

CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER'S
VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

1790 - 1795

VOLUME I

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A

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

TO THE

NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN,

AND

ROUND THE WORLD;

In which the Coast of North-west America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed

UNDERTAKEN

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND,

Principally with a View to ascertain the existence of any NAVIGABLE COMMUNICATION between the

North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans;

AND PERFORMED IN THE YEARS

1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795,

IN THE

DISCOVERY SLOOP OF WAR, AND ARMED TENDER CHATHAM,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER.

Dedicated, by Permission, to HIS MAJESTY.

A NEW EDITION, WITH CORRECTIONS,

ILLUSTRATED WITH NINETEEN VIEWS AND CHARTS.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1801.

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Please see the
[Transcriber's Notes](#)
for comments on spelling.

TO

THE KING.

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY having been graciously pleased to permit my late brother, CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER, to present to YOUR MAJESTY the narrative of his labours, during the execution of your commands in the Pacific Ocean, I presume to hope that, since it has pleased the Divine Providence to withdraw him from YOUR MAJESTY's Service, and from the society of his friends, before he could avail himself of that condescension, YOUR MAJESTY will, with the same benignity, vouchsafe to accept it from my hands, in discharge of the melancholy duty which has devolved upon me by that unfortunate event.

I cannot but indulge the hope, that the following pages will prove to YOUR MAJESTY, that CAPTAIN VANCOUVER was not undeserving of the honour of the trust reposed in him; and that he has fulfilled the object of his commission from YOUR MAJESTY with diligence and fidelity.

Under the auspices of YOUR MAJESTY, the late indefatigable CAPTAIN COOK had already shewn that a Southern Continent did not exist, and had ascertained the important fact of the near approximation of the Northern Shores of Asia to those of America. To those great discoveries, the exertions of CAPTAIN VANCOUVER will, I trust, be found to have added the complete certainty that, within the limits of his researches on the Continental Shore of North-West America, NO INTERNAL SEA, OR OTHER NAVIGABLE COMMUNICATION whatever exists, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

With the most profound respect,
YOUR MAJESTY's
Most faithful and devoted
Subject and Servant,

JOHN VANCOUVER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Publisher finds it necessary only to state, for the information of the Purchasers of this new Edition, that the copper-plates of the charts contained in the folio volume, which accompanied the first Edition, were all stolen, and may therefore be considered as irrecoverably lost.

The whole of the Views, except the head lands^[1], are retained. The general chart, and that of the New Discoveries, &c. are re-engraved, and will, it is conceived, completely satisfy the majority of his Readers.

It must, however, be observed, that the other charts are indispensably necessary for such as may hereafter navigate those seas. This Edition has received throughout the requisite corrections of the Editor, JOHN VANCOUVER, Esq.

No work has maintained a higher character in the public estimation than this Voyage, and the expence of the quarto Edition could alone have prevented its being universally read.

The loss of the Plates, has, of course, greatly enhanced the value of the few Copies of the original Edition, which were not at that time sold. They may, however, be had until Christmas next, with the folio volume of charts at Twelve Guineas; but should any then remain they will be advanced to fifteen Guineas.

PICCADILLY,
26th October, 1801.

[1] These are six in number, and may be had, price Seven Shillings.

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VOYAGE
OF DISCOVERY.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

In contemplating the rapid progress of improvement in the sciences, and the general diffusion of knowledge since the commencement of the eighteenth century, we are unavoidably led to observe, with admiration, that active spirit of discovery by means of which the remotest regions of the earth have been explored; a friendly communication opened with their inhabitants; and various commodities, of a most valuable nature, contributing either to relieve their necessities, or augment their comforts, introduced among the less-enlightened part of our species. A mutual intercourse has been also established, in many instances, on the solid basis of a reciprocity of benefits; and the productive labour of the civilized world has found new markets for the disposal of its manufactures. Nor has the balance of trade been wholly against the people of the newly-discovered countries; for, whilst some have been enabled to supply their visitors with an abundance of food, and the most valuable refreshments, in exchange for iron, copper, useful implements, and articles of ornament; the industry of others has been stimulated to procure the skins of animals, and other articles of a commercial nature; which they have found to be eagerly sought for by the traders who now resort to their shores from Europe, Asia, and the eastern side of North America.

The great naval powers of Europe, inspired with a desire not only of acquiring, but also of communicating, knowledge, had extended their researches, in the 16th and 17th centuries, as far into the Pacific Ocean as their limited information of the geography of the earth, at that time, enabled them to penetrate. Some few attempts had also been made by this country towards the conclusion of each of those centuries; but it was not until the year 1764 that Great Britain, benefiting by the experience of former enterprises, laid the foundation for that vast accession of geographical knowledge which she has since obtained, by the persevering spirit of her successive distinguished circumnavigators.

By the introduction of nautical astronomy into marine education, we are taught to sail on the hypotenuse, instead of traversing two sides of a triangle, which was the usage in earlier times; by this means, the circuitous course of all voyages from place to place is considerably shortened; and it is now become evident, that sea officers of the most common-rate abilities, who will take the trouble of making themselves acquainted with the principles of this science, will, on all suitable occasions, with proper and

correct instruments, be enabled to acquire a knowledge of their situation in the Atlantic, Indian, or Pacific Oceans, with a degree of accuracy sufficient to steer on a meridional or diagonal line, to any known spot; provided it be sufficiently conspicuous to be visible at any distance from five to ten leagues.

This great improvement, by which the most remote parts of the terrestrial globe are brought so easily within our reach, would nevertheless have been comparatively of little utility, had not those happy means been discovered, for preserving the lives and health of the officers and seamen engaged in such distant and perilous undertakings; which were so successfully practised by Captain Cook, the first great discoverer of this salutary system, in all his latter voyages round the globe. But in none have the effects of his wise regulations, regimen, and discipline, been more manifest, than in the course of the expedition of which the following pages are designed to treat. To an unremitting attention, not only to food, cleanliness, ventilation, and an early administration of antiseptic provisions and medicines, but also to prevent, as much as possible, the chance of indisposition, by prohibiting individuals from carelessly exposing themselves to the influence of climate, or unhealthy indulgences in times of relaxation, and by relieving them from fatigue and the inclemency of the weather the moment the nature of their duty would permit them to retire; is to be ascribed the preservation of the health and lives of seafaring people on long voyages. Instead of vessels returning from parts, by no means very remote, with the loss of one half, and sometimes two thirds of their crews, in consequence of scorbutic and other contagious disorders; instances are now not wanting of laborious services having been performed in the most distant regions, in which, after an absence of more than three or four years, during which time the vessels had been subjected to all the vicissitudes of climate, from the scorching heat of the torrid zone to the freezing blasts of the arctic or antarctic circles, the crews have returned in perfect health, and consisting nearly of every individual they had carried out; whilst those who unfortunately had not survived, either from accident or disease, did not exceed in number the mortality that might reasonably have been expected, during the same period of time, in the most healthy situations of this country. To these valuable improvements, Great Britain is, at this time, in a great measure indebted, for her present exalted station amongst the nations of the earth; and it should seem, that the reign of George the Third had been reserved by the Great Disposer of all things, for the glorious task of establishing the grand key-stone to that expansive arch, over which the arts and sciences should pass to the furthest corners of the earth, for the

instruction and happiness of the most lowly children of nature. Advantages so highly beneficial to the untutored parts of the human race, and so extremely important to that large proportion of the subjects of this empire who are brought up to the sea service, deserve to be justly appreciated; and it becomes of very little importance to the bulk of society, whose enlightened humanity teaches them to entertain a lively regard for the welfare and interest of those who engage in such adventurous undertakings for the advancement of science, or for the extension of commerce, what may be the animadversions or sarcasms of those few unenlightened minds that may peevishly demand, “what beneficial consequences, if any, have followed, or are likely to follow, to the discoverers, or to the discovered, to the common interests of humanity, or to the increase of useful knowledge, from all our boasted attempts to explore the distant recesses of the globe?” The learned editor,^[2] who has so justly anticipated this injudicious remark, has, in his very comprehensive introduction to Captain Cook’s last Voyage, from whence the above quotation is extracted, given to the public, not only a complete and satisfactory answer to that question, but has treated every other part of the subject of Discovery so ably, as to render any further observations on former voyages of this description totally unnecessary, for the purpose of bringing the reader acquainted with what had been accomplished, previously to my being honoured with his Majesty’s commands to follow up the labours of that illustrious navigator Captain James Cook; to whole steady, uniform, and indefatigable attention to the several objects on which the success of his enterprises ultimately depended, the world is indebted for such eminent and important benefits.

Those benefits did not long remain unnoticed by the commercial part of the British nation. Remote and distant voyages being now no longer objects of terror, enterprises were projected, and carried into execution, for the purpose of establishing new and lucrative branches of commerce between North-West America and China; and parts of the coast of the former that had not been minutely examined by Captain Cook, became now the general resort of the persons thus engaged.

Unprovided as these adventurers were with proper astronomical and nautical instruments, and having their views directed almost intirely; to the object of their employers, they had neither the means, nor the leisure, that were indispensably requisite for amassing any certain geographical information. This became evident, from the accounts of their several voyages given to the public; in which, notwithstanding that they positively contradicted each other, as well in geographical and nautical facts as in those of a commercial nature, they yet agreed in filling up the blanks in the charts

of Captain Cook with extensive islands, and a coast apparently much broken by numberless *inlets*, which they had left almost intirely unexplored.

The charts accompanying the accounts of their voyages, representing the North-West coast of America to be so much broken by the waters of the Pacific Ocean, gave encouragement once more to hypotheses; and the favorite opinion that had slept since the publication of Captain Cook's last voyage, of a north-eastern communication between the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, was again roused from its state of slumber, and brought forward with renovated vigour. Once more the Archipelago of St. Lazarus was called forth into being, and its exigence almost assumed, upon the authority of a Spanish admiral named De Fonte, De Fonta, or De Fuentes; and of a Mr. Nicholas Shapely, from Boston in America, who was stated to have penetrated through this archipelago, by sailing through a mediterranean sea on the coast of North-West America, within a few leagues of the oceanic shores of that archipelago; where he is said to have met the Admiral. The straits said to have been navigated by Juan De Fuca were also brought forward in support of this opinion; and, although the existence or extent of these discoveries remained still to be proved by an authenticated survey of the countries which had been thus stated to have been seen and passed through, yet the enthusiasm of modern *closet philosophy* eager to revenge itself for the refutation of its former fallacious speculations, ventured to accuse Captain Cook of "hastily exploding" its systems; and, ranking him amongst *the pursuers of peltry*, dared even to drag him forward in support of its visionary conjectures.

With what reason, or with what justice such animadversions have been cast upon one, who, unhappily for the world, does not survive to enforce his own judicious opinions sounded as they were on the solid principles of experience, and of ocular demonstration, uninfluenced by any prejudice, and unbiassed by any pre-conceived theory or hypothesis; it is not my province to decide: let it suffice to say, that the labours of that distinguished character will remain a monument of his pre-eminent abilities, and dispassionate investigation of the truth, as long as science shall be respected in the civilized world; or as long as succeeding travellers, who shall unite in bearing testimony to the profundity of his judgment, shall continue to obtain credit with the public.

Although the ardour of the present age, to discover and delineate the true geography of the earth, had been rewarded with uncommon and unexpected success, particularly by the persevering exertions of this great man, yet all was not completed; and though, subsequent to his last visit to the coast of

North-West America, no expedition had been projected by Government, for the purpose of acquiring a more exact knowledge of that extensive and interesting country; yet a voyage was planned by his Majesty for exploring some of the southern regions; and in the autumn of the year 1789, directions were given for carrying it into effect.

Captain Henry Roberts, of known and tried abilities, who had served under Captain Cook during his two last voyages, and whose attention to the scientific part of his profession had afforded that great navigator frequent opportunities of naming him with much respect, was called upon to take charge of, and to command, the proposed expedition.

At that period, I had just returned from a station at Jamaica, under the command of Commodore (now Vice-Admiral) Sir Alan Gardner, who mentioned me to Lord Chatham and the Board of Admiralty; and I was solicited to accompany Captain Roberts as his second. In this proposal I acquiesced, and found myself very pleasantly situated, in being thus connected with a fellow-traveller for whose abilities I bore the greatest respect, and in whose friendship and good opinion I was proud to possess a place. And as we had sailed together with Captain Cook on his voyage towards the south pole, and as both had afterwards accompanied him with Captain Clerke in the *Discovery* during his last voyage, I had no doubt that we were engaged in an expedition, which would prove no less interesting to my friend than agreeable to my wishes.

A ship, proper for the service under contemplation, was ordered to be provided. In the yard of Messrs. Randall and Brent, on the banks of the Thames, a vessel of 340 tons burthen was nearly finished; and as she would require but few alterations to make her in every respect fit for the purpose, she was purchased; and, on her being launched, was named the *Discovery*.

The first day of the year 1790 the *Discovery* was commissioned by Captain Roberts; some of the other officers were also appointed, and the ship was conducted to His Majesty's dock-yard at Deptford, where she was put into a state of equipment; which was ordered to be executed with all the dispatch that the nature of the service required.

For some time previous to this period the Spaniards, roused by the successful efforts of the British nation to obtain a more extended knowledge of the earth, had not only ventured to visit some of the newly-discovered islands in the tropical regions of the Pacific Ocean, but had also, in the year 1775, with a spirit somewhat analogous to that which prompted their first discovery of America, extended their researches to the northward, along the

coast of North-West America. But this undertaking did not seem to have reached beyond the acquirement of a very superficial knowledge of the shores; and though these were found to be extremely broken, and divided by the waters of the Pacific, yet it does not appear that any measures were pursued by them for ascertaining the extent to which those waters penetrated into the interior of the American continent.

This apparent indifference in exploring new countries, ought not, however, to be attributed to a deficiency in skill, or to a want of spirit for enterprise, in the commander^[3] of that expedition; because there is great reason to believe, that the extreme caution which has so long and so rigidly governed the court of Madrid, to prevent, as much as possible, not only their American, but likewise their Indian, establishments from being visited by any Europeans, (unless they were subjects of the crown of Spain, and liable to a military tribunal) had greatly conspired, with other considerations of a political nature, to repress that desire of adding to the fund of geographical knowledge, which has so eminently distinguished this country. And hence it is not extraordinary, that the discovery of a north-western navigable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, should not have been considered as an object much to be desired by the Spanish court. Since that expedition, however, the Spaniards seem to have considered their former national character as in some measure at stake; and they have certainly become more acquainted than they were with the extensive countries immediately adjoining to their immense empire in the new world; yet the measures that they adopted in order to obtain that information, were executed in so defective a manner, that all the important questions to be solved still remained undecided, and in the same state of uncertainty.

Towards the end of April, the Discovery was, in most respects, in a condition to proceed down the river, when intelligence was received that the Spaniards had committed depredations on different branches of the British commerce on the coast of North-West America, and that they had seized on the English vessels and factories in Nootka sound. This intelligence gave rise to disputes between the courts of London and Madrid, which wore the threatening appearance of being terminated by no other means than those of reprisal. In consequence of this an armament took place, and the further pacific equipment of the Discovery was suspended; her stores and provisions were returned to the respective offices, and her officers and men were engaged in more active service. On this occasion I resumed my profession under my highly esteemed friend, Sir Alan Gardner, then captain of the Courageux, where I remained until the 17th of the November

following; when I was ordered to repair to town for the purpose of attending to the commands of the Board of Admiralty.

The uncommon celerity, and unparalleled dispatch, which attended the equipment of one of the noblest fleets that Great Britain ever saw, had probably its due influence upon the court of Madrid, for, in the Spanish convention, which was consequent on that armament, restitution was offered to this country for the captures and aggressions made by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; together with an acknowledgment of an equal right with Spain to the exercise and prosecution of all commercial undertakings in those seas, reputed before to belong only to the Spanish crown. The extensive branches of the fisheries, and the fur trade to China, being considered as objects of very material importance to this country, it was deemed expedient, that an officer should be sent to Nootka to receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized, and also to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the 30th degree of north latitude north-westward toward Cook's river; and further, to obtain every possible information that could be collected respecting the natural and political state of that country.

The outline of this intended expedition was communicated to me, and I had the honour of being appointed to the command of it. At this juncture it appeared to be of importance, that all possible exertion should be made in its equipment; and as the *Discovery*, which had been selected on the former occasion, was now rigged, some of her stores provided, and she herself considered, in most respects, as a vessel well calculated for the voyage under contemplation, she was accordingly directed to be got ready for that service; and the *Chatham* armed tender, of 135 tons burthen, built at Dover, having been destined to accompany the *Discovery* on the former occasion, was ordered to be equipped to attend on the voyage now to be undertaken, and was sent to Woolwich to receive such necessary repairs and alterations as were deemed requisite.

The *Discovery* was copper-fastened, sheathed with plank, and coppered over; the *Chatham* only sheathed with copper. The former mounted ten four-pounders, and ten swivels; the latter, four three-pounders and six swivels. The following list will exhibit the establishment of the officers and men in the two vessels.

*An Account of the Number of Officers and Men on board the Discovery
Sloop of War, in December, 1790.*

OFFICERS.	NO.	NAMES.
Captain	1	George Vancouver.
		{ Zachariah Mudge,
Lieutenants	3	{ Peter Puget,
		{ Joseph Baker.
Master	1	Joseph Whidbey.
Boatswain	1	
Carpenter	1	
Gunner	1	
Surgeon	1	
Midshipmen	6	
Master's mates	3	
Boatswain's mates	3	
Carpenter's mates	3	
Gunner's mates	2	
Surgeon's mates	2	
Carpenter's crew	4	
Master at arms	1	
Corporal	1	
Sailmaker	1	
Sailmaker's mate	1	
Armourer	1	
Cook	1	
Cook's mate	1	
Clerk	1	
Quartermasters	6	
Able Seamen	38	
Sergeant	1	}
Corporal	1	} Marines.
Privates	14	}
Total	100	

An Account of the Number of Officers and Men on board the Chatham armed Tender, in December, 1790.

OFFICERS.	NO.	NAMES.
Commander	1	Lieut. W. R. Broughton.
Lieutenant	1	James Hanson.
Master	1	James Johnston.
Boatswain	1	
Carpenter	1	
Gunner	1	
Surgeon	1	
Midshipmen	4	
Master's mates	2	
Boatswain's mates	2	
Carpenter's mates	2	
Gunner's mates	2	
Surgeon's mate	1	
Sailmaker	1	
Armourer	1	
Clerk	1	
Quartermasters	4	
Able Seamen	10	
Sergeant	1	} Marines.
Privates	7	
Total	45	

I had great reason to be satisfied with these arrangements; the second and third lieutenants, and the master of the Discovery, whom I had the honour of being allowed to name for this service, had all served some years with me, under the command of Sir Alan Gardner, both at home and in the West Indies; the other officers were men of known character, possessing good abilities, and excellent dispositions, which their subsequent conduct and zeal, exhibited on all occasions, sufficiently demonstrated.

In the former equipment of the Discovery, Captain Roberts and myself had undertaken to make all such astronomical and nautical observations, as the circumstances occurring in the voyage might demand. This task now devolved upon me alone; but with the assistance of Mr. Whidbey, I entertained little doubt of accomplishing the proposed object, at least in an

useful manner; for which purpose we were supplied by the Navy Board with such an assortment of instruments as I considered to be necessary.

It was with infinite satisfaction that I saw, amongst the officers and young gentlemen of the quarter-deck, some who, with little instruction, would soon be enabled to construct charts, take plans of bays and harbours, draw landscapes, and make faithful representations of the several head lands, coasts, and countries, which we might discover; thus, by the united efforts of our little community, the whole of our proceedings, and the information we might obtain in the course of the voyage, would be rendered profitable to those who might succeed us in traversing the remote parts of the globe that we were destined to explore, without the assistance of professional persons, as astronomers or draftsmen.

Botany, however, was an object of scientific inquiry with which no one of us was much acquainted; but as, in expeditions of a similar nature, the most valuable opportunities had been afforded for adding to the general stock of botanical information, Mr. Archibald Menzies, a surgeon in the royal navy, who had before visited the Pacific Ocean in one of the vessels employed in the fur trade, was appointed for the specific purpose of making such researches; and had, doubtless, given sufficient proof of his abilities, to qualify him for the station it was intended he should fill. For the purpose of preserving such new or uncommon plants as he might deem worthy of a place amongst his Majesty's very valuable collection of exotics at Kew, a glazed frame was erected on the after part of the quarter-deck, for the reception of those he might have an opportunity of collecting.

The Board of Admiralty, greatly attentive to our personal comforts, gave directions that the *Discovery* and *Chatham* should each be supplied with all such articles as might be considered in any way likely to become necessary, during the execution of the long and arduous service in which we were about to engage. Our stores, from the naval arsenals, were ordered to be selected of the very best sorts, and to be made with materials of the best quality. In addition to the ordinary establishment, we were supplied with a large assortment of seines and other useful fishing tackle of various kinds. The provisions were furnished at the victualling-office with the greatest care, all of which proved to be excellent, and manifested the judgment which had been exercised in the selection and preparation of the several articles. To these were added a large proportion of sour krout, portable soup, wheat instead of the usual supply of oatmeal for breakfast, the essence of malt and spruce, malt, hops, dried yeast, flour, and seed mustard; which may all be considered as articles of food. Those of a medicinal nature, with

which we were amply supplied, were Dr. James's powders; vitriolic elixir; the rob of lemons and oranges, in such quantities and proportions as the surgeon thought requisite; together with an augmentation to the usual allowance, amounting to a hundred weight, of the best peruvian bark.

To render our visits as acceptable as possible to the inhabitants of the islands or continent in the Pacific Ocean, and to establish on a firm basis a friendly intercourse with the several tribes with which we might occasionally meet, Lord Grenville directed that a liberal assortment of various European commodities, both of a useful and ornamental nature, should be sent on board from the Secretary of State's office. From the Board of Ordnance the vessels were supplied with every thing necessary for our defence, and amongst other articles were four well-contrived three-pound field pieces, for the protection of our little encampment against any hostile attempts of the native Indians, amongst whom we should necessarily have frequent occasion to reside on shore; and for the amusement and entertainment of such as were peaceably and friendly disposed towards us, we were furnished with a most excellent assortment of well-prepared fire-works. So that nothing seemed to have been forgotten, or omitted, that might render our equipment as complete as the nature of the service we were about to execute could be considered to demand. But as I have hitherto only pointed out in general terms the outline of the intended expedition; the various objects it proposed to embrace, and the end it was expected to answer, will be more clearly perceived by the perusal of the instructions under which I was to sail, and by which I was to govern my conduct; and the reader will be thereby enabled to form a judgment, how far his majesty's commands, during this voyage, have been properly carried into execution.

“By the Commissioners for executing
the office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

“The KING having judged it expedient, that an expedition should be immediately undertaken for acquiring a more complete knowledge, than has yet been obtained, of the north-west coast of America; and, the sloop you command, together with the Chatham armed tender (the Lieutenant commanding which, has been directed to follow your orders) having been equipped for that service; you are, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure, signified to us by Lord Grenville, one of his principal Secretaries of State, hereby required and directed to proceed, without loss of time, with

the said sloop and tender, to the Sandwich islands in the North Pacific Ocean, where you are to remain during the next winter; employing yourself very diligently in the examination and survey of the said islands; and, as soon as the weather shall be favorable (which may be expected to be in February, or at latest in March, 1792) you are to repair to the north-west coast of America, for the purpose of acquiring a more complete knowledge of it, as above mentioned.

“It having been agreed, by the late convention between his Majesty and the Catholic King, (a printed copy of which you will receive herewith) that the buildings and tracts of land, situated on the north-west coast above mentioned, or on islands adjacent thereto, of which the subjects of his Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects, the court of Spain has agreed to send orders for that purpose to its officers in that part of the world; but as the particular specification of the parts to be restored may still require some further time, it is intended that the King’s orders, for this purpose, shall be sent out to the Sandwich islands, by a vessel to be employed to carry thither a further store of provisions for the sloop and armed tender above mentioned, which it is meant shall sail from this country in time to reach those islands in the course of next winter.

“If, therefore, in consequence of the arrangement to be made with the court of Spain, it should hereafter be determined that you should proceed, in the first instance, to Nootka, or elsewhere, in order to receive, from the Spanish officers, such lands or buildings as are to be restored to the British subjects; orders to that effect will be sent out by the vessel above mentioned. But if no such orders should be received by you previous to the end of January, 1792, you are not to wait for them at the Sandwich islands, but to proceed in such course as you may judge most expedient for the examination of the coast above mentioned, comprised between latitude 60° north and 30° north.

“In which examination the principal objects which you are to keep in view are,

“1st, The acquiring accurate information with respect to the nature and extent of any water communication which may tend, in any considerable degree, to facilitate an intercourse for the

purposes of commerce, between the north-west coast, and the country upon the opposite side of the continent, which are inhabited or occupied by his Majesty's subjects.

"2dly, The ascertaining, with as much precision as possible, the number, extent, and situation of any settlements which have been made within the limits above mentioned, by any European nation, and the time when such settlement was first made.

"With respect to the first object, it would be of great importance if it should be found that, by means of any considerable inlets of the sea, or even of large rivers communicating with the lakes in the interior of the continent, such an intercourse, as hath been already mentioned, could be established; it will therefore be necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining this point, that the survey should be so conducted, as not only to ascertain the general line of the sea coast, but also the direction and extent of all such considerable inlets, whether made by arms of the sea, or by the mouths of large rivers, as may be likely to lead to, or facilitate, such communication as is above described.

"This being the principal object of the examination, so far as relates to that part of the subject, it necessarily follows, that a considerable degree of discretion must be left, and is therefore left to you, as to the means of executing the service which his Majesty has in view; but, as far as any general instructions can here be given on the subject, it seems desirable that, in order to avoid any unnecessary loss of time, you should not, and are therefore hereby required and directed not to pursue any inlet or river further than it shall appear to be navigable by vessels of such burden as might safely navigate the Pacific Ocean: but, as the navigation of such inlets or rivers, to the extent here stated, may possibly require that you should proceed up them further than it might be safe for the sloop you command to go, you are, in such case, to take the command of the armed tender in person, at all such times, and in such situations as you shall judge it necessary and expedient.

"The particular course of the survey must depend on the different circumstances which may arise in the execution of a service of this nature; it is, however, proper that you should, and you are therefore hereby required and directed to pay a particular attention to the examination of the supposed straits of Juan de

Fuca, said to be situated between 48° and 49° north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop Washington is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka. The discovery of a near communication between any such sea or strait, and any river running into, or from the lake of the woods, would be particularly useful.

“If you should fail of discovering any such inlet, as is above mentioned, to the southward of Cook’s river, there is the greatest probability that it will be found that the said river rises in some of the lakes already known to the Canadian traders, and to the servants of the Hudson’s bay company; which point it would, in that case, be material to ascertain; and you are, therefore, to endeavour to ascertain accordingly, with as much precision as the circumstances existing at the time may allow: but the discovery of any similar communication more to the southward (should any such exist) would be much more advantageous for the purposes of commerce, and should, therefore, be preferably attended to, and you are, therefore, to give it a preferable attention accordingly.

“With respect to the second object above mentioned, it is probable that more particular instructions will be given you by the vessel to be sent to the Sandwich islands as aforesaid; but, if not, you are to be particularly careful in the execution of that, and every other part of the service with which you are entrusted, to avoid, with the utmost caution, the giving any ground of jealousy or complaint to the subjects of His Catholic Majesty; and, if you should fall in with any Spanish ships employed on any service similar to that which is hereby committed to you, you are to afford to the officer commanding such ships every possible degree of assistance and information, and to offer to him, that you, and he, should make to each other, reciprocally, a free and unreserved communication of all plans and charts of discoveries made by you and him in your respective voyages.

