter Island, and our Stay there.*

Sunday 13.

ON the 13th, early in the morning, we ran close to the south point of the island, where the shore rose perpendicularly, and consisted of broken rocks, whose cavernous appearance, and black or ferruginous colour, seemed to have been produced by subterraneous fire. Two detached rocks lay about a quarter of a miles off this point; one of them was singular on account of its shape, resembling a huge column or obelisk, and both were the habitations of numerous sea-fowls, which stunned our ears with their discordant screams. Soon after we opened another point about ten miles distant from this, and as we advanced we perceived the ground gently sloping to the sea. On the slope we discovered several plantations by the help of our glasses; but the surface of the isle in general appeared to be extremely dreary and parched, and these plantations were so thinly scattered upon it, that they did not flatter our hopes of meeting with considerable refreshments. However, our eyes, long unused to the enchanting prospect of verdure, were constantly directed towards the shore, where we distinguished a number of people nearly naked, hastily running down from the hills towards the sea-side.

We

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MARCH.

We could not perceive that they had any arms, which we immediately interpreted into a sign of a peaceable disposition. In a few minutes we saw them launch a canoe, in which two men came off towards us. They were alongside in a short time, having paddled very briskly, and immediately called out for a rope, naming it by the same word as the Tahitians. We had no sooner thrown them the rope, than they tied a great cluster of ripe bananas to it, making signs for us to haul it up. The sudden emotions of joy in every countenance, at the sight of this fruit, are scarcely to be described; they can only be felt in their full extent by people in the same wretched situation with ourselves at that time. At least fifty persons endeavoured to begin a conversation with the people in the canoe, who being addressed by so many at once, could not answer one of them. Captain Cook sent for some ribbands, to which he tied some medals and beads, and lowered them down in return for their present. They seemed to admire them much, but hastened ashore with them immediately. In dropping astern, they fastened a small piece of cloth to a fishing-line which we towed after us; it was immediately hauled up, and appeared to be made of the same bark as the Tahitian cloth, and coloured yellow. From a few words which they pronounced, we concluded their language to be a dialect of the Tahitian, which we had now found in both extremities of the South Sea. Their whole appearance

1774.  
MARCH.

ance confirmed us in this opinion, and proved them issued from the same stock. They were of a middle stature, but rather thin; their features resembled those of the Taheitians, but were less agreeable: one of them had a beard, which was cut to the length of about half an inch; the other was a youth of about seventeen. They had punctures of the same nature with those used by the natives of the Society and Friendly Islands and of New Zealand; but their whole body, which was perfectly naked, was marked with them. The greatest singularity which we observed about them was the size of their ears, of which the lap or extremity was stretched out so as almost to rest on the shoulder, and pierced by a very large hole, through which four or five fingers might be thrust with ease. This circumstance entirely agreed with the description which the serjeant-major of Rogge-wein's ship gives of these people\*. Their canoe was another curiosity, being patched up of many pieces, each of which was not more than four or five inches wide, and two or three feet long. Its length might be about ten or twelve feet, its head and stern were raised considerably, but its middle was very low. It had an outrigger or balancer made of three slender poles, and each of the men had a paddle, of which the blade was likewise composed of several pieces. This description also exactly corresponds with the

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. II. p. 90, 94, or Histoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux, tome I. p. 133, a. la Haye 1739.

Dutch

Dutch account of Roggewein's voyage, printed at Dort in 1728\* ; and sufficiently proved that the island is very destitute of wood, though the contrary is ascertained in the serjeant-major's relation of that voyage †.

1774.  
MARCH.

Though we struck foundings opposite the place from whence this canoe put off, yet in hopes of finding a better place of anchorage, we ran along the coast of the island, till we came in sight of its northern extremity, which we had already seen the day before from the other side. But being disappointed in our expectation, we put about with a view to return to the place which we had left. A great number of black pillars stood along the shore, many of which were elevated on platforms consisting of several ranges of stone. We could now distinguish something resembling a human head and shoulders towards their upper end; but the lower part appeared to be a rude stone, without being carved into a resemblance of the human shape. Sometimes we perceived two, sometimes four, and even five together in a row; but some were likewise placed by themselves. We saw but few plantations towards the north end, the land being much more bluff or steep there, than about the middle of the island, and we could easily perceive that there was not a tree upon the whole island, which exceeded the height of ten feet.

\* See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag. 111.

† Ibid. vol. II. p. 95; or Histoire, &c. vol. I. p. 138.

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MARCH.

In the afternoon we hoisted out a boat, and the master went towards the shore to take soundings in the road, from whence the canoe had come off to us. As soon as the natives perceived our boat on the water, they assembled along shore, near the place to which our people seemed to direct their course. Among a croud of naked men, we saw some who seemed to be dressed in a bright cloth of a yellow, or rather orange colour, from whence we suspected that they were their principal people. We now likewise began to discern their houses, which seemed to be extremely low and long, highest in the middle, and sloping down towards both extremities. They much resembled a canoe turned with the keel or bottom upwards. In the middle there seemed to be a small entrance or door, which was so low, that a man of a common size must stoop to get in. Towards evening we let go our anchor in about forty fathom, gravelly bottom off the S. W. part of the island. The master returned presently after, and brought one of the natives in the boat with him. This bold fellow had jumped into the boat without any ceremony or invitation, while it was close to the shore, and expressly desired to be brought on board. 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 chestnut 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.

