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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

A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Book V. Captain King's Journal of the Transactions on returning to the Sandwich Islands.

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A
V O Y A G E
TO THE
P A C I F I C O C E A N.

B O O K V.

Captain King's Journal of the Transactions
on returning to the Sandwich Islands.

C H A P. I.

Description of Karakakooa Bay.—Vast Concourfe of the Natives.—Power of the Chiefs over the inferior People.—Visit from Koah, a Priest and Warrior.—The Morai at Kakooa described.—Ceremonies at the Landing of Captain Cook.—Observatories erected.—Powerful Operation of the Taboo.—Method of salting Pork in tropical Climates.—Society of Priests discovered.—Their Hospitality and Munificence.—Reception of Captain Cook.—Artifice of Koah.—Arrival of Terreeoboo, King of the Island.—Singular Ceremony.—Visit from the King.—Returned by Captain Cook.

KARAKAKOOA Bay is fituated on the West fide of the ifland of Owwhyhee, in a diftrict called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land, at the diftance of half a league, and bearing South South East and North North West from each other.

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Sunday 17.

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B

On



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On the North point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa: between them, runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea shore. On the South side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated inclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore, all round the bay, is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a *Morai*, or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water, at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the North side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing North West.

As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals; many of whom, not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the *Resolution*, was a young man, called Parcea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to
 Captain



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Captain Cook, he told him, that he was *Yakance** to the king of the island, who was at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience. For we had not been long at anchor, when it was observed that the *Discovery* had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to *Pareea*, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her.

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The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared, from this incident, to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the *Resolution*; where the crowd being so great, as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of *Kaneena*, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprized to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation; all except one man, who loitering behind, and shewing some unwillingness to obey,

* We afterward met with several others of the same denomination; but whether it be an office, or some degree of affinity, we could never learn with certainty.



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Kaneena took him up in his arms, and threw him into the sea.

Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait Mr. Webber has drawn, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

It has been already mentioned, that during our long cruize off this island, the inhabitants had always behaved with great fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shewn the slightest propensity to theft; which appeared to us the more extraordinary, because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse, were of the lowest rank, either servants or fishermen. We now found the case exceedingly altered. The immense crowd of islanders, which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without risk of discovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity in case of detection. Another circumstance, to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the Resolution had got into her station, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been, in his youth, a distinguished warrior. He was
a little

a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly fore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the *ava*. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the *Eatoos*. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary.

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When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these Seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipped with dog's hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word *Orono* *. The crowd,

* Captain Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee; but we could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power in the island, who resembles pretty much the Delai Lama of the Tartars, and the ecclesiastical emperor of Japan.

which



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which had been collected on the shore, retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the *Morai*, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the South side of the beach at *Kakooa*. It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat, and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives, sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area, stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail, on each side, by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country, were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the North West corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images, and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the *Morai*, where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them

them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure, stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the *Whatta** of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the *Morai*, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped, and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekee, the young man above-mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterward offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekee with the same ceremony.

Whilst Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekee and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the center, which, from its being

* See Captain Cook's former Voyage.

covered

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covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same; who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

We were now led back into the other division of the *Morai*, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time, arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekkea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed, that after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekkea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono*.

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down, fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *ava*; which is done, by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekkea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *ava* was then



then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

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When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the *Morai*, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies, with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial: they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning, I went on shore with a guard of eight Monday 18. marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory in such a situation as might best enable me to superintend and protect the waterers, and



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the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose, in the middle of the village, Parcea, who was always ready to shew both his power and his good will, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations. However, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes adjoining to the *Morai*, which was readily granted us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place, by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was inclosed.

This sort of religious interdiction they call *taboo*; a word we heard often repeated, during our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation. A more particular explanation of it will be given in the general account of these islands, under the article of religion; at present it is only necessary to observe, that it procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the *taboed* space, till he had obtained our permission. But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; Parcea and Koah were tempted to bring them, but in vain; we were invariably answered, that the *Eatooa* and *Terrecoboo* (which was the name of their king) would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel, in order to have

room



room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions, two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about, till they could again procure admittance.

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From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terrecoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs for sea-store was also a constant, and one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attention. As the success we met with in this experiment, during our present voyage, was much more complete than it had been in any former attempt of the same kind, it may not be improper to give an account of the detail of the operation.

Tuesday 19.

It has generally been thought impracticable to cure the flesh of animals by salting, in tropical climates; the progress of putrefaction being so rapid, as not to allow time for the salt to take (as they express it) before the meat gets a taint, which prevents the effect of the pickle. We do not find that experiments relative to this subject have been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. In his first trials, which were made in 1774, during his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, the success he met with, though very imperfect, was yet sufficient to convince him of the error of the received opinion. As the voyage, in which he was now engaged, was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships had been victualled, he was under the necessity of providing, by some such means, for the

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subsistence



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subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the further prosecution of his discoveries. He therefore lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts, and the event answered his most sanguine expectations.

The hogs, which we made use of for this purpose, were of various sizes, weighing from four to twelve stone*. The time of slaughtering was always in the afternoon; and as soon as the hair was scalded off, and the entrails removed, the hog was divided into pieces of four or eight pounds each, and the bones of the legs and chine taken out; and, in the larger sort, the ribs also. Every piece then being carefully wiped and examined, and the veins cleared of the coagulated blood, they were handed to the salters, whilst the flesh remained still warm. After they had been well rubbed with salt, they were placed in a heap, on a stage raised in the open air, covered with planks, and pressed with the heaviest weights we could lay on them. In this situation they remained till the next evening, when they were again well wiped and examined, and the suspicious parts taken away. They were then put into a tub of strong pickle, where they were always looked over once or twice a day, and if any piece had not taken the salt, which was readily discovered by the smell of the pickle, they were immediately taken out, re-examined, and the sound pieces put to fresh pickle. This, however, after the precautions before used, seldom happened. After six days, they were taken out, examined for the last time, and being again slightly pressed, they were packed in barrels, with a thin layer of salt between them. I brought home with me some barrels of this pork, which was pickled at Owhyhee in January 1779, and was tasted

* 14 lb.

by



by several persons in England about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome*.

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I shall now return to our transactions on shore at the observatory, where we had not been long settled, before we discovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at the *Morai* had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit; and as he expected to be received in the same manner as before, he brought Mr. Webber with him to make a drawing of the ceremony †.

On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called *Harre-no-Orono*, or the house of *Orono*, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those on the *Morai*. I was here again made to support one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, *Kaireekea*, accompanied by twelve priests,

* Since these papers were prepared for the press, I have been informed by Mr. Vancouver, who was one of my Midshipmen in the *Discovery*, and was afterward appointed Lieutenant of the *Martin* sloop of war, that he tried the method here recommended; both with English and Spanish pork, during a cruise on the Spanish Main, in the year 1782, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. He also made the experiment at Jamaica with the beef served by the victualling office to the ships, but not with the same success, which he attributes to the want of the necessary precautions in killing and handling the beasts; to their being hung up and opened before they had sufficient time to bleed, by which means the blood-vessels were exposed to the air, and the blood condensed before it had time to empty itself; and to their being hard driven and bruised. He adds, that having himself attended to the killing of an ox, which was carefully taken on board the *Martin*, he salted a part of it, which at the end of the week was found to have taken the salt completely, and he has no doubt would have kept for any length of time; but the experiment was not tried.

† See Plate, Number LX.



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made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers, and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the Captain's nose; after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The *ava* was then brewed, and handed round; a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in; and we were fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore, he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekee and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono*. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances; whilst Kaireekee and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received
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from them, every day, a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence; and several canoes loaded with provisions were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity, more like the discharge of a religious duty, than the effect of mere liberality; and when we enquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told, it was at the expence of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and grandfather to Kaireekea, who was at that time absent attending the king of the island.

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As every thing relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterward acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him, that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or *Earees*, as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former, we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse, from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable. I shall only mention one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs, who brought us presents of hogs, were always sent back handsomely rewarded, we had generally a greater supply than we could make use of. On these occasions, Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, used to beg such as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened, that a pig was presented us by a man whom Koah himself introduced as a chief, who was desirous.



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scious of paying his respects, and we recollected the pig to be the same that had been given to Koah just before. This leading us to suspect some trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary person; and on connecting this with other circumstances, we had reason to suspect, that it was not the first time we had been the dupes of the like imposition.

Sunday 24.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprized to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours suspense, we learned that the bay was *tabooed*, and all intercourse with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured,

Monday 25.

both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come along-side; and as some of them were at last venturing to put off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musquet was immediately fired over his head, to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He staid on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

Tuesday 26.

The next day, about noon, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village, and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the first canoe was Terreeoboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered clokes and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in
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the second, came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed*.

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As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him, and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and in a very graceful manner threw over the Captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet upon his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king's exchanging names with Captain Cook, which, amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean, is

* This curious ceremony is represented in the annexed print. The presents were made to Captain Cook after he went on shore.



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esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterward presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A feat was then made for him, next to the king, after which, Kaireekea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprized to see, in the person of this king the same infirm and emaciated old man, that came on board the Resolution when we were off the North East side of the island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld.

As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Resolution. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shewn them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the king, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo, and about half a dozen more old chiefs, remained



remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests houses. During all this time, not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the Resolution, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the *taboo*; that is, were forbidden to stir from home, or to have any communication with us.

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The quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives, having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to use ourselves amongst them as at home, and in all instances. The Officers of both ships went daily up the country, in small parties, or even singly, and the party remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions. Whenever we went, the people looked about us, eager to offer every assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before us, as we walked through their villages, and begged us to stop, where there was some group of people, or some object of curiosity. At one time we were invited to a dance, or some other entertainment, under

D. 2

CHAP.



C H A P. II.

Farther Account of Transactions with the Natives.—Their Hospitality.—Propensity to Theft.—Description of a Boxing Match.—Death of one of our Seamen.—Behaviour of the Priests at his Funeral.—The Wood Work and Images on the Morai purchased.—The Natives inquisitive about our Departure.—Their Opinion about the Design of our Voyage.—Magnificent Presents of Terreeboo to Captain Cook.—The Ships leave the Island.—The Resolution damaged in a Gale, and obliged to return.

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Tuesday 26.

THE quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times, and in all situations. The Officers of both ships went daily up the country, in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions. Wherever we went, the people flocked about us, eager to offer every assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before, as we walked through their villages, and stopped us at every opening, where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time, we were invited to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk, or some other refreshment
under

under the shade of their huts; at another, we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted all their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances.

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The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality, was, however, frequently interrupted by that propensity to stealing, which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing, as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse to acts of severity, which we should willingly have avoided, if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers were one day discovered under the ships, drawing out the filling nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick, with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the Discovery.

About this time, a large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out on an excursion into the interior parts of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions. An account of this journey will be given in a subsequent part of our narrative. It is, therefore, only necessary at present to observe, that it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of shewing his attention and generosity. For as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders, that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass, should give them every assistance in their power. And, to complete



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the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days, our Officers returned, without having been able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island; partly from want of proper guides, and partly from the impracticability of the country.

Wednes. 27.

The head of the Resolution's rudder being found exceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung, and sent on shore, on the 27th in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time, the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the the head rail work, which was also entirely decayed and rotten.

Thursday 28.

On the 28th, Captain Clerke, whose ill health confined him, for the most part, on board, paid Terreeboo his first visit, at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed with Captain Cook; and, on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not yet seen any thing of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our Officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence, as in the skill and powers of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands; yet, as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, at a little distance from our tents. A long space
was



was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges, under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of two wild geese, a few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin, the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached, they frequently eyed each other from head to foot, in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck, in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist; and if again victorious, for a third, till he was, at last, in his turn defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in, and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner, before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in, and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants.

The

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The same good humour was preserved throughout, which we before so much admired in the Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it was universally expected, that we should have borne our part in them; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a seaman on board the *Resolution* in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage toward the South Pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich hospital, through the Captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage, he had frequently been subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where being sent on shore for a few days, he conceived himself perfectly recovered, and, at his own desire, returned on board; but the day following, he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off.

At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the *Morai*, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention, whilst the service was reading.

When



When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains; and, for three nights afterward, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till day-break.

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At the head of the grave, we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove; and we have no doubt, but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials, of which it is made, will permit.

The ships being in great want of fuel, the Captain desired me, on the 2d of February, to treat with the priests, for the purchase of the rail, that surrounded the top of the *Morai*. I must confess, I had, at first, some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive, that even the bare mention of it might be considered, by them, as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. Not the smallest surprize was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for any thing in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image; and, on further inquiry, I found, that they had conveyed to the boats the whole *semicircle. Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shewn any mark of resentment at it, but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo, on the subject; who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired, that we would restore the centre

Tuesday 2.

* See description of the *Morai*, in the preceding Chapter.



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image, I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priest's houses.

Terreeboo, and his Chiefs, had, for some days past, been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know, what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points; but could never learn any thing farther, than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed; and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase, and carry off, as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. To these may be added, a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us; together with our quiet conduct, and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides, and patting the bellies, of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks, during our short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered, that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terreeboo had no other view, in his inquiries, at present, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing



us with presents, suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed, that a sort of proclamation was immediately made, through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs, and vegetables, for the king to present to the *Orono*, on his departure.

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We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument, of the sort described in the last volume*; some bits of sea-weed were tied round his neck; and round each leg, a piece of strong netting, about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dogs' teeth were loosely fastened, in rows. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces, and pantomimical distortions of the face; which though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet, on the whole, was without much meaning, or expression. Mr. Webber thought it worth his while to make a drawing of this person, as exhibiting a tolerable specimen of the natives; the manner in which the *maro* is tied; the figure of the instrument before mentioned, and of the ornaments round the legs, which, at other times, we also saw used by their dancers.