“If, in the course of any part of this service, you, or the officers or the people under your command, should meet with the subjects or vessels of any other power or state, you and they are to treat them in the most friendly manner, and to be careful not to do any thing which may give occasion to any interruption of that peace which now happily subsists between His Majesty and all other powers.

“The whole of the survey above mentioned (if carried on with a view to the objects before stated, without too minute and particular an examination of the detail of the different parts of the coast laid down by it) may, as it is understood, probably be completed in the summers of 1792 and 1793; and, in the intermediate winter, it will be proper for you to repair, and you are hereby required and directed to repair accordingly, to the Sandwich islands; and, during your stay there, you are to endeavour to complete any part which may be unfinished of your examination of those islands.

“After the conclusion of your survey in the summer of 1793, you are, if the state and circumstances of the sloop and tender under your command will admit of it, to return to England by Cape Horn, (for which the season will then probably be favorable;) repairing to Spithead, where you are to remain until you receive further order; and sending to our secretary an account of your arrival and proceedings.

“It seems doubtful, at present, how far the time may admit of your making any particular examination of the western coast of South America; but, if it should be practicable, you are to begin such examination from the south point of the island of Chiloe, which is in about 44° south latitude; and you are, in that case, to direct your attention to ascertaining what is the most southern Spanish settlement on that coast, and what harbours there are south of that settlement.

“In the execution of every part of this service, it is very material that you should use, and you are therefore hereby strictly charged to use every possible care to avoid disputes with the natives of any of the parts where you may touch, and to be particularly attentive to endeavour, by a judicious distribution of the presents, (which have been put on board the sloop and tender under your command, by order of Lord Grenville) and by all other means, to conciliate their friendship and confidence. Given under our hands the 8th of March, 1791.”

“CHATHAM.

“RD. HOPKINS.

“HOOD.

“J. T. TOWNSHEND.”

“*To George Vancouver, Esq.
Commander of His Majesty’s
Sloop the Discovery, at Falmouth.*”

“By command of their Lordships,
PH. STEPHENS.”

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS.

“By the Commissioners for executing
the office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

“Lieutenant Hergest, commanding the *Dædalus* transport, (by whom you will receive this) being directed to put himself under your command, and to follow your orders for his further proceedings; you are hereby required and directed, to take him, and the said transport, under your command accordingly; receiving from her the provisions and stores intended for the use of the sloop you command, and the Chatham armed tender, of such part thereof as the said ship and tender shall be able to stow.

“And whereas you will receive herewith a duplicate of a letter from Count Florida Blanca, to the Spanish officer commanding at Nootka, (together with a translation thereof) signifying His Catholic Majesty’s orders to cause such officer as may be appointed on the part of His Britannic Majesty, *to be put in possession of the buildings, and districts, or parcels of lands therein described, which were occupied by His Majesty’s subjects in the month of April, 1789, agreeable to the first article of the late convention,* (a copy of which has been sent to you) and to deliver up any persons in the service of British subjects who may have been detained in those parts; in case, therefore, you shall receive this at Nootka, you are to deliver to the Spanish officer, commanding at that port, the above-mentioned letter from Count Florida Blanca, and to receive from him, conformably thereto, on the part of His Britannic Majesty, possession of the buildings and districts, and parcels of land, of which His Majesty’s subjects were possessed at the above-mentioned period.

“In case, however, this shall not find you at Nootka, when Lieutenant Hergest arrives there, but be delivered to you at the Sandwich islands, or elsewhere, and the said lieutenant shall not have then carried into execution the service above mentioned, (which in the event of his not falling in with you he is directed to do) you are immediately to proceed to Nootka, and to carry that service into execution as above directed, taking the said lieutenant and transport with you if you shall judge it necessary. But as they are intended afterwards to proceed to New South Wales, to be employed there, under the orders of commodore Phillip, you are not to detain them at Nootka, the Sandwich islands, or elsewhere, longer than may be absolutely necessary, but to direct Lieutenant Hergest to repair with the said transport to port Jackson, with such live stock, and other refreshments, as may be likely to be of use in the settlements there; and to touch at New Zealand in his way, from whence he is to use his best endeavours to take with him one or two flax-dressers, in order that the new settlers at port Jackson may, if possible, be properly in the management of that valuable plant.

“Previous, however, to your dispatching him to port Jackson, you are to consider whether, in case of your not being able to take on board the whole of the transport’s cargo, any future supply of the articles of which it is composed, will be necessary to enable you to continue your intended survey; and, if so, you are to be careful to send notice thereof to Commodore Phillip, who will have directions, on the receipt of your application, to re-dispatch the transport, or to send such other vessel to you with the remainder of those supplies (as well as any others he may be able to furnish) to such rendezvous as you shall appoint.

“And whereas Mr. Dundas has transmitted to us a sketch of the coast of North America, extending from Nootka down to the latitude of 47° 30', including the inlet or gulf of Juan de Fuca; and as from the declarations which have lately been made, there appears to be the strongest disposition on the part of the Spanish court, that every assistance and information should be given to his Britannic Majesty’s officers employed on that coast, with a view to the enabling them to carry their orders into execution; we send you the said sketch herewith, for your information and use, and do hereby require and direct you to do every thing in your power to cultivate a good understanding with the officers and subjects of his

Catholic Majesty who may fall in your way, in order that you may reap the good effects of this disposition of the Spanish court.

“You are to take the utmost care in your power, on no account whatever, to touch at any port on the continent of America, to the southward of the latitude of 30° north, nor to the north of that part, of South America, where, on your return home, you are directed to commence your intended survey; unless, from any accident, you shall find it absolutely necessary, for your immediate safety, to take shelter there: and, in case of such an event, to continue there no longer than your necessities require, in order that any complaint on the part of Spain on this point may, if possible, be prevented.

“If, during your continuance on the American coast, you should meet with any of the Chinese who were employed by Mr. Meares and his associates, or any of his Majesty’s subjects, who may have been in captivity, you are to receive them on board the sloop you command, and to accommodate them in the best manner you may be able, until such time as opportunities may be found of sending them to the different places to which they may be desirous of being conveyed; victualling them during their continuance on board, in the same manner as the other persons on board the said sloop are victualled. Given under our hands the 20th of August, 1791.”

“CHATHAM.

“J. T. TOWNSHEND.

“A. GARDNER.”

*“To George Vancouver, Esq.
Commander of his Majesty’s
Sloop the Discovery.*

By command of their Lordships,
PH. STEPHENS.”

LETTER

FROM COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA.

(Translated from the Spanish.)

“In conformity to the first article of the convention of 28th October, 1790, between our court and that of London, (printed copies of which you will have already received, and of which another copy is here inclosed, in case the first have not come to hand) you will give directions that his Britannic Majesty’s officer, who will deliver this letter, shall immediately be put in possession of the buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of that sovereign in April, 1789, as well in the port of Nootka, or of Saint Lawrence, as in the other, said to be called port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues distant from the former to the southward; and that such parcels or districts of land, of which the English subjects were dispossessed, be restored to the said officer, in case the Spaniards should not have given them up.

“You will also give orders, that if any individual in the service of British subjects, whether a Chinese, or of any other nation, should have been carried away and detained in those parts, such person shall be immediately delivered up to the above-mentioned officer.

“I also communicate all this to the viceroy of New Spain by his Majesty’s command, and by the royal command I charge you with the most punctual and precise execution of this order.

“May God preserve you many years.

(Signed)

“THE COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA.”

“ARANJUEZ, 12th May, 1791.

*“To the Governor or Commander
of the port at Saint Lawrence.”*

“By the Commissioners for executing
the office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

“In addition to former orders, you are hereby required and directed, by all proper conveyances, to send to our secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made; and, upon your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage; taking care, before you leave the sloop, to demand from the officers, and petty-officers, the log-books, journals, drawings, &c. they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been until they shall have permission so to do: and you are to direct the lieutenant commanding the Chatham armed tender to do the same, with respect to the officers, petty-officers, and crew of that tender. Given under our hands the 10th of August, 1791.

“CHATHAM.

“J. T. TOWNSHEND.

“A. GARDNER.”

*“To George Vancouver, Esq.
Commander of his Majesty’s
Sloop the Discovery.*

“By command of their Lordships,
PH. STEPHENS.”

Amongst other objects demanding my attention, whilst engaged in carrying these orders into execution, no opportunity was neglected to remove, as far as I was capable, all such errors as had crept into the science of navigation, and to establish in their place, such facts as would tend to facilitate the grand object of finding the longitude at sea; which now seems to be brought nearly to a certainty, by pursuing the lunar method, assisted by a good chronometer. On this, as well as some other subjects, it is highly probable, that great prolixity and repetition will be found in the following pages; it will, however, readily appear to the candid perusers of this voyage, that, as the primary design of the undertaking was to obtain useful knowledge, so it became an indispensable duty, on my part, to use my utmost exertions and abilities in doing justice to the original intention; by detailing the information that arose in the execution of it, in a way calculated to *instruct*, even though it should fail to *entertain*. And when the writer

alleges, that from the age of thirteen, his whole life, to the commencement of this expedition, (fifteen months only excepted) has been devoted to constant employment in his Majesty's naval service, he feels, and with all possible humility, that he has some claims to the indulgence of a generous public; who, under such circumstances, will not expect to find elegance of diction, purity of style, or unexceptionable grammatical accuracy: but will be satisfied with "a plain unvarnished" relation, given with a rigid attention to the truth of such transactions and circumstances as appeared to be worthy of being recorded by a naval officer, whose greatest pride is to deserve the appellation of being zealous in the service of his king and country.

[2] Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury.

[3] Sen^r Quadra.

ADVERTISEMENT

FROM THE EDITOR.

As a considerable delay has necessarily taken place in the publication of this work, in consequence of the decease of the late Captain Vancouver, it becomes of absolute necessity to give an accurate account of the state of the work at the period when his last fatal indisposition rendered him incapable of attending any more to business; lest the melancholy event which has retarded its completion should tend to affect its authenticity in the public opinion.

The five first volumes, excepting the introduction, and as far as page 43 of the sixth and last volume, were printed; and Captain Vancouver had finished a laborious examination of the impression, and had compared it with the engraved charts and head lands of his discoveries, from the commencement of his survey in the year 1791, to the conclusion of it at the port of Valparaiso, on his return to England in the year 1795. He had also prepared the introduction, and a further part of the journal as far as page 408 of the last volume. The whole, therefore, of the important part of the work, which comprehends his geographical discoveries and improvements, is now presented to the public, exactly as it would have been had Captain Vancouver been still living. The notes which he had made on his journey from the port of Valparaiso to his arrival at St. Jago de Chili, the capital of that kingdom, were unfortunately lost; and I am indebted to Captain Puget for having assisted me with his observations on that occasion.

Ever since Captain Vancouver's last return to England, his health had been in a very debilitated state, and his constitution was evidently so much impaired by the arduous services in which, from his earliest youth, he had been constantly engaged,^[4] that his friends dared to indulge but little hope that he would continue many years amongst them. Notwithstanding that it pleased the Divine Providence to spare his life until he had been able to revise and complete the account of the geographical part of his late Voyage of Discovery, a circumstance which must ever be regarded as most fortunate by all the friends of science, and especially by those professional persons who may hereafter be likely to follow him, through the intricate labyrinth which he had so minutely explored; yet it will ever be a consideration of much regret, that he did not survive to perfect the narrative of his labours.

He had made many curious observations on the natural history of the several countries he had visited, and on the manners, customs, laws and religion, of the various people with whom he had met, or amongst whom he had occasionally resided; but had been induced to postpone these miscellaneous matters, lest the regular diary of the voyage should be interrupted by the introduction of such desultory observations. These he had intended to present in the form of a supplementary or concluding chapter, but was prevented by the unfortunate event of his illness.

Most of the papers, which contain these interesting particulars, are too concise and too unconnected for me to attempt any arrangement of them, or to submit them to the reader without hazarding Captain Vancouver's judgment as an observer, or his reputation as a narrator, rigidly devoted to the truth. But as some of the notes, which he made upon the spot, are of too valuable a nature to be intirely lost, I shall venture to subjoin them to the History of the Voyage, as nearly as possible in his own words, without attempting any such arrangement of them, as might tend to diminish their authenticity, or bring into doubt that scrupulous veracity from which Captain Vancouver never departed.

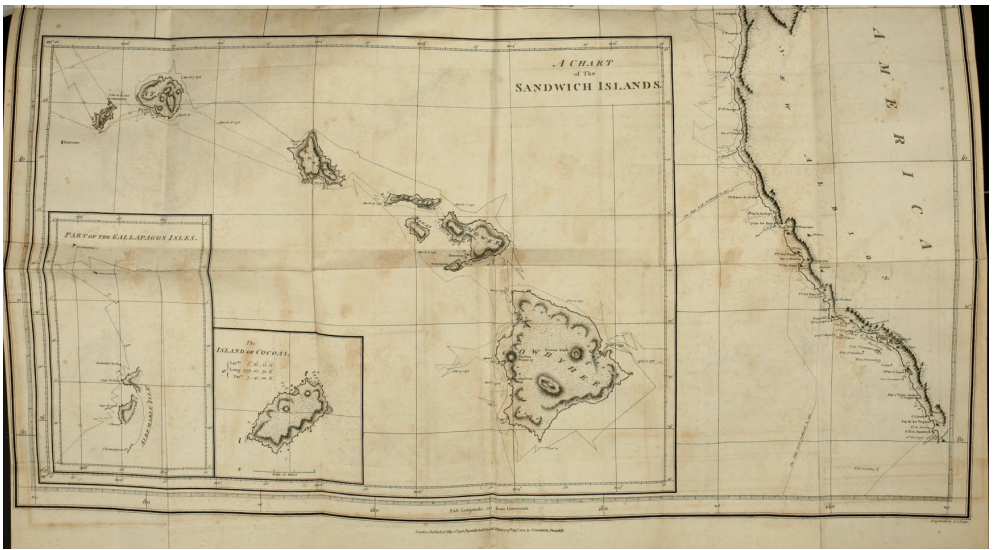
The whole narrative of the Voyage of Discovery having been brought to its conclusion at Valparaiso, by Captain Vancouver himself, there only remains for me to add, that in preparing for the press the small remainder of his journal, comprehending the passage round Cape Horn to St. Helena, and from thence to England, I have strictly adhered to the rough documents before me; but as no new incidents occurred in this part of the voyage, and as the insertion of log-book minutes, over a space which is now so frequently traversed, cannot either be useful or entertaining, I have endeavoured to compress this portion of the journal into as few pages as possible.

In performing this painful task, I have had severe and ample cause to lament the melancholy office to which I have been compelled, by the death of him whose early departure from this life has deprived his Majesty of an active and able officer, truth and science of a steady supporter, society of an uniformly valuable member, and in addition to the feelings of many who live to regret the loss of a sincere friend, I have to deplore that of a most affectionate brother.

JOHN VANCOUVER.

[4]

The late Captain Vancouver was appointed to the Resolution by Captain Cook in the autumn of the year 1771, and on his return from that voyage round the world, he undertook to assist in the outfit and equipment of the Discovery, destined to accompany Captain Cook on his last voyage to the North Pole, which was concluded in October, 1780. On the 9th of December following he was made a lieutenant into the Martin sloop; in this vessel he continued until he was removed into the Fame, one of Lord Rodney's fleet in the West Indies, where he remained until the middle of the year 1783. In the year 1784 he was appointed to, and sailed in the Europa to Jamaica, on which station he continued until her return to England in September 1789. On the 1st of January 1790, he was appointed to the Discovery, but soon afterwards was removed to the Courageux: here he remained until December, 1790, when he was made master and commander, and appointed to the Discovery. In August, 1794, he was, without solicitation, promoted to the rank of post-captain, and was paid off on the conclusion of his last voyage in November, 1795. After this period he was constantly employed, until within a few weeks of his decease, in May, 1798, in preparing the following journal for publication.



SANDWICH ISLANDS
[lower part of previous chart]

VOYAGE
TO THE
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN,
AND
ROUND THE WORLD.

BOOK THE FIRST.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE
EXPEDITION, UNTIL OUR DEPARTURE FROM OTAHEITE.

CHAPTER I.

*Equipment of the DISCOVERY and the CHATHAM—
Departure from Falmouth—Visit and Transactions at
Teneriffe—Occurrences and Observations during the
passage to the Cape of Good Hope—Transactions
there, and departure thence.*

On the 15th of December, 1790, I had the honour of receiving my commission as commander of his Majesty's sloop the Discovery, then lying at Deptford, where, the next morning, Thursday the 16th, I joined her, and began entering men. December
1790

Lieutenant William Robert Broughton having been selected as a proper officer to command the Chatham, he was accordingly appointed; but the repairs she demanded prevented her equipment keeping pace with that of the Discovery; which in most respects being completed by Thursday the 6th of January, 1791, the sails were bent, and the ship got in readiness to proceed down the river. With a favorable wind on the following day, Friday the 7th, we sailed, and anchored in Long Reach about five in the evening. Although this trial of the ship may appear very insignificant, yet as she had never been under sail, it was not made without some anxiety. The construction of her upper works, January 1791

for the sake of adding to the comfort of the accommodations, differing materially from the general fashion, produced an unsightly appearance, and gave rise to various opinions unfavorable to her qualities as a sea-boat; for which reason it was natural to pay the minutest attention to her steering and other properties when in motion; and we obtained in the course of this short trip, the pleasing prospect of her proving handy, and in all other respects a very comfortable vessel. Various necessary occupations detained us in Long Reach until Wednesday the 26th, when, having taken on board all our ordnance stores, and such things as were wanted from Deptford dock-yard, we proceeded down the river on our way to Portsmouth. My orders for this purpose were accompanied by another, to receive on board and convey to his native country, *Towereroo*, an Indian, from one of the Sandwich islands, who had been brought from thence by some of the north-west American traders, in July, 1789. This man had lived, whilst in England, in great obscurity, and did not seem in the least to have benefited by his residence in this country.

Unfavorable winds prevented our reaching the Downs until Sunday the 30th; where they still continued, and, being attended with very boisterous weather, detained us until Thursday the 3d of February; when, with a strong gale from the northward, we proceeded February 1791 down channel. About noon we passed the South Foreland, and had the misfortune to lose John Brown, who fell overboard and was drowned. He was one of the carpenter's mates, an exceedingly good man, and very much regretted. About noon on Saturday the 5th, we anchored at Spithead, where Rear Admiral Goodall's flag was flying on board his Majesty's ship *Vanguard*, in company with twelve sail of the line and several frigates.

Some defects in the ship's head were already evident, as the bumkins and a considerable part of the head were now washed away. These repairs, with such other duties as were necessary, I gave orders to have executed; and my presence being required in London, I repaired thither; where I remained until Sunday the 27th, when I returned to Portsmouth, with orders to proceed to Falmouth.

On former voyages of this description, it had been customary to pay the officers and ship's company the wages that had become due whilst they had been employed in the equipment of the vessels, which in general had occupied six months or upwards; enabling them by such means more effectually to provide themselves with those comforts which such long and remote services ever demand. But as a similar payment to the crews of the

Discovery and Chatham, (whose complements were now complete) for the short time they had been in pay, would have been of little assistance; the Lords of the Admiralty, at my solicitation, had the goodness to grant them three months pay in advance; which was accordingly received free of all deductions.

I have already mentioned that the Navy Board had supplied me with an assortment of mathematical instruments; and the Board of Longitude, in compliance with the wishes of the Admiralty, provided in addition two chronometers; one made by the late eminent Mr. Kendall, (the excellence of which had been manifested on board the Discovery during Captain Cook's last voyage, and which had lately been cleaned and put into order by its very worthy and ingenious maker, a short time before his decease;) the other lately made by Mr. Arnold. These had both been deposited at the observatory of the Portsmouth academy, for the purpose of finding their respective errors, and for ascertaining their rate of going. The former was delivered to me, with such observations as had been made to that effect; whence it appeared to be fast of mean time at Greenwich, on Tuesday the 1st of March at noon, 1' 30" 18", and to be March 1791 gaining on mean time at the rate of 6" 12" per day. The latter was directed to be put on board the Chatham, which vessel had now arrived from the river.

Having completely finished our business with the dock-yard on the evening of Thursday the 3d, we dropped down to St. Helen's, and the next morning, Friday the 4th, proceeded down channel, leaving the Chatham behind, not as yet quite ready to accompany us; in our way we stopped at Guernsey, and on Saturday the 12th arrived at Falmouth, where I was to wait the arrival of the Chatham, and to receive my final instructions for the prosecution of the voyage. An Admiralty messenger presented me with the latter on Sunday the 20th; but the Chatham did not arrive until the 31st, when Lieutenant Broughton, who had orders to put himself under my command, received such signals and instructions as were necessary on this occasion. He informed me, that they had experienced a very boisterous passage from Spithead, and that the Chatham had proved so very cranky, as, in some instances, to occasion considerable alarm. The length of time I had already waited for her arrival rendered this intelligence very unpleasant; as, demanding immediate attention, it would cause further delay, which I much wished to avoid; especially as a favorable gale for clearing the channel now prevailed. The apprehension of further detention by contrary winds, should we lose the present opportunity by breaking up the Chatham's hold for the reception of more ballast, induced me to resort to another expedient, that of

lending her all our shot, which when stowed amidships as low down as possible, and every weight removed from above, we flattered ourselves would be the means of affording a temporary relief to this inconvenience.

A gentle breeze from the N. E. at day dawn on Friday the 1st of April, enabled us to sail out of Carrack road, in April 1791 company with the Chatham; and at midnight we took a long farewell of our native shores. The Lizard lights bore by compass N. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. about eight leagues; and the wind being in the western quarter, we stood to the southward. Towards the morning of Saturday the 2d, on the wind's shifting to the south, we stood to the westward, clear of the English channel; with minds, it may easily be conceived, not intirely free from serious and contemplative reflections. The remote and barbarous regions, which were now destined, for some years, to be our transitory places of abode, were not likely to afford us any means of communicating with our native soil, our families, our friends or favorites, whom we were now leaving far behind; and to augment these painful reflections, his Majesty's proclamation had arrived at Falmouth, the evening prior to our departure, offering bounties for manning the fleet; several sail of the line were put into commission, and flag officers appointed to different commands: these were circumstances similar to those under which, in August, 1776, I had sailed from England in the Discovery, commanded by Captain Clerke, on a voyage which in its object nearly resembled the expedition we were now about to undertake. This very unexpected armament could not be regarded without pausing various opinions in those who, from day to day, would have opportunities of noticing the several measures inclining to war or peace; but to us, destined, as it were, to a long and remote exile, and precluded, for an indefinite period of time, from all chance of becoming acquainted with its result, it was the source of inexpressible solicitude, and our feelings on the occasion may be better conceived than described.

Having no particular route to the Pacific Ocean pointed out in my instructions, and being left at perfect liberty to pursue that which appeared the most eligible, I did not hesitate to prefer the passage by way of the Cape of Good Hope, intending to visit the Madeiras, for the purpose of procuring wine and refreshments. Our course was accordingly so directed against winds very unfavorable to our wishes. At noon on Sunday the 3d we reached the latitude $48^{\circ} 48'$ north, longitude by the chronometer $6^{\circ} 55'$ west; where the cloudy weather preventing our making the necessary observations on the sun eclipsed, produced no small degree of concern; as with the late improvement of applying deep magnifying powers to the telescopes of sextants, the observations on solar eclipses are rendered very easy to be

made at sea; and although we were not fortunate enough on this occasion to procure such, at the interesting periods of the eclipse, as would have put this improvement fully to the test, yet it was evident that these observations to persons not much accustomed to astronomical pursuits would be rendered plain and easy, by the reflected image of the sun being brought down to the horizon; so that the beginning and the end of the eclipse would be ascertained by the help of these deep magnifying telescopes with great precision; and probably it may not be unworthy the attention of the Board of Longitude to contrive, and cause such calculations to be published, as would tend to render these observations generally useful in the various parts of the globe, without the tedious process of calculating eclipses. The wind, continuing in the southern quarter, rendered our progress slow; the weather, however, being clear, afforded us employment in taking some good lunar observations; which, reduced to the noon of Tuesday the 12th, gave the mean result of four sets, taken by me, $12^{\circ} 24'$ west longitude; four sets taken by Mr. Whidbey, $12^{\circ} 30'$; the chronometer at the same time shewing $12^{\circ} 9'$; and as I considered the latter to be nearest the truth, the lunar observations appeared to be $15'$ to $21'$ too far to the westward. The longitude, by dead reckoning, $13^{\circ} 22'$, and the latitude $44^{\circ} 22'$ north. The error in reckoning amounting almost to a degree, seemed most likely to have been occasioned by our not having made sufficient allowance for the variation of the compass on our first sailing, as, instead of allowing from 22° to 25° , which was what we esteemed the variation, our observations for ascertaining this fact, when the ship was sufficiently steady, shewed the variation to be 28° and $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ westwardly. These opportunities, however, had not occurred so frequently as I could have wished, owing to a constant irregular swell that had accompanied us since leaving the land, and caused so much motion and pitching, that the whole head railings, bumkins, &c. were again washed away.

On Saturday the 16th, in latitude $42^{\circ} 34'$ north, longitude $12^{\circ} 31'$ west, the variation of the compass, by the mean result of six sets of observations taken by three compasses differing from $25^{\circ} 57'$ to $27^{\circ} 35'$, was observed to be $26^{\circ} 29'$ westwardly. The current was found to set in a direction E. N. E. at the rate of a quarter of a mile per hour. The whole of the day being perfectly calm, with remarkably fine weather, induced me to embrace the opportunity of unbending all our sails which wanted alteration, and to bend an intire new suit; these I caused to be soaked overboard for some hours, that the sea water might dissolve the size used in making the canvass, and by that means act as a preventive against the mildew in hot rainy weather. This process might probably be found useful in the operation of bleaching.

On our departure from England, I did not intend using any antiseptic provisions, until the refreshments which we might be enabled to procure at the Madeiras should be exhausted; but light baffling winds, together with the crank situation and bad sailing of the Chatham, having so retarded our progress, that, by Thursday the 21st, we were advanced no further than the latitude of $35^{\circ} 7'$ north, longitude $14^{\circ} 40'$ west: sour kroust and portable broth had, for some days, been served on board each of the vessels; the storerooms had been cleared, cleaned, and washed with vinegar, and the ship had been smoked with gunpowder mixed with vinegar. As I had ever considered fire the most likely and efficacious means to keep up a constant circulation of fresh and pure air throughout a ship; in the fore part of every day good fires were burning between decks, and in the well. Both decks were kept clean, and as dry as possible, and notwithstanding the weather was hot, and the smoke and heat thence arising was considered as inconvenient and disagreeable, yet I was confident that a due attention to this particular, and not washing too frequently below, were indispensable precautions, and would be productive of the most salubrious and happy effects in preserving the health and lives of our people. These preventive measures becoming the standing orders of the Discovery, it will be unnecessary hereafter to repeat that they were regularly enforced, as they were observed throughout the voyage with the strictest attention. It may not, however, on this subject, be improper to remark that, if instead of biscuit, seamen were provided with fresh soft bread, which can easily be made very good at sea, and a large proportion of wholesome water, where the nature of the services will admit of such a supply, they would add greatly to the preservation of that most valuable of all blessings, health.