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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 five inches long, was fastened to it, and hung down on the breast. This, he told us, was a porpoise's bone (*eevee toharra*), expressing it exactly by the same words which a Tahitian would have made use of. To explain himself better, he also called it *eevee-eeka*, which we well understood to signify the bone of a fish\*. He was no sooner seated in the boat, than he complained of being cold by shivering, and making various gestures of a very intelligible nature. Mr. Gilbert, the master, therefore gave him a jacket, and put a hat on his head, and in that dress he appeared upon deck. The captain and passengers presented him with nails, medals, and strings of beads, the last of which, he desired to have tied round his head. At the beginning he shewed some marks of fear or diffidence, asking whether we should kill him as an enemy (*matte-toa?*) but upon being assured of good treatment and friendship on our part, he seemed perfectly secure and unconcerned, and talked of nothing but dancing

\* *Eeya* at Tahitee, and *eeka* at New Zealand and the Friendly Isles mean a fish.

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(*beeve*). It was with some difficulty that we understood him at first; but having enquired for the names by which he distinguished the parts of the body, we soon found them to be nearly the same with those which are used in the Society Isles. If we mentioned a word which he did not comprehend, he repeated it several times with a look which strongly expressed his ignorance of it. As night approached, he said he wanted to go to sleep, and complained of cold. My father gave him a large Taheitee cloth of the thickest sort, in which he wrapped himself, saying he found it comfortably warm. He was afterwards conducted into the master's cabin, where he lay down on a table, and slept very quietly the whole night. Mahine, who had already expressed his impatience to go on shore, 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.

Monday 14.

We dragged our anchor during night, and drove off the bank, so that we were obliged to set sail again, in order to recover our situation. Immediately after breakfast, captain Cook went ashore with the native, whose name was Maroo-wahai, together with Mahine, my father, Dr. Sparrman, and myself, though my feet and legs were still swelled excessively, and I was hardly able to walk. We found a snug cove for boats, among a number of rocks which sheltered  
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the landing-place from the mountainous swell that tumbled in upon the shore. About a hundred, or a hundred and fifty natives were assembled on the spot where we landed, almost all of them 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, hung down before. A very few of them had a cloak which reached to the knees, made of cloth, resembling that of Taheitee 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. The people did not make the least unfriendly motion at our landing, but expressed a prodigious dread of our fire-arms, of which they seemed to know the deadly effects. We saw but few arms among them; some however had lances or spears, made of thin ill-shapen sticks, and pointed with a sharp triangular piece of a black glassy lava (*pumex vitreus*, Linn.) commonly called Iceland agate. One of them had a fighting club, made of a thick piece of wood about three feet long, carved at one extremity; and a few others had short wooden clubs, exactly resembling some of the New Zealand patoo-patoos, which are made of bone. We observed some who had European hats and caps, chequered cotton handkerchiefs, and ragged jackets of blue woollen-cloth, which were so many indubitable testimonies of the visit which the Spaniards had made to this island in 1770. The general appearance of the natives seemed to argue a

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great sterility of the country. 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 thinner than that of any people we had hitherto seen in the South Sea. Their want of cloathing, and a great eagerness to obtain our goods without offering any thing in return, seemed altogether to be sufficient marks of poverty. They were all prodigiously punctured on every part of the body, the face in particular; and their women, who were very small and slender limbed, had likewise punctures on the face, which resembled the patches sometimes worn by our ladies. The number of women in the croud did not exceed ten or twelve; they were seldom satisfied with their natural clear brown colour, but painted the whole face with a reddish brown ruddle, over which they laid on the bright orange of the turmeric-root; or ornamented themselves with elegant streaks of white shell-lime. The art of painting is therefore not confined to those ladies who have the happiness to imitate French fashions. The women were all dressed in pieces of cloth, which appeared scanty when compared to the Tahitian dresses. Both sexes had thin, but not savage features, though the little shelter which their barren country offers against the sun-beams, had contracted their brows sometimes, and drawn the muscles of the face up towards the eye.

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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. Their ears were remarkable for the great length of the lap, which frequently hung on the shoulder, and was pierced with so large a hole, that the extremity could be tucked up through it. In order to bring it to this size, they wore a leaf of a sugar cane, which is very elastic, rolled up in it like a scroll; by which means it was always on the stretch. The violent action of the sun upon their heads has forced them to contrive various coverings for that part. Many of the men wore a ring about two inches thick, strongly and curiously plaited of grass, and fitting close round the head. This was covered with great quantities of the long black feathers which decorate the neck of the man of war bird. Others had huge bushy caps of brown gulls feathers, which were almost as large as the full-bottomed wigs of European lawyers; and still others wore a simple hoop of wood, round which a number of the long white feathers of a gannet hung nodding, and waved in the wind. The women wore a great wide cap, made of very neat mat-work; it was pointed forwards, formed a ridge along the top, and two large lobes behind on each side, which we found extremely cooling.

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cooling for the head. Mr. Hodges drew the figure of a woman with this cap on, and of a man with one of the other head dresses; both are extremely characteristic of the nation, and have been engraved for captain Cook's account of this voyage. The only ornaments which we saw among them, were the flat pieces of bone in the shape of a tongue, or like a laurel leaf, which both sexes wore hanging on their breast, together with some necklaces and ear-jewels made of shells.