In the evening, we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing matches; and we displayed, in return, the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind. Captain Cook has already described the extraordinary effects of that which was made at Hapae;

* See Vol. ii. p. 236.



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and though the present was, in every respect, infinitely inferior, yet the astonishment of the natives was not less.

I have before mentioned, that the carpenters, from both ships, had been sent up the country to cut planks, for the head rail-work of the Resolution. This was the third day since their departure; and having received no intelligence from them, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We were communicating our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him, for sending after them, when they arrived all safe. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected, before they met with trees fit for their purpose; and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity.

Wednes. 3.

The next day, being fixed for our departure, Terrecoboo invited Captain Cook and myself to attend him, on the 3d, to the place, where Kaoo resided. On our arrival, we found the ground covered with parcels of cloth; a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers, tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks; and a great number of hatchets, and other pieces of iron-ware, that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these, lay an immense quantity of vegetables, of every kind, and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first, we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, till Kaireekea informed me, that it was a gift, or tribute, from the people of that district to the king; and, accordingly, as soon as we were seated, they brought all the bundles,

Bundles, and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet; spreading out the cloth, and displaying the feathers, and iron-ware, before him. The king seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty; and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside, by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterward presented to Captain Cook, and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded every thing of the kind we had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent, to carry them on board; the large hogs were picked out, to be salted for sea-store; and upward of thirty smaller pigs, and the vegetables, were divided between the two crews.

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The same day, we quitted the *Morai*, and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the *taboo* was now removed; and we had no sooner left the place, than the natives rushed in, and searched eagerly about, in expectation of finding something of value, that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding about me, and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation. It was, indeed, not without difficulty, I was able to quit them. And here, I hope I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence, in which I was principally concerned. Having had the command of the party on shore, during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their kindness, in general,



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neral, so I cannot too often, nor too particularly, mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests.

On my part, I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections, and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself, by saying, that Captain Cook would not give his consent, they proposed, that I should retire into the mountains; where, they said, they would conceal me, till after the departure of the ships; and on my farther assuring them, that the Captain would not leave the bay without me, Terrecoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request, that I might be left behind. The Captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal, to an offer so kindly intended, told them, that he could not part with me, at that time, but that he should return to the island next year, and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Thursday 4.

Early in the morning of the 4th, we unmoored, and sailed out of the bay, with the Discovery in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee, before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered, than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the South East part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour.

Friday 5.

We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the Northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in
their



their canoes; and Terreeboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook, by a large present of hogs, and vegetables, that was sent after him.

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In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the Northward; and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the Westernmost point of the island, we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay, called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We had great hopes, that this bay would furnish us with a safe and commodious harbour, as we saw, to the North East, several fine streams of water; and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britanee, the pinnace was hoisted out, and the Master, with Britanee for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them.

Saturday 6.

In the afternoon, the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind, that blew off the land, were so violent, as to make it necessary to take in all the sails, and bring to, under the mizen stay-sail. All the canoes left us, at the beginning of the gale; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman, and two men, whose canoe had been overfet by the violence of the wind, as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board, whom the natives had left behind, in their hurry to shift for themselves.

The Master reported to Captain Cook, that he had landed at the only village he saw, on the North side of the bay, where he was directed to some wells of water; but found, they



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they would by no means answer our purpose; that he after ward proceeded farther into the bay, which runs inland to a great depth, and stretches toward the foot of a very conspicuous high mountain, situated on the North West end of the island; but that instead of meeting with safe anchorage, as Britanee had taught him to expect, he found the shores low and rocky, and a flat bed of coral rocks running along the coast, and extending upward of a mile from the land; on the outside of which, the depth of water was twenty fathoms, over a sandy bottom; and that, in the mean time, Britanee had contrived to slip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, because his information had not proved true and successful.

Sunday 7.

In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail; but about midnight it blew so violently, as to split both the fore and main topsails. On the morning of the 7th, we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather, and a light breeze. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was $20^{\circ} 1'$ North, the West point of the island bearing South, 7° East, and the North West point North, 38° East. As we were, at this time, four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction; for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them.

In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it, we saw a canoe, with two men paddling toward us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore, by the late boisterous weather; and therefore stopped the



the ship's way, in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so entirely exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child, about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us, they had left the shore the morning before, and had been, from that time, without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, we found them all next morning perfectly recovered.

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At midnight, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double reef the topfails, and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th, at day-break, we found, that the foremast had again given way, the fishes, which were put on the head, in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unstep the mast. In this difficulty, Captain Cook was for some time in doubt, whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts, and for procuring refreshments, of which, it was imagined, that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place, that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be re-

Monday 8.



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gained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better; the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource.

We therefore continued standing on toward the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement; and, at noon, being within a mile of the shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people, that there was not room in them for any of our guests; we therefore hoisted out the pinnace to carry them on shore; and the Master, who went with them, had directions to examine the South coasts of the bay for water; but returned without finding any.

Tuesday 9.

The winds being variable, and a current setting strong to the Northward, we made but little progress in our return; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 9th, it began to blow very hard from the South East, which obliged us to close reef the topails; and at two in the morning of the

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10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers, that lie to the Northward of the West point of Owhyhee. We had just room to haul off, and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprize the Discovery of the danger.

Thursday 11.

In the forenoon, the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learnt, that the late storms had done much mischief; and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day, we kept beating to windward; and, before night, we were within a mile of the bay; but not choosing to run on, while it was dark, we stood off and on till day-light next morning, when we dropt anchor nearly in the same place as before.



C H A P. III.

Suspicious Behaviour of the Natives, on our Return to Karakakooa Bay.—Theft on board the Discovery, and its Consequences.—The Pinnace attacked, and the Crew obliged to quit her.—Captain Cook's Observations on the Occasion.—Attempt at the Observatory.—The Cutter of the Discovery stolen.—Measures taken by Captain Cook for its Recovery.—Goes on Shore, to invite the King on board.—The King being stopped by his Wife, and the Chiefs, a Contest arises.—News arrives of one of the Chiefs being killed, by one of our People.—Ferment on this Occasion.—One of the Chiefs threatens Captain Cook, and is shot by him.—General Attack by the Natives.—Death of Captain Cook.—Account of the Captain's Services, and a Sketch of his Character.

WE were employed the whole of the 11th, and part of the 12th, in getting out the foremast, and sending it, with the carpenters, on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it, capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. It was not, however, thought necessary to shorten it; and fortunately, the logs of red toa-wood, which had been cut at Eimeo, for anchor-stocks, were found fit to replace the sprung parts of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to

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take up several days, Mr. Bayly and myself, got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the *Morai*; having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen, and their tools, *tabooed* the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it, as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore, to repair the damages which had taken place in their department, during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining to the *Morai*, that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives, which led, by degrees, to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th.

Upon coming to anchor, we were surprized to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect, that they would again have flocked about us with great joy, on our return.

We were forming various conjectures, upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word, that *Terreeoboo* was absent, and had left the bay under the *taboo*. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us; yet others were of opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led, by subsequent



fequent events, to imagine, that there was something, at this time, very fufpicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourfe with us, on pre-^{1779.} tence of the king's abfence, was only to give him time to _{February.} confult with his Chiefs, in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether thefe fufpicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to afcertain. For though it is not improbable, that our fudden return, for which they could fee no apparent caufe, and the neceffity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occafion fome alarm; yet the unfufpicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his fupposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to vifit Captain Cook, and the confequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourfe with us, are ftrong proofs, that they neither meant, nor apprehended, any change of conduct.

In fupport of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident, precisely of the fame kind, which happened to us, on our firft vifit, the day before the arrival of the king. A native had fold a hog on board the *Refolution*, and taken the price agreed on, when *Parcea*, paffing by, advifed the man not to part with the hog, without an advanced price. For this, he was fharply fpoken to, and pushed away; and the *taboo* being foon after laid on the bay, we had at firft no doubt, but that it was in confequence of the offence given to the Chief. Both thefe accidents ferve to fhew, how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclufion from the actions of people, with whofe customs, as well as language, we are fo imperfectly acquainted; at the fame time, fome idea may be formed from them, of the difficulties, at the firft view, perhaps, not very apparent, which

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which those have to encounter, who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course, till the afternoon of the 13th.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the Discovery, came to inform me, that several Chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some farther disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side-arms. In a short time, the officer returned, and on his acquainting me, that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were grown very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine, with his musquet. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and, on my speaking to some of the Chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it, were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore, in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed; and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones, or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal, to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small shot.

Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of musquets, from the Discovery, which we observed



observed to be directed at a canoe, that we saw paddling toward the shore, in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded, that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people, as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their escape into the country before our arrival.

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We were at this time ignorant, that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives, which way the people had fled, we followed them, till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting, that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our absence, a difference, of a more serious and unpleasant nature, had happened. The officer, who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board, with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately, this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving, at the same moment, from on board the Discovery, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and
being



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being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down, by a violent blow on the head, with an oar. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones, as forced them to retreat, with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock, at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and, but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people, that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and, with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked, if the *Orono* would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured, that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for, he added, "they must not be left to imagine, that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders, that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was

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was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated, by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the *Morai*, with orders to call me, if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock, five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the *Morai*; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him; on which the men fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without farther disturbance.

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Next morning, at day-light, I went on board the *Resolution* for the time-keeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed, that their cutter had been stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored. Sunday 14.

When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me, with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever any thing of consequence was lost, at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal *Erees*, on board, and to keep them as hostages, till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accord-



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ingly, the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and, before I left the ship, some great guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips, and nine marines with him; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives, on our side of the bay, by assuring them, they should not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted; the Captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo, and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found, that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I assured him, he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the mean time, Captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the North point of the bay, and

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taken



taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the Lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was, to inquire for Terreeboo, and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the Resolution. In a short time, the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and, after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the Resolution. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears, and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two Chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and insisting, that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the Lieutenant and marines, observing that his men were huddled close

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together

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together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the Captain, to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting.

All this time, the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him, in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the Chiefs, who stood round him, interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward, having recourse to force and violence, and insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook therefore finding, that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off, without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board, without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprize, which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats, which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes, that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a Chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous;

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the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pahooa*) came up to the Captain, flourishing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The Captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the *Erees* attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*; but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the but end of his musquet. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musquetry from the marines, and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the Lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pahooa*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate Commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some
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of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boat-men had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable, that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about, to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, shewed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent Commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprize, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition, of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented, by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay, which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity. The reader will not be displeased to turn from so sad a scene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, whilst I am paying my last tribute to the memory of a dear and honoured friend, in a short history of his life, and public services.

Captain



Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1727; and, at an early age, was put apprentice to a shopkeeper in a neighbouring village. His natural inclination not having been consulted on this occasion, he soon quitted the counter from disgust, and bound himself, for nine years, to the master of a vessel in the coal trade. At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the king's service, on board the Eagle, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer, and afterward by Sir Hugh Palliser, who soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck.

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In the year 1758, we find him master of the Northumberland, the flag ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as I have often heard him say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance, than what a few books, and his own industry, afforded him. At the same time, that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind, and to supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was engaged in most of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services, of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronize him, during the rest of their lives, with the greatest zeal and affection.



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fection. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas; for the purpose of observing the transit of *Venus*, and prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe.

From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyrick. Indeed, he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprize. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge, which can fall to the lot of very few.

The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious. His judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of



danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

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Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was, that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons, who have experienced the fatigues of service, will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

It is not necessary, here, to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view.

Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labours of a single man, than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which sepa-



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rate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterward explored the Eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upward of two thousand miles.

In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a Southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of 40° and 70° , in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage, he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the Southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating, is distinguished, above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the North of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the Western coast of America, from the latitude of 43° to 70° North, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of Northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage,



in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an Eastern or a Western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

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As a navigator, his services were not perhaps less splendid; certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new æra in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages, amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind.

Those who are conversant in naval history, need not be told, at how dear a rate the advantages, which have been sought, through the medium of long voyages at sea, have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprizes. It was reserved for Captain Cook to shew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life, in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself, in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776*; and whatever improvements the experience

* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him, on that occasion.



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of the present voyage has suggested, are mentioned in their proper places.

With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relations of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and also of his character and services; I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour, which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his; and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study, to shew him.

C H A P.



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.

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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 Kaireekea 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.

It



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.

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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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Monday 15.

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.

I have



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



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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
this



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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 Kaireekkea.

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 farewels with every mark of affection and good-will.

CHAP.



C H A P. V.

Departure from Karakakooa in Search of an Harbour on the South East Side of Mowee.—Driven to Leeward by the Easterly Winds and Current.—Pass the Island of Tahoorowa.—Description of the South West Side of Mowee.—Run along the Coasts of Ranai and Morotoi to Woahoo.—Description of the North East Coast of Woahoo.—Unsuccessful Attempt to water.—Passage to Atooi.—Anchor in Wymoa Bay.—Dangerous Situation of the Watering Party on Shore.—Civil Dissentions in the Islands.—Visit from the contending Chiefs.—Anchor off Oneebew.—Final Departure from the Sandwich Islands.

