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### **A Voyage To The Pacific Ocean**

Undertaken, By The Command Of His Majesty, For Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine The Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed Under The Direction Of Captians Cook, ...

**King, James**

**Cook, James**

**London, 1784**

Chap. IV. Transactions at Owhyhee, subsequent to the Death of Captain Cook. - Gallant Behaviour of the Lieutenant of Marines. - Dangerous Situation of the Party at the Morai. - Bravery of one of the ...

**urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-2282**

## C H A P. IV.

*Transactions at Owbyhee, subsequent to the Death of Captain Cook.—Gallant Behaviour of the Lieutenant of Marines.—Dangerous Situation of the Party at the Morai.—Bravery of one of the Natives.—Consultation respecting future Measures.—Demand of the Body of Captain Cook.—Evasive and insidious Conduct of Koah, and the Chiefs.—Insolent Behaviour of the Natives.—Promotion of Officers.—Arrival of two Priests with Part of the Body.—Extraordinary Behaviour of two Boys.—Burning of the Village of Kakooa.—Unfortunate Destruction of the Dwellings of the Priests.—Recovery of the Bones of Captain Cook.—Departure from Karakooa Bay.*

IT has been already related, that four of the marines, who attended Captain Cook, were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr. Phillips, their Lieutenant, threw themselves into the water, and escaped, under cover of a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was shewn by that officer. For he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself; and

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after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair, and brought him safe off\*.

Our people continued for some time to keep up a constant fire from the boats (which, during the whole transaction, were not more than twenty yards from the land), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of escaping. These efforts, seconded by a few guns, that were fired at the same time, from the Resolution, having forced the natives at last to retire, a small boat, manned by five of our young midshipmen, pulled toward the shore, where they saw the bodies, without any signs of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off, with so small a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ships, leaving them in possession of the islanders, together with ten stands of arms.

As soon as the general consternation, which the news of this calamity occasioned throughout both crews, had a little subsided, their attention was called to our party at the *Morai*,

\* From the annexed plate, the reader will be enabled to form a very clear and distinct idea of the situation of the several places mentioned in this and the three last chapters. On the farthest point of land, beyond the ships, to the left, is situated the village of Kowrowa, where Captain Cook was killed. The pile of stones, with a building on the top, at the other extremity of the plate, represents the *Morai*, where the observatories were erected. Behind the grove of cocoa-nut trees, stood the cloisters of the priests. To the left of these, is part of the village of Kakooa, which was burnt down on the 17th of February; and, farther on, amongst the rocks, at the end of the beach, is the well where we watered. The steep high ground, above the beach, is the hill from which the natives annoyed the waterers, by rolling down stones.

In the fore ground, a native is swimming on one of the boards, as described in the seventh chapter. The canoes, and the general air of the people, are represented with the greatest truth and fidelity.

where





where the mast and sails were on shore, with a guard of only six marines. It is impossible for me to describe the emotions of my own mind, during the time these transactions had been carrying on, at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a short mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd collected on the spot where Captain Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musquetry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterward saw the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and repassing, in great stillness, between the ships. I must confess, that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed, by appearances both new and threatening. But, besides this, I knew, that a long and uninterrupted course of success, in his transactions with the natives of these seas, had given the Captain a degree of confidence, that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from considering the experience that had given rise to it.

My first care, on hearing the musquets fired, was, to assure the people, who were assembled in considerable numbers, round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested; and that, at all events, I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this posture, till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke, observing, through his telescope, that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered

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two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party of them were sitting; and the other shivered a rock, that stood in an exact line with them. As I had, just before, given them the strongest assurances of their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility; and, to prevent a repetition of it, immediately dispatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke, that, at present, I was on the most friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct toward them, I would hoist a jack, as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience; and after remaining a quarter of an hour, under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed, by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible, and to send the sails, that were repairing, on board. Just at the same moment, our friend Kaireekoa having also received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook, from a native, who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me, with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire, if it was true?