After staying among the natives for some time on the beach, we began to walk into the country. The whole ground was covered with rocks 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 black-

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ish brown cavernous and brittle stony lava. The ground rose from the water's 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 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

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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 Tahitee, 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  
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their clubs and pattoo-pattoos, 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 fightliest 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 foundation consisted of stones about a foot long, laid level with the surface in two curve lines, converging at the extremities. These lines were about six feet asunder in the middle, but not above one foot at the ends. In every stone of this foundation we observed one or two holes, in each of which a stake was inserted. The middlemost stakes were six feet high, but the others gradually diminished to two feet. On the top the stakes all converged, and were tied by strings to transverse sticks, by which they were kept together. A kind of thatch, made of small sticks, and covered with a neat mat-work of sugar-cane leaves, leaned on each row of stakes, forming a very sharp ridge or angle at the top, and resting firmly on the ground at the bottom. A hole was left on one side, about eighteen inches or two

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feet high, over which the people had built a round projecting funnel to keep off the wet. We crept on all fours into this opening, and found the inside of the hut perfectly naked and empty, there being not so much as a wisp of straw to lie down upon. We could not stand upright in any part except just in the middle, and the whole place appeared dark and dismal. 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 probable that these cavities likewise 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. Such caverns are very frequent in Iceland, famous for having been the dwelling-places of the ancient inhabitants. Mr. Ferber, the first mineralogical historian of Vesuvius, has noticed such a subterraneous hole in one of the modern lavas of that mountain. We should  
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have been glad to have ascertained this circumstance, but the natives always denied us admittance into these places.

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A plantation of sugar-canes and one of bananas adjoined to the house we had visited, and both were in excellent order, considering the stony quality of the ground. The bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which we supposed to be contrived for collecting the rain, and preserving it for a longer time about the plant. The sugar-canes were about nine or ten feet high, even in this parched country, and contained a very sweet juice, which the inhabitants presented to us very frequently, and particularly whenever we asked for something to drink. We concluded from thence that they had no water on the island; but coming back to the landing-place we met captain Cook, whom the natives had conducted to a well very close to the sea, which was cut deep into the rock, but full of impurities. When our people had cleared it, they found the water in it rather brackish, but the natives drank of it with much seeming satisfaction.

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 Taheitee cloth. He had presented the people with

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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. Their number was now decreased nearly to one half, many of them having probably gone home to their dinners; however, the number of women was always remarkably small in proportion to the men, there being not above twelve or fifteen at our first landing, and about six or seven when we embarked again. They were neither reserved nor chaste, and for the trifling consideration of a small piece of cloth, some of our sailors obtained the gratification of their desires. Their features were mild enough, and the large pointed cap gave them the air of professed wantons.

We returned on board the ship before noon, and found it at anchor, though we had left it under sail. The fresh fruits and roots which we brought on board, were immediately distributed as far as they would go, and proved a most seasonable refreshment to our sick. We tasted the fowls, which seemed to have been dressed under-ground, by means of hot stones being wrapped up in green leaves, in the manner practised amongst all the nations of the South Sea, whom we had hitherto visited. The potatoes were of a gold-yellow colour, and as sweet as carrots, therefore not equally palatable to us all; however they were extremely nourishing, and very antiscorbutic. The juices of  
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this, and all the other vegetables on this island, seemed to have been concentrated by the dryness of the soil. Their bananas were reckoned very delicious in their kind, by those who were fond of this fruit, and their sugar-canes were sweeter than any we had tasted at Taheitee.

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In the afternoon we returned on shore again, and an officer went with another boat to fill water at the well. We found but few natives near the landing-place, and among them was one, who appeared to have some little authority, and readily accompanied the captain wherever he went. He was not so timorous as the rest of his countrymen, but walked boldly along with us, whilst the others were alarmed at the least motion which appeared unusual to them. This disposition, however, did not prevent them from picking our pockets, or stealing any thing which suited them. We had not been half an hour on shore, when one of them came behind Mahine, and very nimbly snatching a black cap from his head, ran off with the greatest velocity over the heaps of rugged stones, where it was impossible to follow him. Mahine was so surpris'd, that it was some time before he could find words to complain to the captain; and when he did it, the thief was already at a great distance. About the same time, as Mr. Hodges was sitting on a little eminence, and sketching a view of the country, one of the natives ran off with his hat in the same manner. Mr. Wales was standing by him  
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with a musket in his hand, but very justly reflected, that so slight a crime did not deserve the punishment of a leaden bullet.

In our walk along the sea-shore, we discovered a few stalks of the same species of celery which is plentiful on the beaches of New Zealand, and we also found two other little plants common to that country. Whether these plants originally existed on the island, or sprung up from seeds, which the current of the sea, or birds by their plumage might transport from the opposite side of the ocean, I cannot venture to determine. We likewise met with a plantation of yams (*dioscorea alata*, Linn.) which in so poor a *flora* as that of Easter Island was a great addition. The great correspondence in the features, customs, and languages of these people, to those of other natives of the South Sea islands, gave us some room to hope for such domestic animals among them, as we had observed at Tahitee or New Zealand. But notwithstanding the most diligent search, we never met with any other than common fowls, which were of a very small breed, and had a dull plumage. It is true we observed also two or three noddies, which were so tame as to settle on the shoulders of the natives, but from these individuals we could not conclude, that they kept a regular breed of them.