The evening of Saturday the 23d, being remarkably fine and serene, brought us in sight of the island of Porto Sancto, bearing by compass S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 20 leagues distant; the next afternoon we passed its meridian, when the chronometer shewing its longitude to be $16^{\circ} 24' 15''$, varying only one minute to the westward of the true longitude of that island, proved it was going very well. As Madeira was our object, every effort was exerted to gain Funchal Road, until the evening of Monday the 25th, when the wind becoming excessively variable, and the weather gloomy and unsettled, that station seemed ineligible for executing the service of which the Chatham stood in need; namely, the breaking up her hold, for the purpose of receiving a large portion of ballast. Considering therefore the roadstead of S^{ta} Cruz as better calculated for this business, we proceeded towards Teneriffe. The wind which had been generally from the west, veered round by the north, as we advanced to the southward, and settled in the N. E. trade, accompanied

with fine pleasant weather, which, on Tuesday the 26th, in latitude $30^{\circ} 54'$ north, afforded me an opportunity of obtaining several sets of lunar distances with the different sextants in the ship. These were twelve in number, of the following eminent makers in London, (viz.) Ramsden, Dollond, Troughton, Adams, and Gilbert, though the greater number were made by Mr. Ramsden. They all agreed exceedingly well together, and their mean result shewed the longitude to be $16^{\circ} 21' 32''$; the chronometer made the longitude $16^{\circ} 31' 15''$ west; and as there could be no doubt of the latter being nearest the truth, the result of the lunar observations, by the several sextants, appeared to be $9' 43''$ too far to the eastward. On the other side of the moon, my lunar observations were $15'$ to the west of the true, or nearly the true, longitude, as was proved on our making the Madeiras. This evinces the accuracy with which these observations are in general capable of being made with good instruments, and by a careful observer.

In the morning of Thursday the 28th, the peak of Teneriffe was seen bearing by compass S. W. about sixteen leagues distant; and, in the evening, as we approached the roadstead of S^{ta} Cruz, we were met by the master attendant, who placed the ship in what, he said, he conceived the best birth in the roadstead, and the Chatham in our immediate neighbourhood.

When the ship was secured, an officer was sent to inform the governor of our arrival, and to solicit his permission to take on board such wine, and refreshments as we required; but having understood that he had waved a return of salute to some of his Majesty's ships that had lately visited Teneriffe; I did not choose to risk a refusal, however polite, to comply with this compliment. The officer was civilly received, and the contractor was, the next morning, directed to supply the different articles of which we stood in need.

Accompanied by Mr. Broughton, Mr. Menzies, and some of the other officers, on Friday the 29th, in the forenoon, I waited on his Excellency Sen^r Don Antonio Guitierrez, the governor general of the Canaries, who then resided in the city of S^{ta} Cruz. His excellency received us with the politeness usual on these occasions, and assured us of his readiness to afford us every assistance; but apologized that the poverty of the country prevented his inviting us to his table. Attended by the same party, on Sunday, the 1st of May, I visited the city of Lagoona, and after satisfying our curiosity with its external appearance, we returned to S^{ta} Cruz, and dined with Mr. Rhoney, an Irish gentleman, to whose hospitality we were greatly indebted. Had we not fortunately met with him immediately on our landing, we should have been much

May 1791

inconvenienced, as there did not appear another person on the island who was inclinable to offer us shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, or to afford us the smallest refreshment.

We had the mortification, this morning, of finding the small bower cable cut through nearly in the middle, which seemed to have been occasioned by an anchor lying at the bottom. The loss of an anchor in a situation where no other could be procured, was a matter of serious concern; no pains were spared to regain it until the afternoon of Thursday the 5th, when all our exertions proved ineffectual; and being apprehensive that other lost anchors might be in its vicinity, we weighed, went further out, and again anchored in 30 fathoms water on a soft dark oozy bottom intermixed with small white shells, having the northernmost church steeple in a line with the centre of the jetty, bearing by compass N. 48 W. and the southernmost fort S. 71 W. about three quarters of a mile from the town. This anchorage appeared to be far preferable to our former situation, being nearly as convenient for the landing place, without the hazard of damaging the cables by anchors which small vessels might have lost nearer in shore; and which is the only danger to be apprehended here, as the bottom is good holding ground, and, to all appearance, perfectly free from rocks.

The surf that had beaten with great violence on the shores for some days past, and for sheltering against which the pier of S^{ta} Cruz is but ill contrived, had much retarded the Chatham's business of taking on board shingle ballast, and prevented the completion of that object until late on Saturday night the 7th, when we put to sea, and directed our course to the southward.

The ballast which the Chatham had now taken on board certainly prevented her being so very crank, but it did not seem to have contributed to her sailing, as the Discovery still preserved a great superiority in that respect.

Not having supposed we should have been so long detained at Teneriffe, I took no steps for making astronomical observations onshore; those taken on board shewed the longitude by the chronometer to be $16^{\circ} 17' 5''$, only $50''$ to the westward of the true longitude, as laid down in the requisite tables: the latitude by our observations was $28^{\circ} 28' 38''$, and the variation, by the mean result of all our cards and compasses, was $16^{\circ} 38'$, differing from $15^{\circ} 58'$ to $17^{\circ} 17'$ westwardly.

For the information of those who may be induced to visit Teneriffe at this season of the year with the hope of procuring refreshments, I must remark, that we found the wine, water, and beef exceedingly good, and were

induced to take some days supply of the latter to sea; but fruit, vegetables, poultry, and all kinds of live stock were very indifferent, and most extravagantly expensive.

Towards noon of Sunday the 8th, we lost sight of the Canaries. The trade wind blew a pleasant gale, the sea was smooth, and the weather, being fine, enabled us to make some excellent lunar observations; those I took shewed the longitude to be $16^{\circ} 52' 36''$; those taken by Mr. Whidbey $16^{\circ} 52' 30''$; and the chronometer shewed $16^{\circ} 47' 45''$. The latitude, at this time, was $27^{\circ} 5'$ north; and the variation, by three compasses differing from $15^{\circ} 10'$ to $18^{\circ} 51'$, was $17^{\circ} 33' 40''$ westwardly.

Our course from the Canaries was directed to the westward of the cape de Verd Islands, which we gained sight of and passed on the forenoon of Saturday the 14th. The N. W. extremity of the island of St. Antonio appeared, by our observations, to be situated in $17^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, and $25^{\circ} 3' 22''$ west longitude; the variation of the compass $12^{\circ} 32' 15''$ westwardly. The fresh beef that we had brought from Teneriffe being exhausted, on Wednesday the 18th, portable broth and sour kroust were again served to the ships' crews; at this time we had reached the latitude of $9^{\circ} 35'$ north, longitude $23^{\circ} 27'$ west, when the weather, which had been pleasant and attended with a fresh gale from the N. E. very materially altered: the wind slackened and veered round to the north, and the atmosphere, though not cloudy, was encumbered with a bright haze nearly approaching to a fog, but without the least dampness or humidity. Through this medium the heavenly bodies were sufficiently visible whilst terrestrial objects were only discernible at small distances. This very singular appearance continued a few days until Saturday the 21st, when, in latitude $6^{\circ} 20'$ north, and longitude $22^{\circ} 40'$ west, the northerly breeze died away, the dense atmosphere disappeared, and they were succeeded by calm, cloudy, hot weather, the thermometer standing from 80° to 83° , attended with some heavy showers of rain and gusts of wind in various directions, though generally from the eastern quarter between N. E. and south. Our progress, with this kind of weather, was slow until Tuesday the 24th, when, in latitude $4^{\circ} 25'$ north, longitude $21^{\circ} 36'$ west, we seemed to have passed the line of those unpleasant and frequently unhealthy regions. The steadiness of the gentle gale, and the serenity of the weather indicated our having reached the S. E. trade winds; these conjectures were soon established by the wind gradually increasing, so that, about midnight on Friday the 27th, we crossed the equator in $25^{\circ} 15'$ west longitude. The variation to this point had gradually, though not very regularly, decreased to about 9° westwardly; and

the lunar observations, lately taken, had corresponded within a few minutes with the longitude shewn by the chronometer.

Crossing the equator so far to the westward has been frequently objected to, as being liable to entangle ships with the coast of Brazil. I am, however, of a different opinion, and conceive many advantages are derived by thus crossing the line; such as, pursuing a track destitute of those calms and heavy rains, which are ever attendant on a more eastwardly route. By every information I have been enabled to collect, it does not appear that much is to be gained in point of distance by crossing the equator in a more eastwardly longitude; since it seems that vessels which have pursued their southerly course to cross the line under the 10th, 15th, or 20th meridian of west longitude, have, by the trade wind blowing there in a more southerly direction, been driven equally as far west, to the 25th, 26th, and 27th degrees of west longitude before they have been enabled to gain the variable winds, without the benefit of a constant breeze and fair weather, which with the very little interruption between the 21st and 24th, was experienced during this passage.

From the equator, with a brisk trade wind, we steered with a full sail and flowing sheet; which by the 1st of June brought us to the latitude of $7^{\circ} 52'$ south, longitude $29^{\circ} 7'$ west; whence we June 1791 ceased stretching further to the westward, and made a good course a few degrees to the eastward of south; so that on Thursday the 9th we had reached the latitude of $19^{\circ} 47'$ south, longitude $27^{\circ} 27'$ west, approaching to the parallel of the islands Trinadada and Martin Vas. The wind now permitted our steering well to the eastward of south; but lest an error should have existed in our longitude, or in that of those islands, I directed the Chatham to increase her distance from us by holding a south course, for the purpose of gaining a view of that land; by sun-set we were in the latitude of $20^{\circ} 9'$ south, the parallel of those islands, but saw nothing of them. The longitude of the former is stated to be $28^{\circ} 50'$, that of the latter $28^{\circ} 34'$ west; allowing their longitude, and that of the ship, to have been accurately ascertained, we passed them at the distance of 24 and 19 leagues.

On Sunday the 12th we crossed the southern tropic in $25^{\circ} 18'$ west longitude; the variation of the compass had now gradually decreased to $4^{\circ} 30'$ westwardly, and having lately taken many very good lunar distances of the sun and stars on different sides of the moon, I assumed their mean result as the true longitude, or nearly so; by which, the observations for the longitude, according to the chronometer, appeared to be $14' 25''$ too far to the eastward; whence it should appear, that it was not gaining quite so much

as had been allowed in consequence of its rate, as ascertained at Portsmouth. After crossing the tropic of Capricorn, the wind became very variable, as well in point of strength as in direction, so that on Tuesday the 28th we had only advanced to the latitude of $31^{\circ} 56'$ south, longitude $4^{\circ} 18'$ west.

The weather was in general very pleasant: and the Chatham, to our great mortification, continued to sail equally slow in light as in fresh gales, which materially affected the progress of our voyage; the object of which was of such a nature that it would allow of no opportunity of being passed by, that, with propriety, could be embraced for the advancement of geography and navigation; and as Captain Cook's chart of the Sandwich islands presented little field for any improvement that could occupy the several winters we were likely to pass in their vicinity, I resolved in our way to the Pacific Ocean to visit the S. W. part of New Holland, and endeavour to acquire some information of that unknown, though interesting country. Having much business to perform at the Cape of Good Hope in the carpenter's department, it became expedient, for the carrying into execution the whole of my plan, that no time should be lost; particularly as our passage from England had already exceeded the limits of my expectations. These reasons induced me to make the best of our way in the Discovery to the Cape of Good Hope, and should the Chatham be able to keep up with us, she was directed so to do; if otherways, Mr. Broughton was provided with sufficient instructions.

The wind was light and variable, until Friday, July the 1st, in latitude $33^{\circ} 54'$ south, longitude $58^{\circ} 40''$ west, it blew a fine gale from the N. N. E. attended with pleasant weather; the Chatham until this evening remained in sight, but in the morning was not within the limits of our horizon. As we approached the African shore the weather became very unsettled, with sudden transitions from calms to heavy gales, attended with much thunder, lightning, and a heavy swell from the westward and S. W. One of these gales, on Tuesday the 5th, reduced us for a few hours to our courses. The wind became southwardly with pleasant weather on Thursday the 7th, when a strange sail was descried to the N. E. holding a course, as if intending to pass the Cape, and some of us thinking the sea was discoloured, we tried for soundings, but found no bottom with 140 fathoms of line. After passing the 27° of south latitude, many oceanic birds were our constant companions, consisting of three kinds of albatrosses, the quebrantahuessos, pintadoes, the sooty, the black, and small blue petrels, with some few other small birds of the same tribe; amongst which were but few of the storm petrel, which in these regions are generally numerous. Most of these, by the 7th, had disappeared, and, in their place, were seen the blue petrel of the larger sort, though comparatively in small numbers; at noon the

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observed latitude was $35^{\circ} 13'$ south, longitude 14° east. The wind blew a strong gale from W. S. W. in the afternoon of Friday the 8th, when judging the Cape of Good Hope to bear from us N. 66 E. true, distant 18 leagues, we experienced, for the space of about seven miles, a most extraordinary agitation in the sea, to be compared only to a large cauldron of boiling water; this was supposed to be the effect of two contending currents, and for that reason I did not try soundings. I was also particularly anxious to gain sight of the land, which, in the event of the chronometer proving correct, there was great probability of doing before dark; but not seeing it we stood on till ten in the evening, when, by our lunar observations, supposing the Cape land to be about eight leagues distant, we hauled to the wind, and plied in order to preserve our then situation until the morning of Saturday the 9th. At day-light the Cape was in sight, bearing east by compass, eight leagues distant. This instance will, I trust, be not the only one I shall be able to adduce, to prove the utility of the lunar method of finding the longitude, and the very great importance that such information must be of to every sea officer.

At this season of the year, the boisterous weather and the prevailing winds from the N. W. rendering Table Bay not only excessively unpleasant but insecure, our course was directed to False Bay. At noon, the observed latitude was $34^{\circ} 26'$ south, the Cape of Good Hope then bearing E. N. E. five or six miles distant. This promontory, and the dangerous rocks that lie in its neighbourhood, we passed, and stood into False Bay, where in the evening, the weather falling calm, we anchored in 40 fathoms water; the Cape bearing west by compass, ten miles distant; Simon's Bay N. N. W. and the False Cape S. E.; in this situation the chronometer shewed the longitude to be $18^{\circ} 52' 45''$, making an error, or variation in its rate of going, as ascertained at Portsmouth, of $18' 30''$ equal to $1' 14''$ of time since the first day of March; which will, without doubt, be received and considered as being very correct; it also corresponded with my observations, and what on that subject I had noticed on the 12th of June.

Our passage through the Atlantic Ocean being thus accomplished, it becomes requisite, in compliance with the method proposed in the introduction for correcting the errors of navigation, to have some retrospect to this passage, especially since passing the Cape de Verd islands.

From the island of St. Antonio, until we had crossed the latitude of cape St. Augustine, we were materially affected by currents; and between the latitude of 6° north and the equator, strong riplings were conspicuous on the surface of the sea. These currents, contrary to the general opinion, seem to

possess no regularity, as we found ourselves, day after day, driven in directions very contrary to our expectations from the impulse we had experienced on the former day, and by no means attended with that periodical uniformity, pointed out by Mr. Nicholson in his lately revised and corrected Indian directory, published in the year 1787. On the contrary, instead of the currents at this season of the year, agreeably to his hypothesis, setting to the northward, the most prevailing stream we experienced set to the south, and more in a south-eastern than a south-western direction. This very able mariner, still wedded to formerly adopted opinions, strongly recommends the variation of the compass as a means for ascertaining the longitude at sea: yet, had we been no better provided, we might have searched for the Cape of Good Hope agreeably with his proportions, to little effect: for when we were in latitude $35^{\circ} 7'$ south, with $20^{\circ} 16'$ west variation, we had only reached the longitude of $6^{\circ} 30'$ east; and again, when in latitude $35^{\circ} 22'$ south, with $22^{\circ} 7'$ west variation, we had only advanced to the longitude of $11^{\circ} 25'$ east, instead of being, according to Mr. Nicholson's hypothesis, in the first instance nearly under the meridian of the cape of Good Hope, and in the second, under that of cape Aguilas; and it was not until we had near 26° of west variation, that we approached the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. The observations for the variation were made with the greatest care and attention; and though generally considered as very correct, they differed from one to three, and sometimes four degrees, not only when made by different compasses placed in different situations on board, and the ship on different tacks, but by the same compass in the same situation, made at moderate intervals of time; the difference in the results of such observations, at the same time, not preserving the least degree of uniformity. Hence the assertion amounts nearly to an absurdity, which states, "that with 20° to $20^{\circ} 10'$, or $20^{\circ} 30'$ westwardly variation, you will be certain" of such and such longitude; and it is greatly to be apprehended, that navigators who rely on such means for ascertaining their situation in the ocean, will render themselves liable to errors that may be attended with the most fatal consequences. Other methods are, I trust, in a fair train for accomplishing this desirable object; and I yet hope to see the period arrive, when every seafaring person capable of using a quadrant, will, on due instruction, be enabled by lunar observations to determine his longitude at sea. It has been already observed, that such information may be acquired with ease, and without laborious study or tedious application; this was further warranted by our example on board the Discovery; where, on our departure from England, Mr. Whidbey and myself could be considered as the only proficient in this branch of science; but now, amongst the officers and gentlemen of the quarter-deck, there were several capable of

ascertaining their situation in the ocean, with every degree of accuracy necessary for all the important purposes of navigation.

With a light southwardly breeze in the morning of Sunday the 10th, we weighed anchor, and with the assistance of our boats a-head, towing the ship, we reached Simon's bay at about seven in the evening, where we anchored in twelve fathoms water; False cape bearing by compass in a line with the south point of the bay, S. 37 E. Noah's ark, S. 51 E. the Roman rocks, S. 86 E. and the flag staff on the battery, S. 89 W. about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

The day before a brig was seen in shore of us, which was supposed to be the Chatham; but as the private signal was not acknowledged by her, we concluded ourselves mistaken. Our first conjectures, however, proved to be right, as Mr. Broughton now informed me the signal had escaped their attention. Since we had separated, the Discovery had outsailed her consort only the night's run; the Chatham not having hauled her wind or shortened sail on Friday night, she was the next morning within the same distance of the land as the Discovery. Nothing had occurred during this separation worthy of notice. I was made excessively happy to understand from Mr. Broughton, that the officers and crew of the Chatham, like those of the Discovery, were in general very healthy. Beside the Chatham, we found here his Majesty's ship the Gorgon; the Warren Hastings, and Earl Fitzwilliam Indiamen from Bengal; two port Jackson transports from China bound home; three with convicts bound to port Jackson; two American, and some Dutch and Danish merchant ships; the total amounting to seventeen sail in the bay.

In the morning of Monday the 11th, an officer was sent on shore to acquaint the resident commandant of the port, Mr. Brandt, of our arrival, and to request his permission to procure such refreshments and stores as our wants now demanded, and to erect our observatory and such tents on shore as might be requisite for carrying into execution the necessary refitment of the vessels; with all which Mr. Brandt very politely complied; and, on the return of the officer, the garrison was saluted with eleven guns; which compliment being equally returned, attended by Mr. Broughton and some of the officers, I waited on Mr. Brandt, who received us with the greatest politeness and hospitality, the well known characteristics of that gentleman. Having, on a former occasion, benefited by his good offices in the excellency of the supplies provided for the Resolution and Discovery, I concerted measures with him, on the present, for the like purpose. Mr. Brandt undertook, in conjunction with Mr. De Wit, of Cape Town, to see all

our necessities provided for with the best of the several commodities the country afforded. The Discovery's bowsprit, being found infinitely too weak, was taken out in order to be strengthened by one of the fishes we had on board; the whole of the head railing, having been washed away, was to be replaced; the vessels wanting caulking fore and aft; the rigging, overhauling; casks to be set up for receiving provisions and water; the sails repairing, and several materially altering; the powder airing; and the skids and booms raising, for the better enabling of the people to work upon deck; the ship proving sufficiently stiff to admit of such accommodation. Artificers were hired to assist our own in these several duties; which being in a state of forwardness by the 14th, Mr. Broughton and myself paid our respects to Mr. Rhenias, the acting governor at Cape Town, with the further view of inspecting the stores and provisions, the major part of which were to come from thence. Four of our seamen, whose constitutions seemed unequal to the service in which they had engaged, and whom I had now an opportunity of replacing, were sent on board the Warren Hastings; and, with her, on Monday the 18th, sailed for England.

All our stores and provisions being forwarded from Cape Town by Friday the 5th of August, we took leave of the governor and our Cape friends, from whom we had experienced the most attentive civility; and having completed such observations as were wanted, the observatory with the instruments were, on Tuesday the 9th, sent on board. August 1791

By Thursday the 11th, all our transactions were finished with the shore; having obtained for each vessel a supply of provisions, which completed our stock for eighteen months at full allowance, and a due proportion of stores for the like period. I took on board also seven ewes and six rams; an assortment of garden seeds, vine cuttings, and other plants that were likely to grow, and prove valuable acquisitions to our friends in the South-Sea islands. As I intended putting to sea the next day, we were busily employed in preparing the ship for that purpose, which, on the morning of Friday the 12th, we attempted; but the wind shifting to the S. S. E. permitted our taking only a more outside birth for the better convenience of sailing when the wind should prove more favorable.

It is customary at the Cape of Good Hope for so many of the officers as can conveniently be spared to take up their residence on shore. In this respect I had conformed to old practices, but was excessively mortified, at my return on board, to find that several of our people had, within a few days, become indisposed with a dysentery, which at first seemed of little

importance, but had now put on a very serious appearance; and some of the patients were extremely ill. The cause of this unfortunate malady it was hard to ascertain: the crew had not been subject to inebriety; their provisions had been of the best quality, and most wholesome nature; and every precaution had been taken to prevent their sleeping on deck, or exposing themselves to the dew or night air. No neglect of the salutary measures generally observed, or individual indiscretion of any sort seemed to have produced this lamentable visitation, whose contagious influence suffered no one to escape unattacked; although myself and officers did not feel its effects so violently as they were experienced by the people. The same disorder had not only appeared on board the Chatham, and the transports bound to port Jackson, but on shore; and at length it was attributed to a large Dutch ship lately arrived from Batavia, from which many men had been sent on shore to the hospital very ill, and dying with that and other infectious disorders. The surgeon of the Discovery was seized in a very sudden and singular manner, and reduced to an extreme state of delirium, without any other symptoms which indicated fever.

To persons, situated as we were, on the eve of quitting the civilized world, and destitute of all help and resources, but such as we carried with us, such a calamity was of the most serious and distressing nature; and was not only severely felt at the moment, but tended to destroy the good effects we had every reason to expect from the very excellent and abundant supply of refreshments the Cape had afforded. I now became excessively anxious to get to sea, lest the Batavian ship should communicate any other disorder, or a worse species of that with which we were already attacked. This earnest desire, a S. E. wind and calms prevented our accomplishing until Wednesday the 17th, when, about noon, a light breeze springing up from the N. W. we sailed, in company with the Chatham, out of Simon's bay, and saluted the garrison with eleven guns, which were equally returned.

Few of our transactions, whilst at our last station, appeared worthy of recording excepting the occurrences at the observatory, where I did not think any observations were at all necessary for ascertaining the longitude; as that must have been accurately determined long ago by persons of greater information and superior abilities. The latitude; the rate and error of the chronometer; and the variation and dip of the magnetic needle, were the principal objects that occupied our attention. The former would not have attracted much of my notice, had it not appeared by the first day's observations, that a very material difference existed between the latitude shewn by my observations, and the latitude of Simon's bay as stated by Captain King in the 3d vol. of Cook's Voyage to the Northern Hemisphere,

where, in page 484, it is said that “the latitude of the anchorage place in Simon’s bay is, by observation, $34^{\circ} 20'$ south.” This, however, is most probably an error of the press, since, immediately afterwards, we find the Cape point is said to be in $34^{\circ} 23'$ south; which point is at least 12 or 13 miles to the southward of Simon’s bay. Our observatory was situated near the south point of this bay, and its latitude, deduced from 26 meridional altitudes of the sun and stars, was $34^{\circ} 11' 40''$; this, on allowing the distance to the Cape point, will be nearly found to agree with its latitude; which was further confirmed by our observations on passing it the day we entered False bay.

By the first observations, made on shore, the chronometer shewed the longitude to be $18^{\circ} 39' 45''$, which was $17' 45''$ to the eastward of the truth, and corresponded with what has been stated before, that it was not gaining at the rate we had allowed: further observations, however, demonstrated that, although it might have been gaining less during the passage, it was now evidently gaining on its Portsmouth rate, and was found on the 8th of August at noon, to be fast of mean time at Greenwich, $17' 49'' 6'''$, and gaining on mean time at the rate of $9'' 28'''$ per day. Mr. Arnold’s chronometer was found to have gone but indifferently on board the Chatham; and, at the observatory, it was fast of mean time at Greenwich $1^{\text{h}} 18' 48'' 6'''$ and gaining on mean time at the rate of $16'' 11''' 8''''$ per day. The variation of the magnetic needle, taken at the observatory by our different compasses and cards, in twenty sets of azimuths, varied from $24^{\circ} 3'$ to $27^{\circ} 48'$; the mean result being $25^{\circ} 40'$ west variation.

The vertical inclination of the south point of the magnetic needle was observed to be

Marked end	North,	face East,	$48^{\circ} 30'$
Ditto	North,	face West,	48 20
Ditto	South,	face East,	48 40
Ditto	South,	face West,	48 30

Mean inclination of the south point of the dipping needle 48 30

N. B. The longitude throughout the voyage, and until our arrival at St. Helena, on our return to Europe, will be reckoned eastward.

The latitude inserted in the following chapters, and until the 13th of February, 1792, when it will be otherwise distinguished, is to be received,

and considered as south latitude.

The positive or relative situations of all coasts, capes, promontories, islands, rocks, sands, breakers, bays, ports, &c. &c. will hereafter be stated as *true, or by the world*; and those *bearings* which will be taken from any local situation, whether on board the vessels, or in the boats, will be inserted according to compass, and be so expressed.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from False Bay—Death of Neil Coil by the Flux—Proceed towards the Coast of New Holland—Discover King George the Third's Sound—Transactions there—Leave King George the Third's Sound—Departure from the South-west Coast of New Holland.

The nature of our voyage rendering every precaution necessary to prevent, as far as was possible, a separation of the vessels, Mr. Broughton, in case of parting company, was provided with a list of rendezvous; and, the better to insure our rejoining, I now deemed it expedient that he should be furnished with a copy of my instructions, and the route I intended to pursue; together with ample directions, that, in the event of a total separation, he might be enabled to carry the objects of the expedition into execution.

Although our stay at the Cape had far exceeded my expectations, yet I did not abandon the design of visiting the S. W. part of New Holland. The season would probably be too far advanced for acquiring so much information as I could have wished, yet there still remained a fair prospect of obtaining some intelligence, which would render the task less difficult to those, whose particular object it might hereafter be to explore that country. I therefore on sailing out of False bay, appointed our next rendezvous off, what in the charts is called Lyon's Land, in about the 35th degree of south latitude—in case of separation to cruize there two days; and, not meeting with the Discovery, then to proceed agreeably to other instructions.

The Albemarle, Admiral Barrington, and Britannia transports bound to port Jackson, followed us out of the bay: of these ships, as well as of the African coast, we took leave in the evening, and directed our course to the southward. During the night, the wind veered to the N. W. and blew so hard a gale that we were obliged to double reef the topsails and take in the foresail, as the Chatham was a great distance a-stern; and not being in sight at day-break, we hauled to the wind: about seven she was seen to the westward, and, having joined company, we steered to the S. S. E. together. The N. W. wind gradually increased, attended with violent squalls and heavy rain, until Saturday the 20th, when it became a perfect storm, obliging us to strike the top-gallant masts, and reducing us to the foresail, which we were necessitated to carry, though under great apprehension of its being blown to

pieces, in order that we might reach a more temperate region. The sea ran excessively high, and the wind in violent flurries raised the spray into a kind of fog, or mist, which at intervals was quite salt, when not mixed with the showers of rain, which were frequent, and very heavy: in one of these we again lost sight of the Chatham, and seeing nothing of her on its clearing away, the foresail was furled, and the ship brought to, under the storm staysails. In this situation, the Discovery proved much easier and drier than we had reason to expect, as she was now extremely deep with stores and provisions. At this time, we were visited by many albatrosses, and an innumerable variety of birds of the petrel tribe. About noon on Sunday the 21st our consort was again in sight, and on her joining company, we resumed our course to the S. E. under the foresail. This very boisterous weather, accompanied with much thunder and lightning, continued with intermissions sufficient only to tempt our spreading some additional canvas, (which was scarcely unfurled before it was again necessary to take it in) until Monday the 22d; when it so far moderated as to permit the close-reefed topsails to be kept set. In the afternoon, we passed the Albemarle and Admiral Barrington. The sight of these vessels was very grateful to our feelings, particularly of the latter, which we had understood was an old debilitated ship, for whose safety during the late violent stormy weather we had been greatly apprehensive. The wind, in the morning of Tuesday the 23d, being moderate, the top-gallant, and studding-sails were set; the weather, however, was unsettled, with showers of hail and rain; and a heavy irregular swell rolled at the same time from the northward and south-west. In the intervals of fine weather, I got some lunar observations which shewed the longitude at noon to be $31^{\circ} 55'$; the chronometer by the Portsmouth rate $31^{\circ} 29'$; by the Cape rate $31^{\circ} 42'$; the latitude $39^{\circ} 8'$. Many whales were now playing about the ship, but a less number of oceanic birds attended us than usual.