Our situation was, at this time, extremely critical and important. Not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, being involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the Resolution, and the greatest part of our sails, on shore, under the protection of only six marines: their loss would  
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have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet shewn the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration, which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekaea to discourage the report; lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity, which at this time offered itself, of giving us a second blow. At the same time, I advised him to bring old Kaoo, and the rest of the priests, into a large house that was close to the *Morai*; partly out of regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities; and partly to have him near us, in order to make use of his authority with the people, if it could be instrumental in preserving peace.

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Having placed the marines on the top of the *Morai*, which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the command with Mr. Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the *Discovery*, in order to represent to Captain Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot, the natives began to annoy our people with stones; and I had scarcely reached the ship, before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned instantly on shore, where I found things growing every moment more alarming. The natives were arming, and putting on their mats; and their numbers increased very fast. I could also perceive several large bodies marching toward us, along the cliff which separates the village of Kakooa from the North side of the bay, where the village of Kowrowa is situated.





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They began, at first, to attack us with stones, from behind the walls of their inclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows, having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the foot of the *Morai*, with a design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and were not dislodged, till after they had stood a considerable number of shot, and seen one of their party fall.

The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned. For having returned to carry off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound, which he received, made him quit the body and retire; but, in a few minutes, he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the *Morai*, and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend; which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself, and expired.

About this time, a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls; which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails, and our astronomical *apparatus*, unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the *Morai*, they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones; but without doing us any mischief.

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It was half an hour past eleven o'clock, when I got on board the Discovery, where I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook were the objects, which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it was my opinion, that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand of them was not immediately complied with.

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Though my feelings, on the death of a beloved and honoured friend, may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our Chief, and forcing us to quit the shore, must naturally have inspired; and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day, would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and the more especially, as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. Indeed, contrary to the expectations of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline amongst us, that had a vigorous attack been made on us, in the night, it would have been impossible to answer for the consequences.

In these apprehensions, I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt, as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only attribute to weakness, or fear.





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In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged, that the mischief was done, and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard, on account of their former friendship and kindness; and the more especially, as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design: that, on the part of Tereoboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion: that the conduct of his women, and the *Erees*, might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore, and the hostile preparations in the bay; appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence, in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to imagine would be made, to carry off their king by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their Chiefs.

To these motives of humanity, others of a prudential nature were added; that we were in want of water, and other refreshments: that our foremast would require six or eight days work, before it could be stepped: that the spring was advancing apace; and that the speedy prosecution of our next Northern expedition ought now to be our sole object: that therefore to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants, might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships.

In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred; and though I was convinced, that an early display of vigorous  
resentment





resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry, that the measures I had recommended were rejected. For though the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore, arising, I have no doubt, from a misconstruction of our lenity, compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence; yet I am not so sure, that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force, on our part, in the first instance. Cautionary rigour is at all times invidious, and has this additional objection to it, that the severity of a preventive course, when it best succeeds, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

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During the time we were thus engaged, in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships, and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms, on these occasions; but as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested.

In pursuance of this plan, it was determined, that I should proceed toward the shore, with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and, if possible, to obtain a conference with some of the Chiefs.

If this attempt succeeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten  
them





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them with our vengeance in case of a refusal; but, by no means, to fire unless attacked; and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, as we approached the shore, I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring; the men putting on their war mats, and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed, that, since the morning, they had thrown up stone breast-works along the beach, where Captain Cook had landed; probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and, as soon as we were within reach, they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding, therefore, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain, unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence; I ordered the armed boats to stop, and went on, in the small boat, alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats; and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms, and inviting me to come on shore.

Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicions of its sincerity. But when I saw Koah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off toward the boat, with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed; a circumstance which





which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess, I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us, that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery, had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Add to all this, the shocking transaction of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears, and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions, that I could not help taking hold of the point of the *pahooah*, which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him, that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook; and to declare war against them, unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this should be done as soon as possible; and that he would go himself for that purpose; and, after begging of me a piece of iron, with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea, and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen, that we were all friends again.

We waited near an hour, with great anxiety for his return; during which time, the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore, as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives, at some distance from us; by whom they were plainly given to understand, that the body had been cut to pieces, and carried up the country; but of this circumstance I was not informed, till our return to the ships.