About sun-set we left the watering-place, and walked to the cove where our boat lay at a grapnel. In our way we  
passed

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passed over the area on which the single pillar before-mentioned was placed. A few natives who still accompanied us, made signs that we should descend, and walk in the grass at the foot of the pedestal; but seeing that we did not care to understand their gestures, they made no other attempt to oppose our progress. We put some questions to the most intelligent persons among them, concerning the nature of these stones, and from what we could understand, we concluded that they were monuments erected to the memory of some of their areekes, or kings. This led us to believe that the pedestal was perhaps to be considered as a burying-place, and on looking carefully round it, we found a number of human bones, which confirmed our conjecture. The length of these bones was exactly such as might be expected in persons of a middle stature, and a thigh-bone which we measured, exactly corresponded with that of a person about five feet nine inches high. To the westward of the cove, there was a range of three pillars, standing on a very large elevated area or pedestal. This range the natives distinguished by the name of *banga-roa*, and the single pillar they called *obeena*. About ten or twelve people were seated at a little distance from the last, round a small fire, over which they had roasted a few potatoes. These served for their supper, and they offered us some of them as we passed by. We were much surprised with this instance of hospitality in so poor a country, especially when

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we compared it to the customs of civilized nations, who have almost entirely laid aside all tender feelings for the wants of their fellow-creatures. At the same time we were very glad to be convinced, that the conjectures of the Dutch concerning the fires which they saw on this island, were ill-founded, as we did not see the least reason to suppose, that they were lighted for religious purposes. We now embarked with a small quantity of potatoes, and with about six or seven common plants which we had gathered, and returned on board. Those only who were ill of the scurvy, reaped some benefit from their visit to the shore. I who went out in the morning with my legs excessively swelled, and so tender that I could hardly stand upon them, returned on board much better; the swelling was something reduced, and my pains at least were gone. I could not attribute this sudden change to any thing else, than the exercise I had taken on shore, and perhaps to those salutary antiscorbutic effluvia of the land, which it is said, are alone sufficient to recover those, who have contracted the scurvy on a long cruize at sea.

Tuesday 15.

Early the next morning, captain Cook appointed a party of marines and sailors, under the command of lieutenants Pickersgill and Ed'gecumbe, to reconnoitre the interior parts of the country, in order to be convinced if possible, whether any other part was better cultivated, or more closely inhabited than that which we had hitherto seen. Mr. Wales,  
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Mr. Hodges, Dr. Sparrman, and my father associated with them, so that the whole party consisted of twenty-seven men.

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After breakfast I accompanied captain Cook and several officers ashore, where we found about two hundred inhabitants assembled, amongst whom were fourteen or fifteen women, and very few children. 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. Those 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; our sailors likewise disclaimed all acquaintance with modesty, for nothing but the shadow of the gigantic monument screened them from the sun.

Mr. Patton, lieutenant Clerke, and myself left the seaside, where the concourse was greatest, and took a walk into the country. The heat of the sun was very violent, the beams being reverberated from the broken ground, and there was not a single tree to give us shelter. My companions had taken their fowling-pieces in hopes of meeting with some birds; but they were greatly disappointed, there

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being probably no other land-birds on the island than the common fowl, which were tame and extremely scarce. We followed one of the paths which the natives had made, till we came to a cultivated spot, consisting of several fields planted with sweet potatoes, yams, and eddoes, together with a species of night-shade, which is made use of at Tahitee and the neighbouring islands as a vulnerary remedy, (*Solanum nigrum*?) and may, for ought I know, be cultivated here for the same purpose. The grass, which commonly springs up among the stones on the uncultivated soil, was here carefully plucked up, and spread over the whole plantation as a manure, or perhaps to preserve it in some measure from the parching beams of the sun. It should seem from these circumstances that the natives are not altogether ignorant of rural œconomy, and till the ground at a great expence of time and labour. At a little distance from these fields we met with two huts, constructed exactly like that which I have mentioned page 569, but much smaller. The entrance was stopped up with a great quantity of small brushwood, and we at first imagined that we heard the voices of women within, but after listening for some time we heard nothing farther to confirm us in this belief. We rambled from thence to the top of a hillock covered with shrubberies, which we found to consist of nothing but a species of *mimosa*, that scarcely attained the height of eight feet, and afforded us very little shelter from the

the fun. Here we rested a while, and then descended by a different route into another set of fields, which were treated in the same manner as the rest. None of them had any sort of enclosures, though the historians of Rogge-  
wein's voyage, who seem to have consulted fancy more than truth, make mention of them. The encreasing heat of the day had entirely exhausted us, when we had still a considerable way to make down to the sea-side. Fortunately we passed by a native who was at work, gathering potatoes in one of the fields. We complained of great thirst to him, upon which, though he was an old man, he immediately ran to a large plantation of sugar-canes, and brought us a great load of the best and juiciest on his back. We made him some presents in return for them, cut them into walking-sticks, and, as we went along, gradually peeled and sucked them, finding their juice extremely refreshing.