WE got clear of the land about ten ; and, hoisting in the boats, stood to the Northward, with an intention of searching for an harbour on the South East side of Mowee, which we had heard frequently mentioned by the natives. The next morning we found ourselves driven to leeward by a heavy swell from the North East ; and a fresh gale, springing up from the same quarter, carried us still farther to the Westward. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the South for four hours, in order to keep clear of the land ; and, at day-break, we found ourselves standing toward a small barren island, called Tahoorowa, which lies seven or eight miles to the South West of Mowee.

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February.
Monday 22.

Tuesday 23.

Wednes. 24.

M 2

All



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February.

All prospect of examining more nearly the South East parts of Mowee being now destroyed, we bore away, and ran along the South East side of Tahoorowa. As we were steering close round its Western extremity, with an intention of fetching the West side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and observed the sea breaking on some detached rocks, almost right ahead. This obliged us to keep away a league and a half, when we again steered to the Northward; and, after passing over a bank, with nineteen fathoms water, stood for a passage between Mowee and an island called Ranai. At noon, the latitude was, by observation, $20^{\circ} 42'$ North, and the longitude $203^{\circ} 22'$ East; the Southern extremity of Mowee bearing East South East, quarter East; the Southern extremity of Ranai West North West, quarter West; Morotoi, North West and by North; and the Western extremity of Tahoorowa, South by East, seven miles distant. Our longitude was accurately deduced from observations made by the time-keeper before and after noon, compared with the longitude found by a great many distances of the moon from the sun and stars, which were also observed the same day.

In the afternoon, the weather being calm, with light airs from the West, we stood on to the North North West; but, at sun-set, observing a shoal, which appeared to stretch to a considerable distance from the West point of Mowee, toward the middle of the passage, and the weather being unsettled, we tacked, and stood toward the South.

The South West side of this island, which we now had passed without being able to get near the shore, forms the same distant view with the North East, as seen on our return from the North, in November 1778; the mountainous parts, which



which are connected by a low, flat isthmus, appearing at first like two separate islands. This deception continued on the South West side, till we approached within eight or ten leagues of the coast, which, bending inward, to a great depth, formed a fine capacious bay. The Westernmost point, off which the shoal we have just mentioned runs, is made remarkable by a small hillock, to the Southward of which there is a fine sandy bay, with several huts on the shore, and a number of cocoa-nut trees growing about them.

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During the course of the day, we were visited by several of the natives, who came off to sell provisions; and we soon found, that they had heard of our late unfortunate transactions at Owhyhee. They were very curious to learn the particulars, from a woman who had concealed herself on board the Resolution, in order to take her passage to Atooi; inquiring eagerly after Pareea, and some other Chiefs, and appearing much shocked at the death of Kaneena, and his brother. We had, however, the satisfaction to find, that, in whatever light the woman might have represented this business, it had no bad effect on their behaviour, which was remarkably civil and submissive.

The weather continued variable, during the night; but in the morning of the 25th, having the wind at East, we ran along the South side of Ranai, till near noon; after which, we had calms and baffling winds till evening, when we steered, with a light Easterly breeze, for the West part of Morotoi. In the course of the day, the current, which, from the time we left Karakakooa Bay, had set from the North East, changed its direction to the South East.

Thursday 25.

During the night, the wind was again variable; but early next morning, it settled at East, and blew so fresh, as to oblige

Friday 26.



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February.

oblige us to double-reef the topfails. At seven, on hauling round the West point of Morotoi, we opened a small bay, at the distance of about two leagues, with a fine sandy beach; but seeing no appearance of fresh water, we stood on to the North, in order to get to the windward of Woahoo, an island which we had seen at our first visit, in January 1778.

At two in the afternoon, we saw the land, bearing West by North, eight leagues distant; and having tacked as soon as it was dark, we again bore away at day-light on the
Saturday 27. 27th; and at half past ten, were within a league of the shore, near the middle of the North East side of the island.

The coast, to the Northward, is formed of detached hills, rising perpendicularly from the sea, with ragged and broken summits; the sides covered with wood, and the vallies between them of a fertile and well cultivated appearance. To the Southward, we saw an extensive bay, bounded by a low point of land to the South East, which was covered with cocoa-nut trees; and off it stood a high insulated rock, about a mile from the shore. The haziness of the weather prevented our seeing distinctly the land to the Southward of the point; we could only perceive that it was high and broken.

As the wind continued to blow very fresh, we thought it dangerous to entangle ourselves with a lee-shore; and therefore did not attempt to examine the bay, but hauled up, and steered to the Northward, in the direction of the coast. At noon, we were abreast of the North point of the island, about two leagues from the land, which is low and flat, and has a reef stretching off it to the distance of near a mile and a half. The latitude, by observation, $21^{\circ} 50'$ North, longitude $202^{\circ} 15'$ East; the extreme parts of the island in
sight,



sight, bearing South South East, quarter East, and South West by South, three-quarters West.

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February.

Between the North point and a distant head-land, which we saw to the South West, the land bends inward considerably, and appeared likely to afford a good road. We therefore directed our course along the shore, at the distance of about a mile, carrying regular soundings from twenty to thirteen fathoms. At a quarter past two, the sight of a fine river, running through a deep valley, induced us to come to an anchor in thirteen fathoms water, with a sandy bottom; the extreme points of the bay bearing South West by West half West, and North East by East three-quarters East; and the mouth of the river South East half East, one mile distant. In the afternoon, I attended the two Captains on shore, where we found but few of the natives, and those mostly women; the men, they told us, were gone to Morotoi to fight Tahyterree; but that their Chief Perreoranee, who had stayed behind, would certainly visit us, as soon as he heard of our arrival.

We were much disappointed to find the water had a brackish taste, for two hundred yards up the river, owing to the marshy ground through which it empties itself into the sea. Beyond this, it was perfectly fresh, and formed a fine running stream, along the side of which I walked, till I came to the conflux of two small rivulets, that branched off to the right and left of a remarkably steep and romantic mountain. The banks of this river, and indeed the whole we saw of the North West part of Woahoo, are well cultivated, and full of villages; and the face of the country is uncommonly beautiful and picturesque.



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February.

Sunday 28.

March.
Monday 1.

As the watering at this place would have been attended with great labour, I was sent to examine the coast to leeward; but not being able to land, on account of a reef of coral, which stretched along the shore to the distance of half a mile, Captain Clerke determined, without farther loss of time, to proceed to Atooi. At eight in the morning, we weighed, and stood to the Northward, till day-light on the 28th, when we bore away for that island, which we were in sight of by noon; and about sunset, were off its Eastern extremity, which shews itself in a fine, green, flat point.

It being too late to run for the road, on the South West side of the island, where we had been the last year, we passed the night in plying on and off, and at nine the next morning, came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, and moored with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, the bluff-head, on the West side of the village, bearing North East by North three-quarters East, two miles distant; the extremes of the island, North West by West three-quarters West, and South East by East half East; the island Oneheow West by South half West. In running down to the road, from the South East point of the island, we saw the appearance of shoal water, in several places, at a considerable distance from the land; and when we were about two miles to the Eastward of the anchoring-place, and two or three miles from the shore, we got into four and half fathoms water, although our soundings had usually been seven and eight fathoms.

We had no sooner anchored in our old station, than several canoes came along-side of us; but we could observe, that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner, and satisfaction in their countenances, as when we
were



were here before. As soon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us, that we had left a disorder amongst their women, of which several persons of both sexes had died. He was himself afflicted with the venereal disease, and gave a very full and minute account of the various symptoms with which it had been attended. As there was not the slightest appearance of that disorder amongst them on our first arrival, I am afraid it is not to be denied, that we were the authors of this irreparable mischief.

Our principal object here was to water the ships with the utmost expedition; and I was sent on shore early in the afternoon, with the pinnace and launch laden with casks. The gunner of the Resolution accompanied me to trade for provisions; and we had a guard of five marines. We found a considerable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at first with great kindness; but as soon as we had got the casks on shore, began to be exceedingly troublesome. Former experience having taught me how difficult it was to repress this disposition, without having recourse to the authority of their Chiefs, I was very sorry to find, that they were all at another part of the island. Indeed we soon felt the want of their assistance; for it was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our usual practice, for the convenience and security of the trading party; and had no sooner done it, and posted guards to keep off the crowd, than I saw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the soldiers musquets, and endeavouring, with all his force, to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them, the native let go his hold and retired; but returned in a moment, with a spear in one hand, and dagger in the other; and his countrymen had much ado to restrain him from trying his prowess with the soldier. This

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March.



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March.

fray was occasioned by the latter's having given the man a slight prick with his bayonet, in order to make him keep without the line.

I now perceived, that our situation required great circumspection and management; and accordingly gave the strictest orders, that no one should fire, nor have recourse to any other act of violence, without positive commands. As soon as I had given these directions, I was called to the assistance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to mischief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every cask of water; and this not being complied with, they would not suffer the sailors to roll them down to the boats.

I had no sooner joined them, than one of the natives advanced up to me, with great insolence, and made the same claim. I told him, that, as a friend, I was very willing to present him with a hatchet, but that I should certainly carry off the water, without paying any thing for it; and I immediately ordered the pinnacle men to proceed in their business, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this shew of spirit succeeded so far as to make the natives desist from any open attempt to interrupt us, they still continued to behave in the most teasing and provoking manner. Whilst some of them, under pretence of assisting the men in rolling down the casks, turned them out of their course, and gave them a wrong direction; others were stealing the hats from off the sailors heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd, all this time, shouting and laughing, with a strange mixture of childishness and malice. They afterward
found



found means to steal the cooper's bucket, and took away his bag by force; but the objects they were most eager to possess themselves of, were the musquets of the marines, who were, every instant, complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued, for the most part, to pay great deference and respect to me, yet they did not suffer me to escape without contributing my share to their stock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilst another, wrenching the hanger, which I held carelessly in my hand, from me, ran off with it like lightning.

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It was in vain to think of repelling this insolence by force; guarding therefore against its effects, in the best manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to submit patiently to it. My apprehensions were, however, a little alarmed, by the information I soon after received from the serjeant of marines, who told me, that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind me holding a dagger in the position of striking. In this he might possibly be mistaken; yet our situation was certainly alarming and critical, and the smallest error on our side might have been fatal to us. As our people were separated into three small parties, one at the lake, filling casks; another rolling them down to the shore; and the third, at some distance, purchasing provisions; it had once occurred to me, that it might be proper to collect them all together, and to execute and protect one duty at a time. But on second thoughts, I judged it more adviseable to let them continue as they were. In case of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageously disposed, could have made but a poor resistance. On the other hand, I thought it of some consequence to shew the natives, that we were



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under no fears; and, what was still more material, the crowd was, by this means, kept divided, and a considerable part of them fully employed in bartering provisions.

It is probable, that their dread of the effects of our arms, was the principal cause of their backwardness in attacking us; and indeed the confidence we appeared to place in this advantage, by opposing only five marines to their whole force, must have raised in them a very high idea of our superiority. It was our business to keep up this opinion as much as possible; and in justice to the whole party, I must observe, that no men could possibly behave better, for the purpose of strengthening these impressions. Whatever could be taken in jest, they bore with the utmost temper and patience; and whenever any serious attempt was made to interrupt them, they opposed it with bold looks and menaces. By this management, we succeeded so far, as to get all the casks down to the water side, without any material accident.

While we were getting them into the launch, the natives, perceiving the opportunity of plundering would soon be over, became every moment more daring and insolent. On this occasion, I was indebted to the serjeant of marines for suggesting to me, the advantage that would arise from sending off his party first into the boats; by which means, the musquets of the soldiers, which, as I have already mentioned, were the objects the islanders had principally in view, would be removed out of their reach; and in case of an attack, the marines themselves might be employed more effectually in our defence, than if they were on shore.

We had now got every thing into the boats, and only Mr. Anderson the gunner, a seaman of the boat's crew, and myself,



myself, remained on shore. As the pinnace lay beyond the surf, through which we were obliged to swim, I told them to make the best of their way to it, and that I should follow them.

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With this order I was surprized to find them both refuse to comply; and the consequence was a contest amongst us, who should be the last on shore. It seems, that some hasty words I had just before used to the sailor, which he thought reflected on his courage, was the cause of this odd fancy in him; and the old gunner, finding a point of honour started, thought he could not well avoid taking a part in it. In this ridiculous situation we might have remained some time, had not our dispute been soon settled by the stones that began to fly about us, and by the cries of the people from the boats, to make haste, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and spears. I reached the side of the pinnace first, and finding Mr. Anderson was at some distance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger, I called out to the marines, to fire one musquet. In the hurry of executing my orders, they fired two; and when I got into the boat, I saw the natives running away, and one man, with a woman sitting by him, left behind on the beach. The man made several attempts to rise, without being able; and it was with much regret, I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives soon after returned, and surrounded the wounded man, brandishing their spears and daggers at us, with an air of threatening and defiance; but before we reached the ships, we saw some persons, whom we supposed to be the Chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the shore.

During our absence, Captain Clerke had been under the greatest anxiety for our safety. And these apprehensions
were



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were considerably increased, from his having entirely mistaken the drift of the conversation he had held with some natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Captain Cook, with other strong and circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, made him conclude, that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that these were what they alluded to; whereas all they had in view was, to make known to him the wars that had arisen, in consequence of the goats that Captain Cook had left at Oneeheow, and the slaughter of the poor goats themselves, during the struggle for the property of them. Captain Clerke, applying this earnestness of conversation, and these terrible representations, to our calamitous transactions at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, kept his telescope fixed upon us, and the moment he saw the smoke of the musquets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and to put off to our assistance.

Tuesday 2.