The weather being tolerably fair on Wednesday the 24th, enabled me to make some further lunar observations. The mean result of these, and those taken the preceding day *brought forward by the chronometer*, shewed the longitude at noon to be $34^{\circ} 13'$. By this expression is to be understood the space east or west, which the ship may have passed over in the interval of time between the taking one set of lunar observations and that of another; the extent of which space is ascertained, not according to the vague mode of the ship's run, as appears by the log, but from the distance shewn by the chronometer; whereby the result of many observations made in different situations are reduced to any one particular point. The chronometer at this time, by the Portsmouth rate, shewed $33^{\circ} 50'$, by the Cape rate $34^{\circ} 5'$, the

latitude $39^{\circ} 28'$ and the longitude by account $36^{\circ} 17'$. The weather continued very changeable; but the wind being gentle in the northern quarter afforded an opportunity of sending on board the Chatham, whence we understood that, in consequence of a violent sea having stove in the midship stern window on the morning of the 20th, it had been necessary to bring to until that damage was repaired.

The wind freshened, attended with frequent squalls, on Friday the 26th; when, having reached latitude $39^{\circ} 45'$, longitude $37^{\circ} 53'$, we were able for the first time since our departure from the Cape to observe the variation; which, by the mean result of two compasses, differing from $32^{\circ} 53'$ to $35^{\circ} 5'$, was found to be $32^{\circ} 59'$ westwardly. In the space we were now approaching, namely, between the meridians of $38^{\circ} 33'$ and $43^{\circ} 47'$ east longitude, and the parallels of $34^{\circ} 24'$, and $38^{\circ} 20'$ south latitude, seven different shoals are said to exist. To acquire some information respecting a circumstance so interesting to navigation, I had held this southwardly course; but the very stormy weather we had lately contended with, and the appearance of its again returning, rendered a search for these shoals not altogether prudent. To attempt the examination of the whole space I considered as not more necessary than discreet; but since in the event of their existence, it was highly probably they would be found connected, I was induced to shape a course so as to fall in with the south-easternmost, said to lie in latitude $38^{\circ} 20'$, longitude $43^{\circ} 43'$, which, had been reported to have been seen by several Dutch vessels. On Sunday the 28th, in latitude $38^{\circ} 56'$, longitude $42^{\circ} 30'$, the wind at W. S. W. increasing with great violence obliged me to desist from this enquiry, and for our own safety, in the event of these shoals having existence, to hawl to the S. E. The gale soon became a storm, attended with heavy squalls, hail, rain, and a most tremendous sea from the westward and S. W. which made it necessary to strike the top-gallant masts, and reduced us to the foresail; which, with great apprehension of losing it, we were obliged to carry in order to pass clear of the space assigned to these hidden dangers. It is, however, worthy of remark, that, notwithstanding our course was directed so wide of the allotted spot, we certainly passed it at no great distance in the night, as by our observations the next day, Monday the 29th, instead of making fourteen miles southing, which the reckoning gave, we found ourselves twelve miles to the north of the latitude we were in the preceding day, the longitude $45^{\circ} 4'$. Whether this difference is to be ascribed to any current produced by the interruption these shoals may give to the oceanic waters, when pressed eastwardly by the prevailing westwardly winds, or to the bad steerage of the ship, cannot be positively determined; but as the Chatham steered precisely the same course,

the inference seems rather favorable to our having been influenced by a current occasioned probably by the existence of such shoals. On the violence of the storm abating, we made sail and resumed our eastwardly course, intending to pass in sight of the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam. During the gale we were visited by a great number of the various kinds of oceanic birds; yet these by no means seemed to indicate the vicinity of land or shoals, since they are constantly met with throughout the southern ocean.

The weather that succeeded this storm being delightfully pleasant, attended with a smooth sea, and a gentle gale between the north and N. E. made me regret that we had not experienced this favorable change somewhat earlier, as it would probably have enabled us to have acquired some satisfactory information as to the existence of the shoals in question; but having now no leisure for this inquiry, I was obliged to rest contented with having exerted our fruitless endeavours in the attempt, and embraced this valuable opportunity of getting ourselves and ship clean, dry, and comfortable; which since our leaving the land had been very ill effected.

The flux still continued amongst us, and some of our patients were yet very much indisposed; we however were in hopes that the present fair weather would soon restore to us the blessings of health. Some good observations were procured in the course of this day, Tuesday the 30th, and of the preceding day with our different compasses: those taken on the 31st differed from $30^{\circ} 45'$ to $35^{\circ} 45'$; and those on Thursday the first of September from $30^{\circ} 58'$ to $35^{\circ} 7'$; the mean result of seven sets of azimuths was $32^{\circ} 47'$ westwardly variation; the latitude at noon $38^{\circ} 19'$, and the longitude $51^{\circ} 21'$. We were not long indulged with a continuance of the fine weather: the wind gradually veered to the N. W. and westward, and increased to a fresh gale; which, however, did not reduce us below the topsails; although the weather bore a very threatening appearance; the sky was obscured with dark gloomy clouds, from which some rain fell; yet the sea was smooth, and the weather altogether was infinitely more pleasant than we had lately experienced.

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At noon on Sunday the 4th, in latitude $38^{\circ} 6'$, longitude $61^{\circ} 36'$, the first seal we had seen since our departure from the Cape amused itself in playing about the ship for some time; but our companions, the oceanic birds, had not lately been very numerous; these visitors were mostly pintadoes, and other small birds of the petrel tribe.

Four sets of lunar observations were obtained on Monday the 5th, which shewed the longitude to be $64^{\circ} 14' 40''$; the chronometer by the Portsmouth rate $63^{\circ} 46'$, and by the Cape rate $64^{\circ} 10'$, the latitude $37^{\circ} 52'$. The variation

on Wednesday the 7th, in latitude $38^{\circ} 15'$ and longitude $69^{\circ} 33'$, was observed to be $25^{\circ} 52'$ westwardly. The same gloomy weather continued with a fresh gale at N. N. W. In the night we had the misfortune to lose Neil Coil, one of the marines, who fell a sacrifice to the baneful effects of the flux caught at the Cape, which attacked him with much greater violence than any other person on board. He was an exceedingly good man; his loss was sensibly felt, and much regretted. In addition to this calamity, disasters of the same nature seemed not likely to terminate: another of our people, who had suffered very severely by this dreadful contagion, but who was so much recovered as to be nearly equal to his duty, was so affected by this poor fellow's dissolution, that he relapsed with very unfavorable symptoms. Our convalescents were still numerous; and the work of death having commenced, we knew not where it might end, or where we could recruit the strength which we might thus lose; our whole complement being scarcely equal, when in the highest health, to the service we had to perform. One reflection was, however, highly satisfactory; that, in point of comfort; and professional assistance, no one thing within our power to supply, had been omitted for the present relief of the distress, or for the prevention of any melancholy consequences in future; and we trusted, with the Divine blessing, and a steady adherence to the conduct, which we had observed, finally to subdue and extirpate this dreadful malady.

In the evening of Thursday the 8th I took some lunar distances with the star Antares, which, with those taken on the 5th, shewed the longitude by their mean result, to be $73^{\circ} 44'$; the chronometer by the Portsmouth rate $73^{\circ} 1'$, and by the Cape rate $73^{\circ} 27'$; the latitude $38^{\circ} 45'$, and the variation $23^{\circ} 36'$ westwardly.

The next evening, agreeably to our reckoning, we were passing between the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, distant from the latter about five or six leagues. The weather was thick and rainy, yet I continued to hope that a favorable interval would enable us to see one or both of these islands, having steered this eastwardly course with a wish to correct an error that appears in Captain Cook's charts of the southern hemisphere. In these the island of St. Paul is laid down in the latitude of $37^{\circ} 50'$, corresponding with the situation assigned to it in the requisite tables; and to the north of this island, in about the latitude of $36^{\circ} 40'$ is placed another called the island of Amsterdam: now the island which Mr. Cox in the Mercury stopped at, and called Amsterdam, is in sight of and situated 17 leagues to the *south* of the island of St. Paul. Captain Bligh, in the Bounty, also saw the same island, and allots to it nearly the same situation as does Mr. Cox. For these reasons, if there be an island to the north of St. Paul, in latitude $36^{\circ} 40'$ there must be

three instead of two of these islands, which I believe has never been understood to be the fact. The weather, however, precluded my forming a just opinion as to this point, which I fully intended to ascertain, could we have seen either of the islands; but the rain and haze continuing to obscure every object at the distance of two leagues, we perceived no indication of the vicinity of land, notwithstanding the immense number of whales and seals which are said to frequent these islands. Of the latter we did not see any, and of the former but one; which was the only whale we had observed since that mentioned on the 23d of last month. From hence towards the coast or New Holland, our course was directed between the tracks of Dampier and M. Marion, over a space, I believe, hitherto unfrequented. In this route, assisted by a fine gale between north and W. N. W. we made great progress, so that our observed latitude on Sunday the 18th was $36^{\circ} 49'$, longitude $103^{\circ} 48'$: for some days past we had experienced a very heavy swell from the S. W. though the wind prevailed from the northward.

The situation of that part of New Holland for which we were now steering, being ill defined, and a probability existing that banks might extend a considerable distance into the ocean, we tried, but gained no soundings with 180 fathoms of line. On Monday the 19th, in latitude $36^{\circ} 45'$, longitude $105^{\circ} 47'$, the variation was observed to be $14^{\circ} 10'$ westwardly. The wind at N. N. E. attended with heavy squalls and rain, increased with such violence, as to oblige us to strike the top-gallant masts, and to furl the topsails. The pintado birds that, for some days past, had nearly disappeared, again visited the ship, accompanied by a great variety of the petrel tribe, with some albatrosses; and it now seemed evident, that the appearance of these inhabitants of the ocean, was increased in point of numbers and in variety, in proportion to the violence of the wind; as in moderate weather few only were visible. We continued to try for soundings at certain intervals, but did not reach bottom at the depth of 180 fathoms. The wind at W. S. W. blew a strong gale, and the night of Tuesday the 20th being dark and squally, we hauled to the wind, and plied; lest the land, which is represented as very low, or shoals, might be nearer than we expected; at day-break we again resumed our eastwardly course, observing every night the like precautions.

In the morning of Friday the 23d, conceiving that the land could not be at any great distance, and that the coast might lie to the north of the course we were steering, the Chatham's signal was made to look out on the larboard beam. The wind from the westward blew a strong gale, accompanied with a very heavy sea; but the sky being clear, permitted me to obtain some good lunar observations, which, with those taken on the 21st, shewed the longitude at noon to be $114^{\circ} 14'$; the chronometer, by the Portsmouth rate

113° 32', by the Cape rate 113° 55', the latitude 35° 7'. Soon after mid-day, the wind at W. S. W. increased to a very heavy gale; and not choosing, under such circumstances, to make too free with a coast intirely unexplored; we hauled the wind to the southward, under the foresail and storm staysails. Towards sun-set, land was said to be seen from the mast-head to the E. N. E. and, although this was not absolutely certain, yet it was extremely probable, as we had passed several leagues over the space assigned to Lyon's Land in most of the maps. A press of sail was now carried in order to keep to the windward, having no bottom at the depth of 120 fathoms; in consequence of which, and a very heavy sea, the larboard side of the head, with the bumkin, &c. was intirely torn away. On the gale's moderating the next morning, Saturday the 24th, we stood to the north, in quest of the land; but some of the officers conceiving they saw land to the S. E. we hauled our wind again in that direction until noon, in latitude 35° 28', longitude 115° 10', when, being disappointed, we again stood to the north, under double reefed topsails, until eight in the evening: we then tacked to spend the night, which bore a very threatening appearance, over a space we were already acquainted with, and found bottom at 70 fathoms depth, composed of white sand, and broken shells; the latitude at this time was 34° 51', the longitude 115° 12'. The very gloomy appearance of the night rendered our carrying a press of sail indispensably necessary to preserve an offing, as the soundings strongly indicated the land not to be distant. During the night we did not reach the bottom with 100 fathoms of line; and the morning of Sunday the 25th, evinced our conjectures respecting the weather not to be ill founded; as, about four o'clock, the slings of the main-yard were carried away; to replace which, we were compelled to furl all the sails on the main-mast; but, before this could be accomplished, the increased violence of the storm obliged us to take in all our canvas but the foresail, to strike the top-gallant masts, and to get in the jib-boom and spritsail-yard. In this situation we continued until towards sun-set, when having no bottom with 110 fathoms of line, we stood to the N. W. under close-reefed topsails, in the full assurance of meeting the land in that direction. In the course of the night, the gale gradually abated, and in the forenoon of the next day, Monday the 26th, the wind becoming perfectly calm, an opportunity was afforded us of repairing the many damages which our rigging had sustained in the late boisterous weather. At noon the observed latitude was 35° 23', the longitude 115° 52'; in this situation, soundings could not be gained at the depth of 220 fathoms. In the afternoon a light breeze sprang up, from the northward, with which we steered to the north-eastward, and soon discovered land from the mast-head, bearing by compass from N. E. to N. 27 E. It seemed of a moderate height, resembling in appearance the land in the British Channel, and was

supposed to be about ten or twelve leagues distant—No soundings with 120 fathoms of line. The wind veering to the N. W. enabled us to steer for the land, and having neared it about three leagues, it was seen from the deck bearing from N. 7 E. to N. 73 E. by compass; at which time, bottom was found at the depth of 65 fathoms, composed of coarse sand, and broken coral. The depth of water had, at eight in the evening, gradually decreased to 50 fathoms; when, having advanced about four miles nearer, we tacked and plied in order to preserve our situation with the land until morning.

By the result of our soundings during the night, 70 fathoms would seem to be the edge of a bank about nine leagues from the shore, consisting of fine sand, and broken shells, corresponding with the soundings we had found on the 24th; for had that depth of water been nearer in shore, we could hardly have avoided seeing the land before dark on that evening.

At the dawning of day on the 27th, we made all sail for the land, having a gentle gale from the N. W. with a smooth sea and pleasant weather. The depth of water, as we proceeded, gradually decreased to 24 fathoms, with a bottom of coral, coarse sand, and shells; about nine we were well in with the land, and bore away along the coast, keeping within a league or two of the shore; which by the compass stretched from N. 44 W. to N. 81 E. and appeared nearly straight and compact, consisting of steep rocky cliffs to the water's edge, interspersed with, here and there, some small open sandy bays, and a few islets and rocks, which extended near a mile from the main. The westernmost land now in sight (being the northernmost seen the preceding night) is remarkable for its high cliffs, falling perpendicularly into the sea; and if it be detached, which is by no means certain, is about a league in circuit. It forms a conspicuous promontory, to which I gave the name of CAPE CHATHAM; in honour of that noble earl, who presided at the Board of Admiralty on our departure from England. The land to the westward takes a direction from cape Chatham N. 59 W. and the land to the eastward S. 81 E. This Cape, by our observations is situated in latitude $35^{\circ} 3'$ and in $116^{\circ} 35' 30''$ of longitude.

The flux still continued to affect the health of some in both vessels; and although the patients were daily assisted with fresh provisions, and might be considered in a state of recovery, yet they remained in a very debilitated and reduced condition. In the hope that a little recreation, from change of scene and what the soil of this country might afford, would prove salutary to their enfeebled constitutions, I determined to put into the first port we should be so fortunate as to discover; and, that an eligible situation might not escape our vigilance, we ranged the coast within three or four miles of its shores,

which are of moderate elevation, and may in general be deemed steep and bold. The verdure on all the projecting points is removed to a considerable height on the rocks, whose naked bases sufficiently prove how excessively they are beaten by a turbulent ocean. The country, immediately along the sea side, consists of a range of dreary hills, producing little herbage, of a brownish green hue, from a soil that seems principally composed of white sand, through which protrude large masses of white rock of various sizes and forms: these singular protuberances on the summits of many of the hills, strongly resembled the remains of lofty edifices in ruin. The interior country afforded a more agreeable appearance, being pleasantly interspersed with hills and dales, and covered with lofty forest trees of considerable magnitude, which our glasses plainly distinguished; though we could nowhere perceive any smoke or other indication of the country being inhabited. Towards noon, the Chatham made the signal for having discovered a port to the northward; into which they were directed to lead; but finding it only a shallow bay, we soon bore away along the coast. Our observed latitude was $35^{\circ} 8'$, longitude $117^{\circ} 6' 30''$. In this situation, the coast, by compass, extended from N. 68 W. to S. 83 E. the nearest shore bearing N. 6 W. about a league distant; in the morning the variation by our surveying compass was observed to be $6^{\circ} 30'$ westwardly. The coast we passed along in the afternoon differed little from that noticed in the morning, but the inland country was not sufficiently elevated to be seen beyond the hills near the sea side. At six in the evening, a small detached islet bore, by compass, S. 87 E. the easternmost part of the main in sight N. 86 E. a projecting point whence extends westward a long range of white cliffs N. 76 E. the nearest shore N. 24 E. distant five miles; and the westernmost land in sight, the same which formed the eastern extreme at noon, N. 45 W. The wind was very gentle with alternate calms, and the weather, during the night, was mild and pleasant. In the morning of Wednesday the 28th, we found our progress had been very slow along the coast, although our distance from the shore had increased, with soundings from 40 to 50 fathoms. We had again an opportunity of observing the sun eclipsed, but were not so fortunate as to notice its commencement, or greatest obscuration; the end was however observed by Mr. Whidbey to be at $19^{\text{h}} 43' 53''$, and by myself $19^{\text{h}} 43' 46''$ apparent time; this was ascertained by our sextant telescope, as recommended on a former occasion. I much regretted that we had not gained a port on this coast, where, on shore, we might have compared such observations with the results from better instruments, which would have tended to establish the utility of the process. The latitude at this juncture was $35^{\circ} 25'$. It was now proved, that the white cliffs seen the preceding night,

formed the southernmost point of this part of the coast, which I distinguished by the name of CAPE HOWE, in honour of that noble earl. It is situated in latitude $35^{\circ} 17'$, longitude $117^{\circ} 52'$. The small detached islet lies from cape Howe S. 68 E. distant three leagues. The land considered on Tuesday night as the easternmost part of the main now appeared to be an island, beyond which were seen a high rocky bluff point, and a high mountain forming the easternmost land in sight. A light breeze from the N. N. W. permitted us to draw in with the coast; which at noon bore by compass from N. 50 W. to N. 37 E. the high mountain N. 35 E. to the eastward of which, a round hummock, seemingly detached N. 52 E. the land appearing like an island from N. 16 W. to N. 24 W. was now seen to comprehend a cluster of barren rocky isles, which being the nearest land was about ten miles distant; and the high rocky bluff point N. 8 E. In this situation, the observed latitude was $35^{\circ} 22'$, longitude $118^{\circ} 16'$; which was eight miles further south, and eleven miles further east than the log shewed. Many whales were playing about the ship during the morning. The high mountain conspicuously remarkable for its superior elevation above the neighbouring hills, I distinguished, after my highly esteemed friend Sir Alan Gardner, by the name of MOUNT GARDNER; and the barren rocky cluster of isles, by the name of ECLIPSE ISLANDS. The weather was pleasant; and aided by a gentle breeze, a port, round the high rocky bluff point, soon presented itself, into which the Chatham was directed to lead, and, by four, was sufficiently advanced to determine on its eligibility. The weather by this time had become thick and rainy, with much thunder and lightning; but as the soundings continued regular, we stood into the port, and passed the high rocky bluff point in thirty fathoms water; directing our course close along its shore, which is a high and nearly perpendicular cliff; the sounding suddenly shoaled to twelve fathoms, and gradually decreased afterwards, until abreast of the second white sandy beach; where we anchored in six fathoms water, having a clear bottom of fine white sand.

A continuation of the thick weather prevented our seeing about us until the morning of Thursday the 29th; which being delightfully serene and pleasant, discovered our situation to be very snug and secure in a spacious sound, open 13° of the compass only to the sea. The high rocky bluff point forming the S. W. extremity of the sound, which, from its smooth appearance, and being destitute of verdure, obtained the name BALD-HEAD, bore by compass S. 85 E.; a high rocky island in the entrance, which, from its beaten appearance by its opposition to the sea, and S. W. wind, obtained the name of BREAK-SEA ISLAND, from N. 82 E. to N. 69 E.; Mount Gardner, N. 70 E.; another high island named MICHAELMAS ISLAND, N. 62 E.; a small

high island called SEAL ISLAND, being a great resort of those animals, north; a low flat rock, S. 75 W.; and to the N. W. was an extensive white sandy beach; which promising success to the seine, a boat was dispatched with Lieutenant Puget on a fishing party. After breakfast, accompanied by Mr. Broughton in the Chatham's cutter, Mr. Menzies, Mr. Whidbey, and myself, proceeded in the yawl, first to attend the success of the fishermen, and then to examine if the sound would afford a more eligible situation than that which we now occupied. The seine was hauled on the third sandy beach from Bald-Head with little success. A stream of fresh water drained there through the beach, which, although nearly of the colour of brandy, was exceedingly well tasted; by this stream was a clump of trees, sufficient to answer our present want of fuel. At the borders of this clump was found the most miserable human habitation my eyes ever beheld, which had not long been deserted by its proprietor, as on its top was lying a fresh skin of a fish, commonly called leather jacket, and by its side was the excrement of some carnivorous animal, apparently a dog. The shape of the dwelling was that of half a beehive, or a hive vertically divided into two equal parts, one of which formed the hut, in height about three feet, and in diameter about four feet and an half; it was however constructed with some degree of uniformity, with slight twigs, of no greater substance than those used for large baker's baskets: the horizontal and vertical twigs formed intervals from four to six inches square, and the latter sliking a few inches into the earth, were its security, and fixed it to the ground. This kind of basket hut was covered with the bark of trees, and small green boughs; its back was opposed to the N. W. whence we concluded those to be the most prevailing winds; just within its front, which was open the whole of its diameter, a fire had been made, but excepting the skin of the fish before mentioned, there were neither bones, shells, nor other indication on what its poor inhabitant had subsisted. The reflections which naturally arose on seeing so miserable a contrivance for shelter against the inclemency of seasons, were humiliating in the highest degree; as they suggested, in the strongest manner, the lowly condition of some of our fellow creatures, rendered yet more pitiable by the apparent solitude and the melancholy aspect of the surrounding country, which presented little less than famine and distress.

The shores consisted either of steep naked rocks, or a milk-white barren sand, beyond which dreary boundary the surface of the ground seemed covered by a deadly green herbage, with here and there a few groveling shrubs or dwarf trees scattered at a great distance from each other. This very unfavorable appearance may not, however, originate from the general sterility of the soil, since it was evident, so far as we traversed the sides of

the hills, that the vegetation had recently undergone the action of fire; the largest of the trees had been burnt, though slightly; every shrub had some of its branches completely charred; and the plants lying close to the ground had not escaped without injury. Thus entertaining no very high opinion of the country, but in the hope of meeting with some of the wretched inhabitants, we proceeded along the shores of the sound, to the northward, to a high rocky point, that obtained the name of POINT POSSESSION; and, on reaching its summit, we gained an excellent view of the sound in all directions. When on board, we had supposed that the sound branched into three arms, but it now became evident that there were only two. One, immediately behind this point, which is also its southern point of entrance, extended in a circular form, about a league across, bounded by a country much resembling that before described, though producing more trees, and with verdure of a livelier hue, and approaching nearer to the water's edge. The other, lying about three miles to the N. E. seemed almost as spacious, though its entrance appeared very narrow. The surrounding country in its neighbourhood presented a far more fertile and pleasing aspect. Nearly in the centre of that harbour was an island covered with the most beautiful herbage; and instead of the naked rocks and barren sands that compose the coast of the sound, the cliffs which bounded these shores seemed to be of a reddish clay, and the general texture or character of the soil appeared to be more favorable to the vegetable kingdom, as from the summits of the hills to the water side was seen a stately and luxuriant forest.

The necessary observations being made at this station, the British colours were displayed, and having drank his Majesty's health, accompanied by the usual formalities on such occasions, we took possession of the country from the land we saw north-westward of cape Chatham, so far as we might explore its coasts, in the name of his present Majesty, for him and for his heirs and successors. This port, the first which we had discovered, I honoured with the name of KING GEORGE THE THIRD'S SOUND; and this day being the anniversary of her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte Augusta Matilda's birth, the harbour behind point Possession I called PRINCESS ROYAL HARBOUR; which with the sound formed point Possession into a peninsula, united to the main by a very narrow barren sandy beach. Here although we could not discover the least trace of its having at any time been the resort of the natives, yet in every part where we strayed, were seen the same effects of fire on all the vegetable productions.

The ceremony of taking possession being finished, we found a passage, narrow and shoal for some distance, into the north-eastern harbour; where a bar was found to extend across its entrance, on which there was only three

fathoms water. Within the harbour, the deep water seemed to occupy some space to the N. E. and N. W.; but the day was too far advanced, to permit our making any particular examination. The verdant island covered with luxuriant grass and other vegetables, terminated the extent of our researches; and as the situation of the vessels seemed as convenient as any other for procuring what the sound might afford, I determined to return on board, and lose no time in availing myself of the benefits it presented. In our way out of this harbour, the boats grounded on a bank we had not before perceived; this was covered with oysters of a most delicious flavor, on which we sumptuously regaled; and, loading in about half an hour, the boats for our friends on board, we commemorated the discovery by calling it OYSTER HARBOUR.

In the morning of Friday the 30th, we began cutting wood and providing water, which sufficiently employed all our healthy men; whilst those who were still indisposed were directed to amuse themselves on shore. Finding it practicable to place the ship much nearer to the spot whence the wood and water were procured, the next day, Saturday the 1st of October, she was removed; and, by Sunday the 2d, we had made such progress, that the yawl could be spared for the further examination of the sound. In her I proceeded to Princess Royal harbour; where, near a rocky cliff, on the S. W. side, was found a small shallow stream of excellent water. On tracing its meanders through a copse it brought us to a deserted village of the natives, amidst the trees, on nearly a level spot of ground, consisting of about two dozen miserable huts mostly of the same fashion and dimensions, with that before described, though no one of them seemed so recently erected. This village had probably been the residence of what may in this country be esteemed a considerable tribe; and the construction of it afforded us an opportunity of concluding, that however humble the state of their existence might be, they were not destitute of distinctions. Two or three huts were larger, and differed in shape from the rest, as if a couple were fixed close to the side of each other; but the parts which in that case would have caused a separation, were removed, and the edges joined close together, as described in the plate, leaving the whole of their fronts open, and increasing their diameter about one third more than the rest. Yet were they not an inch loftier, nor were they of greater extent from the front to the back than the single one before mentioned. Fires had been made in the fronts of all, but not recently; and, excepting some branches of trees that seemed to have been lately broken down, there were not any signs of this place having been visited for some time; and although we were very industrious to ascertain the food on which the inhabitants of

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this village subsisted, we still remained in ignorance, of it; as neither shells, bones, nor any other relicts, which might serve as indications, could be found, notwithstanding this place had the appearance of a principal resort; for besides the habitations already mentioned, which were in pretty good repair, there were many others in different states of decay. This spot was intersected with several small streams of water, yet the same marks of fire were evident on all the vegetable kingdom; although none of the huts seemed to have been affected by it, which led me to suppose that this general fire was of a less recent date than at first I had imagined. In one of the larger huts, probably the residence of a chief, towards which were several paths leading in different directions, some beads, nails, knives, looking glasses, and medals, were deposited as tokens of our friendly disposition, and to induce any of the natives, who might, unperceived by us, have been in the neighbourhood, to favor us with a visit. Having gratified our curiosity, though at the expence of our feelings, in contemplating these very wretched and humiliating efforts of human ingenuity, we returned on board, and having by the morning of Tuesday the 4th, replenished our water, and taken on board a supply of firewood, Messrs. Puget and Whidbey went to Oyster harbour, with three boats, for the purpose of hauling the seine, and obtaining a quantity of those shell fish, previously to our proceeding the following morning to sea. In this part of our plan, however, we were disappointed, as the wind which had blown a steady moderate breeze from the N. W. towards the evening blew a strong gale from the S. E. with a heavy swell, and prevented the return of the boats; at the same time that the cloudiness of the weather precluded me from making those lunar observations, for the sole purpose of obtaining which I had remained on board.