At our return to the landing-place we found captain Cook still occupied in trading with the inhabitants, who brought him some fowls ready dressed, and some matted baskets full of sweet potatoes, but sometimes deceived him by filling the basket with stones, and only laying a few potatoes at the top. The most valuable article of trade on our part were empty coco-nut shells, which we had received at the Society and Friendly Islands; but they were not current, unless the hole in them was very small, or unless they had a cover. The Tahitian and European cloths

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were valued in the next degree according to the size of the pieces ; and iron-ware bore an inferior price. The greatest part of the natives who traded with us instantly ran off with the cloth, nut-shell, or the nail which had been given in exchange for their potatoes, as if they were apprehensive that we might repent of our bargain, even though they dealt honestly with us. Some among them were bold enough to run off with what they had received, as the price of their provisions, before they had delivered up the goods for which we had bargained. From such circumstances the deplorable condition of the natives became more and more conspicuous. The scarcity of cloth among them was extremely great, most of the people being forced to go naked ; but this did not prevent their selling what little cloth they had in exchange for that of Taheitee. The desire of possessing this cloth prompted them to expose to sale several articles which perhaps they would not have parted with so easily under other circumstances. Among these were their different caps or head-dresses, their necklaces, ornaments for the ear, and several 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

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. But as we had not yet seen this tree growing here, we eagerly expected the return of our party, hoping they would make some discoveries to explain this circumstance. Mahine was most pleased with these carved human figures, the workman 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 Taheitee. 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 Taheitee, 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 Taheitee, 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; we hoped, however, to unravel this circumstance also at the return of our party. Mahine afterwards presented this piece to my father, who has in his turn made a present of it to the British Museum. Mahine was likewise very eager.

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to collect as many feathered caps as he could meet with, especially those which had the feathers of a man of war bird, that bird being very scarce about Taheitee, and much valued on account of its glossy black colour.

Whilst captain Cook continued in the cove, another trade for potatoes was carried on at the watering-place. Here the desire of possessing our goods, made some of the natives guilty of a crime against their own countryman. A field of sweet potatoes was situated close to the well, and a considerable number of people of different ages and sizes, busied themselves in digging them up, and bringing them for sale to our people. They had carried on this occupation for some hours, when another native arrived, who was in a vehement passion with them, and drove them all away, remaining alone to dig the roots up himself. He was the owner of the field, whom the rest had robbed of the fruits of his labour, finding an easy method to dispose of their stolen goods. It is not to be doubted that these offences against the laws of civil society, are sometimes committed even at the Society Isles, because the inhabitants have often told us, that they inflicted a capital punishment upon such offenders; but we never saw any instances of it there. On this occasion at Easter Island, we did not observe that they annexed any penalty to the crime, though we saw it committed. Perhaps this is owing to the different degree of civilization of those two cogenetic tribes.

We

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We went on board at noon, where we dined on some fowls and potatoes, which we found delicious after the fatigues of the morning. We observed a few natives on board, who had ventured to swim off, though the ship lay about three quarters of a mile from the shore. They expressed the most unbounded admiration at every thing they saw, and every one of them measured the whole length of the vessel from head to stern, with his extended arms; such a great quantity of timber of so stupendous a size, being altogether incomprehensible to people whose canoes were patched of many small bits of wood. Among them was one woman, who had arrived on board in the same manner, and carried on a particular traffic of her own. She visited several of the inferior officers, and then addressed herself to the sailors, emulating the famous exploits of Messalina\*. A few English rags, and some pieces of Taheitee cloth, were the spoils which she carried away with her, being fetched off by a man in the patched canoe, which was perhaps the only one in the island. Another of her country-women had visited our ship the day before, and been equally unbounded in her revels. It remained a doubt with us, whether we should most admire their success among a sickly crew, exhausted by the long continuance of a noxious diet, or their own spirit and insatiate temper.

\* See Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. x. c. 63. Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. Jüvenal. Sat. vi. 129.

—lassata viris, nec satiata recessit.

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In the afternoon we returned to the shore again, and I walked on the hills to the southward, which rose with a very easy slope. Here I met with a large plantation of bananas, beyond which I found some remains of a stone wall, which was perhaps once the base of a statue. From thence I crossed some fields, where I saw a family of the natives at work, taking potatoes out of the ground. I walked up to their hut, which was one of the smallest I had yet seen, and as they came about me, I sat down among them. Their whole number amounted to six or seven persons, one of whom was a woman, and two were young boys. They presented me with some sugar-canes, and in return, I made them a present of a small piece of Tahitee cloth, which they immediately wrapped about the head. They did not express that great curiosity which we had observed among the people of the Society Isles, but soon returned to their former occupation, in which all were employed without exception. Some of them had head-dresses made of feathers, which they readily offered to exchange for pieces of cloth no bigger than a handkerchief. About the hut I perceived a few fowls, the only ones which I had seen alive on the island. Their behaviour towards me was wholly inoffensive, agreeably to the general character of the nations in the South Sea. From the expressions of the historians of Roggewein's voyage, it should seem, that the Dutch very wantonly fired upon the natives, who gave

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no provocation, and killed a considerable number of them, intimidating the rest to a great degree. It is probable, that the terror with which they looked upon the destructive arms of Europeans at that time, and during the late visit of the Spaniards; was revived among them at our appearance, and had an influence on their general timid behaviour towards us; but it is not to be doubted, at the same time; that there is a mildness, fellow-feeling, and good-nature in their disposition, which naturally prompts them to treat their visitors kindly, and even hospitably, as far as their wretched country will permit.

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I returned the same way by which I came, and soon after went on board the ship with captain Cook. About nine o'clock a musket was fired on shore, as a signal for a boat; and the pinnace being sent off, returned soon after with our party, who had been to examine the island. My father being more fatigued than anybody else, on account of his long rheumatic complaint, was obliged to go to bed immediately; but the other gentlemen supped with us, on a few fowls which we had purchased on shore, and gave us some account of their travels. As it will be most agreeable to see it in connection, I shall here insert that which I have extracted from my father's journal.

“Immediately after landing, we walked directly inland or across the country, under the highest hill which lies towards the south, till we came to the other side of the island.