The next morning, I was again ordered on shore, with the watering party. The risk we had run the preceding day determined Captain Clerke to send a considerable force from both ships for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was now unnecessary; for we found the beach left entirely to ourselves, and the ground between the landing place and the lake, *tabooed* with small white flags. We concluded, from this appearance, that some of the Chiefs had certainly visited this quarter; and that, not being able to stay, they had kindly and considerately taken this step, for our greater security and convenience. We saw several men armed with long spears and daggers, on the other side of the river, on our right; but they did not offer to give us the least molestation. Their
women



women came over, and sat down on the banks close by us, and at noon we prevailed on some of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people, and to dress them for us. As soon as we had left the beach, they came down to the sea-side, and one of them threw a stone at us; but his conduct seeming to be highly disapproved of by all the rest, we did not think it proper to shew any resentment.

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The next day, we completed our watering, without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ships, we found that several Chiefs had been on board, and had made excuses for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which subsisted at that time amongst the principal people of the island, and which had occasioned a general want of order and subordination amongst them. The government of Atooi was in dispute between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were here last year, and a boy named Teavee. They are both, by different fathers, the grandsons of Perceorannee, king of Woahoo, who had given the government of Atooi to the former, and that of Onecheow to the latter. The quarrel had arisen about the goats we had left at Onecheow the last year; the right of property in which was claimed by Toneoneo, on the pretence of that island's being a dependency of his. The friends of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to maintain their pretensions by force; and, a few days before our arrival, a battle had been fought, in which Toneoneo had been worsted. The consequence of this victory was likely to affect Toneoneo in a much deeper manner than by the mere loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee, having married a second husband, who was a Chief of Atooi, and at the head of a powerful faction there, he

†

thought



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thought that the present opportunity was not to be neglected, of driving Toneoneo entirely out of the island, and of advancing his son-in-law to the government. I have already had occasion to mention, that the goats, which had increased to the number of six, and would, probably, in a few years, have stocked all these islands, were destroyed in the contest.

Thursday 4.

On the 4th, the mother and sister of the young prince and his father-in-law, with many other Chiefs of that party, came on board the Resolution, and made several curious and valuable presents to Captain Clerke. Amongst the former, were some fish-hooks, which they assured us were made of the bones of our old friend Terreeboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon the island of Woahoo; and a fly flap, presented to him by the prince's sister, the handle of which was a human bone, that had been given her as a trophy by her father-in-law. Young Teavee was not of the company, being engaged, as we were told, in performing some religious ceremonies, in consequence of the victory he had obtained, which were to last twenty days.

Friday 5.
Saturday 6.

This, and the two following days, were employed on shore, in completing the Discovery's water; and the carpenters were busy on board, in caulking the ships, and in making other preparations for our next cruise. The natives desisted from giving us any further disturbance; and we procured from them a plentiful supply of pork and vegetables.

At this time, an Indian brought a piece of iron on board the Discovery to be fashioned into the shape of a *paboo*. It was carefully examined both by the officers and men, and appeared to be the bolt of some large ship timbers.



They were not able to discover to what nation it belonged; but from the pale colour* of the iron, and its not corresponding in shape to our bolts, they concluded that it certainly was not English. This led them to make a strict inquiry of the native, when and where he got it; and if they comprehended him right, it had been taken out of a piece of timber, larger than the cable bit, to which he pointed. This piece of wood, they farther understood from him to have been driven upon their island, since we were here in January 1778.

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On the 7th, we were surprized with a visit from Toneo-
neo. When he heard the dowager princess was in the ship, Sunday 7.
it was with great difficulty we could prevail on him to come on board, not from any apprehension that he appeared to entertain of his safety, but from an unwillingness to see her. Their meeting was with sulky and lowering looks on both sides. He staid but a short time, and seemed much dejected; but we remarked, with some surprize, that the women, both at his coming and going away, prostrated themselves before him; and that he was treated by all the natives on board with the respect usually paid to those of his rank. Indeed, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, that a person, who was at this time in a state of actual hostility with Teavee's party, and was even prepared for another battle, should trust himself almost alone within the power of his enemies. It is, therefore, to be observed, that the civil dissensions, which are very frequent throughout all the South Sea Islands, seem to be carried on without much acrimony or bloodshed; and that the deposed governor still continues to enjoy the rank of an *Eree*, and is left to make

* It was evident, that the iron we found in possession of the natives at Nootka Sound, and which was mostly made into knives, was of a much paler sort than ours.



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use of such means as may arise for the regaining his lost consequence. But I shall have occasion to speak more particularly on this subject in the next chapter; in which the best account will be given, which we were able to collect, of the political state of those countries.

Monday 8.

On the 8th, at nine in the morning, we weighed, and sailed toward Oneeheow; and, at three in the afternoon, anchored in twenty fathoms water, nearly on the same spot as in the year 1778. We moored with the other anchor in twenty-six fathoms water. The high bluff, on the South end of the island, bore East South East; the North point of the road, North half East; and a bluff head to the South of it, North East by North. During the night, we had a strong

Tuesday 9.

gale from the Eastward; and, in the morning of the 9th, found the ship had driven a whole cable's length, and brought both anchors almost ahead. We shortened in the best bower cable; but the wind blowing too fresh to un-

Wednes. 10.
Thursday 11.

moor, we were obliged to remain this and the two following days, with the anchors still ahead.

Friday 12.

On the 12th, the weather being moderate, the master was sent to the North West side of the island, to look for a more convenient place for anchoring. He returned in the evening, having found, close round the West point of the road where we now lay, which is also the Westernmost point of the island, a fine bay, with good anchorage, in eighteen fathoms water, a clear sandy bottom, not a mile from the beach, on which the surf beats, but not so as to hinder landing. The direction of the points of the bay were North by East, and South by West; and, in that line, the soundings seven, eight, and nine fathoms. On the North side of the bay was a small village; and a quarter of a mile to the



THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

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the Eastward were four small wells of good water; the road to them level, and fit for rolling casks. Mr. Bligh went afterward so far to the North as to satisfy himself, that Oreehoua was a separate island from Onecheow; and that there was a passage between them; which, before, we only conjectured to exist.

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In the afternoon we hoisted in all the boats, and made ready for going to sea in the morning.



C H A P. VI.

General Account of the Sandwich Islands.—Their Number, Names, and Situation.—OWHYHEE.—Its Extent, and Division into Districts.—Account of its Coasts, and the adjacent Country.—Volcanic Appearances.—Snowy Mountains.—Their Height determined.—Account of a Journey into the interior Parts of the Country.—MOWEE.—TAHOOROWA.—MOROTOI.—RANAI.—WOAHOO.—ATOOL.—ONEEHOW.—OREEHOVA.—TAHOORA.—Climate.—Winds.—Currents.—Tides.—Animals and Vegetables.—Astronomical Observations.

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AS we are now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, it will not be improper to introduce here some general account of their situation and natural history, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

This subject has indeed been, in some measure, pre-occupied by persons far more capable of doing it justice, than I can pretend to be. Had Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson lived to avail themselves of the advantages which we enjoyed by a return to these islands, it cannot be questioned, that the Public would have derived much additional information from the skill and diligence of two such accurate observers. The reader will therefore lament with me our common misfortune, which hath deprived him of the labours of such superior abilities, and imposed on me the task of presenting him with the best supplementary account the various duties of my station permitted me to furnish.

This

This group consists of eleven islands, extending in latitude from $18^{\circ} 54'$ to $22^{\circ} 15'$ North; and in longitude from $199^{\circ} 36'$ to $205^{\circ} 06'$ East. They are called by the natives; 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Oranai. 4. Morotinne, or Morokinnee. 5. Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and sometimes Kowi*. 9. Neecheow, or Onceheow. 10. Oreehoua, or Reehoua; and, 11. Tahoora; and are all inhabited, excepting Morotinne and Tahoora. Besides the islands above enumerated, we were told by the Indians, that there is another called MODOOPAPAPA †, or KOMODOOPAPAPA, lying to the West South West of Tahoora, which is low and sandy, and visited only for the purpose of catching turtle and sea-fowl; and, as I could never learn that they knew of any others, it is probable that none exist in their neighbourhood.

They were named by Captain Cook the *Sandwich Islands*, in honour of the EARL OF SANDWICH, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many splendid and important discoveries; a tribute justly due to that noble person for the liberal support these voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their success; for the zeal with which he seconded the views of that great navigator; and, if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, since the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that served under him.

Owhyhee, the Easternmost, and by much the largest, of these islands, is of a triangular shape, and nearly equilate-

* It is to be observed, that, among the windward Islands, the *k* is used instead of the *t*, as *Morokoi* instead of *Morotoi*, &c.

† *Modoo* signifies island; *papapa*, flat. This island is called *Tammatapappa*, by Captain Cook, vol. II. p. 222.

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ral. The angular points make the North, East, and South extremities, of which the Northern is in latitude $20^{\circ} 17'$ North, longitude $204^{\circ} 02'$ East: the Eastern in latitude $19^{\circ} 34'$ North, longitude $205^{\circ} 06'$ East: and the Southern extremity in latitude $18^{\circ} 54'$ North, longitude $204^{\circ} 15'$ East. Its greatest length, which lies in a direction nearly North and South, is 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles, in circumference. The whole island is divided into six large districts; Amakooa and Aheedoo, which lie on the North East side; Apooza and Kaoo on the South East; Akona and Koaarra on the West.

The districts of Amakooa and Aheedoo are separated by a mountain called Mouna Kaah (or the mountain Kaah), which rises in three peaks, perpetually covered with snow, and may be clearly seen at 40 leagues distance.

To the North of this mountain the coast consists of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We were once flattered with the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, in latitude $20^{\circ} 10'$ North, and longitude $204^{\circ} 26'$ East: but, on doubling the point, and standing close in, we found it connected by a low valley, with another high head to the North West. The country rises inland with a gentle ascent, is intersected by deep narrow glens, or rather chafms, and appeared to be well cultivated and sprinkled over with a number of villages. The snowy mountain is very steep, and the lower part of it covered with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo, which lies to the South of Mouna Kaah, is of a moderate height, and the interior parts appear more even than the country to the North West, and less broken by ravines. Off these two districts we cruized for al-

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most



most a month; and, whenever our distance from shore would permit it, were sure of being surrounded by canoes laden with all kinds of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy sea, and great swell on this side of the island, and as we had no soundings, and could observe much foul ground off the shore, we never approached nearer the land than two or three leagues, excepting on the occasion already mentioned.

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The coast to the North East of Apoona, which forms the Eastern extremity of the island, is low and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the finest part of the island, and we were afterward told that the king had a place of residence here. At the South West extremity the hills rise abruptly from the sea-side, leaving but a narrow border of low ground toward the beach. We were pretty near the shore at this part of the island, and found the sides of the hills covered with a fine verdure; but the country seemed to be very thinly inhabited. On doubling the East point of the island, we came in sight of another snowy mountain, called Mouna Roa (or the extensive mountain), which continued to be a very conspicuous object all the while we were sailing along the South East side. It is flat at the top, making what is called by mariners table-land: the summit was constantly buried in snow, and we once saw its sides also slightly covered for a considerable way down; but the greatest part of this disappeared again in a few days.

According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Mr. Condamine, from observations taken on the Cordilleras, this mountain must be at least 16,020 feet high, which exceeds



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ceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr. Heberden's computation, or 3680, according to that of the Chevalier de Borda. The peaks of Mouna Kaah appeared to be about half a mile high; and as they are entirely covered with snow, the altitude of their summits cannot be less than 18,400 feet. But it is probable that both these mountains may be considerably higher. For, in insular situations, the effects of the warm sea air must necessarily remove the line of snow, in equal latitudes, to a greater height than where the atmosphere is chilled on all sides by an immense tract of perpetual snow.

The coast of Kaoo presents a prospect of the most horrid and dreary kind: the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change from the effects of some dreadful convulsion. The ground is every where covered with cinders, and intersected in many places with black streaks, which seem to mark the course of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the shore. The Southern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting head-land is composed of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another, and terminating in sharp points.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect of this part of the island, there are many villages scattered over it, and it certainly is much more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is this circumstance hard to be accounted for. As these islanders have no cattle, they have consequently no use for pasturage, and therefore naturally prefer such ground, as either lies more convenient for fishing, or is best suited to the cultivation of yams and plantains. Now amidst these ruins, there are many patches of rich soil, which are carefully



fully laid out in plantations, and the neighbouring sea abounds with a variety of most excellent fish, with which, as well as with other provisions, we were always plentifully supplied. Off this part of the coast we could find no ground, at less than a cable's length from the shore, with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line, excepting in a small bight to the Eastward of the South point, where we had regular soundings of fifty and fifty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand. Before we proceed to the western districts, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole coast side of the island, from the Northern to the Southern extremity, does not afford the smallest harbour or shelter for shipping.

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The South West parts of Akona are in the same state with the adjoining district of Kaoo; but farther to the North, the country has been cultivated with great pains, and is extremely populous.

In this part of the island is situated Karakakooa Bay, which has been already described. Along the coast nothing is seen but large masses of slag, and the fragments of black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground rises gradually for about two miles and a half, and appears to have been formerly covered with loose burnt stones. These the natives have taken the pains of clearing away, frequently to the depth of three feet and upward; which labour, great as it is, the fertility of the soil amply repays. Here, in a rich ashy mould, they cultivate sweet potatoes, and the cloth-plant. The fields are inclosed with stone-fences, and are interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees. On the rising ground beyond these, the bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with the greatest luxuriance.



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Koaara extends from the Westernmost point to the Northern extremity of the island; the whole coast between them forming an extensive bay, called Toe-yah-yah, which is bounded to the North by two very conspicuous hills. Toward the bottom of this bay there is foul, corally ground, extending upward of a mile from the shore, without which the soundings are regular, with good anchorage, in twenty fathoms. The country, as far as the eye could reach, seemed fruitful and well inhabited, the soil being in appearance of the same kind with the district of Kaoo; but no fresh water is to be got here.