The gale moderating the next morning, Wednesday the 5th, the boats returned, not having been very successful with the seine, but bringing a sufficient supply of oysters not only for our convalescents, but for the affording also of two or three excellent meals for all hands. As the S. E. wind and a heavy sea in the offing prevented our departure, Mr. Broughton was employed in examining the eastern side of the sound from Oyster harbour to mount Gardner: this was found nearly a straight and compact shore, on which Mr. Broughton landed in several places, where the same effects of fire were evident, although there were not any traces of the natives or of their habitations to be discovered.

The like causes of detention still operating, on Friday the 7th, a party was made for the further examination of Oyster harbour, and by a little excursion into the country on that side to acquire some information of its

natural productions, and, if possible also, of the natives. After examining the channel as we proceeded to the upper part of the harbour, our attention was directed to several large black swans in very stately attitudes swimming on the water, and, when flying, discovering the under parts of their wings and breast to be white: this is all the description we were enabled to give of them, since they were excessively shy, and we were indifferent marksmen. In the northern corner of the harbour, we landed near a rivulet navigable only for canoes and small boats. It meandered in a northern direction between the hills, which, opening to the east and west, presented a spacious plain with forest trees occupying the banks of the rivulet, and the sides of the hills, even to their very summits. We proceeded about a league by the side of the rivulet, which flowed through so dead a flat, that its motion was scarcely perceptible, and continued to be brackish, although in its passage it received several other smaller streams of most excellent water. In it were an abundance of very fine fish, and on its banks were many black swans, ducks, curlews, and other wild fowl. On the sides of this stream, as well as on the shores in Oyster harbour, were seen the remains of several fish wears, about eight or nine inches high, evidently the sorry contrivance of the wretched inhabitants of the country: some of these were constructed with loose stones, others with sticks and stumps of wood; but none of them were likely to be of much utility at this season, as several were placed nearly at, and others above, what now seemed the high water mark; but we supposed at times, when the rain or other cause should extend the rivulet beyond its present bounds, which in width, did not exceed thirty yards, and in depth four or five feet, these humble contrivances might arrest some small fish. Great bodies of water evidently pass down this stream at certain seasons, as appeared by the river's course occupying from two to three hundred yards on each side the rivulet, the soil of which was composed of sea sand and broken shells, and was destitute of any vegetable production. This space when overflowed must, from its winding course, form a most beautiful sheet of water. The wears for the taking fish, and steps made in the bark for the purpose of ascending some of the largest trees, though both excessively rude, were undoubtedly the effects of manual labour, and, with the huts, formed the only indications of the country being inhabited that we were able to discern. There were no paths in the woods, nor were any smokes to be seen over the extensive country we beheld, which fully satisfied us that any further search for the natives would be fruitless; and therefore we returned by a different route to the boats. In our way we saw the remains of two similar huts. Near these was an ant's nest much of the same shape and magnitude, though finished in a very superior style and manner, and shewing how very humble is the state of human existence, when unassisted

by civil society, and undirected by the sciences. Having eaten our salt beef we proceeded homewards, much mortified that the many wild fowl we had seen had escaped our vigilance; but that we might not return empty handed, we stopped at one of the oyster banks, where, in about half an hour, we loaded our boat, and returned on board about nine o'clock in the evening. The bank on which we found them in greatest plenty and the best flavored, is that which extends from the north or low point of the entrance towards the little verdant island. The wind blew a strong gale from the E. S. E. and a very heavy sea ran without the sound; but the vessels within rode perfectly quiet. This sort of weather, with much rain, continued until Monday the 10th, when we entertained hopes of getting to sea, as the wind veered to the south; but soon again resuming its former direction, attended by the heavy sea in the offing, we remained at anchor until the next day, Tuesday the 11th; which being more favorable to our purpose, though the wind was still adverse, we weighed, and turned out of the sound. About four in the afternoon we regained the ocean; but the wind at E. N. E. prevented our steering along the coast, and obliged us to stand to the south-eastward. Whilst we were getting under weigh, I caused to be deposited at the hut near the watering place some beads, knives, looking glasses, and other trinkets, as a compensation to its solitary owner, should he ever return, for the wood we had cut down, and deprived him of: and to commemorate our visit, near the stump of one of the trees we had felled, in a pile of stones raised for the purpose of attracting the attention of any European, was left a bottle sealed up, containing a parchment on which were inscribed the names of the vessels, and of the commanders; with the name given to the sound, and the date of our arrival and departure. Another bottle, containing a similar memorandum, was likewise deposited on the top of Seal Island, with a staff erected to conduct any visitor to it, on which was affixed a medal of the year 1789. Those who may meet with the staff will most probably discover the bottle hidden near it. This precaution was here taken, on a presumption that Seal Island was intirely out of the reach of the inhabitants, which might not be the case where the first bottle was secreted.

At sun-set the Eclipse Islands by compass bore N. 74 W. Bald-head N. 45 W. Mount Gardner N. 13 E. the hummock mentioned on the 28th, now evidently an island, from N. 56 E. to N. 51 E. and the easternmost part of the main land in sight N. 42 E. whence the coast appeared to take a sharp turn to the northward. As we stood to the S. E. the wind gradually veered to the north, which, by day-light of Tuesday the 18th, led us out of sight of the coast; but as in the forenoon it was calm and the atmosphere very clear, Mount Gardner was seen bearing N. W. 18 leagues distant. In this situation

we had much swell from the eastward; and soundings could not be gained at the depth of 200 fathoms. The observed latitude was $35^{\circ} 37'$, longitude $119^{\circ} 24'$, which was $2'$ to the south, and $16'$ to the east, of what the log shewed. The wind was light and variable until the evening, when it settled in a steady breeze at S. W.; the swell from the east, and E. S. E. still continuing, indicated the land in that direction to be at some distance. Our unexpected detention by the late eastwardly winds, and the advanced season, conspired greatly against prosecuting researches on this coast; I determined, however, not to abandon that favorite object, provided the task should not prove too dangerous, and intricate; or that the direction of the coast should not lead us too far out of our way; as, in respect of the former, I acted without any authority in the investigation; and, in respect of the latter, our time would not now admit of sufficient leisure to persevere in the pursuit. Under these considerations our course was directed to the N. E. during the night, in hopes of passing within sight of the land lying to the eastward of Mount Gardner, so as to connect our survey. Not gaining bottom with 110 to 140 fathoms of line; and there being at day-break of Thursday the 20th no appearance of the coast, we steered north, which soon brought us within sight of land to the N. W. making like three islands; but on a nearer approach, the two westernmost were evidently connected by a low isthmus to the main land: but the connecting of the northernmost being uncertain, it obtained the name of DOUBTFUL ISLAND.

From the westernmost land seen this morning, to the easternmost land seen on Tuesday evening, is a space of 14 leagues, stretching S. 58 W. and N. 58 E. in which no land was seen. The depth of water was at this time 30 fathoms; the bottom coarse sand, with broken shells and coral. The weather was delightfully pleasant; and, with a gentle gale at S. W. we steered along the coast, which now took a direction N. 55 E. our distance from the shore from two to four leagues. Doubtful Island, and the shores to the S. W. of it, nearly resembled the rest of the coast; but to the N. E. the coast presented a very different prospect being composed of high detached clusters of craggy mountains, on a base of low and to all appearance level land, well wooded, particularly to the N. W. of Doubtful Island, where the land falls back to a considerable distance, forming either a deep well sheltered bay, or a low flat country. At noon, a high bluff point, extending from the northernmost cluster of mountains, the easternmost land then in sight, bore by compass N. 24 E. the most western and conspicuous cluster of apparently disunited mountains N. 67 W. about nine leagues distant; and the east point of Doubtful Island, the westernmost land at that time visible, S. 73 W. This land forms a remarkable point on the coast, and is in latitude $34^{\circ} 23'$, longitude $119^{\circ} 49'$;

which, after Admiral Lord Hood, I distinguished by the name of POINT HOOD. In this situation, our observed latitude was $34^{\circ} 18'$, longitude $120^{\circ} 14'$; being 13' more to the north, and 6' more to the east, than appeared by the log. Soon after mid-day, low land was descried, stretching out from the high bluff point, which we found situated not immediately on the shore, but some distance inland, whence a very low country extends to the sea coast, which takes a direction S. 70 E. breakers in two detached places were discovered at this time lying at some distance from the land; the nearest of these about one o'clock, bore by compass N. E. four miles distant; the other, visible only from the mast-head, appeared to lie from the former E. by N. two leagues distant. At this time the depth of water was 35 fathoms; and as the wind blew directly on the shore, and the main land, though not more than four leagues off, was not sufficiently high to be distinctly seen from the deck; we hauled our tacks on board, and stood to the S. E. increasing our distance very slowly. At six in the evening, the nearest land was a rocky island, about two miles in circuit, which bore by compass N. 13 E. eight miles distant; and from the mast-head, the flat low coast was visible as far as E. N. E.; at nine the depth of water had gradually increased to forty fathoms. Considering our present as the most prudent tack, to remain upon until we should meet shoals, or other impediments, I directed the Chatham to lead and sound; our depth gradually increased to 54 fathoms, and the coast in the morning of Friday the 21st was in sight from N. E. to east. The wind blew a light breeze from the S. S. E. with which we steered for the land until about nine, when we tacked in 60 fathoms. The land in sight, at that time, from the mast-head bore by compass from N. N. W. to E. by N. each extremity five or six leagues distant; all this was supposed to be the main, though between north and E. N. E. the land appeared somewhat broken, occasioned perhaps by some of its parts being elevated a little above the rest of the shore, off which breakers were seen to lie at some distance; and the land, which in the morning bore east, and now bore by compass N. 87 E. eight miles distant, was evidently a rocky island about a league in circuit, much resembling that which we passed the preceding evening. It proved the termination of our researches on this coast, and thence obtained the name of TERMINATION ISLAND; on it the sea broke with much violence, and between it and the main was a small low islet. The great depth of water indicated that the bank of soundings which we had hitherto found extending along the coast, terminated also on its approach to this island, as we had no where found so great a depth of water at this small distance from the shore; which, on being increased a few miles only, put the ship intirely out of soundings. At noon, the observed latitude was $34^{\circ} 34'$, longitude $121^{\circ} 52'$; twenty-two miles further east, and four further north than shewn by the log. In this situation

the main land from the mast-head was seen bearing by compass N. N. W. to E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.; and Termination island, situated in latitude $34^{\circ} 32'$, longitude $122^{\circ} 8\frac{1}{2}'$; N. 84 E. Between the easternmost part of the main, seen the preceding evening, and the westernmost seen this morning, is a space of ten leagues, which we passed in the night without observing land; yet, from the regularity of the soundings, there can be little doubt of its being one continued coast, and that the course by us made good S. 76 E. is nearly parallel to its direction. The whole of this low country presented a dreary aspect, destitute of wood, or herbage, and interspersed with white and brown patches, occasioned, most probably, by the different colours of sand or rock, of which it is composed. We here noticed more coast and oceanic birds, than we had seen on any other part of the shores: as, besides gannets, and two or three different sorts of tern; albatrosses, and petrels, particularly the black and sooty, were in great abundance. The weather continued very fine, with a light variable breeze in the eastern quarter, which drew us, not only out of sight, and some distance from the coast, but prevented our making much progress in the direction, in which it seemed to bend, until Sunday the 23d, when the wind, settling in the western board, we steered to the E. N. E. in hopes of falling in with the land; and in the event of its taking a more northerly direction, the Chatham was ordered to look out three leagues on the larboard beam. At noon, the observed latitude $35^{\circ} 30'$, the longitude $122^{\circ} 40'$. At this time, the wind suddenly shifted to the southward, and was accompanied by a very heavy swell in that direction, which strongly indicating the approach of boisterous weather, the Chatham's signal was made to join, and our course was directed E. S. E.; not daring under all the circumstances of our situation, to run the risk of encountering bad weather on an unexplored coast, that presented to us so many dangers. Besides, as the lowness of the shores which we had lately seen, and the distant shoals that we had found extending from them, would exact particular caution as we proceeded, more time would necessarily be required in the prosecution of such an inquiry, than the main object of our voyage would at present allow. I was therefore compelled to relinquish, with great reluctance, the favorite project of further examining the coast of this unknown though interesting country; and, directing our route over an hitherto untraversed part of these seas, we proceeded without further delay towards the Pacific Ocean.

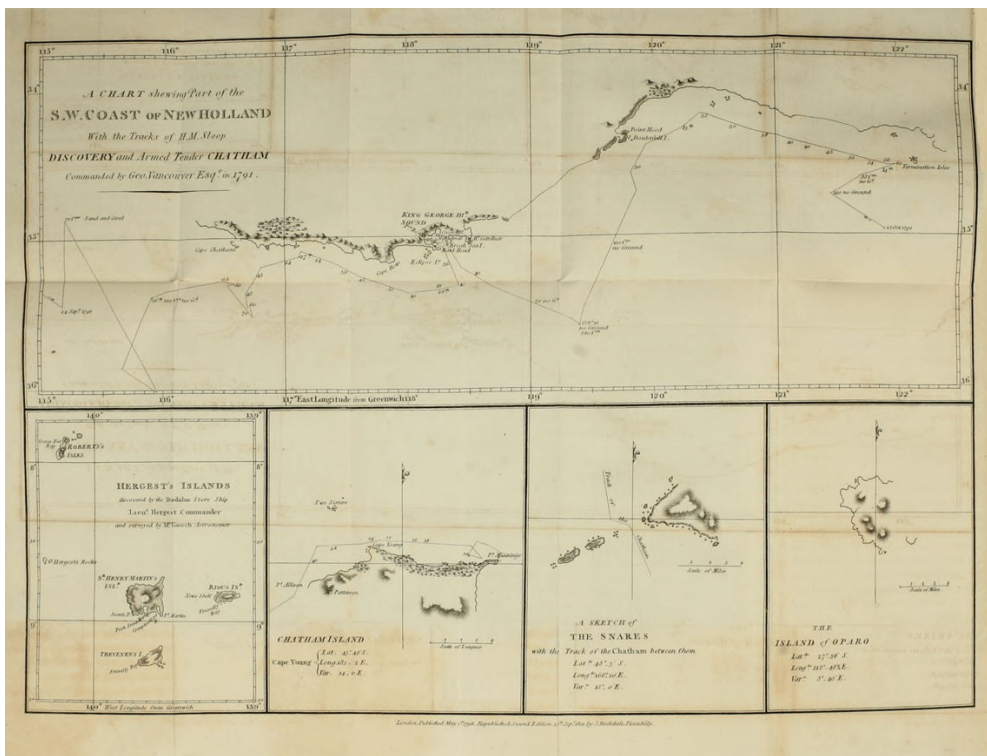
CHAPTER III.

*Remarks on the Country and Productions on Part of the
South-west Coast of New Holland—Extraordinary
Devastation by Fire—Astronomical and nautical
Observations.*

Although the considerations adverted to in the foregoing chapter, rendered it impracticable to explore the S. W. coast of New Holland to the extent my wishes first led me to imagine, and prevented our ascertaining its boundary and connection with, or separation from, Van Dieman's land; yet the information we have acquired, will open a field to those whose duty it may hereafter be to perform that task; by shewing, that its S. W. part may be approached with the greatest safety, as its shores are bold with regular soundings to the distance of eight or nine leagues, and by the discovery of the very excellent harbour in King George the Third's sound. Considering therefore its situation and conveniences as likely to become of material importance to those whole pursuits may induce them to navigate this and the Pacific Ocean, it may not be uninteresting to detail, in a more particular manner, the circumstances that occurred during our visit to a country hitherto so little known to Europeans.

Our survey comprehended an extent of 110 leagues, in which space we saw no other haven or place of security for shipping than the sound before mentioned; notwithstanding the opinion of Dampier, who has considered the whole of the western part of New Holland as consisting of a cluster of islands. He was undoubtedly a judicious observer, of very superior talents; and, it is most likely, formed his opinion from the many islands which he found composing the exterior coast of the N. W. part of this extensive country. However just may be his conclusions as to that part of New Holland, they certainly do not apply to its south-western side, as no very material separation, either by rivers, or arms of the sea, was discovered in the neighbourhood of our survey. Had such breaks in the coast existed, and had they escaped our observation, it is highly probable we should have met in the sea, or seen driven on its shores, drift wood and other productions of the interior country. The very deep colour also of the several streams of water may possibly be occasioned by the quality of the soil through which they flow; whence it may be inferred that, if any considerable inland waters had their source far in the country, or if any great body descended from its

shores, the sea along the coast would in some measure have been discoloured; but neither of these evidences existed, for on our approach to the land, there was no previous appearance to indicate its vicinity. This opinion was further corroborated on inspecting the habitations and places of the natives' resort; where not the least remains of canoes, or other circumstance presented itself, which could convey the most distant idea of these people having ever trusted themselves on the water; a circumstance which it is reasonable to suppose would sometimes have happened, had their country been insulated, or their travelling been interrupted by large rivers or arms of the sea; especially as all appearances favored the conjecture of their being by no means a stationary people. There was great reason, however, to conclude, that the country was well supplied with fresh water; as wherever we chanced to land, we easily procured that valuable article, not only where the soil was of considerable depth, but from streamlets issuing out of the solid rocks. This seemed to be the case even on the most elevated land, which caused a very singular appearance when the sun shone in certain directions on those mountains whose surfaces were destitute of soil; for on these, made humid by the continual oozing of the water, a bright glare was produced that gave them the resemblance of hills covered with snow.



N.W. COAST OF NEW HOLLAND

Our researches afforded little matter worthy of notice excepting such as appertained to King George the Third's Sound. This port has its entrance in latitude $35^{\circ} 5'$, longitude $118^{\circ} 17'$. It is easily known on approaching it from the westward, as it is the first opening in the coast that presents any appearance like an harbour, eastward of cape Chatham. The Eclipse Islands being the only detached *land* that can be so regarded, are an excellent guide to the sound, having, between them and Bald-head, some rocks on which the sea breaks with great violence. The port is safe, and easy of access any where between its outer points of entrance, Bald-head, and Mount Gardner, lying N. 62 E. and S. 62 W. 11 miles distant from each other. Mount Gardner is not less conspicuous and useful in pointing out the sound from the eastern quarter, than in its being rendered very remarkable by its handsome shape, and its rocky, and almost uninterrupted polished surface to its summit. Its base may be said rather to form the eastern extent of the coast, than the opposite point of the sound, there being within it a projection which more properly forms the N. E. point of the sound, lying from Bald-head N. 30 E. about five miles distant. Between these latter points are Michaelmas, and Break Sea islands, each about a league in circuit, one mile apart, nearly

equidistant between the two points, and affording to all appearance good channels on every side. The water suddenly decreases in its depth from 30 to 12 fathoms; the latter depth uniformly continuing across from point to point, I should conceive, must be an additional means of preventing any very heavy sea from rolling into the sound; which, in the most exposed place of anchorage convenient to the shore, is only open from E. by N. to S. E. by E. Between these limits are situated the two islands above mentioned, whence the sound extends W. by N. about two leagues to point Possession, and from our anchorage to Oyster harbour, north about the same distance, with regular soundings in mid-channel of 12 to 15, and 10 to 6 fathoms close to the shore, excepting near Seal island, where there is a hole of 21 fathoms. The Discovery and Chatham were moored in a situation, not only very convenient as to communication with the shore, but I believe, in perfect security as it respected the element: for although the sea broke sometimes with such violence on Break Sea island, that the surf ranged to its elevated summit, during a continuance of the boisterous weather; yet it did not occasion us the least inconvenience. A more eligible situation if required in the sound might very probably be met with above the flat rock, as vessels would be there more completely land-locked; and a convenient sandy cove, easily to be discovered in that neighbourhood, is furnished with a stream of excellent fresh water, which though to all appearance not better in quality than the water we received on board, was yet more pleasing to the eye, not being of so deep a colour.

Princess Royal harbour admits of a passage into it about a quarter of a mile wide; nearest to the northern shore the depth is five or six fathoms, but on the southern, not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ and three fathoms water; occasioned by banks of coral rock which are very conspicuous, and, not being liable to any of the violent agitations of the sea, are by no means dangerous. Within the points of entrance, the depth is regularly from four to seven fathoms, and the bottom clear, good holding ground. This depth, though occupying part only of the harbour, yet affords a sufficient space for several vessels to ride in safety.

Oyster harbour is rendered admissible alone for vessels of a middle size, by the shallowness of the water on the bar, extending from shore to shore, on which we found 17 feet water only, although the depth increased from five to seven fathoms on each side. The deep water within the harbour did not seem of any great extent. In both these harbours the communication with the country is rendered unpleasant by the shallow depth of water in most places extending to a great distance from the shore. This inconveniency could easily be remedied, should it ever be an object so to do, by wharfs; although

it is not unlikely that on a more minute inspection the necessity for such a measure would cease to appear.

In navigating the sound, we did not observe any danger that was not sufficiently conspicuous to be avoided; circumstances however did not admit of our acquiring that satisfactory information respecting Princess Royal and Oyster harbours which fall into it, that could have been wished; yet so far as relates to the sound, the annexed sketch will I believe be found to contain no very material error.

The appearance of this country along the coasts, resembles in most respects, that of Africa about the Cape of Good Hope. The surface seemed to be chiefly composed of sand mixed with decayed vegetables, varying exceedingly in point of richness; and although bearing a great similarity, yet indicating a soil superior in quality to that in the immediate neighbourhood of Cape Town. The principal component part of this country appeared to be coral; and it would seem that its elevation above the ocean is of modern date, not only from the shores, and the bank which extends along the coast being, generally speaking, composed of coral, as was evident by our lead never descending to the bottom without bringing up coral on its return; but by coral being found on the highest hills we ascended; particularly on the summit of Bald-Head, which is sufficiently above the level of the sea to be seen at 12 or 14 leagues distance. Here the coral was intirety in its original state; particularly in one level spot, comprehending about eight acres, which produced not the least herbage on the white sand that occupied this space; through which the branches of coral protruded, and were found sending exactly like those seen in the beds of coral beneath the surface of the sea, with ramifications of different sizes, some not half an inch, others four or five inches in circumference. In these fields of coral (if the term field be allowable) of which there were several, sea shells were in great abundance, some nearly in a perfect state still adhering to the coral, others in different stages of decay. The coral was friable in various degrees; the extremities of the branches, some of which were nearly four feet above the sand, were easily reduced to powder, whilst those close to, or under the surface, required some small force to break them from the rocky foundation from whence they appeared to spring. I have seen coral in many places at a considerable distance from the sea; but in no other instance have I seen it so elevated, and in such a state of perfection.

In the lower lands we frequently met with extensive tracts occupied by a kind of okerish swampy peat, or moorish soil of a very dark brown colour, forming as it were a crust, which shook and trembled when walked upon;

with water oozing through, or running over the surface, in all directions. Through this soil most of the streams take their course, and it is to their impregnation in the passage, that the general high colour of the water is to be attributed. These swamps were not always confined to low and level spots, but were found on the acclivity of the higher lands; and where these did not occupy the sides of the hills, the soil was deep, and appeared infinitely more productive than the surface of the plains; especially that through which the rivulet in Oyster harbour has been mentioned to flow. In that plain we found, at irregular intervals, just beneath the surface, a substratum of an apparently imperfect chalk, or a rich white marle, seemingly formed of the same decayed shells, with which the course of the river abounded. These strata, about eight or ten yards broad, run perpendicularly to the rivulet; their depth we had not leisure to examine, although there seemed little doubt of finding this substance in sufficient abundance for the purposes of manure, should the cultivation of this country ever be in contemplation. The general structure of it seems very favorable to such an attempt, as the mountains are neither steep nor numerous; nor do the rising grounds form such hills as bid defiance to the plough; while they produce that sort of diversity which is grateful to the eye, and not unpleasant to the traveller.

This chalky earth was also found in the neighbourhood of a moorish soil; and, on a more minute examination, seemed much to resemble an earth described in Gronstadt's Mineralogy at the bottom of his note (y) page 21. It did not shew any signs of effervescence with acids, nor did it burn into lime; but, like the earth alluded to, contains a number of small transparent crystals. These were visible without a microscope; and as, on applying the blow pipe, vitrification took place, it might probably be usefully appropriated in making a sort of porcelain.

The stones we found were chiefly of coral, with a few black and brown pebbles, slate, quartz, two or three sorts of granite, with some sand stones, but none seeming to possess any metallic quality.

The climate, if a judgment may be formed by so short a visit, seemed delightful: for though we contended with some boisterous weather on our approach to the coast, nothing less ought reasonably to have been expected at the season of the vernal equinox, and breaking up of the winter. The gales we experienced in King George the Third's Sound, were not of such violence as to put vessels at sea past their topsails; although whilst the S. W. wind continued a most violent sea broke with incredible fury on the exterior shores. This however can easily be imagined, when the extensive

uninterrupted range which the wind in that direction has over the Indian ocean is taken into consideration: during the continuance of this wind the atmosphere was tolerably clear, though the air was keen. Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the time of year answering to the beginning of April in the northern hemisphere, stood at 53°; but at all other times during our stay, varied between 58° and 64°, and the barometer from 29ⁱⁿ 90 to 30ⁱⁿ 50. Slight colds were caught by the crew, which ought rather to be imputed to their own want of care than to the climate, as on getting to sea the parties soon recovered. Our convalescents in the flux received much benefit, though their health could not yet be considered as thoroughly re-established. These circumstances induced an opinion, that the climate and soil bade fair to be capable of producing all the essentials, and many of the luxuries of life; although on the subject of agricultural improvement, I felt myself as unqualified to determine, as to enumerate scientifically the several trees, shrubs, and plants with which the country abounds. Of the two latter there appeared a great variety, and I believe afforded to Mr. Menzies much entertainment and employment. Amongst the most remarkable was the gum plant, found every where in great abundance, and answering, in all its characters, to the description and representation of that plant found at port Jackson, as mentioned in Philips's voyage. Wild celery was found in quantities sufficient for our pea-soup, and daily to supply the people by way of sauce to their salted meat: this with samphire were the only eatable vegetables we procured. Other plants were numerous, and afforded a great variety of beautiful flowers. The shrubs also were abundant, and of many species; but neither these nor the trees grew so closely together as materially to incommode travelling, even in the neighbourhood of Oyster harbour, where the country is very well wooded; and as the branches of the trees do not approach within several feet of the ground, an extensive view is admitted in every direction. The forest trees seemed of four different sorts. The most common much resembled the holly, but these were not of the larger sort; that which I took to be the gum tree of New South Wales, by its foliage and its producing a considerable quantity of gum, seemed to be a hard, ponderous, close-grained wood: of this description the larger trees seemed chiefly to consist; one of these measured nine feet four inches in girth, and was of a proportionable height. Those from which our fuel was procured were of the myrtle tribe, not unlike the pimento of the West Indies, in shape, appearance, and aromatic flavor of the foliage; and in the hard and close texture of the wood, which makes an excellent and pleasant fire, burning cheerfully yet consuming slow; whilst, from the smoke, a very spicy agreeable fragrance is exhaled. These do not, in general, grow to large

timbers; but there is another species much resembling them, with rather broader leaves, and possessing like them an aromatic flavor, which grow to a considerable size. These, with a species not unlike the silver tree of the Cape of Good Hope, were the trees that were found generally to compose the forest.