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About an hundred natives, and among them four or five women, accompanied us on our march, and fold us a quantity of potatoes and a few fowls, which we added to our stock of provisions. We found the whole country strewed with stones of various sizes, of a cavernous or spongy texture, and of a black, brown, or reddish colour, which had indubitable marks of having been in a volcanic fire. The paths through this rugged ground are in some measure cleared of the stones, but so very narrow, that we were obliged to turn our toes inwards, at which the natives are perfectly expert, and to set one foot exactly before the other. This mode of walking was excessively fatiguing to us who were not used to it, so that we continually hurt our feet or stumbled. On both sides the ground was covered with a thin perennial Jamaica-grass, (*paspalum;*) which grew in bunches or tufts, and was so slippery that we could not walk on it. We reached the east side of the island, near a range of seven pillars or statues, of which only four remained standing; and one of them had lost its cap. They stood on a common pedestal, like those which we had seen on the other side, and its stones were square and fitted exactly in the same manner. Though the stone of which the statue itself is formed seems to be soft enough, being nothing but the red *tufa* which covers the whole island, yet it was incomprehensible to me how such great masses could be formed by a set of people among whom

we

we saw no tools; or raised and erected by them without machinery. The general appellation of this range was *Hanga* TEBÒW; *hanga* being the word which they prefix to every range. The names of the statues were *Ko\*-Tomoai*, *Ko-Tomoèeree*, *Ko-Hòo-oo*, *Morabèena*, *Oomarèeva*, *Weenáboo*, *Weenapè*.

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“ From hence we continued our march to the northward along the sea, having a precipice on our right. The ground was the same ferruginous *tufa* for a considerable way, covered with small fragments; but after some time we came to a spot which was a single coherent rock or lump of black melted lava, which appeared to contain some iron. There was no foil, grass, or plant whatsoever upon it. Beyond it we passed through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes, and yams, and one of eddoes. The grass between the stones was plucked up and spread on the land, to screen it from the sun, to keep the moisture of the rain in it, and at last to manure it.

“ The natives continued to offer some potatoes for sale ready dressed, and, at a hut where we halted, they sold us some fish. Some of them carried arms, which were no other than the thin sticks we had seen before, and which were headed with a black vitreous lava, carefully wrapped in a small piece of cloth. Only one of them had a battle-axe, resembling that of the New Zealanders, though much shorter. It had a head carved on each side, and a small

\* *Ko* is the article, as at New Zealand and in the Friendly Isles.

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round portion of the black glass above-mentioned instead of eyes. They had likewise some small crooked human figures made of wood, of which we could not learn the use or signification; we did not, however, think that our ignorance on this subject intitled us to call them idols, which is too commonly the judgment passed upon the works of art of unknown nations.

“ After leaving this hut we still advanced to the northward, without seeing any new objects. A man and a woman met us from some neighbouring houses, each with a large matted bag, of very neat workmanship, filled with hot potatoes, and placed themselves by the side of the path where we were to pass. As we came on, the man presented each of us with some of the roots, and having distributed a portion to the whole party, he ran with amazing swiftness to the head of our file to share out the rest, till he had given away the whole. He received a large piece of cloth from me, which was the only requital for an instance of hospitality, of which I never saw the like even at Taheitee. Soon after the natives told us their *aree*, or *hareekee*, or king was coming towards us. Several men came on before him, and distributed sugar-canes to us all in sign of friendship, at the same time pronouncing the word *beeo*\*, which signifies friend. We now saw the king standing on a hill, and walked up to him, Mr. Pickersgill and myself making him

\* *Hàa* at the Society Isles; *Wàa* at the Friendly Isles.

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some presents. We asked for his name, which he told us was KO TOHEETAU, adding that he was *aree* or king. We were desirous of knowing whether he was only the chief of a district, or of the whole island; upon which he spread out his arms, as it were to include the whole island, and said *Waibu*. To shew that we understood him, we laid our hands on his breast, and, calling him by name, added his title, king of Waihu, at which he expressed very great satisfaction, and conversed a great deal with his people on that subject. He was a middle-aged man, rather tall; his face and whole body strongly punctured. He wore a piece of cloth made of the mulberry bark, quilted with threads of grass, and stained yellow with turmeric; and on his head he had a cap of long shining black feathers, which might be called a diadem. We did not perceive any great degree of homage or attention paid to him by the people; and indeed in so poor a country there seems to be nothing which he could have reserved for himself, without a manifest incroachment on the natural rights of mankind, which might have produced dangerous effects. When we wanted to continue our march he seemed to dislike it, and desired us to return, offering to accompany us; but seeing our officer determined to proceed at all events he desisted, and went with us.

“ We marched to an elevated spot, and stopped a little while to take some refreshments, and to give Mr. Hodges time to draw some of the monuments, near one of which

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we found an entire skeleton of a man. A good view of some of these monuments is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage. Our people sat down on the ground, and laid their bundles of provision before them, whilst the officers, and other gentlemen with myself, conversed with the natives. One of our sailors, who carried my plant-bag, in which were a few nails, &c. being less careful of his bundle than the rest, a native snatched it up and ran off with it. None of us saw it, except lieutenant Edgecumb, who immediately fired his musket, loaded with small shot, at the thief, and thus gave the alarm to us all. The native being wounded threw down the bag, which our people recovered, but he fell soon after; his countrymen took him up, and fled to a little distance, till we beckoned to them to return, which almost all of them did. Though this was the only instance of firing at a native during our stay at Easter Island, yet it is to be lamented that Europeans too often assume the power of inflicting punishments on people who are utterly unacquainted with their laws.