I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay; upon which the Chiefs pressed me exceedingly to come on shore; assuring me, that if I would go myself to Terreeoboo,

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the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among some rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices; and I was, therefore, strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a Chief came to us, who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke, and of the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed, when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to *Mowee*. He told us, he came from *Terreeoboo* to acquaint us, that the body was carried up the country; but that it should be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner; and being asked, if he told a falsehood, he hooked his two fore-fingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth; in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had passed; that my opinion was, they meant not to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time, till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board; having first given the natives to understand, that, if the body was not brought the next morning, the town should be destroyed.

When they saw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said, they could distinguish several





ral of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades; and, among them, a Chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard. Indeed, there can be no doubt, but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage; for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

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In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional sentinels were posted on both ships; and guard-boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine, they were removing their effects back into the country, in consequence of our threats. But I rather believe them to have been the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war, in which they imagined themselves about to be engaged; and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were, at that time, burning. We afterward saw fires of the same kind, as we passed the island of Morotoi; and which, we were told by some natives then on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island. And this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that, previous to any expedition against an enemy, the Chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed, except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore:

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and early the next morning, Koah came along-side the Resolution, with a present of cloth, and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before, that I was supposed, by the natives, to be the son of Captain Cook; and as he, in his life-time, had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the Chief, after his death. As soon as I came on deck, I questioned him about the body; and, on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents; and was going to dismiss him, with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best, at all events, to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper, that he should be treated with the usual respect.

This treacherous fellow came frequently to us, during the course of the forenoon, with some trifling present or other; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence.

He was exceedingly urgent, both with Captain Clerke and myself, to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other Chiefs; and assuring us, that every thing might be settled to our satisfaction, by a personal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request; and indeed a fact came afterward to our knowledge, which proved the entire falsehood of his pretensions. For we were told, that, immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old king had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain, that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes,  
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and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

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When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected, by break of day, in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great eagerness; as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable, that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution; and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coast; large parties were seen marching over the hills; and, in short, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream anchor, to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack; and stationed boats off the North point of the bay, to prevent a surprize from that quarter.

The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the warlike posture, in which they, at this time, appeared, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was, at last, determined, that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast, and the preparations for our departure; but that we should, nevertheless, continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies.

The greatest part of the day was taken up in getting the fore-mast into a proper situation on deck, for the carpenters to work upon it; and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed on board the Resolution, appointed Lieutenant Gore to be Captain of the Discovery, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a mid-

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shipman,





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shipman, who had been with Captain Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant Lieutenancy. During the whole day, we met with no interruption from the natives; and, at night, the launch was again moored with a top-chain; and guard-boats stationed round both ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ship; and as soon as it was seen, both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "*Tinnee*," (which was the way in which they pronounced my name), and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceedingly frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of them was the person, whom I have before mentioned under the name of the *Taboo* man, who constantly attended Captain Cook with the circumstances of ceremony I have already described; and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing for him the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting, with abundance of tears, the loss of the *Orono*, he told us, that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm; and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us, on finding in it, a piece of human flesh, about nine or ten pounds weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body; that the rest was cut to pieces, and burnt; but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of *Terreeoboo*, and the other *Erees*; that what we saw had been allotted to *Kaoo*, the chief of the





the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony; and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us.

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This afforded an opportunity of informing ourselves, whether they were cannibals; and we did not neglect it. We first tried, by many indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the rest of the bodies had been disposed of; and finding them very constant in one story, that, after the flesh had been cut off, it was all burnt; we at last put the direct question, Whether they had not eat some of it? They immediately shewed as much horror at the idea, as any European would have done; and asked, very naturally, if that was the custom amongst us? They afterward asked us, with great earnestness and apparent apprehension, "When the *Orono* would come again? and what he would do to them on his return?" The same inquiry was frequently made afterward by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenour of their conduct toward him, which shewed, that they considered him as a being of a superior nature.

We pressed our two friendly visiters to remain on board till morning; but in vain. They told us, that, if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king, or Chiefs, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; in order to prevent which, they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark; and that the same precaution would be necessary in returning on shore. They informed us farther, that the Chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen; and, particularly, cautioned us against trusting Koah, who, they said, was our mortal and implacable enemy; and desired nothing more ardently, than

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an opportunity of fighting us; to which the blowing of the conchs, we had heard in the morning, was meant as a challenge.