For the benefit of those who may visit the country hereafter, some vine cuttings and water-cresses were planted on the island in Oyster harbour, and at the place from whence we procured our fuel; and an assortment of garden seeds, with some almonds, orange, lemon and pumkin seeds were sown. The whole being the produce of Africa, I should have entertained little doubt of their success, had it not been, that there was much to apprehend in their being over-run by the natural productions of the country.

Of the animal kingdom, so far as relates to the tenants of the earth, little information was derived. The only quadruped seen was one dead kangaroo; the dung, however, of these or some other animals feeding on vegetables, was almost every where met with, and frequently so fresh, as to indicate that the animal could not be far removed.

Of the birds that live in or resort to the woods, the vulture may be said to be the most common, as we saw several of this species, or at least, birds that were so considered. Hawks of the falcon tribe, with several others of that genus; a bird much resembling the English crow, parrots, parroquets, and a variety of small birds, some of which sung very melodiously, were those which attracted our attention the most; but all were so excessively wild and watchful, that few specimens could be procured. Of the water fowl, the black swan seemed as numerous as any other species of aquatic birds in the neighbourhood of Oyster harbour, but they were seen in no other place. There was also black and white pelicans of a large sort, seen at a distance; and though ducks were in great numbers, we were very unsuccessful in taking them. A very peculiar one was shot, of a darkish grey plumage, with a bag like that of a lizard hanging under its throat; which smelt so intolerably of musk that it scented nearly the whole ship. There was also many gray curlews, and sea pies; of the latter we procured a few, which were excellent eating. The aquatic birds before enumerated, with shags, the common gull, two or three sorts of tern, and a few small penguins of a blueish colour, included the whole of the feathered tribe in the vicinity of the shores.

With the productions of the sea, we were not much more acquainted; which is rather to be attributed to our want of skill as fishermen than to its want of bounty. Some of the few fish we caught were very excellent,

particularly of the larger sort; one much resembling the snook, and another the calipevar of Jamaica, both of high flavor; as was a kind of fish not unlike, nor inferior in quality to, the English red mullet. These, with the common white mullet, rock fish, mackerel, herrings, and a variety of small fish, were those we procured, though not in any abundance.

Whilst on the coast, whales and seals were frequently playing about the ship; of the latter, we saw about a score at one time on Seal island. The little trouble these animals took to avoid us, indicated their not being accustomed to such visitors. The throat and belly of these seals, which were of a large sort, were nearly white; between the head and shoulders, the neck rises in a kind of crest, which, with the back, was of a light brown colour; their hair was exceedingly coarse; the carcase very poor, and afforded little blubber; which, however, may be imputable to the season.

Reptiles and noxious animals seemed by no means to be numerous, as only two or three yellow, and bronze-coloured snakes were seen, which were good eating; these, with a few lizards of the common sort, and some about eight or nine inches long of a thick clumsy make, dark colour, and altogether excessively ugly, were what composed that race of animals. Some beautiful beetles, common flies, and muskitoes, were occasionally met with, but not in such numbers as to produce inconvenience.

It would now remain to say something of the human species, the inhabitants of this country; but as we were not so fortunate to procure an interview with any one of them, all that can be advanced on this subject must be founded on conjecture or nearly so, and consequently very liable to error; it may, however, not be unacceptable to state such circumstances as, on the spot, occurred to our observation.



W. Alexander del: from a Sketch made on the Spot by J. Sykes.

J. Landseer Sculp:

A DESERTED Indian Village in King George III. Sound, New Holland.

*London Published May 1st 1798 by R. Edwards New Bond Street, J. Edwards Pall Mall & G.
Robinson Paternoster Row*

The natives appeared to be a wandering people, who sometimes made their excursions individually, at other times in considerable parties; this was apparent by their habitations being found single and alone, as well as composing tolerably large villages.

Besides the village I visited, Mr. Broughton discovered another about two miles distant from it, of nearly the same magnitude; but it appeared to be of a much later date, as all the huts had been recently built, and seemed to have been very lately inhabited. It was situated in a swamp, which might probably have been preferred to a higher and firmer land for the convenience of water. One or two huts of a larger size were here also observed; the rest were precisely of the same description with those in our neighbourhood. The larger trees in the vicinity of both villages had been

hollowed out by fire, sufficiently to afford the shelter these people seemed to require. Upon stones placed in the inside of these hollow trees fires had been made, which proved that they had been used as habitations, either for the inferior of the party, which would argue a further degree of subordination amongst them, or for those who were too indolent to build themselves the wattled huts before described. No one species of furniture or utensil was discovered in any of the houses; the only implements seen, were pieces of sticks intended as spears, rudely wrought, and the operation of manual labour upon them but slightly discernible. The bark was stripped off, and the thickest end, after having been burnt in the fire, was scraped and reduced to a blunted point, on one of which some blood was found still adhering.

Destitute (as they seemed) of the means, and totally ignorant of every mode of embarkation, it is not likely that they place much dependence on marine productions for their subsistence; yet it was evident from the wears on the shores, and from the mouths of the brooks near the villages being stopped up, that they sometimes resort to the rivulets and to the sea for provisions. On this account, it was considered rather extraordinary, that the bones of the fishes on which they had fed were no where to be found; and this led to a supposition that those which their endeavours enabled them to procure were very small. It appeared still more extraordinary that, since they drew a certain proportion of their food from the sea, they should not have discovered so excellent a part of its produce as oysters and clams; notwithstanding that the latter show themselves on the beaches over which they must frequently walk; and that the former at low water require only wading half-leg deep on the shoals that extend from the main land to gather in a few minutes a day's subsistence. Neither did it appear that they had any knowledge of these, the limpets, nor any other shell fish found amongst the rocks; or if they had, for some reason not easily to be imagined, they certainly made no use of them; otherwise their shells in all human probability would have been seen near the places of their resort. Hence it may naturally be inferred, that the land principally supplies their wants, or hunger would long since have conducted them to such excellent resources. This opinion is supported by the extreme shyness of the feathered creation, and the wildness of the quadrupeds, whose footing, and the other signs of their being at no great distance without our obtaining any sight of them, sufficiently proved that they were constantly pursued. This circumstance may furnish a probable conjecture on the cause of the very extraordinary devastation by fire. Which the vegetable productions had suffered throughout the whole country we had traversed. Fire is frequently resorted to by rude nations, either for the purpose of encouraging a sweeter growth of

herbage in their hunting grounds, or as toils for taking the wild animals, of which they are in pursuit. When the forest is set on fire for such purposes in a dry season, its ravages may become very extensive; and the inflammable quality of the gum plant, which is here in great abundance, may operate to promote that general havock which we observed in the vegetable kingdom.

The destructive operations of fire were, however, evident in places where the gum plant was not found for a considerable distance; and, positively speaking, in our excursion on shore, we did not see a spot that produced any vegetables, which had not visibly felt its effects. Where the country was well wooded, the loftiest timbers had the topmost of their branches burned; yet none seemed totally destroyed by it; and where the luxuriance of the soil had obliterated its baneful appearance amongst the growing shrubs and plants, the ground, on examination, was found strewed over with the remains of branches and stumps that had been partially consumed by fire. Had this conflagration been occasioned, as some of us supposed, by repeated storms of violent lightning and thunder, it is reasonable to imagine we should have seen the forest trees much torn and shattered to pieces; which in no instance was observed.

As nothing further occurred worthy any particular notice, I shall conclude my remarks on this country by stating the astronomical and nautical observations that were made for ascertaining its situation, and for other purposes of navigation.

The latitude of the situation of the ships in King George the Third's sound, deduced from nine meridional altitudes of the sun, taken by four different observers and quadrants, all nearly agreeing together, gave their mean result

35 ° 5 ' 30 " south.

The longitude deduced from the mean result of 25 sets of lunar distances of the sun and stars, taken before our arrival; eight sets taken whilst at anchor in the sound; and 52 sets taken after our departure, and reduced to our station there; making in the whole 85 sets, each set containing six observed distances, and equal to 510 observations, gave

118 ° 14 ' 13 " east.

Kendall's chronometer, allowing the

Portsmouth rate, on our arrival shewed 117 46 0

Allowing the Cape rate

118 23 0

Arnold's chronometer, on board the Chatham, allowing the Cape rate

117 38 30

By the daily observations made at anchor, Kendall's chronometer appeared to have altered its rate as settled at the Cape of Good Hope, and seemed to be going nearer to its original Portsmouth rate. The result of a fortnight's observations proved it to be gaining at the rate of 6" per day; and admitting the longitude to be right as ascertained by our observations, it was, at noon on the 9th of October, fast of mean time at Greenwich, 26' 14": and as it was manifest on our arrival and during our residence at the Cape, that Kendall's chronometer was gaining materially on its Portsmouth rate, I have, in reducing the observations taken prior to our arrival in King George the Third's sound, adopted a mean rate, which I trust will render the result of the several observations liable to little error.

The variation of the magnetic needle on board, whilst at anchor, by two compasses, differed from 3° 55' to 7° 11". The mean result of 12 sets shewed 5° 20' westwardly variation.

The vertical inclination of the south point of the magnetic needle, marked end North, face East	65 ° 49 ′
Marked end North face West	63
Marked end South face East.	65 28
Marked end South face West	65 20
Mean vertical inclination of the south point of the marine dipping needle	64 54

Our observations with regard to the tides were rather indecisive, as their fluctuation in the sound seemed to be greatly influenced by the force and direction of the wind; our last visit, however, to Oyster harbour afforded an opportunity of noticing that the rise and fall appeared on that day to be about four feet, and that it was high water 3^h 42' after the moon passed the meridian. Whilst on the coast the vessels were constantly found to be further advanced, than what the run of the log intimated; but whether this was occasioned by errors in this practice, or by a current continually pressing eastward along the coast, we had no positive means of discovering; though, from our conclusions at the time, the latter should seem to be the case, as the log was not only used with much circumspection, but the line was frequently remeasured, and always found according to its due proportions.

CHAPTER IV.

*Passage from the south-west Coast of New Holland—
Pass Van Dieman's Land—Arrival in Dusky Bay, New
Zealand—Violent Storms—Leave Dusky Bay—A
violent Storm—Much Water found in the Ship—Part
Company with the Chatham—Discover the Snares—
Proceed towards Otaheite—Arrive and join the
Chatham there.*

Our apprehensions of approaching boisterous weather, proved in the sequel to have been ill founded; for notwithstanding the S. W. swell on the 17th greatly increased, a gentle gale continued to attend us, chiefly from the western quarter, with pleasant weather. With this we steered to the S. E. and without the occurrence of any intervening circumstance worth relating, made such progress, that on Wednesday the 26th we had sight of Van Dieman's Land, bearing by compass E. N. E. 10 or 12 leagues distant. Soundings at this time could not be gained at the depth of 80 fathoms. During this passage few oceanic birds had been seen; a continual and heavy swell had rolled between the south and west, and we experienced the same sort of influence in our reckoning as on the coast of New Holland, in finding the ship every day further advanced than we expected. A continuance of fine weather allowed several lunar observations to be taken, which were directed to the purpose of ascertaining the longitude of our last station. The breeze from the S. E. was very light, and it was not until late in the day that the land could be plainly distinguished. At seven o'clock in the evening we tacked and stood to the S. W.; the Mewstone bearing by compass S. 88 E.; the easternmost part of the main land in sight N. 82½ E. the south-west cape being the nearest land N. E. three or four leagues distant; land appearing like an island, N. 11 W. and the westernmost part of the main land N. 5 W. This land lies from the south-west cape N. 16 W. about nine leagues distant: between these points the coast seemed to be much broken, with some small islands lying a few miles from the shore. It was nearly calm during the night, and although within three or four leagues of the land, soundings could not be gained at the depth of 130 fathoms.

In the morning of Thursday the 27th we steered along the coast, with a fine breeze from N. N. W.; and about eight, under the meridian of the south-west cape, the chronometer gave the longitude by the last rate	146 ° 27 ' 0 "
By the Cape rate	147 7 15
By the Portsmouth rate	146 8
The former, places the south-west cape 20' further east than the longitude assigned to it by Captain Cook. The chronometer placed the Swilly rock which we passed in the evening, according to the last rate, in longitude	147 ° 23 ' 30 "
According to the Cape rate	148 3 45
[According to the] Portsmouth rate	147 2

By the last rate the chronometer was 17½' to the east of Captain Cook's longitude of this rock, and made the mean difference of the longitude of this coast, 18' 45" to the eastward of Captain Cook's calculations; whence it would appear, that either the chronometer had acquired that error since our departure from King George the Third's sound, or that we had placed that port a few miles too far to the eastward. The nearest land at six in the evening, was the south cape of Van Dieman's, which bore by compass N. 24 W. 6 or 7 leagues distant. Having now a fine gale at N. N. E. we took two reefs in the topsails; shaped a course for Dusky bay in New Zealand; and by signal to the Chatham appointed Facile harbour in that bay as the next place of rendezvous.

The dysentery, though nearly subdued on board both vessels, had left those who had been afflicted with it in a very feeble and reduced state; and not knowing of any place so easily within our reach, where such excellent refreshments could be procured with so much facility, together with timber for planks, spars, tent poles, &c. &c. of which we stood in great need, I was induced to make choice of Dusky bay, notwithstanding the inconvenience it labours under from the great depth of water, and want of anchorage in its entrance.

A favorable wind, attended in general with tolerably fine weather, varied between the N. and W. and afterwards between the W. and S. with fresh gales, until Wednesday the

2d of November; when about nine in the forenoon we were brought within sight of the coast of New Zealand, bearing by compass E. N. E. 12 or 14 leagues distant. We stood for the land, making all sail with a fresh breeze at S. W.; but the weather was so exceedingly hazy, that it was one o'clock in the forenoon before it was plainly distinguished; when Five Finger point was seen bearing by compass N. E. 7 leagues distant, and the west cape E. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. The wind in the evening veered round to the N. N. W. and being light, with alternate calms, the boats were hoisted out to tow; by which means, and with the additional assistance of a heavy swell rolling up Dusky bay, we anchored about nine that evening in 40 fathoms soft bottom, in the arm leading into Facile harbour. Five Finger point by compass bore S. 38 W.; the west point of Parrot island N. 35 E.; and the nearest shore W. N. W. half a mile distant. About eleven the Chatham anchored, and, though within us, was in 60 fathoms water.

Although in the year 1773 I had visited Dusky bay with Captain Cook in the Resolution, I had never been in Facile harbour; for this reason I deemed it expedient, previous to moving the vessels, to examine and determine on a situation there most convenient for our several employments. On this occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Broughton and Mr. Whidbey. Having made our choice, we were greatly alarmed on our return by the report of two guns; but as the wind had much increased since our departure from the ships, we were not long at a loss how to account for this signal, and concluded that one or both of the vessels had driven from their anchorage.

We were no sooner clear of the islands than our conjectures were in part confirmed. The Chatham was stationary, but the Discovery was moving; and by the time we reached her, about one o'clock, she was nearly abreast of Five Finger point. We found that, on the ship's driving, a second anchor had been resorted to; but the depth of water being upwards of 70 fathoms, she was not brought up; that anchor was again at the bows, and the other nearly up; so that we were shortly enabled to set the sails; and, having a strong gale at the N. N. W. though attended with heavy squalls, I was not without hopes of reaching our destination in Facile harbour before dusk. But about five, a very violent gust of wind carried away the strap of the fore-topsail sheet block; the staysail sheets and halyards gave way; and the fore-topmast staysail split: the gale seemed to be increasing, and as we were in too narrow a channel to repair these damages before we should have lost all the distance we had gained, it was exceedingly fortunate that we had Anchor island harbour to leeward of us, for which we immediately steered; and running in by the western entrance, anchored at the mouth of the cove in 26 fathoms, soft muddy bottom; and after veering to half a cable, our stern was in 13

fathoms water, about 40 yards from the island that lies at the bottom of the cove. The ship was steadied by hawsers, from the bows to the points of the cove, and from the quarters to the trees on each side. The gale increased during the night; and it became necessary to strike the lower yards and top-gallant masts. Our apprehensions for the safety of the Chatham were not relieved until, by rowing over to the Petrel islands the next forenoon, Friday the 4th, and by walking across the land, we had the happiness to see her ride in perfect safety; but as she was directly to windward, and the gale continued to increase, Mr. Broughton was unable to get on board. Satisfied with the security of her station, we returned to the Discovery, when the violence of the gale from the N. W. obliged us to strike the topmasts, it not being in our power to veer more cable, or allow the ship to drive, without her being on the rocks a-stern; of which, even with these precautions, we entertained some fears; although in a situation perfectly land-locked, and the weather shores not more than five cables length distant. The violence of the gale still continuing, the small bower anchor was dropped under foot. In the evening the wind moderated a little, which seemed to be for the sole purpose of acquiring and returning with new vigour, as, by two on Saturday morning the 5th, the gale increased to so violent a storm, as to oblige us to lower the topmasts close down to the cap, and to get our yards and top-gallant masts fore and aft on the deck. From five o'clock until eight, it blew a perfect hurricane, attended with torrents of rain. We were happily in a very snug, secure little harbour, yet the sea beat with such unremitting violence against the rocks immediately a-stern of us, that had either the anchor or cable given way, little else but inevitable destruction must have followed. Our anxiety was infinitely increased by our sollicitude for the welfare of the Chatham; but as the storm with us at N. W. by W. was directly from off the high land under which she rode, we comforted ourselves with the hope she might not experience its fury to the degree it affected us. About nine a most tremendous gust caused the ship to roll excessively; this was immediately followed by a flash of lightning, and a heavy crash of thunder, which broke up the storm; and in the space of half an hour, the weather might be considered, comparatively speaking, as fair and pleasant. Mr. Broughton immediately repaired to the Chatham, and had the inexpressible pleasure of finding that she had rode out the gale in a manner far beyond all expectation. At her station the storm had blown from the N. N. E. directly down the arm in which she was at anchor; the sea broke intirely over her, though it had not a fetch of three miles, and in a channel not three quarters of a mile wide; yet with her yards and topmasts close lowered, and two anchors down, she rode out this heavy storm in perfect security. Mr. Broughton lost no time in getting under weigh, and worked into Facile harbour; to which place,

notwithstanding our having been obliged to seek shelter here, it was my intention to have gone; but as we were now completely dismantled, and finding that from these shores all our wants could be conveniently supplied, I determined to remain quiet, and to set about the several repairs we required with all possible dispatch. Parties were immediately employed on the different services of cutting wood for fuel, timber for spars and planks; brewing spruce beer; repairing the sails and rigging, calks, &c. &c. which necessary and essential duties engaged every person on board. A small boat with four men, daily employed in fishing, never returned without an abundance of excellent fish for present use, and a supply for every one who chose to salt them for future occasions. The N. W. gale did not intirely abandon us, it again blew with considerable violence on Sunday the 6th, after which it moderated, and the weather became settled, serene and pleasant, particularly when the wind, which was generally the case, had its direction from the south or western quarters; by which means our several duties were executed pleasantly and with great ease.

By Sunday the 13th, these necessary operations were in such a state of forwardness, as to allow a large party of officers and gentlemen in two boats, accompanied by Mr. Broughton in the Chatham's cutter, to attend me on an excursion over this spacious bay, with the hope of becoming acquainted with some of the inhabitants; and if circumstances permitted, to explore the upper part of the northern arm, which by Capt. Cook was called, "NO BODY KNOWS WHAT," and the only part he did not thoroughly examine.

On Monday the 14th we found the arm in which Captain Cook places Apparent island, to be divided into two branches, leaving that land a peninsula joined to the main land, by a very high, though narrow ridge of mountains. The perpendicular height, and very extraordinary shape, of the rocky part fronting the arm, render it a most singular and majestic promontory. Mr. Broughton undertook the right hand, or southern branch, which he found winding, first in a direction nearly N. E. by E. about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; then E. S. E. about half a league; and there, in a northern direction, terminating in a small cove. The northern arm we found to run nearly straight about N. E. for five miles, then turning round to the northward, for half a league further, and ending in a small cove with very shallow water, in a north-western direction. The heads of these arms, in conformity with Captain Cook's name of their entrance, I have called SOME BODY KNOWS WHAT. We were exceedingly fortunate in having most delightful weather for these examinations, and returned on board in the afternoon of Tuesday the 15th, though not without some disappointment that, after three days excursion, and landing in many places, particularly in Cascade and Indian

coves, which were formerly the resort of the natives, we nowhere found any traces of them, or any circumstance that in the least indicated the country being at present inhabited; if one or two miserable huts be excepted, which the officers of the Chatham met with in the neighbourhood of Facile harbour, but which had not the appearance of having been lately occupied. Pleasant weather still continuing, on Wednesday the 16th I took a survey of Anchor island harbour. It appeared to be perfectly secure, and may be found convenient, when accident may prevent vessels getting into Facile harbour. It has two entrances; that to the north of the Petrel islands is a fair and clear channel, though of great depth; its general soundings being from 33 to 38 fathoms; in the narrowest part it is about a cable's length wide, and, I believe, free from any danger; as the shores are steep, without any sunken rocks or shoals, excepting within the passage close under the south side of large Petrel island, where they are discoverable by the weeds growing upon them, and are quite out of the way of its navigation. The other passage is to the southward of the Petrel islands; and as, in all probability, a strong northerly wind would alone induce any person to make choice of this in preference to Facile harbour, the S. W. point of large Petrel island should be kept close on board, (which may be safely done) in order to weather the rock that appears above water in the middle of the harbour, and to avoid a sunken one of which there is not the least indication, and on which there is no greater depth than twelve feet at low water. Between this sunken rock, and the point from off which it lies about three quarters of a cable's length, and nearly in the direction to what I have called ENTRY ISLAND, are sixteen fathoms. Keeping the rock in the harbour, which is always visible, in a line with what I have called NORTH ENTRY ISLAND, will be sufficient direction, to pass within the above-mentioned point and the sunken rock. This, however, with some other particulars, is better illustrated by the annexed sketch; which, with one of Facile harbour taken by Mr. Broughton, I have subjoined to a copy of Captain Cook's most excellent chart of this port, with such trifling additions as in the course of our observations we have been able to make: and on this head, I shall only further remark, that Anchor Island harbour, although a very safe and secure port, is not a very convenient one to get to sea from, owing to its narrow limits, great depth of water, and the above sunken rock which we discovered in its western entrance.

Most of our business with the shore being finished, our rigging overhauled, sails bent, and the ship ready for sea, with very fine weather and a gentle breeze from S. S. E., on the morning of Friday the 18th we sailed out of the cove. The Chatham was not yet in readiness to depart; in order, however, that we might be conveniently stationed to proceed together when

circumstances should admit, I intended to place the ship abreast of Facile harbour; but the breeze failing, and the tide setting us towards the islands that lie from it, we were obliged to anchor sooner than I wished in 38 fathoms soft bottom. Five Finger point by compass bore S. 40 W.; west point of Anchor island S. 12 W. and the south point of Parrot island N. 53 W. a quarter of a mile distant. The day was nearly calm, but the next morning brought with it a fresh breeze from the southward. The Chatham having completed her business, stood out into the roadstead, which obtained the name of TEMPEST ROAD, from the storm she there rode out on our arrival: but not seeing any probability of getting to sea, she returned into Facile harbour. The gale increased towards noon, but in the evening the weather became delightfully pleasant.

On the morning of Sunday the 20th, about seven o'clock, a fresh breeze from the S. W. set in, accompanied by an unusually heavy swell, which giving us reason to apprehend some violence from the wind in that direction, we weighed, ran into Facile harbour, and anchored abreast of the passage leading out through Parrot and Pigeon islands, in 38 fathoms soft bottom. This passage, though not exceeding a cable's length in width, we found to be a very excellent one, with soundings from nine to five fathoms close to the shores. These soundings are on a ridge from island to island, as the water deepened to upwards of 30 fathoms immediately on either side. The Chatham was at anchor near us, and both vessels were conveniently stationed for proceeding to sea on a favorable opportunity presenting itself. The wind continued to blow very strong from the S. W. and brought with it a surf which broke very heavily on the shores in the bay; yet the vessels rode perfectly quiet. On Monday the 21st, the sky became intirely obscured, with dark gloomy weather, and the wind became variable with much rain. The next morning was perfectly calm, and although it did not rain, the heavy atmosphere continued. We were now employed in completing our stock of water, and in procuring wood, spruce, or rather a species of cypress, and the tea plant, for brewing at sea. Towards noon, a breeze springing up from the N. W. both vessels sailed out of Dusky bay. A very heavy swell rolled from the S. W. and westward; but having a fresh breeze, by four o'clock Five Finger point bore N. by E. a league distant.

Thus we quitted Dusky bay, greatly indebted to its most excellent refreshments, and the salubrity of its air. The good effects of a plentiful supply of fish, and spruce beer, were evident in the appearance of every individual in our little society. The health of our convalescents was perfectly re-established, and excepting one with a chronic complaint, and two wounded by cuts in their legs, we had not a man on the surgeon's list;

though, on the most trifling occasion of indisposition, no person was ever permitted to attend his duty. Some wild fowl were procured, though they were by no means found in such numbers as when the Resolution was here in the year 1773, owing, in all probability, to the difference of the season; to which, possibly, is to be ascribed, our being unable to ascertain whether the geese then left here had propagated.

Captain Cook's very excellent description of this place precludes any material additions; and leaves me, as a transitory visitor, little else than the power of confirming his judicious remarks and opinions. One circumstance, however, may not be unworthy of notice. Mr. Menzies here found the true winter's bark; exactly the same plant as that found at Tierra del Fuego; but which escaped the observation of Captain Cook and our botanical gentlemen in 1773: of this, with the antarctic birch, flax, and one or two other plants, we took specimens on board, though the period of our reaching England seemed too distant to entertain hopes of their continuing alive. Captain Cook's recommendation of Facile harbour to vessels bound to the southward, is highly judicious, as it is in all respects a safe, commodious, and convenient station; capable of supplying every article that can be expected from this country, without going out of sight of the vessel: and it is rendered still more eligible, by our having found so good an outlet with northerly or N. W. winds, between Pigeon and Parrot islands; as, in consequence of the high land drawing those winds directly down the harbour, the western entrance will be found less convenient. No time should be lost on arriving in this bay, to seek security in some of its harbours: which, as Captain Cook very truly observes, "are numerous, safe, and convenient." For although the weather we experienced after the storm on our arrival, may justly be considered as delightful summer weather, yet it cannot be denied that the northerly winds blow with incredible fury; and as they always take the direction of the arms of the bay, they cause in them, though they are very narrow, a considerable sea, which, in addition to their great depth of water, render such anchoring places neither pleasant nor secure. I should not, however, suppose these storms to be very frequent, for two reasons. First, during our stay here, from the 26th of March until the 11th of May in the year 1773, which may be considered as comprehending part of the winter season, we had no gale of wind comparable in point of violence to that which we had lately experienced. This was my fifth visit to New Zealand and its neighbourhood; and although I have certainly seen much boisterous and tempestuous weather, I never before contended with so violent a storm. Secondly, the mountains in Anchor island, Resolution island, and all those of moderate height round the bay (the land of Five

Finger point alone excepted), which on our arrival were perfectly free from snow, were after the storm covered with it a considerable way down. Were such falls of snow to happen frequently, it is natural to conclude that vegetation would be severely checked, and that its productions would not have been found to flourish, as they certainly do in a most luxuriant manner. A few days fine weather soon removed the greater part of the snow; and that which remained on the high, distant, barren mountains, which for some days past had been intirely free from clouds, was observed to be greatly diminished.