I have hitherto confined myself to the coasts of this island, and the adjacent country, which is all that I had an opportunity of being acquainted with from my own observation. The only account I can give of the interior parts, is from the information I obtained from a party, who set out, on the afternoon of the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, with an intention of penetrating as far as they could; and principally of reaching, if possible, the snowy mountains.

Having procured two natives to serve them as guides, they left the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, directing their course a little to the Southward of the East. To the distance of three or four miles from the bay, they found the country as before described; the hills afterward rose with a more sudden ascent, which brought them to the extensive plantations, that terminate the view of the country, as seen from the ships.

These plantations consist of the * tarrow or eddy root, and the sweet potatoe, with plants of the cloth-tree, neatly
set

* Both the sweet potatoes, and the tarrow, are here planted four feet from each other: the former was earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with about half a bushel



set out in rows. The walls that separate them are made of the loose burnt stones, which are got in clearing the ground; and, being entirely concealed by sugar-canes, planted close on each side, make the most beautiful fences that can be conceived. The party stopped for the night at the second hut they found amongst the plantations, where they judged themselves to be about six or seven miles from the ships. They described the prospect from this spot as very delightful; they saw the ships in the bay before them; to the left, a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, spreading along the sea-shore; a thick wood stretching out of sight behind them; and to the right, an extent of ground laid out in regular and well cultivated plantations, as far as the eye could reach.

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Near this spot, at a distance from any other dwelling, the natives pointed out to them the residence of an hermit, who, they said, had formerly been a great Chief and warrior, but had long ago quitted the shores of the island, and now never stirred from his cottage. They prostrated themselves as they approached him, and afterward presented to him a part of such provisions as they had brought with them. His behaviour was easy and cheerful; he scarce shewed any marks of astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept some of our curiosities, he

buskel of light mould; the latter is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is made in the form of a basin, in order to hold the rain-water, as this root requires a certain degree of moisture. It has been before observed, that the tarrow, at the Friendly and Society Islands, was always planted in low and moist situations, and, generally, where there was the conveniency of a rivulet to flood it. It was imagined that this mode of culture was absolutely necessary; but we now found, that, with the precaution above mentioned, it succeeds equally well in a drier situation: indeed, we all remarked, that the tarrow of the Sandwich Islands is the best we had ever tasted. The plantains are not admitted in these plantations, but grow amongst the bread-fruit trees.



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declined the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. He was described as by far the oldest person any of the party had ever seen, and judged to be, by those who computed his age at the lowest, upward of 100 years old.

As our people had imagined the mountain not to be more than ten or twelve miles from the bay, and consequently, that they should reach it with ease early the next morning, an error into which its great height had probably led them, they were now much surprised to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, together with the uninhabited state of the country they were going to enter, made it necessary to procure a supply of provisions; and for that purpose they dispatched one of their guides back to the village. Whilst they were waiting his return, they were joined by some of Kaoo's servants, whom that benevolent old man had sent after them, as soon as he heard of their journey, laden with refreshments, and authorized, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand and take away whatever they might have occasion for.

Our travellers were much astonished to find the cold here so intense; but having no thermometer with them, could judge of it only by their feelings; which, from the warm atmosphere they had left, must have been a very fallacious measure. They found it, however, so cold, that they could get but little sleep, and the natives none at all; both parties being disturbed, the whole night, by continued coughing. As they could not, at this time, be at any very considerable height, the distance from the sea being only six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this extraordinary degree of cold must be ascribed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains.

Early



Early on the 27th, they set out again, and filled their calabashes at an excellent well about half a mile from their hut. Having passed the plantations, they came to a thick wood, which they entered by a path made for the convenience of the natives, who go thither to fetch the wild or horse-plantain, and to catch birds. Their progress now became very slow, and attended with much labour; the ground being either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and frequently interrupted by trees lying across it, which it was necessary to climb over, the thickness of the under-wood, on both sides, making it impossible to pass round them. In these woods they observed, at small distances, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, which they supposed to be land-marks for the division of property, as they only met with them where the wild plantains grew. The trees, which are of the same kind with those we called the spice-tree at New Holland, were lofty and straight, and from two to four feet in circumference.

After they had advanced about ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification to find themselves, on a sudden, within sight of the sea, and at no great distance from it; the path having turned imperceptibly to the Southward, and carried them to the right of the mountain, which it was their object to reach. Their disappointment was greatly increased by the uncertainty they were now under of its true bearings, since they could not, at this time, get a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They, therefore, found themselves obliged to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left three of the natives, and two of their own people, with the small stock that remained of their provisions. Here they spent the second night; and the air was so very sharp, and so little to the

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liking of their guides, that, by the morning, they had all taken themselves off, except one.

The want of provisions now making it necessary to return to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they quitted the wood by the same path they had entered it; and, on their arrival at the plantations, were surrounded by the natives, of whom they purchased a fresh stock of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to supply the place of the guides that were gone away. Having obtained the best information in their power, with regard to the direction of their road, the party being now nine in number, marched along the skirts of the wood for six or seven miles, and then entered it again by a path that bore to the Eastward. For the first three miles, they passed through a forest of lofty spice-trees, growing on a strong rich loam; at the back of which they found an equal extent of low shrubby trees, with much thick underwood, on a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to a second forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brown soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of the same nature with the former. This alternate succession may, perhaps, afford matter of curious speculation to naturalists. The only additional circumstance I could learn relating to it was, that these ridges appeared, as far as they could be seen, to run in directions parallel to the sea-shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre.

In passing through the woods, they found many canoes half-finished; and, here and there, a hut; but saw none of the inhabitants. Having penetrated near three miles into the second wood, they came to two huts, where they stopped, exceedingly fatigued with the day's journey, having walked not less than twenty miles, according to their own computation. As they had met with no springs, from the time
they



they left the plantation-ground, and began to suffer much from the violence of their thirst, they were obliged, before the night came on, to separate into parties, and go in search of water; and, at last, found some, left by rain in the bottom of an unfinished canoe; which, though of the colour of red wine, was to them no unwelcome discovery. In the night, the cold was still more intense than they had found it before; and though they had wrapped themselves up in mats and cloths of the country, and kept a large fire between the two huts, they could yet sleep but very little; and were obliged to walk about the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now probably pretty considerable, as the ground on which they had travelled had been generally on the ascent.

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On the 29th, at day-break, they set out, intending to make their last and utmost effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were much depressed, when they found they had expended the miserable pittance of water they had found the night before. The path, which extended no farther than where canoes had been built, was now at an end; and they were therefore obliged to make their way as well as they could; every now and then climbing up into the highest trees, to explore the country round. At eleven o'clock, they came to a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they saw the snowy mountain, appearing to be about twelve or fourteen miles from them.

It was here deliberated, whether they should proceed any further, or rest satisfied with the view they now had of Mouna Roa. The road, ever since the path ceased, had become exceedingly fatiguing; and, every moment they advanced, was growing still more so. The deep chinks, with which the ground was every where broken, being slightly covered



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covered with moss, made them stumble at almost every step; and the intermediate space was a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet like potsherds. They threw stones into several of these chinks; which, by the noise they made, seemed to fall to a considerable depth, and the ground sounded hollow under their feet. Besides these discouraging circumstances, they found their guides so averse to going on, that they believed, whatever their own determinations might have been, they could not have prevailed on them to remain out another night. They, therefore, at last agreed to return to the ships, after taking a view of the country, from the highest trees which the place afforded. From this elevation they saw themselves surrounded, on all sides, with wood toward the sea; they could not distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and between them and the snowy mountain, was a valley about seven or eight miles broad, above which the mountain appeared only as a hill of a moderate size.

They rested this night at a hut in the second wood, and on the 30th, before noon, they had got clear of the first, and found themselves about nine miles to the North East of the ships, toward which they directed their march through the plantations. As they passed along, they did not observe a single spot of ground, that was capable of improvement, left unplanted; and, indeed, it appeared, from their account, hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the inhabitants, or made to yield them a larger supply of necessaries for their subsistence. They were surprized to meet with several fields of hay; and on inquiring to what uses it was applied, were told, it was designed to cover the young tarrow grounds, in
order



order to preserve them from being scorched by the sun. They saw a few scattered huts amongst the plantations, which served for occasional shelter to the labourers; but no villages at a greater distance than four or five miles from the sea. Near one of them, about four miles from the bay, they found a cave, forty fathoms long, three broad, and of the same height. It was open at both ends; the sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chissel, and the surface glazed over, probably by the action of fire.

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Having given this account of the most material circumstances that occurred on the expedition to the snowy mountain, I shall now return to the other islands that remain to be described.

The island next in size, and nearest in situation, to Owhyhee, is MOWEE; which lies at the distance of eight leagues North North West from the former, and is 140 geographical miles in circumference. A low isthmus divides it into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the East is called Whamadooa, and is double the size of the Western peninsula called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise to an exceeding great height, having been seen by us at the distance of upward of thirty leagues. The Northern shores, like those of Owhyhee, afford no soundings; and the country presents the same appearance of verdure and fertility. To the South East, between this and the adjacent isles, we had regular depths with a hundred and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. From the West point, which is low, runs a shoal, stretching out toward Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the Southward of this, is a fine spacious bay, with a sandy beach, shaded with cocoa-nut trees. It is probable that good anchorage might be found here, with shel-



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ter from the prevailing winds, and that the beach affords a convenient place for landing. The country behind presents a most romantic appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, in a great variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, and the deep chafms between them, are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound. The tops of these hills are entirely bare, and of a reddish brown colour. We were informed by the natives, that there is an harbour to the Southward of the East point, which they affirmed to be superiour to that of Karakakooa; and we were also told, that, on the North West side, there was another harbour, called Keepoo-keepoo.

Tahoorowa is a small island lying off the South West part of Mowee, from which it is distant three leagues. This island is destitute of wood, and the soil seems to be sandy and barren. Between Tahowrowa and Mowee lies the small uninhabited island Morrotinnee.

Morotoi is only two leagues and a half from Mowee to the West North West. The South Western coast, which was the only part near which we approached, is very low; but the land rises backward to a considerable height; and, at the distance from which we saw it, appeared to be entirely without wood. Its produce, we were told, consists chiefly of yams. It may, probably, have fresh water, and, on the South and West sides, the coast forms several bays, that promise good shelter from the trade winds.

Ranai is about three leagues distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and lies to the South West of the passage between these islands. The country, to the South, is high and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better as-



pect, and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told that it produces very few plantains, and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots, such as yams, sweet potatoes, and tarrow.

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Woahoo lies to the North West of Morotoi, at the distance of about seven leagues. As far as we could judge, from the appearance of the North East and North West parts (for we saw nothing of the Southern side), it is by far the finest island of the whole group. Nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and rich cultivated vallies, which the whole face of the country displayed. Having already given a description of the bay, formed by the North and West extremities, in which we came to anchor, I have only to observe, that in the bight of the bay, to the South of the anchoring-place, we found rocky foul ground, two miles from the shore. Should the ground tackling of a ship be weak, and the wind blow strong from the North, to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some danger; but with good cables there would be little risk, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite to the valley through which the river runs, to the North point, is a fine sand.

Atooi lies to the North West of Woahoo, and is distant from it about twenty-five leagues. The face of the country, to the North East and North West, is broken and ragged; but to the South it is more even; the hills rise with a gentle slope from the sea-side, and, at some distance back, are covered with wood. Its productions are the same with those of the other islands; but the inhabitants far surpass all the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations.

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ations. In the low grounds, adjoining to the bay where we lay at anchor, these plantations were divided by deep and regular ditches; the fences were made with a neatness approaching to elegance, and the roads through them were thrown up and finished, in a manner that would have done credit to any European engineer.

Oneeheow lies five leagues to the Westward of Attooi. The Eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the rest of the island consists of low ground; excepting a round bluff head on the South East point. It produces abundance of yams, and of the sweet root called *Tee*; but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehoua, and Tahoorā, are two small islands in the neighbourhood of Onceheow. The former is a single high hummock, joined by a reef of coral rocks to the Northern extremity of Oneeheow. The latter lies to the South East, and is uninhabited.

The climate of the Sandwich Islands differs very little from that of the West India Islands, which lie in the same latitude. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate. The thermometer, on shore in Karakakooa Bay, never rose higher than 88°, and that but one day; its mean height, at noon, was 83°. In Wymoa Bay, its mean height at noon was 76°, and when out at sea, 75°. The mean height of the thermometer at noon, in Jamaica, is about 86°, at sea 80°.

Whether they be subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes, we could not discover, as we were not there in any of the stormy months. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no traces of their effects were any where visible, it is probable that, in this respect,



respect, they resemble the Society and Friendly Islands, which are, in a great measure, free from these dreadful visitations.

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During the four winter months that we remained amongst these islands, there was more rain, especially in the interior parts, than usually falls during the dry season in the islands of the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the tops of the hills, and producing rain to leeward; but after they are separated from the land by the wind, they disperse, and are lost, and others succeed in their place. This happened daily at Owhyhee: the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud; successive showers falling in the inland country; with fine weather, and a clear sky at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were, from East South East to North East; though this sometimes varied a few points each way to the North and South; but these were light, and of short duration. In the harbour of Karakakooa, we had a constant land and sea-breeze every day and night.

The currents seemed very uncertain; sometimes setting to windward; and, at other times, to leeward, without any regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign: they frequently set to windward against a fresh breeze.

The tides are very regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each. The flood comes from the Eastward; and it is high water at the full and change of the moon, forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Their greatest rise is two feet seven inches; and we always observed the water to be four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon, than when it was below.