“ From this spot we continued our march a good way inland, and were conducted to a deep well, which appeared to have been formed by art, and contained good fresh water, though somewhat troubled. We all drank heartily of it, and then went on, passing by several large statues, which had been overturned, till we came in sight of the two hummocks, near which we had perceived the greatest number of  
pillars

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pillars or statues, from the ship, on the 12th. We mounted on an eminence in the neighbourhood, from whence we beheld the sea on both sides of the island, across a plain which we had likewise discovered from the ship at that time. We viewed the whole eastern coast, and its numerous pillars, and were convinced that there was no bay or harbour on that side of the island. With this information we returned back to a large statue, which the natives called *Mangototo*, and in the shade of which we dined. In its neighbourhood we met with another huge statue, which lay overturned; it was twenty-seven feet long, and nine feet in diameter, exceeding in magnitude every other pillar which we had seen on the island.

“In returning, we stopped once more at the well, and quenched our thirst, which the raging heat of the sun, reverberated from barren rocks, had excited. From thence we directed our march something nearer the ridge of hills which run along the middle of the island, but found the path more rugged and fatiguing than ever, the country being strewn with volcanic cinders, and desolate all round us, though we found many remaining proofs of its having been formerly cultivated. I now felt how much I had been weakened by the long continuance of the rheumatism, which had crippled all my limbs, and was hardly able to keep up with the rest, though I had formerly, upon similar occasions, been indefatigable. The natives seeing us strike  
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into a difficult path had all left us, except one man and a little boy. Finding that our officers with their party, went too much out of their way, by mistaking the direction of our ship, I left them; and with Dr. Sparrman, a sailor, and the two natives, pursued the nearest path, which the latter had plainly pointed out. The man seeing me very faint, offered me his hand, and walking on the loose stones by the side of the path, with amazing dexterity supported me for a considerable way; the little boy going before, and picking up the stones which obstructed the path. By resting several times, we were at last enabled to reach the summit of the hill, from whence we saw the sea to the west, and the ship at anchor. The hill was covered with a shrubbery of the *mimosa*, which grew here to the height of eight or nine feet, and some of whose stems near the root, were about the thickness of a man's thigh. We found another well hereabouts, of which the water was infected with a putrid taste, and the smell of *hepar sulphuris*, but of which we drank, notwithstanding its nauseousness. The sun set very soon after we had left this well; so that we continued our walk downwards, for more than two hours entirely in the dark, during which my Indian's assistance was particularly valuable to me. I waited for Mr. Pickersgill and the rest of the party, having gained near three miles upon them, and arrived safely at the sea-side with them, after walking at the lowest computation, at least five and twenty miles on the most detestable

detestable roads, where not a single tree appeared to give us shelter from the scorching sun. I rewarded my friendly conductors with all the Tahitee cloth, and iron ware, which I had about me, and arrived safely on board with the party."

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From this narrative it is evident, that the most diligent enquiries on our part, have not been sufficient to throw a clear light on the surprising objects which struck our eyes in this island. We may however, attempt to account for those 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 nicest calculations which 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 on all our excursions, which

\* The Spaniards in the S. Lorenzo, and frigate Rosalia, make the population of Easter Island amount to between two and three thousand; but it may be doubted whether they examined the interior country, as well as our people. See Mr. Dalrymple's Letter to Dr. Hawkesworth.

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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 name by lasting monuments. The remains of plantations found on the summits of the hills, 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 those little carved images which we saw among the natives, and the representation of a dancing woman's hand,

hand, which, as I have mentioned above, are made 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. All the women whom we saw in different parts of the island, did not amount to thirty, though our people crossed it almost from one end to the other, without seeing the least probability that the women had retired to any secluded part. If there are really no more than thirty or forty women, among six or seven hundred men, the whole nation is in a fair way of becoming entirely extinct in a short space of time, unless all our physical principles on the plurality of husbands are erroneous. The greater part of the women whom we saw gave us no reason to suppose that they were accustomed to a single partner; on the contrary, they seemed habitually to have arrived at the spirit of Messalina, or of Cleopatra. But this disproportion is such a singular phenomenon in human nature, that we cannot without difficulty give credit to it, and would willingly lay hold of any argument which, though incumbered with difficulties, might restore the proportion between the sexes. It is true our party did not see any valley or secluded glen, to which the women might have confined themselves during our stay; but I must remind the

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reader of those caverns mentioned before, to which the natives always refused to admit us. The caverns of Iceland are spacious enough to contain several thousand inhabitants; and nothing is more probable than that, in a similar volcanic country, such caverns may afford room for a few hundreds. What reasons the Easter Islanders may have to be more jealous of their women than the Tahitians, we know not; but we are acquainted with the outrageous and wanton behaviour of the sailor, wherever he has so great a superiority over the Indian, as the Dutch and Spaniards must have had over the people of Easter Island. The principal objection against this supposition is, however, the small number of children which we saw, there being no reason to exclude them from our eyes, whatever might be thought necessary with regard to the women. In short, this matter must remain unascertained, and if, in fact, the number of women is inconsiderable, it must have been diminished by some extraordinary accident, which none but the natives could have explained; but, in all our doubts, our ignorance of their language prevented us from acquiring any information.