I shall conclude our transactions in Dusky bay, by noticing the few astronomical and nautical observations that were made in Anchor Island harbour.

The badness of the weather on our first arrival, and the short time I purposed to remain, made me conclude that the erection of the observatory on shore would be to little purpose. The latitude of the harbour was found to be one minute south of Captain Cook's calculation, or $45^{\circ} 45' 36''$. His determination is, however, most likely to be correct, as mine was deduced from one day's observation only, with an artificial horizon; and, having agreed so nearly, any further investigation I deemed unnecessary.

The mean result of ten sets of altitudes taken between the 9th and 16th of November, for ascertaining the longitude of the chronometer, and to form some judgment as to its rate of going, were as follows, viz.

By the Portsmouth rate it placed Anchor Island harbour in longitude	166 ° 42 ' 23 "
By the Cape rate	167 ° 55 ' 12 "
By King George the Third's Sound rate	167 ° 7 ' 40 "
The true longitude as assigned to that place by Captain Cook	166 ° 15 ' 54 "
Makes the Portsmouth rate east of the truth	26 ' 29 "
Cape rate ditto	1 ° 39 ' 18 "
King George the Third's Sound ditto	51 ' 46 "
Mr. Arnold's watch on board the Chatham gave the longitude of Facile harbour, according to the Cape rate	165 ° 48 ' 52 "

Esteeming the true longitude of Anchor Island harbour to be $166^{\circ} 15' 54''$, the chronometer was fast of mean time at Greenwich on the 16th at noon $26' 34''$; whence it appeared, that it had gone nearly at mean time since leaving King George the Third's sound, and that its having differed from Captain Cook's assigned longitude of Van Dieman's land was occasioned by its not having gained at the rate we allowed, and of course the longitude of King George the Third's Sound was not wrong. By the result of our observations here, it gained on an average about $3''$ per day, which error I shall allow, until a better opportunity of ascertaining its rate may offer.

The variation of the magnetic needle, observed on shore by three different compasses in 18 sets of azimuths, varied from $11^{\circ} 17'$ to $17^{\circ} 26'$, the mean result of which was $14^{\circ} 55' 45''$ east variation. The vertical inclination of the south point of the magnetic needle on board was found to be—

Marked end	North, face East,	70	°	3	'
Ditto	North, face West,	69		8	
Ditto	South, face East,	70		5	
Ditto	South, face West,	69		35	
Mean inclination of the south point of the dipping needle		69		43	

As we increased our distance from the land, the N. W. wind increased also. A swell at this time coming very heavily from the S. W. made me apprehensive the wind would shift round, and blow hard in that direction. The state of the mercury in the barometer, the gloominess of the weather, and every other appearance of the evening, indicated more wind from the S. W. than would be pleasant to be caught in on this dreary coast: we therefore steered south, under as much sail as we could carry, and made the necessary signals to the Chatham for the like purpose. Our lofty canvass was, however, spread a very short time before it blew so hard a gale, that we were under the necessity of close-reefing the topsails, getting down the top-gallant yards, and striking the masts. The night was extremely dark; which, by ten, prevented our seeing the Chatham. The wind was now at N. N. W. very happily not on the shore, as by three in the morning of Wednesday the 23d its increased violence obliged us to furl the topsails. At this moment we were alarmed by finding six feet water in the hold, which the ship felt excessively, labouring much by being pressed down forward with that

weight of water. This very unpleasant circumstance obliged us to scud directly before the wind and sea, for the purpose of freeing the ship; when, by receiving much water in the waste, the casks of beer and water stowed upon deck, broke from their securities and were stove to pieces. The cause of so much water in the hold, at first a matter of great surprize, was soon accounted for. The hand pumps had been, and were still, choaked; which induced the carpenter to believe, that because they discharged no water there was none in the ship. This, in all probability had governed his examination all the latter part of the time we had been in port, and produced an accumulation that might have been attended with the most serious consequences, had not one of the quarter-masters heard in the tier, the water rushing about in the hold. The hand pumps were soon in order; and, to relieve the ship as soon as possible, the cross piece of the bits was unshipped, the launch got forward, and with the chain pumps the vessel by seven o'clock was made perfectly dry. The gale had now increased to a most furious storm, nearly equal to that we had experienced in Dusky bay. The torrents of rain which fell, mixing with the sea raised by the violent flurries of the wind, kept us so much in darkness that we could not perceive any thing at the distance of an hundred yards in any direction; nor were we able to resume our southwardly course; the wind and sea obliging us to steer S. S. E. or right before the storm. We had not seen the Chatham since eleven o'clock the preceding evening, but concluding she would stand on if able to pursue a southwardly course, I did not wish to bring to for her; particularly, as the wind was such as would soon set us clear of the coast of New Zealand, which was doubtless a very desirable object.

Towards nine in the forenoon of Thursday the 24th the storm began to abate; at ten the wind veered round to the W. S. W.; the rain ceased, and the atmosphere became clear, but the Chatham was not to be discovered in any direction. There was, however, great probability of her being to windward; and as I was still apprehensive of a S. W. gale before we should be clear of this coast, I determined to lose no time in getting far enough to the southward to enable us to sail round the land and the Traps with such a wind. As Matavai bay in Otaheite was the next appointed rendezvous, I concluded Mr. Broughton would do the same, and make the best of his way with the Chatham to that port. The mainsail and close-reefed topsails (all the sail the ship would bear) were now set, and keeping the wind on the beam, we steered S. S. E.; when about eleven o'clock, to our great astonishment, land was discovered, bearing east four or five leagues distant. We knew of no land nearer than the south cape of New Zealand; and, by the courses we had steered there was scarcely a possibility of our being within less than 18

or 20 leagues of the Cape: but being flattered with the prospect of a meridional observation for the latitude, our decision was postponed until that should be ascertained. Noon brought us nearer the land, which by compass bore from N. E. by E. to E. N. E. at the distance of three or four leagues only. By a tolerably good observation in latitude $48^{\circ} 5'$ it was clearly proved, that this land could not, from its situation, be any part of New Zealand, as it was nearly three fourths of a degree to the southward of the most southern promontory of that country. Our longitude by the chronometer, was at this time $166^{\circ} 4'$; which situation was $18'$ more south, and $13'$ more east, than the log gave. The weather, though very hazy, being something clearer than before noon, we beheld, as we passed this land at the distance of two or three leagues, the sea breaking upon its shores with great violence, and discovered it to be composed of a cluster of seven craggy islands, extending about six miles in a direction N. 70 E. and S. 70 W. They appeared destitute of verdure, and it is more than probable they never produce any. The largest, which is the north-easternmost, I should suppose to be in extent equal to all the rest; it is about three leagues in circuit, sufficiently elevated to be seen in clear weather eight or nine leagues off, and is situated in latitude $48^{\circ} 3'$, longitude $166^{\circ} 20'$. The latitude was ascertained by three sextants which nearly agreed; and the longitude reduced by the chronometer from Dusky bay, by three sets of altitudes in the afternoon; viz. one set before we passed its meridian; another under it; the third after we had passed it. As these severally corresponded within a mere trifle, when reduced to the same point, I should presume that the longitude above stated is not likely to be materially incorrect. It was matter of some surprize how these islands could have escaped the attention of Captain Cook; but on laying them down in his chart of New Zealand, I found his tracks had not at any time reached within at least ten leagues of them. From the south cape they bear S. 40 W. 19 leagues, and from the southernmost part of the Traps S. $62\frac{1}{2}$ W. 20 leagues distant. These islands, or rather rocks, for they appeared perfectly steril, I have named, on account of their situation, and the sort of weather there is great reason to expect in their vicinity, THE SNARES; as being very likely to draw the unguarded mariner into alarming difficulties. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Snares bore by compass N. 30 W. five or six leagues distant. At day-light the next morning, Friday the 25th, we hauled to the N. E. By noon, the gale had sufficiently moderated to admit the spreading of all our canvass; at noon the observed latitude was $48^{\circ} 18'$, longitude $169^{\circ} 33'$. I cannot avoid here mentioning the concern I felt in beholding the last of our sheep thrown overboard; the race of animals of the brute creation on board the Discovery, had certainly been very ill fated; out of thirty sheep taken on board at

Portsmouth, no more than two came to the table, the rest died before we reached the equator; nor were we much more fortunate in the like number of wethers received at the Cape; two thirds of these, with seven ewes and six rams, intended as presents to our friends in the South-Sea islands, were at this time dead; notwithstanding they were all taken on board in exceedingly high condition, and had neither wanted care, plenty of wholesome food, nor good lodging.

With a pleasant favorable gale; sometimes in the N. W. but chiefly from the S. W. quarter, and with tolerably fine weather, we stood to the E. N. E.; and made such progress, that by noon on the 8th of December we had reached the latitude of $37^{\circ} 27'$, longitude $207^{\circ} 14'$. The wind veered round to the north with a moderate breeze, attended by dark gloomy weather and some rain. On Saturday the 10th we were surrounded by a very thick fog, which, with much rain at intervals, continued until Tuesday the 13th; when having a fine breeze at S. S. W. the fog cleared away, but it still remained very cloudy. We were however enabled to ascertain our situation for the first time since the 8th, to be in latitude $36^{\circ} 13'$, longitude $214^{\circ} 33'$, varying since that day $53'$ more to the north, and $28'$ more to the east, than was shewn by the log. We stood to the north, under all the sail we could spread, but were not suffered long to pursue this course. In the latitude of $31^{\circ} 43'$, longitude $214^{\circ} 11'$, at noon on Thursday the 15th the wind veered round, and settled between the N. E. and N. N. E. obliging us ply with a moderate breeze to the northward; in doing which so little was gained, that on Saturday the 17th we had only reached the latitude of $31^{\circ} 8'$, longitude $214^{\circ} 34'$. The wind now blew a fresh gale from the north, the topsails were reefed, the weather was very dark, gloomy, and excessively sultry, with continued lightning and thunder at some distance, until the morning, when the wind died away, and in its stead, extremely vivid forked lightning, with incessant peals of thunder, accompanied by torrents of rain, attended us, without intermission, until noon of Sunday the 18th. The thunder and lightning then ceased, but the rain still continued; and, contrary to our expectation, the wind resumed its N. N. E. direction, and blew so hard as to make the striking our top-gallant yards necessary. A remarkably smooth sea, with heavy, damp, close, cloudy weather, and little alteration in the wind, attended us until Tuesday the 20th; it then moderated, and the top-gallant sails were spread.

Since the 17th we had not obtained any correct observations; but, by our reckoning, the latitude at noon was $30^{\circ} 17'$, longitude $215^{\circ} 22'$. Although the wind from the north and N. N. E. was attended with sudden and violent flurries, yet the sea continued smooth, which indicated, that land, probably

of some extent, existed not very far distant in that direction. After noon, we stood to the eastward about four leagues: when, suddenly, a very heavy swell was met from N. N. E. which was soon followed by such an increase of wind from that quarter, as reduced us to our close-reefed topsails. This gale, which proved the breaking up of the northerly wind, was of short duration: in the evening it moderated, and veered round by the east to the S. S. W. We made all sail to the north by west; but it was not until the wind became a very fresh breeze, that we were enabled to steer that course against the northerly swell, which drove the ship a-stern. This evening there were several small white tern hovering about the ship, seemingly with great inclination to alight on board. On the morning of Wednesday the 21st, the head sea had for the most part subsided, and the wind seemed to have settled in the southern quarter: and blowing a gentle breeze with very pleasant weather, enabled me to obtain six sets of lunar distances, whose mean result reduced to noon gave the longitude $215^{\circ} 22' 45''$. The chronometer, by the last rate shewed $215^{\circ} 16' 45''$, the latitude was $29^{\circ} 15'$; which was, at this time, $6'$ further north than we expected.

We continued our route to the northward; which, with a gentle gale at S. S. E. and pleasant weather, brought us, by day-light on Thursday the 22d, in light of land, bearing by compass N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. At first it appeared like three small high islands, the easternmost much resembling a vessel under sail. This land being at a considerable distance from the tracks of former navigators, I steered for it, in order to be satisfied of its extent, productions, and other circumstances worthy observation. In the forenoon, eight sets of lunar distances were obtained: which, as before, nearly corresponding with each other, gave, by their mean result, when reduced to noon, $215^{\circ} 42' 40''$, these, with those taken the preceding day, comprehending 14 sets of distances, gave $215^{\circ} 39'$. The latitude, by several sextants, was determined to be $27^{\circ} 54'$.

Since seeing the land in the morning, we had run eleven leagues; and had approached it sufficiently near to perceive, that all we had at first seen was united. It now bore, by compass, from N. 29 E. to N. 43 E. about five leagues distant, with a small island lying off its eastern side N. 45 E.

Assisted by a gentle S. E. gale, with fine pleasant weather, at three in the afternoon we were within about a league of the shore; yet no bottom was to be gained at the depth of 180 fathoms. Several canoes came off to the ship, and all means were used to invite them on board. They declined our intreaties, but seemed very solicitous that we should accept their invitations to land; which they signified by waving their paddles towards the coast, and

by desiring us, in the language of the Great South-Sea nation, to go nearer to the shore. We bore away with that intent, but soon again brought to, on observing that two or three canoes were paddling in great haste towards the ship. After some persuasion, four men in one of the canoes came near enough to receive some presents, which seemed to please them exceedingly; and though their countrymen appeared to rebuke them for their rashness, the example was shortly followed by several others. It was not, however, without shewing every demonstration of friendship, that any could be prevailed upon to come on board, until at length, the man who had brought about this intercourse seemed determined to establish it, by complying with our desires. On his entering the ship he trembled and was much agitated; apprehension, astonishment, and admiration, equally appearing at the same instant; and though, on his being made welcome after the usual fashion, and presented with a small iron adz, his countenance became more serene and cheerful, yet he still appeared in a state of great anxiety. He soon communicated his reception and treatment to his surrounding countrymen; and we shortly had as many visitors as it was pleasant to entertain. They all seemed perfectly well acquainted with the uses to which they could apply iron, and how to estimate its value amongst themselves; as also the manner in which it was regarded by Europeans. They made no scruple, even with some force, to take articles of iron out of our hands; and, in lieu of them, with great courtesy and address presented, in return, some few fish, fishing hooks, lines, and other trifles, which they seemed to wish should be accepted as presents, and not received in exchange. Looking glasses, beads, and other trinkets of little importance, at first; attracted their attention, and were gladly accepted; but no sooner did they discover that articles made of iron were common amongst us, than they refused all other presents, and wanted to barter every other gift for iron. I could not prevail on any of them to accept a few medals.

Their visit seemed prompted only by curiosity, as they were completely unarmed, and brought with them (except the few fish, &c.) neither articles of food, nor manufacture. A few spears, and a club or two, were seen in one or two of the canoes only; two or three indifferent slings for stones were also noticed; with which they parted without the least reluctance.

We lay to until five o'clock in the hope of obtaining the name of this island, or of any other which might exist in its neighbourhood. These people were evidently of the Great South-Sea nation; speaking, with some little difference of dialect, the same language; and resembling the friendly islanders, more than the inhabitants of any other country. On this occasion, *Towereroo* the Sandwich islander was of little assistance; having been taken

at an early period from home; and having been long absent, he had so much forgotten his mother tongue, as to be scarcely able to understand the language of these people better than ourselves. Two or three of them remained on board nearly an hour; but so unfixed and unsteady was their attention, which wandered from object to object, that it was impossible to gain from them any information. Their answers to almost every question were in the affirmative; and our enquiries as to the name of their island, &c. were continually interrupted by incessant invitations to go on shore. At length, I had reason to believe the name of the island was Oparo; and that of their chief *Korie*. Although I could not positively determine that these names were correctly ascertained, yet as there was a probability of their being so, I distinguished the island by the name of OPARO, until it might be found more properly intitled to another. By six in the evening, we had nearly seen round the island, which is of little extent; and not choosing to lose the advantage of a fine southwardly wind, we proceeded to the N. N. W. under all the sail we could spread.

As it was not my intention to stop at Oparo, no delay was occasioned by examining for anchorage, which probably may be found on both sides of its N. W. point. To the southward of that point is a small bay with a stony beach, through which there was the appearance of a considerable stream of water falling into the sea. The shores in most parts were so perfectly smooth, that landing might have been effected without the least difficulty. Round to the north of that point is another small bay, in which are a small islet and some rocks; behind these, the shore may be approached with great ease at any time. Indeed, there was not any part of the island which appeared to have been acted upon by heavy violent surfs, as the verdure in many places reached to the water's edge. The south extremity of the island appeared in some points of view to form a right angle, without the least interruption in the sides; about half a mile to the south-east is a small detached islet; the shores are interspersed with sandy beaches; its greatest extent, which is in a N. 18 W. and S. 18 E. direction, is about six miles and a half, and it may possibly be about eighteen miles in circuit. This island is situated in the latitude of $27^{\circ} 36'$; and, by our lunar observations of the two preceding days reduced to its centre by the chronometer, is in longitude^[5] $215^{\circ} 58' 28''$; the mean of the variation was $5^{\circ} 40'$ eastwardly.

Its principal character is a cluster of high craggy mountains, forming in several places, most romantic pinnacles, with perpendicular cliffs nearly from their summits to the sea; the vacancies between the mountains would more probably be termed chasms than vallies, in which there was no great appearance of plenty, fertility or cultivation; they were chiefly clothed with

shrubs and dwarf trees. Neither the plantation, nor other spontaneous vegetable productions common to the inhabited tropical islands, presented themselves. The tops of six of the highest hills bore the appearance of fortified places, resembling redoubts; having a sort of block house, in the shape of an English glass house, in the centre of each, with rows of pallisadoes a considerable way down the sides of the hills, nearly at equal distances. These, overhanging, seemed intended for advanced works, and apparently capable of defending the citadel by a few against a numerous host of assailants. On all of them we noticed people, as if on duty, constantly moving about. What we considered as block houses, from their great similarity in appearance to that sort of building, were sufficiently large to lodge a considerable number of persons, and were the only habitations we saw. Yet from the number of canoes that in so short a time assembled around us, it is natural to conclude that the inhabitants are very frequently afloat, and to infer from this circumstance that the shores, and not those fortified hills which appeared to be in the center of the island, would be preferred for their general residence. We saw about thirty double and single canoes, though most of them were of the double sort: the single canoes were supported by an outrigger on one side, and all built much after the fashion of the Society Islands, without having their very high sterns, though the sterns of some of these were considerably elevated; and their bows were not without some little ornament. They were very neatly constructed, though the narrowest canoes I ever saw. When it is considered that the builders of them are nearly destitute of iron, and possessed of very few implements, of that valuable metal; and when the miserable tools they have generally recourse to for such operations are regarded, the mind is filled with admiration at their ingenuity, and persevering industry. The island did not appear to afford any large timber; the broadest planks of which the canoes were made, not exceeding twelve inches, confirmed us in this opinion, as they were probably cut out of the largest trees. Some of the stoutest double canoes accommodated from twenty-five to thirty men, of whom, on a moderate computation, three hundred were supposed to have been seen near the ship. These were all adults, and apparently none exceeding a middle-age; so that the total number of inhabitants on the island can hardly be estimated at less than fifteen hundred. In this respect it must be considered prolific, notwithstanding its uncultivated appearance. The natives, however, appeared to be exceedingly well fed, of middling stature, extremely well made; and in general, their countenances were open, cheerful, and strongly marked with indications of hospitality. They were all, to a man, very solicitous that some of us should accompany them to the shore; and those who last quitted the ship, endeavoured with all their powers of persuasion, and some efforts of

compulsion, to effect their purpose. On their departure they took hold of the hand of every one near them, with a view to get them into their canoe. They all had their hair cut short; and, excepting a wreath made of a broad long-leaved green plant, worn by some about the waist, they were intirely without clothing. Although the custom of tatowing prevails so generally with all the islanders of this ocean, these people were destitute of any such marks.

Independent of the protection their fortified retreats may afford, it did not appear that they were subject to much hostility, as scarcely any scars from wounds or other marks of violence were observed on their bodies. Their elevated fortified places (for certainly they had every appearance of being such) led some of us to conjecture, that they were frequently annoyed by troublesome neighbours from some other islands not far distant. But, as the canoes we saw were not even furnished with sails, nor had any appearance of having been ever equipped for an expedition beyond their own coast, it may reasonably be inferred, that they were not accustomed to voyages of any length. Yet, on the other hand, when the small extent of their island is taken into consideration, it is hard to reconcile that it is not the fear of foreign enemies, but the apprehension of domestic insurrection, that has induced the laborious construction of their fortified retreats; and as to the S. E. of this island there is an extensive space in the ocean hitherto but little frequented; it is not improbable that some islands may exist there, the inhabitants of which may occasionally make unfriendly visits to these people.

Leaving Oparo, we had pleasant weather with a gentle breeze from the S. E. At eight in the morning of Friday the 23d, the island was still visible from the deck, bearing by compass S. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. at the distance of 18 leagues. The breeze between E. and S. E. carried us rapidly to the N. N. W. and brought us on the evening of Sunday the 25th into the vicinity of some low islands discovered by Captain Carteret, and named the Duke of Gloucester's islands. The evening was dark and gloomy, and not choosing to pass the spot assigned to them in the night, we continued to make short trips under our topsails, until day-light; after which we again resumed our course. Our latitude at noon of Monday the 26th was $19^{\circ} 58'$, longitude $211^{\circ} 46'$, which was $9'$ further south, and $23'$ further west, than was shewn by the log. At about $1^{\circ} 33'$ to the west of the situation of the Duke of Gloucester's islands according to Captain Carteret, we passed their latitude, without seeing any appearance of land. Having now a fresh gale at east, we entertained the pleasing hope of reaching Otaheite the next day; this flattering prospect was of short duration. Towards the evening, the wind veered to the N. E. and its violence obliged us to close-reef the topsails. The

gale was attended with very heavy squalls, and a torrent of rain continued almost without intermission until the evening of Wednesday the 28th, when it ceased, and the wind still at N. E. became moderate. By standing on to the N. N. W. day-light the next morning, Thursday the 29th, presented us with a view of Matavai, or Osnaburgh island, at the distance of seven or eight leagues, bearing by compass N. E. by E. Our course was immediately shaped for Otaheite, the south point of which was visible by eleven o'clock, bearing by compass S. 70 W. eight or nine leagues distant. The wind coming to the north prevented our reaching Matavai bay, and obliged us to ply to windward during the night. In the morning of Friday the 30th, with a gentle breeze from the N. E. we stood for Matavai under all the sail we could spread. About eight o'clock, a canoe came alongside with two pigs and some vegetables; a present from a sister of Otoo, residing in that part of the island of which we were then abreast. The natives informed me that we had been expected, and that they had been looking out for us two days, in consequence of information they said they had received from an English vessel, then at anchor in Matavai bay; and their description of her being perfectly intelligible, I did not hesitate to believe it was the Chatham, of which we shortly experienced the happiness of being convinced. Mr. Broughton soon visited us, and brought with him an early and acceptable supply of the excellent productions of this fertile country. About ten, we anchored in Matavai bay. Our mutual gratulations on meeting were extremely heightened, by receiving and communicating the happy tidings, that every individual composing the society of each vessel was in a most perfect state of health. Mr. Broughton had, since his arrival, received repeated marks of friendship and attention from the good people of the island. Having deemed it expedient to establish the following regulations on board the Discovery, I delivered a copy of them to Mr. Broughton, and directed that the rules might be strictly observed and attended to on board the Chatham; after which, Mr. Broughton presented me with a narrative of his proceedings during the time of our separation.

RULES and ORDERS for the guidance and conduct of all persons in, or belonging to his Majesty's sloop Discovery and Chatham tender; enjoined to be most strictly observed in all intercourse with the natives of the several South-Sea islands.

The principal, and indeed sole design, of the Discovery and Chatham calling at the islands in the Pacific Ocean, being to acquire such refreshments as those islands may be found to afford; and as these refreshments are to be purchased with articles which

Europeans esteem of little value;—if each individual be permitted to make such bargains as he may think proper, not only the value of these articles will soon be reduced in the estimation of the Indians, but, until a proper and good understanding be established between the natives of the different islands, and ourselves, it may subject us to such disturbances as may be attended with the most fatal consequences. And as a due proportion of time will be allowed before the vessels depart from any island, (circumstances admitting thereof) for the providing such articles of curiosity, &c. as any person may be inclined and able to purchase:

It is, first, strictly enjoined, that no officer, seaman, or other person, in such commerce with the Indians, do give such articles of value, for any article of curiosity, as may tend hereafter to depreciate the value of iron, beads, &c. &c.

Secondly, That every fair means be used to cultivate a friendship with the different Indians, and on all occasions to treat them with every degree of kindness and humanity.

Thirdly, As proper persons will be appointed by the respective commanders to trade with the natives, for the necessary provisions and refreshments; it is strictly enjoined that no officer, seaman, or other person, excepting him or them so appointed, do on any pretence, presume to trade, or offer to trade, for any article whatever, until permission shall have been granted for so doing.

Fourthly, Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatever, is strictly to attend to the same: and if it should appear that by neglect, any of the arms, working tools, boats furniture, or other matters committed to the charge of one or more persons, be lost, or suffered to be stolen, the full value of the same will be charged against his, or their wages, and he or they will likewise suffer such other punishment, as the nature of the offence may deserve; and as the additional pay, and the emoluments of the artificers, serving in his Majesty's navy, is for their encouragement, and the diligent performance of their duty in their respective trades or occupations, and for providing themselves with the requisite working tools, all such implements or tools belonging to the several artificers of the two vessels, are by their respective owners to be carefully preserved, that they may be always able to perform the duties of their respective departments; and should any one be hardy enough to fail in his obedience to this

order, he shall be disrated from his employment during the continuance of the voyage, and suffer such other punishment as the crime may deserve.

Lastly, The same penalty will be inflicted on every person, who shall be found to embezzle, or be concerned in embezzling, or offering to trade with, any part of the ships or boats stores, furniture, &c. &c. be these of what nature soever.

Given on board his Majesty's sloop Discovery,
at sea, the 25th of December, 1791.

(Signed)

GEORGE VANCOUVER.

[5]

Vide Astronomical observations at Otaheite.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Broughton's Narrative, from the Time of his Separation, to his being joined by the Discovery at Otaheite; with some Account of Chatham Island, and other Islands discovered on his Passage.

The wood we had received in Facile harbour, (on Tuesday the 22d of November) with the spruce beer and water upon deck, had brought the vessel so much by the head, that, together with the high sea now running, obliged us to deviate from our southwardly course and keep before the storm, which raged with great violence; and notwithstanding every precaution a wave struck our stern, about six o'clock on Wednesday morning, washed away the jolly boat, and sat us all afloat upon deck. Having, about nine, run by estimation to the south of the Traps, to prevent our shipping so much water, I brought to, under a reefed trysail, and fore staysail. By noon, the gale had considerably abated, the sea subsided, and the horizon became tolerably clear; but the Discovery was not to be seen in any direction. After duly weighing all circumstances since the commencement of the gale, our separation from the Discovery appeared now complete; and the chance of our meeting again until our arrival at our next rendezvous in Otaheite, seemed little in our favor.