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The quadrupeds in these, as in all the other islands that have been discovered in the South sea, are confined to three sorts, dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the same species with those of Otaheite, having short crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not observe any variety in them, except in their skins; some having long and rough hair, and others being quite smooth. They are about the size of a common turnspit; exceedingly sluggish in their nature; though perhaps this may be more owing to the manner in which they are treated, than to any natural disposition in them. They are, in general, fed, and left to herd, with the hogs; and I do not recollect one instance in which a dog was made a companion in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed, the custom of eating them is an insuperable bar to their admission into society, and as there are neither beasts of prey in the island, nor objects of chase, it is probable, that the social qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and sagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in these islands did not appear to be nearly equal, in proportion, to those in Otaheite. But on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs; and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The supply of provisions of this kind, which we got from them, was really astonishing. We were near four months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly served to both crews: so that our consumption was computed at about sixty puncheons of five hundred weight each. Besides this, and the incredible waste which, in the midst of such plenty, was not to be guarded against, sixty puncheons more were salted for sea store. The greatest part of this supply was
drawn



drawn from the island of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreased.

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The birds of these islands are as beautiful as any we have seen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various. There are four, which seem to belong to the *trochili*, or honey-suckers of Linnæus; one of which is something larger than a bullfinch; its colour is a fine glossy black, the rump-vent and thighs a deep yellow. It is called by the natives *booboo*. Another is of an exceeding bright scarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white; and the tail black; its native name is *ceeevee*. A third, which seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow. The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow, and is called *akaicarooa*. There is a species of thrush, with a grey breast; and a small bird of the flycatcher kind; a rail, with very short wings and no tail, which, on that account, we named *rallus ecaudatus*. Ravens are found here, but they are very scarce; their colour is dark brown, inclining to black; and their note is different from the European. Here are two small birds, both of one *genus*, that are very common; one is red, and generally seen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence; the other is green; the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the structure of its beak, we called a parroquet, is likewise very common. It, however, by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the *lexia flavicans*, or yellowish cross-bill of Linnæus.

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Here are also owls, plovers of two sorts, one very like the whistling plover of Europe; a large white pigeon; a bird with a long tail, whose colour is black, the vent and feathers under the wing (which is much longer than is usually seen in the generality of birds, except the birds of paradise) are yellow; and the common water or darker hen.

Their vegetable productions are nearly the same with the rest of the South-sea islands. I have before mentioned, that the *tarrow* root is much superiour to any we had before tasted, and that we attributed this excellence to the dry method of cultivating it. The bread-fruit trees thrive here, not in such abundance, but produce double the quantity of fruit they do on the rich plains of Otaheite. The trees are nearly of the same height, but the branches begin to strike out from the trunk much lower, and with greater luxuriance. Their sugar-canes are also of a very unusual size. One of them was brought to us at Atooi, measuring eleven inches and a quarter in circumference; and having fourteen feet eatable.

At Oneeheow they brought us several large roots of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight. The juice, which it yields in great abundance, is very sweet, and of a pleasant taste, and was found to be an excellent substitute for sugar. The natives are very fond of it, and use it as an article of their common diet; and our people also found it very palatable and wholesome. We could not learn to what species of plant it belonged, having never been able to procure the leaves; but it was supposed, by our botanists, to be the root of some kind of fern.

Agreeably



Agreeably to the practice of Captain Cook, I shall subjoin an abstract of the astronomical observations which were made at the observatory in Karakakooa Bay, for determining its latitude and longitude, and for finding the rate and error of the time-keeper. To these are subjoined the mean variation of the compass, the dip of the magnetic needle, and a table of the latitude and longitude of the Sandwich Islands.

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The latitude of the observatory, deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, eleven stars to the South, and four stars to the North of the zenith $19^{\circ} 28' 0''$ North.

The longitude of the observatory, deduced from 253 sets of lunar observations; each set consisting of six observed distances of the sun from the moon, or stars; 14 of the above sets were only taken at the observatory, 105 sets being taken whilst cruising off Owhyhee; and 134 sets, when at Atooi and Oneeheow; all these being reduced to the observatory, by means of the time-keeper - - $204^{\circ} 0' 0''$ East.

The longitude of the observatory, by the time-keeper, on the 19th January 1779, according to its rate, as found at Greenwich - - - $214^{\circ} 7' 15''$ East.

The longitude of the observatory, by the time-keeper, on the 19th January 1779, according to its rate, corrected at different places, and last at Samganoodha Harbour, in Oonalaschka - $203^{\circ} 37' 22''$ East.



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The daily rate of the time-keeper losing on mean time, was $9''$, 6; and on the 2d February 1779, it was 14^h $41'$ $1''$, slow for mean time.

The variation of the compass, by azimuths observed on shore, with four different compasses - - - 8° $6'$ $0''$ East.

The variation of the compass, by azimuths, observed on board the Resolution, with four different compasses - 7° $32'$ $0''$ East.

Dip of the North pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with

{	Balanced needle	}	40° 22' 30"
	Unbalanced or plain needle		

Dip of the North pole of the magnetic needle on board, with

{	Balanced needle	}	41° 50' 0"
	Unbalanced needle		

A Table of the Latitude and Longitude of the Sandwich Islands.

		Latitude.	Longitude.
Owhyhee	The North point - - -	20° $17'$	204° $2'$
	South point - - -	18° $54'$	204° $15'$
	East point - - -	19° $34'$	205° $6'$
	Karakakooa Bay - - -	19° $28'$	204° $0'$
Mowee	East point - - -	20° $50'$	204° $4'$
	South point - - -	20° $34'$	203° $48'$
	West point - - -	20° $54'$	203° $24'$
Morokinnee	- - -	20° $39'$	203° $33'$
Tahoorowa	- - -	20° $38'$	203° $27'$
Ranai. South point	- - -	20° $46''$	203° $8'$
Morotoi. West point	- - -	21° $10'$	202° $46'$
			Woahoo.

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	Latitude.	Longitude.	1779 March.
Woahoo. Anchoring-place - -	21° 43'	202° 9'	}
Atooi. Wymoa Bay - -	21° 57'	200° 20'	
Oneeheow. Anchoring-place - -	21° 50'	199° 45'	
Oreehoua - - - -	22° 2'	199° 52'	
Tahoora - - - -	21° 43'	199° 36'	



C H A P. VII.

General Account of the Sandwich Islands continued.—Of the Inhabitants.—Their Origin.—Persons.—Pernicious Effects of the Ava.—Numbers.—Disposition and Manners.—Reasons for supposing them not Cannibals.—Dress and Ornaments.—Villages and Houses.—Food.—Occupations and Amusements.—Addicted to Gaming.—Their extraordinary Dexterity in Swimming.—Arts and Manufactures.—Curious Specimens of their Sculpture.—Kipparee, or Method of painting Cloth.—Mats.—Fishing Hooks.—Cordage.—Salt Pans.—Warlike Instruments.

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THE inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitudes of 47° South, and 20° North, and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° East. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similitude of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language.

From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature, may per-



haps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed, that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes, that inhabit the Ladrones and Caroline Islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and the Malays. When these events happened, is not so easy to ascertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin, but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the simplicity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate, that it could not have been at any very distant period.

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The natives of these islands are, in general, above the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people*. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity, in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen any

* The annexed print of a man of Sandwich Islands, was taken from a portrait of our friend Kancena.

where



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where mentioned; which is, that, even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performed by pressing the ends of their noses together.

The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the *Erees*, through all the other islands, is found also here. Those whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here, than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterward saw three natives, who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common amongst them; and a man, who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The *Erees* are very free from these complaints; but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the *ava*. Those who were the most affected by it, had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head. Though this drug does not appear universally to shorten life, as was evident



evident from the cases of Terreeboo, Kaoo, and some other Chiefs, who were very old men; yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepid old age. It is fortunate, that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the Chiefs. The young son of Terreeboo, who was about twelve years old, used to boast of his being admitted to drink *ava*, and shewed us, with great triumph, a small spot in his side that was growing scaly.

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There is something very singular in the history of this pernicious drug. When Captain Cook first visited the Society Islands, it was very little known among them. On his second voyage, he found the use of it very prevalent at Ulietea; but it had still gained very little ground at Oraheite. When we were last there, the dreadful havoc it had made was beyond belief, insomuch that the Captain scarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Islands, it is also constantly drunk by the Chiefs, but so much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi, also, it is used with great moderation, and the Chiefs are, in consequence, a much finer set of men there, than in any of the neighbouring islands. We remarked, that, by discontinuing the use of this root, the noxious effects of it soon wore off. Our good friends, Kaireekea and old Kaoo, were persuaded by us to refrain from it; and they recovered amazingly during the short time we afterward remained in the island.

It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are but imperfectly acquainted.



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quainted. There are, however, two circumstances, that take away much of this objection; the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages round all their coasts. It is on this ground that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each; upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses; which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced, that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country amongst their plantations; making in all two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:

Owhyhee,



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Owhyhee,	-	-	-	150,000
Mowee,	-	-	-	65,400
Woahoo,	-	-	-	60,200
Atooi,	-	-	-	54,000
Morotoi,	-	-	-	36,000
Onceheow,	-	-	-	10,000
Ranai,	-	-	-	20,400
Oreehoua,	-	-	-	4,000
Total of inhabitants,	-	-	-	<u>400,000</u>

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I am pretty confident, that, in this calculation, I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. If we compare the numbers supposed to be in Owhyhee, with the population of Otaheite, as settled by Dr. Forster, this computation will be found very low. The proportion of coast, in the latter island, is, to that of Owhyhee, only as one to three: the number of inhabitants in Otaheite he states to be one hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred; though, according to his own principles, it should be double that amount. Again, if we compare it with the medium population of the countries in Europe, the proportion will be in favour of the latter nearly as two to one.

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often



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lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings.

It must, however, be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilization, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are *taboed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating, for having eaten, on board our ship, one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill-treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness, with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and indeed they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and, till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve.

In justice, however, to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the
people;



people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few, whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

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Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity, with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity.

Our unfortunate friend, Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our King; the nature of our government; our numbers; the method of building our ships; our houses; the produce of our country; whether we had wars; with whom; and on what occasions; and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds, the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneeheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the Divinity, which obtains among most of the nations of the East, is also received here.

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Though the custom, of eating the bodies of their enemies, be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea Islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable, that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relick of this horrid practice, still obtains univerfally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive, why the New Zealanders should retain the repaft, which was probably the laft act of these shocking rites, longer than the reft of their tribe, who were fituated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands certainly bear a nearer refemblance to thofe of New Zealand, both in their perfons and difpofition, than to any other people of this family, fo it was ftrongly fufpected, by Mr. Anderson, that, like them, they ftill continue to feaft on human flefh. The evidence, on which he founds this opinion, has been ftated very fully in the tenth chapter of the third book *; but, as I always entertained great doubts of the juftice of his conclufions, it may not be improper to take this occafion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With refpect to the information derived from the natives themfelves, I fhall only obferve, that great pains were taken, by almoft every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of fo curious a circumftance; and that, except in the two inftances mentioned by Mr. Anderson, we found them invariably denying the exiftence of any fuch custom amongst them. It muft be allowed, that Mr. Anderson's knowledge of their language, which was fuperior to that of any other perfon in either fhip, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight; at the fame time, I muft beg leave to

* See Vol. II. p. 209, 210—214.

remark,



remark, that, being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more, than that it was intended to be eat, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed, by a circumstance which came to our knowledge, after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, *viz.* that almost every native of these islands carried about with him, either in his calabash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age), no one could have been surprized at it, who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr. Anderson questioned him.

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The argument drawn from the instrument made with shark's teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable, that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice, in question, has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed, that, in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies, that were slain, with their teeth ;



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but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as near the fact as could be; but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice has actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.

The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were, indeed, a few, amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety, in the manner of wearing the hair, is also observable here, as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which, they have a fashion, as far as we know, peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head, down to the ears, leaving a ridge, of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair, flowing down their backs in long ringlets, like the figure of the inhabitants of Horn Island, as seen in Dalrymple's Voyages; and others, again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself; and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth; and, in time, changes it to a pale yellow colour.

Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle
of



of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck, by fine threads of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament, some of them wear, on their breast, a small human figure, made of bone, suspended in the same manner.

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The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose, in bunches, to the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail-feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down, from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.

The custom of *tattooing* the body, they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea Islands; but it is only at New Zealand, and the Sandwich Islands, that they *tattoo* the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that, in the former, it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter, in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of *tattooing* the tip of the tongues of the females.

From some information we received, relative to the custom of *tattooing*, we were inclined to think, that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a Chief, or any other calamitous event. For we were often told, that



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such a particular mark was in memory of such a Chief; and so of the rest. It may be here, too, observed, that the lowest class are often *tattooed* with a mark, that distinguishes them as the property of the several Chiefs to whom they belong.

The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth called the *maro*, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long, and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dress of these islanders; but they have another, appropriated to their Chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior Chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man of war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow



yellow feathers, and a collar of the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose.

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These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay, we never saw them used but on three occasions: in the curious ceremony of Terreeoboo's first visit to the ships; by some Chiefs, who were seen among the crowd on shore, when Captain Cook was killed; and, afterward, when Eappo brought his bones to us.

The exact resemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to inquire, whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power, of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever; nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But notwithstanding the result of these inquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin; especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress, which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe, dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some Buccaneer, or Spanish ship, in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recol-



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lected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas, is but a few degrees to the Southward of the Sandwich Islands, in their passage out, and to the Northward, on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.