We learned from these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were Chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory; three of whom were also of the first rank.

About eleven o'clock, our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire, that our guard-boat might attend them, till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore, and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with; and we had the satisfaction to find, that they got safe and undiscovered to land.

During the remainder of this night, we heard the same loud howling and lamentations, as in the preceding one.

Tuesday 16. Early in the morning, we received another visit from Koah. I must confess, I was a little piqued to find, that, notwithstanding the most evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive testimony of our friends the priests, he should still be permitted to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear to be the dupes of his hypocrisy. Indeed our situation was become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific course of proceeding had been adopted, having hitherto been in the least forwarded by it. No satisfactory answer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not seem to be at all advanced toward a reconciliation with the islanders;





islanders; they still kept in force on the shore, as if determined to resist any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become absolutely necessary, as the completing our supply of water would not admit of any longer delay.

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However it must be observed, in justice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives, and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without some danger; and that the loss of a very few men might have been severely felt by us, during the remaining course of our voyage. Whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though, on the one hand, it lessened their opinion of our prowess, had the effect of causing them to disperse, on the other. For, this day, about noon, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every mode of defiance, marched off, over the hills, and never appeared afterward. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and insolent. One man had the audacity to come within musquet-shot, a-head of the ship; and, after flinging several stones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting, and encouraging his boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated provocations; and requested me to obtain permission for them, from Captain Clerke, to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of revenging the death of their Commander. On my acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some great guns to be fired at the natives on shore; and promised the crew, that if they should





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should meet with any molestation at the watering-place, the next day, they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, before we could bring our guns to bear, the islanders had suspected our intentions, from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were therefore obliged to fire, in some measure, at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects that could have been desired. For, soon after, we saw Koah paddling toward us, with extreme haste, and, on his arrival, we learned, that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest, Maiha-maiha, a principal Chief, and a near relation of the king\*.

Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the *Morai* toward the ships, having each a long spear in his hand; and after they had approached pretty near, they began to chant a song, in a very solemn manner; the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word *Orono*, and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the *Discovery*, and delivered their spears; and, after making a short stay, returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn.

At night, the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships; and as soon as it was dark, our two

\* The word *mata*, is commonly used, in the language of these islands, to express either killing or wounding; and we were afterward told, that this Chief had only received a slight blow on the face from a stone, which had been struck by one of the balls.

friends,





friends, who had visited us the night before, came off again. They assured us, that though the effects of our great guns, this afternoon, had terrified the Chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard.

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The next morning, the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water; and the Discovery was warped close to the beach, in order to cover that service. We soon found, that the intelligence which the priests had sent us, was not without foundation; and that the natives were resolved to take every opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much risk.

Wednes. 17.

Throughout all this group of islands, the villages, for the most part, are situated near the sea; and the adjacent ground is inclosed with stone walls, about three feet high. These, we at first imagined, were intended for the division of property; but we now discovered, that they served, and probably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them, with great quickness, to such situations, as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have also little holes, or caves, of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind both these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones; nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of musquets, compel them to retreat.

In this exposed situation, our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was there-

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fore impossible to perform this service, till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the Discovery was ordered to dislodge them, with her great guns; which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However, the natives soon after made their appearance again, in their usual mode of attack; and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses, near the wall, behind which they had taken shelter. In executing these orders, I am sorry to add, that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults, and contemptuous behaviour, of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their Commander. But, at the same time, their conduct served strongly to convince me, that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms, in the hands of private seamen, or soldiers, on such occasions. The rigour of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to its proper objects, lead them naturally enough to conceive, that whatever they have the power, they have also the right to do. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they are accustomed to expect punishment, they learn to consider it as the only measure of right and wrong; and hence are apt to conclude, that what they can do with impunity, they may do with justice and honour. So that the feelings of humanity, which are inseparable from us all, and that generosity toward an unresisting enemy, which, at other times, is the distinguishing mark of brave men, become but weak restraints to the exercise of violence, when opposed to the desire they naturally have of shewing their own independence and power.