The next morning we sent a boat ashore to take in some water, and the weather continuing calm, another went off to trade with the natives in order to encrease our little stock of potatoes. One of the natives likewise plied between the  
ship

ship and the shore, bringing off potatoes and bananas in the patched canoe. In the mean while a smart shower falling on board the ship, enabled our people to collect a quantity of fresh water in the awnings and sails of the ship, which were spread to catch it. Another boat went off to the shore in the afternoon, but towards evening a faint breeze springing up, the ship fired a gun, in consequence of which the boat came on board, and we sailed N. W. by W. from Easter Island.

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We had been greatly disappointed in the expectation which we had formed of this island, as a place of refreshment. The only article of any importance was their sweet potatoes; but after we had regularly shared out all we had purchased, the common people had only a few scanty meals of them. As to the bananas, yams, and sugar-canes which we had bought, they were in such inconsiderable quantities, that they scarce deserve to be mentioned. All the fowls which we had obtained, and which, in general, were of a very small breed, did not amount to fifty; and even the quantity of water which we had filled was inconsiderable and ill tasted. However, this small supply was so seasonable, that it preserved us from the too violent attacks of the scurvy and bilious disorders, till we could reach a better place of refreshment. Indeed, when I consider the wretched situation of the inhabitants, I am surprised that they  
parted

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parted with a quantity of provisions to us, of which the cultivation must have cost them great pains and labour. The barren and refractory soil of their island, the scarcity of domestic animals, and the want of boats and proper materials for fishing, all concur to render their means of subsistence extremely difficult and precarious. Yet the desire of possessing the new toys and curiosities which strangers bring among them, hurried them away, and prevented their reflecting on the urgency of their own most natural and unavoidable wants. In this, as in numberless other circumstances, they 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 the islands above mentioned. We may add to these, 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

of Taheitee. 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. Easter Island, or, as the natives call it, WAIHU, is so very barren, that the whole number of plants growing upon it does not exceed twenty species, of which far the greater part is cultivated\*; though the space which the plantations occupy is inconsiderable, compared with that which lies waste. The soil is altogether stoney, and parched by the sun, and water is so scarce, that the inhabitants drink it out of wells which have a strong admixture of brine; nay, some of our people really saw them drink of the sea-water when they were thirsty. Their habit of body must, in some measure, be influenced by these circumstances; they are meagre, and their muscles hard and rigid; they live very frugally, and, in general, go almost wholly naked, only covering the head, which is the most sensible of heat, with feathered caps, and puncturing or daubing the rest with colours. Their ideas of decency are, of course, very different from those of nations who are accustomed to clothing. They cut short their hair and beards

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\* The Spaniards mention white calabashes, (*pompions*;) among the vegetable productions of this island; but we did not see any.—See Mr. Dalrymple's judicious letter to Dr. Hawkesworth.

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from motives of cleanliness, like the people of Tonga-Taboo, but fortunately seemed to be less subject to leprous complaints. It is easy to conclude that the king of such a people cannot have great and conspicuous advantages over the commonalty, nor did our party observe any thing of that kind. The religion of the Easter Islanders is still wholly unknown to us, because abstract ideas are not to be acquired in so short a time as our stay. The statues, which are erected in honour of their kings, have a great affinity to the wooden figures, called TEE, on the chief's marais or burying-places at Taheitee; but we could not possibly consider them as idols, though Roggewein's people would pass them for such upon us. The fires which the Dutch interpret as sacrifices, were only made use of by the natives to dress their meals; and though the Spaniards suspected them to be a kind of superstition, they were, perhaps, equally mistaken, because the scarcity of fuel obliged the inhabitants to be careful of it, and to prevent their provisions being uncovered after they had once been put underground with heated stones.

We are unacquainted with the amusements of the people of Easter Island, having never seen them engaged in any kind of diversion, nor taken notice of a single musical instrument among them. They cannot, however, be entire strangers to amusements, since Maròo-wahai, who slept on  
board,

board, talked a great deal of dancing, as soon as we had quieted his fears with respect to the safety of his person. 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 intercourse 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 in their kind.

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 conveniencies, comforts, and luxuries of life, which they formerly possessed, and of which the remembrance must embitter the loss. Mahine frequently lamented their unhappy situation, and seemed to feel for them more than he had done for the New Zealanders, because he found them much more destitute. He added another stick to the bundle which composed his journal, and remembered Easter Island with this observation, *tàta maitai, whennua èeno*, that the people were good, but the island very

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bad; whereas at New Zealand he had found more fault with the natives than the country. His feelings were always warm from the heart, which education had filled with real philanthropy; they were likewise just, in general, because his senses were sound and acute, and his understanding, though uncultivated, was free from many prejudices.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ERRATA in VOL. I.

P. 13. l. last,	<i>for</i>	Ribiera,	<i>read</i>	Ribeira.
32. l. 1. [margin]		1778,		1772.
48. l. 4.		drying,		dying.
57. l. 16.		vacaneum,		supervacaneum.
88. l. 10.		at the fame,		at the fame time.
90. l. antepenult,		as was,		as it was.
119. l. 9.		Ferro,		Faroe.
171. l. 21.		family,		family.
174. l. 4. and 10.		musquets,		muskets.
176. l. last,		multipliciamini,		multiplicamini.
178. l. 7.		quales,		qualis.
207. l. 20.		geens,		greens.
215. l. 8.		scoop-net,		hoop-net.
253. l. 10.		O-Taheite,		O-Taheitee.
308. l. 11.		Juan de Langara } y Huarte,		Domingo Buenechea.