The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half way down the thighs; and sometimes, in the cool of the evening, they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The *pau* is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg; so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. Their hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders; all of whom differ, in this respect, from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw, indeed, one woman in Karakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner; it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard, shining, red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament, called *eraie*, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once, as may be seen in the print of the *woman of the Sandwich Islands*. It is a ruff of the thickness of a finger, made, in a curious manner, of exceedingly
small



small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described.

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At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament made of shells, fastened in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other, when in motion; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells, they sometimes make use of dogs teeth, and a hard red berry, resembling that of the holly.

There remains to be mentioned another ornament (if such it may be called), the figure of which may be better conceived from the annexed print, than any written description. It is a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume; and from the lower part hung narrow stripes of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ship, laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely in-

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tended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders, in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable, than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked, toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which probably are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind; being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a courtyard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this *area* they generally eat, and sit during the day-time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited; but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the
only



only one that was visited, a stone fence running across it within, we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

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The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish, and vegetables; such as yams, sweet-potatoes, tarrow, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these, the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful, nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by Captain Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us, during the short stay we made in Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagined, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats. For we also found, that the *Erees* used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described, in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea islands; and though Captain Cook complains of the founes of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare, that I never eat better even in the Friendly Islands. It is however remarkable, that they had
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not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the four paste of it called *Maibee*, as at the Society Islands; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food, was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The Chiefs constantly begin their meal with a doze of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are *ta-bood*, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest a few hours after sun-set. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the *Erees*; the women are employed in manufacturing cloth; and the *Towtows* are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing; and, on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those of the New Zealanders, than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner, and with attitudes, that are perfectly



perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dances of the Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and the motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support the fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counter-part of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part, and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety, be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions, of the same kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted.

Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung in parts*, and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms,

* As this circumstance, of their *singing in parts*, has been much doubted by persons eminently skilled in music, and would be exceedingly curious if it was clearly ascertained, it is to be lamented that it cannot be more positively authenticated.

Captain Burney, and Captain Phillips of the Marines, who both have a tolerable knowledge of music, have given it as their opinion, that they did sing in parts; that is to say, that they sung together in different notes, which formed a pleasing harmony.

These gentlemen have fully testified, that the Friendly Islanders undoubtedly studied their performances before they were exhibited in public; that they had an idea of different notes being useful in harmony; and also, that they rehearsed their

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arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

It is very remarkable, that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row, and they

their compositions in private, and threw out the inferior voices, before they ventured to appear before those who were supposed to be judges of their skill in music.

In their regular concerts, each man had a bamboo, which was of a different length, and gave a different tone: these they beat against the ground, and each performer, assisted by the note given by this instrument, repeated the same note, accompanying it by words, by which means it was rendered sometimes short, and sometimes long. In this manner, they sung in chorus, and not only produced octaves to each other, according to their different species of voice, but fell on concords, such as were not disagreeable to the ear.

Now, to overturn this fact, by the reasoning of persons who did not hear these performances, is rather an arduous task. And, yet, there is great improbability that any uncivilized people should, by accident, arrive at this degree of perfection in the art of music, which we imagine can only be attained by dint of study, and knowledge of the system and theory upon which musical composition is founded. Such miserable jargon as our country Psalm-fingers practise, which may be justly deemed the lowest class of counterpoint, or singing in several parts, cannot be acquired in the coarse manner in which it is performed in the churches, without considerable time and practice. It is, therefore, scarcely credible, that a people, semi-barbarous, should naturally arrive at any perfection in that art, which it is much doubted whether the Greeks and Romans, with all their refinements in music, ever attained, and which the Chinese, who have been longer civilized than any people on the globe, have not yet found out.

If Captain Burney (who, by the testimony of his father, perhaps the greatest musical theorist of this or any other age, was able to have done it) had written down, in European notes, the concords that these people sung; and if these concords had been such as European ears could tolerate, there would have been no longer doubt of the fact: but, as it is, it would, in my opinion, be a rash judgment to venture to affirm that they did or did not understand counterpoint; and therefore I fear that this curious matter must be considered as still remaining undecided.



make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square.

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There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the parties spreads out, and rumples in such a manner, that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds, of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing-matches between the boys and girls; and here again they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races, which he had just before purchased from us, with half his substance.

Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise, in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation.

The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space, the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they



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choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner: Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet, they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way, by swimming, out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first; the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the shore. If by mistake they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or should not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and, to avoid it, are obliged again to dive and regain the place, from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with, here and there, a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or, in case of failure, to quit it, before they reach the

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rocks,



rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces, at the very moment the islander quitted it. The boldness and address, with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres, was altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited*.

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An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shews at how early a period they are so far familiarized to the water, as both to lose all fears of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overfet, in which was a woman with her children, one of them an infant, who, I am convinced, was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one, which was much played at, and shewed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same nature, tossing up in the air, and catching, in their

* An amusement, somewhat similar to this, at Otaheite, has been described, Vol. II. p. 150.



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turns, a number of these balls; so that we frequently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation, amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Captain Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same; and the largest we saw was a double canoe belonging to Terreeoboo, which measured seventy feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth, and their manufacturing of mats, have been all particularly described. The most curious specimens of the former, which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls, in which the Chiefs drink *ava*. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four small human figures, in various attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head; others on the head and hands; and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned, and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles, in supporting the weight, well expressed.

Their cloth is made of the same materials, and in the same manner, as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted, is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together;

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after



after which it is cut in breadths, about two or three feet wide, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design, that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued, is the more surprizing, when we consider, that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye, with pieces of bamboo cane dipped in paint; the hand being supported by another piece of the cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries, and other vegetable substances, as at Otaheite, which have been already described by former voyagers.

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The business of painting belongs entirely to the women, and is called *kipparce*; and it is remarkable, that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and shew us, that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us, that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper, as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country, and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that we could make them understand, that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the *pandanus*; and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares, or romboids, of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their



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Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones, or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms; but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks, are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Considering the materials of which these hooks are made, their strength and neatness are really astonishing; and in fact we found them, upon trial, much superior to our own.

The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the *touta*, or cloth tree, neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine; and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub called *areemah*; and the finest is made of human hair; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of running rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceedingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for the reefing of sails.

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons,



ions, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus, some of them are of a long, cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing-tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt, and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c.; which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others again are exactly the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the appearance of being painted, in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied, during our stay at these islands, and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near the high-water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of them, in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay, was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

Their instruments of war are spears; daggers, called *pa-hooas*; clubs; and slings. The spears are of two sorts, and made

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made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing in thickness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable, that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and, instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point, like their daggers.

The dagger, or *pabooa*, is made of heavy black wood, resembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm. For its shape, I must refer the reader to figure 6, in Plate LXVII.

The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, and of a variety of shapes and sizes.

The slings have nothing singular about them; and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.



C H A P. VIII.

General Account of the Sandwich Islands continued.—Government.—People divided into three Classes.—Power of Eree-taboo.—Genealogy of the Kings of Owhyhee and Mowee.—Power of the Chiefs.—State of the inferior Class.—Punishment of Crimes.—Religion.—Society of Priests.—The Orono.—Their Idols.—Songs chanted by the Chiefs, before they drink Ava.—Human Sacrifices.—Custom of knocking out the Fore-teeth.—Notions with regard to a future State.—Marriages.—Remarkable Instance of Jealousy.—Funeral Rites.

THE people of these islands are manifestly divided into three classes. The first are the *Erees*, or Chiefs, of each district; one of whom is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee *Eree-taboo*, and *Eree Moe*. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word signifies) in his presence. The second class are those who appear to enjoy a right of property, without authority. The third are the *towtows*, or servants, who have neither rank nor property.

It is not possible to give any thing like a systematical account of the subordination of these classes to each other, without departing from that strict veracity, which, in works of this nature, is more satisfactory than conjectures, however ingenious. I will, therefore, content myself with relating such facts, as we were witnesses to ourselves, and such



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accounts as we thought could be depended upon; and shall leave the reader to form, from them, his own ideas of the nature of their government.

The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo, the *Ereeta* *taboo* of Owhyhee, was very evident, from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa, on his first arrival. All the natives were seen prostrated at the entrance of their houses; and the canoes, for two days before, were *tabooed*, or forbidden to go out, till he took off the restraint. He was, at this time, just returned from Mowee, for the possession of which he was contending in favour of his son Teewarro, who had married the daughter and only child of the late king of that island, against Taheeteree, his surviving brother. He was attended, in this expedition, by many of his warriors; but whether their service was voluntary, or the condition on which they hold their rank and property, we could not learn.

That he collects tribute from the subordinate Chiefs, we had a very striking proof in the instance of Kaoo, which has been already related in our transactions of the 2d and 3d of February.

I have before mentioned, that the two most powerful Chiefs of these islands are Terreeoboo of Owhyhee, and Perreeorannee of Woahoo; the rest of the smaller isles being subject to one or other of these; Mowee, and its dependencies, being, at this time, claimed, as we have just observed, by Terreeoboo for Teewarro his son and intended successor; Atooi and Onecheow being governed by the grandsons of Perreeorannee.

The following genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee kings, which I collected from the priests, during our residence at the *Morai* in Karakakooa Bay, contains all the information



formation I could procure relative to the political history of these islands.

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This account reaches to four Chiefs, predecessors of the present; all of whom they represent to have lived to an old age. Their names and successions are as follow:

First, Poorahoo Awhykaia was king of Owhyhee, and had an only son, called Neerooagooa. At this time Mowee was governed by Mokoakea; who had also an only son, named Papikaneou.

Secondly, Neerooagooa had three sons, the eldest named Kahavee; and Papikaneou, of the Mowee race, had an only son, named Kaowreeka.

Thirdly, Kahavee had an only son, Kayenewee a mummow; and Kaowreeka, the Mowee king, had two sons, Maiha maiha, and Taheeteree; the latter of whom is now, by one party, acknowledged Chief of Mowee.

Fourthly, Kayenewee a mummow had two sons, Terree-oooboo and Kaihooa; and Maiha maiha, king of Mowee, had no son, but left a daughter, called Roaho.

Fifthly, Terreeoboo, the present king of Owhyhee, had a son named Teewarro, by Rora-rora, the widow of Maiha maiha, late king of Mowee; and this son has married Roaho, his half sister, in whose right he claims Mowee and its appendages.

Taheeteree, the brother of the late king, supported by a considerable party, who were not willing that the possessions should go into another family, took up arms, and opposed the rights of his niece.

When we were first off Mowee, Terreeoboo was there with his warriors to support the claims of his wife, his son, and



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daughter-in-law, and had fought a battle with the opposite party, in which Taheeterree was worsted. We afterward understood, that matters had been compromised, and that Taheeterree is to have the possession of the three neighbouring islands during his life; that Teewarro is acknowledged the Chief of Mowee, and will also succeed to the kingdom of Owhyhee on the death of Terreeboo; and also to the sovereignty of the three islands, contiguous to Mowee, on the death of Taheeterree. Teewarro has been lately married to his half sister; and should he die without issue, the government of these islands descends to Maiha maiha, whom we have often had occasion to mention, he being the son of Kaihooa, the deceased brother of Terreeboo. Should he also die without issue, they could not tell who would succeed; for the two youngest sons of Terreeboo, one of whom he appears to be exceedingly fond of, being born of a woman of no rank, would, from this circumstance, be debarred all right of succession. We had not an opportunity of seeing queen Rora-rora, whom Terreeboo had left behind at Mowee; but we have already had occasion to take notice, that he was accompanied by Kanee Kaberaia, the mother of the two youths, to whom he was very much attached.

From this account of the genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee monarchs, it is pretty clear that the government is hereditary; which also makes it very probable, that the inferior titles, and property itself, descend in the same course. With regard to Perreorannee, we could only learn, that he is an *Eree Taboo*; that he was invading the possession of Taheeterree, but on what pretence we were not informed; and that his grandsons governed the islands to leeward.

The power of the *Erees* over the inferior classes of people appears to be very absolute. Many instances of this occurred



curred daily during our stay amongst them, and have been already related. The people, on the other hand, pay them the most implicit obedience; and this state of servility has manifestly had a great effect in debasing both their minds and bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that the Chiefs were never guilty, as far at least as came within my knowledge, of any acts of cruelty or injustice, or even of insolent behaviour toward them; though, at the same time, they exercised their power over one another in the most haughty and oppressive manner. Of this I shall give two instances. A Chief of the lower order had behaved with great civility to the master of the ship, when he went to examine Karakakooa bay, the day before the ship first arrived there; and, in return, I afterward carried him on board, and introduced him to Captain Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea entered, whose face but too plainly manifested his indignation, at seeing our guest in so honourable a situation. He immediately seized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the Captain interfered; and, after a great deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea, was, that our guest should be suffered to remain, being seated upon the floor, whilst Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeboo first came on board the Resolution, Maiha-maiha, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ship in the most ignominious manner; and yet Pareea, we certainly knew, to be a man of the first consequence.

How far the property of the lower class is secured against the rapacity and despotism of the great Chiefs, I cannot say, but it should seem, that it is sufficiently protected against

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private theft, or mutual depredation. For not only their plantations, which are spread over the whole country, but also their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, were left unguarded, without the smallest apprehensions. I have already remarked, that they not only separate their possessions by walls in the plain country, but that, in the woods likewise, wherever the horse-plantains grow, they make use of small white flags, in the same manner, and for the same purpose of discriminating property, as they do bunches of leaves at Otaheite. All which circumstances, if they do not amount to proofs, are strong indications that the power of the Chiefs, where property is concerned, is not arbitrary; but, at least, so far circumscribed and ascertained, as to make it worth the while for the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, and to occupy their possessions distinct from each other.