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I have already mentioned, that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling huts, which afforded shelter to the natives. We were therefore a good deal surprized to see the whole village on fire; and before a boat, that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief, could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends, the priests, were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illness, that confined me on board this day. The priests had always been under my protection; and, unluckily, the officers who were then on duty, having been seldom on shore at the *Morai*, were not much acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had I been present myself, I might probably have been the means of saving their little society from destruction.

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Several of the natives were shot, in making their escape from the flames; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball struck his calabash, which he immediately threw from him and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness; till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds. It was this accident, that first brought us acquainted with the use of these caverns.

At this time, an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly pictured, as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to

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extravagant joy, as when he was untied, and told he might go away in safety. He shewed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with presents of provisions; and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed, we saw, coming down the hill, a man, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c. in their hands. I knew not how it happened, that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This, however, did not stop them. They continued their procession, and the officer on duty came up, in time, to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kaireekkea, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned, and desired to be sent on board the Resolution.

When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him understand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house, and those of his brethren, were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship, and on our ingratitude. And, indeed, it was not till now, that we learnt the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us, that, relying on the promises I had made them, and on the assurances they had afterward received from the men, who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country, with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put every thing that was valuable of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house close to the *Morai*, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by ourselves.





On coming on board, he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired, with great earnestness, that they might be thrown over-board. This request Captain Clerke instantly ordered to be complied with.

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In the evening, the watering party returned on board, having met with no farther interruption. We passed a gloomy night; the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation was, the hope that we should have no occasion, in future, for a repetition of such severities.

It is very extraordinary, that, amidst all these disturbances, the women of the island, who were on board, never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehensions either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that some of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out, that it was *maitai*, or very fine.

The next morning, Koah came off as usual to the ships. Thursday 18.  
As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached toward the side of the ship, singing his song, and offering me a hog, and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his frequent breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with this reception, but went immediately on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man, who had been killed the day before, was found

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this morning, lying at the entrance of the cave; and some of our people went, and threw a mat over it. Soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them singing, as they marched, a mournful song.

The natives, being at last convinced that it was not the want of ability to punish them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any farther molestation; and, in the evening, a Chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that, until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person, that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior Chiefs; and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner: the head, to a great Chief, called Kahoo-opeon; the hair to Maia-maia; and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables; and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekea.

Friday 19.

The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Captain Clerke and Terreeboo. Eappo was very pressing, that one of our officers should go on shore; and, in the mean time, offered to remain as an hostage on board. This request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the next day. At





the beach, the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again, without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension.

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Early in the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty, and some danger; our ropes being so exceedingly rotten, that the purchase gave way several times.

Saturday 20.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, we saw a great number of people descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, *taro*, and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers; who, when they came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them, advanced, one by one; and, having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands; and having placed himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent him.

Captain Clerke, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace to receive them; and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the Captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterward attended us to the Resolution; but could not be prevailed upon to go on board;





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board; probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the thigh and leg-bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been seized by different Chiefs, and that Terrecoboo was using every means to recover them.

Sunday 21.

The next morning, Eappo, and the king's son, came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook; the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us, that Terrecoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself were most heartily desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other Chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented, with the greatest sorrow, the death of six Chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Pareea's





Pareea's people; very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him; and that it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us, had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable; the bones of the Chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreeboo and the *Erees*.

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Nothing now remained, but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to *taboo* all the bay; and, in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion, I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know, that it is not in my power to express them.

During the forenoon of the 22d, not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay; the *taboo*, which Eappo had laid on it the day before, at our request, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We assured him, that we were now entirely satisfied; and that, as the *Orono* was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterward desired him to take off the *taboo*, and to make it known, that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the Chiefs came on board, expressing great sorrow at what had happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not visit us, sent presents of large hogs, and other provisions. Amongst the rest came the old treacherous Koah, but was refused admittance.





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As we had now every thing ready for sea, Captain Clerke imagining, that, if the news of our proceedings should reach the Islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the natives; and Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekcea, took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed, and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and good-will.

CHAP.