With respect to the administration of justice, all the information we could collect was very imperfect and confined. Whenever any of the lowest class of people had a quarrel amongst themselves, the matter in dispute was referred to the decision of some Chief, probably the Chief of the district, or the person to whom they appertained. If an inferior Chief had given cause of offence to one of a higher rank, the feelings of the latter at the moment seemed the only measure of his punishment. If he had the good fortune to escape the first transports of his superior's rage, he generally found means, through the mediation of some third person, to compound for his crime by a part or the whole of his property and effects. These were the only facts that came to our knowledge on this head.

The religion of these people resembles, in most of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Islands.
Their



Their *Morais*, their *Whattas*, their idols, their sacrifices, and their sacred songs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs, that their religious notions are derived from the same source. In the length and number of their ceremonies, this branch indeed far exceeds the rest; and, though in all these countries, there is a certain class of men, to whose care the performance of their religious rites is committed; yet we had never met with a regular society of priests, till we discovered the cloisters of Kakooa in Karakakooa Bay. The head of this order was called *Orono*; a title which we imagined to imply something highly sacred, and which, in the person of Omeeah, was honoured almost to adoration. It is probable, that the privilege of entering into this order (at least as to the principal offices in it), is limited to certain families. Omeeah, the *Orono*, was the son of Kaoo, and the uncle of Kairee-keea; which last presided, during the absence of his grandfather, in all religious ceremonies at the *Morai*. It was also remarked, that the child of Omeeah, an only son, about five years old, was never suffered to appear without a number of attendants, and such other marks of care and solicitude, as we saw no other like instance of. This seemed to indicate, that his life was an object of the greatest moment, and that he was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father.

It has been mentioned, that the title of *Orono*, with all its honours, was given to Captain Cook; and it is also certain, that they regarded us, generally, as a race of people superior to themselves; and used often to say, that great *Eatooa* dwelled in our country. The little image, which we have before described, as the favourite idol on the *Morai* in Karakakooa Bay, they call *Koonoorackaiée*, and said it was

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was Terreeboo's God; and that he also resided amongst us.

There are found an infinite variety of these images, both on the *Morais*, and within and without their houses, to which they give different names; but it soon became obvious to us in how little estimation they were held, from their frequent expressions of contempt of them, and from their even offering them to sale for trifles. At the same time, there seldom failed to be some one particular figure in favour, to which, whilst this preference lasted, all their adoration was addressed. This consisted in arraying it in red cloth; beating their drums, and singing hymns before it; laying bunches of red feathers, and different sorts of vegetables, at its feet; and exposing a pig, or a dog, to rot on the *whatta* that stood near it.

In a bay to the Southward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward; the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives called *Mace*; and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the *Eatooas* of several deceased Chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of *whattas*, on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.

It hath been remarked, by former voyagers, that both among the Society and Friendly Islanders, an adoration is paid to particular birds; and I am led to believe, that the same custom prevails here; and that, probably, the raven is the



the objects of it, from seeing two of these birds tame at the village of Kakooa, which they told me were *Eatooas*; and, refusing every thing I offered for them, cautioned me, at the same time, not to hurt or offend them.

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Amongst their religious ceremonies, may be reckoned the prayers and offerings made by the priests before their meals. Whilst the *ava* is chewing, of which they always drink before they begin their repast, the person of the highest rank takes the lead in a sort of hymn, in which he is presently joined by one, two, or more of the company; the rest moving their bodies, and striking their hands gently together, in concert with the singers. When the *ava* is ready, cups of it are handed about to those who do not join in the song, which they keep in their hands till it is ended; when, uniting in one loud response, they drink off their cup. The performers of the hymn are then served with *ava*, who drink it after a repetition of the same ceremony; and, if there be present one of a very superior rank, a cup is, last of all, presented to him, which, after chanting some time alone, and being answered by the rest, and pouring a little out on the ground, he drinks off. A piece of the flesh that is dressed, is next cut off, without any selection of the part of the animal; which, together with some of the vegetables, being deposited at the foot of the image of the *Eatooa*, and a hymn chanted, their meal commences. A ceremony of much the same kind is also performed by the Chiefs, whenever they drink *ava*, between their meals.

Human sacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themselves, than in any other islands we visited. These horrid rites are not only had recourse to upon the commencement of war, and preceding



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great battles, and other signal enterprizes; but the death of any considerable Chief calls for a sacrifice of one or more *Towtows*, according to his rank; and we were told, that ten men were destined to suffer on the death of *Terreeoboo*. What may (if any thing possibly can) lessen, in some small degree, the horror of this practice, is, that the unhappy victims have not the most distant intimation of their fate. Those who are fixed upon to fall, are set upon with clubs wherever they happen to be; and, after being dispatched, are brought dead to the place, where the remainder of the rites are completed. The reader will here call to his remembrance the skulls of the captives, that had been sacrificed at the death of some great Chief, and which were fixed on the rails round the top of the *Morai* at *Kakooa*. We got a farther piece of intelligence upon this subject at the village of *Kowrowa*; where, on our inquiring into the use of a small piece of ground, inclosed with a stone fence, we were told that it was an *Here-eere*, or burying-ground of a Chief; and there, added our informer, pointing to one of the corners, lie the *tangata* and *wabeene taboo*, or the man and woman who were sacrificed at his funeral.

To this class of their customs may also be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth. Scarce any of the lower people, and very few of the Chiefs, were seen, who had not lost one or more of them; and we always understood, that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief, on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa*, to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed.

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We



We were able to learn but little of their notions with regard to a future state. Whenever we asked them, whither the dead were gone? we were always answered, that the breath, which they appeared to consider as the soul, or immortal part, was gone to the *Eatooa*; and, on pushing our inquiries farther, they seemed to describe some particular place, where they imagined the abode of the deceased to be; but we could not perceive, that they thought, in this state, either rewards or punishments awaited them.

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Having promised the Reader, in the first Chapter, an explanation of what was meant by the word *taboo*, I shall, in this place, lay before him the particular instances that fell under our observation, of its application and effects. On our inquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives, the day preceding the arrival of *Terreeoboo*, we were told, that the Bay was *taboed*. The same restriction took place, at our request, the day we interred the bones of Captain Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scrupulous obedience; but whether on any religious principle, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their Chiefs, I cannot determine. When the ground near our observatories, and the place where our masts lay, were *taboed*, by sticking small wands round them, this operated in a manner not less efficacious. But though this mode of consecration was performed by the priests only, yet still, as the men ventured to come within the space, when invited by us, it should seem, that they were under no religious apprehensions; and that their obedience was limited to our refusal only. The women could, by no means, be induced to come near us; but this was probably on account of the *Morai* adjoining; which they are prohibited, at all times, and in all the



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islands of those seas, from approaching. Mention hath been already made, that women are always *tabooed*, or forbidden, to eat certain kind of meats. We also frequently saw several at their meals, who had the meat put into their mouths by others; and on our asking the reason of this singularity, were told, that they were *tabooed*, or forbidden, to feed themselves. This prohibition, we understood, was always laid on them, after they had assisted at any funeral, or touched a dead body, and also on other occasions. It is necessary to observe, that, on these occasions, they apply the word *taboo* indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say, the natives were *tabooed*, or the bay was *tabooed*, and so of the rest. This word is also used to express any thing sacred, or eminent, or devoted. Thus the king of Owhyhee was called *Eree-taboo*; a human victim, *tangata taboo*; and, in the same manner, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, the island where the king resides, is named *Tonga-taboo*.

Concerning their marriages, I can afford the reader little farther satisfaction, than informing him, that such a relation or compact exists amongst them. I have already had occasion to mention, that at the time Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora Rora at Mowee, he was attended by another woman, by whom he had children, and to whom he was very much attached; but how far polygamy, properly speaking, is allowed, or how far it is mixed with concubinage, either with respect to the king, the Chiefs, or among the inferior orders, too few facts came to our knowledge to justify any conclusions. It hath also been observed, that, except Kainee Kabareea, and the wife of the Orono, with three women whom I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, we never saw any female of high rank. From what I had an opportunity



runity of observing of the domestic concerns of the lowest class, the house seemed to be under the direction of one man and woman, and the children in the like state of subordination as in civilized countries.

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It will not be improper, in this place, to take notice, that we were eye-witnesses of a fact, which, as it was the only instance we saw of any thing like jealousy among them, shews, at the same time, that not only fidelity, but a degree of reserve, is required from the married women of consequence. At one of the entertainments of boxing, Omeah was observed to rise from his place two or three times, and to go up to his wife with strong marks of displeasure, ordering her, as it appeared to us from his manner, to withdraw. Whether it was, that being very handsome, he thought she drew too much of our attention, or without being able to determine what other reason he might have for his conduct, it is but justice to say, that there existed no real cause of jealousy. However, she kept her place; and when the entertainment was over, joined our party, and soliciting some trifling presents, was given to understand, that we had none about us; but that if she would accompany us toward our tent, she should return with such as she liked best. She was accordingly walking along with us; which Omeah observing, followed in a violent rage, and seizing her by the hair, began to inflict, with his fists, a severe corporal punishment. This sight, especially as we had innocently been the cause of it, gave us much concern; and yet we were told, that it would be highly improper to interfere between man and wife of such high rank. We were, however, not left without the consolation of seeing the natives at last interpose; and had the farther satisfaction of meeting them together the next day, in perfect good-humour with each other; and
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what is still more singular, the lady would not suffer us to remonstrate with her husband on his treatment of her, which we were much inclined to do, and plainly told us, that he had done no more than he ought.

Whilst I was ashore at the observatory at Karakakooa Bay, I had twice an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of their funeral rites. Intelligence was brought me of the death of an old Chief in a house near our observatories, soon after the event happened. On going to the place, I found a number of people assembled, and seated round a square *area*, fronting the house in which the deceased lay, whilst a man, in a red feathered cap, advanced from an interior part of the house to the door, and putting out his head, at almost every moment uttered a most lamentable howl, accompanied with the most singular grimaces, and violent distortions of his face, that can be conceived. After this had passed a short time, a large mat was spread upon the *area*, and two men and thirteen women came out of the house and seated themselves down upon it, in three equal rows; the two men, and three of the women, being in front. The necks and hands of the women were decorated with feathered ruffs; and broad green leaves, curiously scolloped, were spread over their shoulders. At one corner of this *area*, near a small hut, were half a dozen boys waving small white banners, and the tufted wands, or *taboo* sticks, which have been often mentioned in the former chapters, who would not permit us to approach them. This led me to imagine, that the dead body might be deposited in this little hut; but I afterward understood, that it was in the house where the man in the red cap opened the rites, by playing his tricks at the door. The company just mentioned, being seated on the mat, began to sing a melancholy
tune,



tune, accompanied with a slow and gentle motion of the body and arms. When this had continued some time, they raised themselves on their knees, and, in a posture between kneeling and sitting, began by degrees to move their arms and their bodies with great rapidity, the tune always keeping pace with their motions. As these last exertions were too violent to continue long, they resumed, at intervals, their slower movements; and, after this performance had lasted an hour, more mats were brought and spread upon the *area*, and four or five elderly women, amongst whom, I was told, was the dead Chief's wife, advanced slowly out of the house, and seating themselves in the front of the first company, began to cry and wail most bitterly; the women in the three rows behind joining them, whilst the two men inclined their heads over them in a very melancholy and pensive attitude. At this period of the rites, I was obliged to leave them to attend at the observatory; but returning within half an hour, found them in the same situation. I continued with them till late in the evening, and left them proceeding with little variation, as just described; resolving, however, to attend early in the morning, to see the remainder of the ceremony. On my arrival at the house, as soon as it was day, I found to my mortification, the crowd dispersed, and every thing quiet; and was given to understand, that the corpse was removed; nor could I learn in what manner it was disposed of. I was interrupted in making farther inquiries for this purpose, by the approach of three women of rank, who, whilst their attendants stood near them with their fly-flaps, sat down by us, and, entering into conversation, soon made me comprehend, that our presence was a hindrance to the performance of some necessary rites.

I had

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I had hardly got out of sight, before I heard their cries and lamentations; and meeting them a few hours afterward, I found they had painted the lower part of their faces perfect black.

The other opportunity I had of observing these ceremonies, was in the case of an ordinary person; when, on hearing some mournful female cries issue from a miserable looking hut, I ventured into it, and found an old woman with her daughter, weeping over the body of an elderly man, who had but just expired, being still warm. The first step they took, was to cover the body with cloth, after which, lying down by it, they drew the cloth over themselves, and then began a mournful kind of song, frequently repeating, *Aweb medoaah! Aweb tanee!* Oh my father! Oh my husband! A younger daughter was also at the same time lying prostrate, in a corner of the house, covered over with black cloth, repeating the same words. On leaving this melancholy scene, I found at the door a number of their neighbours collected together, and listening to their cries with profound silence. I was resolved not to miss this opportunity of seeing in what manner they dispose of the body; and therefore, after satisfying myself, before I went to bed, that it was not then removed, I gave orders, that the sentries should walk backward and forward before the house, and, in case they suspected any measures were taking for the removal of the body, to give me immediate notice. However, the sentries had not kept a good look-out, for in the morning I found the body was gone. On inquiring, what they had done with it? They pointed toward the sea; indicating, most probably, thereby, that it had been committed to the deep, or perhaps that it had been carried beyond the bay, to some burying-ground in
another



another part of the country. The Chiefs are interred in the *Morais*, or *Heree-erees*, with the men sacrificed on the occasion, by the side of them; and we observed, that the *Morai*, where the Chief had been buried, who, as I have already mentioned, was killed in the cave, after so stout a resistance, was hung round with red cloth.

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