About two in the afternoon, land was discovered from the deck, appearing like a high island, bearing by compass S. S. E. three or four leagues distant; about an hour afterwards, we had sight of more land lying to the southward and detached from the former; our utmost endeavours were used to weather this land, but finding it impracticable, we bore up for a passage between the high island and the detached land, which was found to be composed of a cluster of small islets and rocks, greater in extent though about the height of the Needles; their tops or ridges are much broken; and from the high island bore by compass N. E. and S. W. forming a passage three miles wide; about one third of the passage over, on the southern side, lies a small black rock just above water; on all these rocks and islets the sea broke with great violence. In this passage we had a confused irregular swell, with the appearance of broken water; large bunches of sea weed were observed, and the whole surface was covered with birds of a blackish colour. The N. E. part of the island in the evening, bore by compass north; the S. W. part, N. W. by N.; the passage N. W.; and the rocky islets from N. W. by W.

to W. by N. between two and three leagues distant: in this situation we had no bottom at the depth of 60 and 80 fathoms. Some parts of the island presented a very barren appearance, not unlike the S. W. side of Portland, composed of whitish rocky cliffs. The rocky islets are five in number, some of which wore a pyramidal form. On account of the haziness in the atmosphere, the north-easternmost part of the island was seen so very indistinctly, that its extent could not be ascertained. We had no reason to suppose it inhabited, and its desolate appearance made that very improbable. This island, in honour of Captain Knight of the navy, I named KNIGHT'S ISLAND. Its south point lies in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 15'$, longitude $166^{\circ} 44'$, ascertained by the watch the last time the bearings were taken, allowing its error to be $30'$ west, as determined at Dusky bay. Knight's island, so far as we could see of its extent, and the rocky islets, lie in the direction of N. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. and S. W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. allowing a point and a half variation east: they extend about four leagues.

In the morning of Thursday the 24th, with a fine westwardly gale, we altered our course and made all sail to the N. E. The wind which varied in point of force, veered gradually round by the north. On Saturday the 26th our latitude was $46^{\circ} 43'$, longitude $173^{\circ} 30'$. In the evening the wind shifted suddenly to the S. W. and blew with such violence, that striking our top-gallant masts and yards became necessary. A remarkably heavy following sea, kept the vessel constantly under water; but the gale was attended with clear weather. At noon on Sunday the 27th our latitude by observation was $45^{\circ} 54'$, longitude by account $176^{\circ} 13'$. The gale now moderated, which permitted us again to resume our N. E. course, with a fine breeze between west and N. W. Early in the morning of Monday the 29th, low land was discovered, bearing by compass from N. E. to E. N. E.; and being then in 40 fathoms water, we brought to until day-break. About four o'clock we had 38 fathoms, bottom of sand and broken shells, when the N. W. point of this land, which is low, bore by compass S. 7 E. about three leagues distant, and which, after the man who fortunately saw it from the fore-yard, I named POINT ALISON; a remarkably rugged rocky mountain that obtained the name of MOUNT PATTERSON S. 60 E.; a sugar-loaf hill S. 84 E.; and the extreme point to the eastward, which formed an abrupt cape, N. 75 E. Two islands N. 3 E. to N. 5 E. two or three leagues distant. The interior land was of a moderate height, rising gradually, and forming several peaked hills, which at a distance have the appearance of islands. From point Alison to mount Patterson the shore is low, and covered with wood; from thence to the above cape was a continued white beach, on which some sandy cliffs, and black rocks were interspersed, apparently detached from the shore. To the

eastward of these rocks, between them and a flat projecting point, the land seemed to form a bay open to the westward. From this point to the above cape, a distance of about two miles, the cliffs are covered with wood and coarse grass. These cliffs are of moderate height, composed of a reddish clay, mixed with black rocks. Several large black rocks lie off point Alison, and the cape, extending to a little distance; and as we passed within about half a mile of the shore, the depth of water was 14 fathoms, broken shells, and sandy bottom. This cape forms a conspicuous head land, and is the northernmost part of the island; I called it CAPE YOUNG; it lies in latitude $43^{\circ} 48'$, longitude $183^{\circ} 2'$. The above two islands lie very near each other; to the eastward of them lies a small rock, apparently connected, though at no great distance, by a reef; another rock somewhat larger is situated between them. They are of no great height; flat top with perpendicular sides, composed intirely of rocks, and much frequented by birds of different kinds. These, which from their resemblance to each other, I called THE TWO SISTERS, are in latitude $43^{\circ} 41'$, longitude $182^{\circ} 49'$; and bear, by compass, from Cape Young N. 50 W. four leagues distant. We steered from cape Young E. by N. keeping between two and three miles from the coast, with regular soundings from 25 to 22 fathoms. The shore is a continued white sandy beach, on which the surf ran very high. Some high land, rising gradually from the beach and covered with wood, extends about four miles to the eastward of the cape. After passing this land, we opened the several hills over the low land we had seen in the morning, and could discern that many of them were covered like our heaths in England, but destitute of trees. The woods in some spots had the appearance of being cleared, and in several places between the hills smoke was observed. The beach is interrupted at unequal distances by projecting rocky points covered with wood. Over the banks of sand were seen a range of retired hills at a considerable distance, in the direction of the coast. After sailing about 10 leagues, we came abreast of a small sandy bay. Water was seen over the beach, and the country had the appearance of being very pleasant. With our glasses we perceived some people hauling up a canoe, and several others behind the rocks, in the bay. Fearful that so good an opportunity might not occur for acquiring some knowledge of the inhabitants, I worked up into the bay, which we had passed before the natives were discovered. We came to an anchor about a mile from the shore in 20 fathom water, sandy and rocky bottom. The eastern point by compass bore N. 78 E.; cape Young W. 12 S.; the larboard point of the bay S. E.; the eastern point from our anchorage proved to be the termination of the island, to which I gave the name of POINT MUNNINGS.

Accompanied by Mr. Johnston the master, and one of the mates, we proceeded towards the shore in the cutter. The rocks project a little at each extremity of the bay; within them we found smooth water, and landed upon the rocks on the starboard shore, where we had first perceived the inhabitants; who were, at this time, on the opposite side, but seeing us examining their canoes, they hastily ran round the bay; on which we retired to the boat, to wait their arrival. As they approached they made much noise, and having soon joined us, we entered into a conversation by signs, gestures, and speech, without understanding what each other meant. We presented them with several articles, which they received with great eagerness, and seemed pleased with whatever was given them; but would make no exchanges. Yet as we had reason to believe they were very solicitous that we should land, Mr. Sheriff, leaving his arms in the boat, went on shore; but he seemed to excite the attention of two or three of them only, who attended him towards the canoes on the beach, whilst the rest, amounting to forty or thereabouts, remained on the rocks talking with us, and whenever the boat backed in, to deliver them any thing, they made no scruple of attempting to take whatever came within their reach. Having repeatedly beckoned us to follow them round to where their habitations were supposed to be, as soon as Mr. Sheriff returned, we proceeded to comply with their wishes. They had been very curious in their examination of Mr. Sheriff's person, and seemed very desirous of keeping him, as they frequently pulled him towards the wood, where we imagined some of them resided. On meeting them on the other side, they seated themselves on the beach, and seemed very anxious to receive us on shore; but as all our intreaties were ineffectual in obtaining any thing in return for our presents, perceiving many of them to be armed with long spears, and the situation being unfavorable to us, in case they should be disposed to treat us with hostility, we did not think it prudent to venture amongst them; and finding our negotiation was not likely to be attended with success, we took our leave; but in our way off, as the natives remained quietly where we left them, I thought it a good opportunity to land once more and take another view of their canoes. Having again reached the shore without any interruption, we displayed the Union flag, turned a turf, and took possession of the island; which I named CHATHAM ISLAND, (in honour of the Earl of Chatham,) in the name of His Majesty King George the Third; under the presumption of our being the first discoverers. After, drinking his Majesty's health, I nailed a piece of lead to a tree near the beach, on which was inscribed, His Britannick Majesty's Brig Chatham, Lieutenant William Robert Broughton commander, the 29th November, 1791. And in a bottle secreted near the tree, was deposited an inscription in Latin to the same effect.

The canoes we examined were more in form of a small hand-barrow without legs, than any other thing to which they can be compared, decreasing in width from the after to the fore part. They were made of a light substance resembling bamboo, though not hollow, placed fore and aft on each side, and secured together by pieces of the same wood, up and down, very neatly fastened with the fibres of some plant in the manner of basket work. Their bottoms flat and constructed in the same way, were two feet deep and eighteen inches in breadth; the openings of the seams on the inside and bottoms were stuffed with long sea weed; their sides meet not abaft, nor forward, their extreme breadth aft is three, and forward, two feet; length eight and nine feet. In the stern is a seat very neatly made of the same material; which is moveable. They appeared calculated alone for fishing amongst the rocks near the shore; were capable of carrying two or three persons, and were so light that two men could convey them any where with ease, and one could haul them into safety on the beach. Their grapnels were stones, and the ropes to which these were made fast, were formed of matting, worked up in a similar way with that which is called French sinnet. The paddles were of hardwood, the blades very broad, and gradually increasing from the handle. The nets of these islanders were very ingeniously made, terminating in a cod or purse; the mouth was kept open by a rim of six feet in diameter, made from wood of the supple jack kind; the length from eight to ten feet, tapered gradually to one; they were closely made, and from the center attached to the rim by cords, was fixed a line for hauling them up. They were made of fine hemp, two strands twisted and knotted like a reef knot, and seemingly very strong. They had also scoop nets, made of the bark or fibres of some tree or plant, without any preparation, and netted in equal meshes. We penetrated a little into the woods, but did not find any huts, or houses, though large quantities of shells, and places where fires had been made, were observed.

The woods afforded a delightful shade, and being clear of undergrowth, were in many places formed into arbours, by bending the branches when young, and closing them round with smaller trees. These appeared to have been slept in very lately. The trees of which the woods are composed grow in a most luxuriant manner, clear of small branches to a considerable height; and consist of several sorts, some of which, the leaf in particular, was like the laurel. Another sort was jointed like the vine, but we did not see one that could be dignified by the appellation of a timber tree. On our return, a few of the natives were seen approaching us, and as they appeared peaceably disposed, we joined the first party, and saluted each other by meeting noses, according to the New Zealand fashion. They were presented with some

trinkets, but seemed to entertain not the least idea of barter, or of obligation to make the least return, as we could not prevail upon them to part with any thing excepting one spear of very rude workmanship. On making a bargain with him who had parted with the spear, for his coat, or covering of sea-bear skin, he was so delighted with the reflection of his face in the looking glasses proposed in exchange, that he ran away with them. Previously to this, with a view to shew them the superior effect of our fire-arms, I gave them some birds which I had killed, and pointed out to them the cause of their death. On firing my gun they seemed much alarmed at its report; and all retreated as we advanced towards them, excepting one old man, who maintained his ground; and presenting his spear side-ways, beat time with his feet; and as he seemed to notice us in a very threatening manner, I gave my fowling-piece to one of our people, went up to him, shook him by the hand, and used every method I could devise to obtain his confidence. Observing something in his hand rolled carefully up in a mat, I was desirous of looking at it, upon which he gave it to another, who walked away with it; but who did not prevent my seeing that it contained stones fashioned like the *Patoo Patoes* of New Zealand. They seemed very anxious to get my gun and shot belt, and frequently exclaimed *Toohata*. Some of their spears were ten feet, others about six feet in length, one or two of which were new, with carved work towards the handle; whenever these were pointed to, they were immediately given to those behind, as if afraid of our taking them by force. Finding little was to be procured or learned here, we made signs of going to their supposed habitations, and endeavoured to make them understand we needed something to eat and drink. As they continued very friendly, three men armed attended Mr. Johnston and myself along the water side; the boat with four hands keeping close by the shore as we walked, lest we might require support, or it should be necessary to retreat. Every one had orders to be prepared, but on no account to make use of their arms, until I should give directions, which, at this time, I had not the most distant idea would become necessary. When our little party first sat off, several of them collected large slicks, which they swung over their heads, as if they had some intention of using them. He who had received the stones from the old man, had them now fixed, one at each end, to a large slick about two feet in length. Not liking these appearances, we had some thoughts of embarking; but, on our suddenly facing about, they retired up the beach to a fire which some of them had just made. Mr. Johnston followed them singly, but was not in time to discover the method by which it had been so quickly produced. His presence seemed rather to displease them, on which he returned, and we again proceeded along the beach, making signs of our intention to accompany them on the other side of the bay. Fourteen only followed, the

rest remained at the fire. Those who had not spears substituted the drift wood on the beach for their weapons; yet as our party consisted of nine, all well armed, we entertained no fear for our personal safety, especially as every thing had been studiously avoided that we imagined might give them offence, and the various presents they had received had apparently purchased their good opinion and friendship, until now that we had reason to believe the contrary by their providing themselves with bludgeons. Having walked about half round the bay we arrived at the spot behind which, from the mast-head, inland water had been seen. As we proceeded up the beach we found it to be a large sheet of water, which took a western direction round a hill that prevented our seeing its extent. At the upper end of this lake, the country appeared very pleasant, and level. The water seemed of a reddish colour and was brackish, which was most probably occasioned by the salt water oozing through the beach, which at this place is not more than twenty yards wide; or by its having some communication with the sea to the westward, which we did not perceive. We tried to explain to the natives who still attended us, that, the water was not fit to drink, and then returned to the sea side; when, abreast of the boat, they became very clamorous, talked extremely loud to each other, and divided so as nearly to surround us. A young man strutted towards me in a very menacing attitude; he distorted his person, turned up his eyes, made hideous faces, and created a wonderful fierceness in his appearance by his gestures. On pointing my double-barrelled gun towards him he desisted. Their hostile intentions were now too evident to be mistaken, and therefore, to avoid the necessity of resorting to extremities, the boat was immediately ordered in to take us on board. During this interval, although we were strictly on our guard, they began their attack, and before the boat could get in, to avoid being knocked down I was reluctantly compelled to fire one barrel, which being loaded with small shot, I was in hopes might intimidate without materially wounding them, and that we should be suffered to embark without further molestation. Unfortunately, I was disappointed in this hope. Mr. Johnston received a blow upon his musket with such force from an unwieldy club, that it fell to the ground, but before his opponent could pick it up, Mr. Johnston had time to recover his position, and he was obliged to fire on the blow being again attempted. A marine and seaman near him, were, under similar circumstances forced into the water, but not before they had also, justified alone by self-preservation, fired their pieces without orders. The gentleman having charge of the boat seeing us much pressed by the natives, and obliged to retreat, fired at this instant also, on which they fled. I ordered the firing instantly to cease, and was highly gratified to see them depart apparently unhurt. The happiness I enjoyed in this reflection was of short duration, one man was discovered to

have fallen; and I am concerned to add, was found lifeless, a ball having broken his arm and palled through his heart. We immediately repaired towards the boat, but the surf not permitting her to come near enough, we were still under the necessity of walking to the place from whence we had originally intended to embark. As we retired, we perceived one of the natives return from the woods, whither all had retreated, and placing himself by the deceased, he was distinctly heard in a sort of dismal howl to utter his lamentations.

As we approached our first landing place we saw no signs of habitations, although women and children were supposed to have been looking at us from the woods, whilst talking to the natives on our arrival. On tracing some of the footpaths, nothing was discovered but great numbers of ear shells, and recesses formed in the same manner with a single pallisade as those seen on our first landing. We distributed amongst the canoes the remaining part of our toys and trinkets, to manifest our kind intentions towards them, and as some little atonement also for the injury, which, contrary to our inclinations, they had sustained, in defending ourselves against their unprovoked, unmerited hostility. In our way to the ship, we saw two natives running along the beach to the canoes, but on our arrival on board they were not discernible with our glasses.

The men were of a middling size, some stoutly made, well limbed and fleshy; their hair, both of the head and beard, was black, and by some was worn long. The young men had it tied up in a knot on the crown of their heads, intermixed with black and white feathers. Some had their beards plucked out; their complexion and general colour is dark brown, with plain features, and in general bad teeth. Their skins were destitute of any marks, and they had the appearance of being cleanly in their persons. Their dress was either a seal or bear skin tied with sinnet, inside outwards, round their necks, which fell below their hips; or mats neatly made, tied in the same manner which covered their backs and shoulders. Some were naked, excepting a well woven matt of fine texture, which, being fastened at each end by a string round their waists, made a sort of decent garment. We did not observe that their ears were bored, or that they wore any ornaments about their persons, excepting a few who had a sort of necklace made of mother of pearl shells. Several of them had their fishing lines, made of the same sort of hemp with their nets, fastened round them; but we did not see any of their hooks. We noticed two or three old men, but they did not appear to have any power or authority over the others. They seemed a cheerful race, our conversation frequently exciting violent bursts of laughter amongst them. On our first landing their surprize and exclamations can hardly be imagined;

they pointed to the sun, and then to us, as if to ask, whether we had come from thence. The not finding a single habitation, led us to consider this part of the island as a temporary residence of the inhabitants, possibly for the purpose of procuring a supply of shell and other fish. The former, of different kinds, were here to be had in great abundance: claws of cray fish were found in their canoes; and as the birds about the shore were in great numbers, and flew about the natives as if never molested, it gave us reason to believe that the sea furnished the principal means of their subsistence. Black sea pies with red bills, black and white spotted curlews with yellow bills, large wood pigeons like those at Dusky bay, a variety of ducks, small sandlarks, and sand-pipers, were very numerous about the shores.

These few observations conclude a brief narrative of our visit and transactions at Chatham island; and I have to lament that the hostility of its inhabitants rendered the melancholy fate that attended one of them unavoidable, and prevented our researches extending further than the beach, and the immediate entrance of the adjoining wood.

On our return to the vessel we got under weigh, with a fresh gale at S. W. About six in the evening, on passing point Munnings, which is the N. E. extremity of the island, it was seen to be a low peninsula, over which, from the mast-head, was discovered more land to the southward; but the weather became so very hazy, that it was impossible to discern how far it extended in that direction. From the bay, which I called SKIRMISH BAY, to point Munnings, the shore is low, rocky, and clothed with wood. Some rocks lie a little way off the point. The extent of the island in an east and west direction, which is nearly the line of the coast, was now considered to be about twelve leagues, allowing 14° east variation. The latitude of our anchoring place in Skirmish bay was $43^{\circ} 49'$, and its longitude $183^{\circ} 25'$. At eight o'clock the extremities of the land bore from S. W. by S. to W. by S. five or six leagues distant. At day-break in the morning of Wednesday the 30th, we made all sail as usual, and pursued our way to the N. E. In the course of this day, we passed many patches of sea weed, and saw some port Egmont hens and several oceanic birds.

With pleasant weather and a fine gale between the S. E. and S. W. quarters, we proceeded, without any thing occurring worthy of notice, until Saturday the 3d of December, when, in the afternoon, our latitude was $38^{\circ} 52'$; the mean result of eight sets of lunar observations taken the two preceding days, and reduced by the watch, gave the longitude this day $192^{\circ} 43' 33''$. The watch, by its rate, and error, as found at Dusky bay, shewed $192^{\circ} 45' 37''$. The mean variation, by azimuths and amplitude, $11^{\circ} 56'$

eastwardly. The watch and observations having agreed so well, little error is to be apprehended in the longitude assigned to Chatham island.

Our pleasant weather was of no long continuance; on Tuesday the 6th, in the latitude of $35^{\circ} 43'$, longitude $197^{\circ} 20'$ towards evening it fell calm. A breeze next morning, Wednesday the 7th, sprang up at N. E. with which we steered to the E. S. E. between which, and the N. N. W. the wind continued with hazy, rainy, foggy and very unpleasant weather until Sunday the 11th, in latitude $36^{\circ} 53'$, longitude 206° : having been visited by few oceanic birds. The wind now veered round by the west to the southward, and brought us tolerably pleasant weather, with which, until Thursday the 15th, we continued to steer north by east; when, in latitude $30^{\circ} 17'$, longitude $208^{\circ} 46'$, the wind again resumed its northern direction, varying a point or two on either side of north. The atmosphere became dark, heavy, sultry and gloomy; the clouds poured down torrents of rain accompanied with much lightning, thunder, and violent squalls, which obliged the crew to be constantly exposed, until Tuesday the 20th; when the wind changed so the south, blew a moderate breeze, and we again had fine settled weather.

Although every advantage had been taken which the winds afforded, during the last four days, we had not been able to shorten the distance from our destined port, more than six leagues; our latitude this day being $29^{\circ} 8'$, longitude $211^{\circ} 55'$. Shortly after noon, some observations were procured for the longitude. The mean of four sets of distances gave $214^{\circ} 30' 18''$, the watch, $212^{\circ} 13' 15''$. Although the watch was considerably to the westward of the lunar observations, yet in the last of five days, it made $1^{\circ} 19'$ more easting than the log shewed.

The wind continued between south, and E. S. E. with pleasant weather; on Thursday the 22d we were again enabled to obtain more observations for the longitude, when the mean of two sets gave $213^{\circ} 53' 7''$, the watch $212^{\circ} 43'$, the mean of these, and those taken on Tuesday, reduced by the watch to this day, gave the mean result of the six sets $213^{\circ} 51' 30''$, which was $1^{\circ} 10'$ east of the watch; our latitude at this time was $25^{\circ} 26'$.

At eight the next morning, land was seen from the mast-head bearing, by compass, W. by S. an hour afterwards it was visible from the deck bearing W. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. at the distance of about ten leagues. It proved to be a small high island; its northern part formed an elevated hummock, from the fall of which the land continued level, and then gradually decreased to the other extreme point.

The watch, with its error, gave the longitude, at the time the above bearings were taken, $211^{\circ} 6'$, \odot a \subset $213^{\circ} 16'$, our latitude by estimation at this time $23^{\circ} 36'$. The sun being within a few minutes of the zenith at noon, our observation was indifferent, and could by no means be depended upon. I did not think it proper, on the present occasion, to give any name to this island. I had some reason to doubt the accuracy of our longitude. On our arrival at Otaheite I should be enabled to determine whether this island might not be Tobouai seen by Captain Cook, or the land supposed to have been seen to the south-eastward, whilst the Resolution was off that island.

The wind principally between E. N. E. and S. E. blew very fresh, attended with squalls, a gloomy atmosphere, and an almost incessant rain, until seven in the morning of Monday the 26th, when the weather clearing, gave us a view of Maitea or Osnaburgh island; bearing, by compass, E. S. E. distant only about six or eight leagues. We immediately steered for Otaheite, which was seen about eight bearing W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. The wind was now eastwardly, accompanied by showers of rain. At noon, the land over point Venus bore west, distant seven or eight leagues. The latitude now observed (being the first time since the 23d) varying only $5'$ from the dead reckoning, was $17^{\circ} 29'$, longitude $211^{\circ} 45'$, by the watch $210^{\circ} 39'$. In the afternoon, the wind became southwardly, with dark gloomy weather. Having reached, by five o'clock, within four or five miles of the shore, a little to the eastward of point Venus, some canoes came off, and brought some cocoa-nuts, and two small hogs, which were instantly purchased. Towards sun-set, the breeze died away, and it continued calm until midnight, when it again freshened from the eastward; with which, under an easy sail, we plied until the morning, when all our canvass was spread for Matavai bay. About eight o'clock we rounded the Dolphin bank in $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms water, and worked up into the bay. About nine we anchored in eight fathom, black muddy bottom; point Venus bearing by compass N. 15 E.; the Dolphin bank N. 70 W.; and One-Tree hill S. 31 W. This being the place of rendezvous appointed by Captain Vancouver, we experienced no small degree of disappointment on not finding the Discovery in port; and our solicitude for her welfare was greatly increased, when we adverted to her superiority in sailing, which had given us reason to believe her arrival would have preceded ours, at least a week.

We scarcely anchored, when the natives flocked around us in the most civil and friendly manner, bringing with them an amply supply of the different refreshments their country afforded. Some trifling thefts being committed by some of our numerous visitors, we were under the necessity of obliging them to retire to their canoes alongside, with which they

complied in the greatest good humour. The whole of the afternoon was a continued rain, as heavy as any one on board ever beheld, accompanied with a very severe tempest. On our first arrival, the whole of the shore was one uninterrupted beach; but, towards evening, the torrents of rain which had fallen, caused an inundation of the river, which broke its bank about half way, between point Venus and One-Tree hill; and through the breach an immense quantity of water was discharged, which brought with it a great number of large trees that were scattered in various directions over the bay. A great concourse of the inhabitants had assembled and beheld the bank give way, upon which they all shouted, seemingly with acclamations of great joy; for had not this event taken place, their houses and plantations would probably have been much incommoded by the overflowing of the river.

Our cutter was moored alongside. In the course of the night one of the trees drifted athwart her, broke the iron chain with which she was secured, stove in her broadside and stern; and, on her filling, the furniture was washed away. This circumstance, little to the credit of the gentlemen who had the watch on deck, was not discovered until the morning of Wednesday the 28th, when, after some hours search in the launch, the party returned without finding the lost materials.

From young *Otoo*, I received this morning a present of two hogs, and some fruit. *Otoo* the elder, now stiled *Pomurrey*, we understood, was at Eimeo, whither the messengers requested we would send to acquaint him with our arrival, on which he would instantly to repair to Matavai. His absence, however, had produced not the least inconvenience; for notwithstanding we had not been visited by any chief, yet the behaviour of the people was perfectly civil and friendly. They supplied us with as much provision as we could possibly use, on very reasonable terms. The greater part of this day, and all the succeeding night, the tempest continued with unabated torrents of rain.

On Thursday morning the 29th I received from Oparre a very bountiful present, consisting of hogs and fruit, from young *Otoo*, with a message to signify that he might be expected next day at Matavai. In the evening, the weather being a little more temperate, though the surf continued to run too high to admit of our approaching the beach in the bay, we landed at the back of point Venus, and were received by the natives with great cheerfulness and cordiality. They treated us with the utmost hospitality, and vied with each other to be foremost in friendly attentions. The wind having shifted to the eastward, the weather became serene and pleasant; and being informed the next morning, (Friday the 30th) by some of the natives, that a ship was in

sight, I repaired instantly on shore, and had the unspeakable pleasure of perceiving it to be the Discovery to the eastward, steering for the bay. About ten o'clock, as she hauled in between the reef and the Dolphin bank, I went on board to congratulate Captain Vancouver; and to inform him of our welfare and proceedings since our separation.

It may not be improper to observe, that the separation of the two vessels was occasioned, as was first conjectured, by circumstances unavoidable, which occurred during a very heavy and violent storm. As some recompence, however, for the anxiety attendant on losing the company of our little consort, we had to reflect, that, eventually, the gale had been the fortunate means of our making some additions to geography.

The islands first discovered by the Chatham, and named Knight's island by Mr. Broughton, were the Snares, which we had passed in the Discovery a few hours before. As Mr. Broughton considered our means for ascertaining their true position superior to what he possessed, their positive situation as placed by us may be received as correct; but as the Chatham passed through them, the relative situation to each other, according to Mr. Broughton's, observations is to be preferred.

The Discovery passed about twenty leagues to the north of Chatham island; as did Captain Cook in March 1777, who also passed, about the same distance to the south of it, in June 1773: on all these occasions, it was not observed, nor did we, in the Discovery, see the islands discovered by the Chatham on the 23d of December, lying more to the eastward than Tobouai, and in latitude $23^{\circ} 42'$, longitude $212^{\circ} 49'$.

CHAPTER VI.

*Visit Otoo—Arrival of Pomurrey and Matooara Mahow
—Arrival of Taow, Pomurrey's Father—Interview
between Taow and his Sons—Submission of Taow to
Otoo—Entertainments at the Encampment—Visit of
Poatatou—Death of Mahow—Excursion to Oparre.*

By the time we had anchored, the ship was surrounded with canoes laden with the different productions of the country. The natives, with every assurance of friendship, and with expressions of the greatest joy at our arrival, were crowding on board. One or two amongst them, although not principal chiefs, evidently assumed some little authority, and were

exceedingly earnest that we should not suffer the multitude to come on board, as that would be the best means to prevent thefts, and insure that amity and good fellowship which they appeared very solicitous to establish and support. We complied with their advice, and found no difficulty in carrying it into execution. We had only to desire they would return to their canoes, and they immediately complied. I had the mortification of finding on inquiry, that most of the friends I had left here in the year 1777, both male and female, were dead. *Otoo*, with his father, brothers, and sisters, *Poatatou*, and his family, were the only chiefs of my old acquaintance that were now living. *Otoo* was not here; nor did it appear that Otaheite was now the place of his residence, having retired to his newly acquired possession Eimeo, or as the natives more commonly call that island MOREA, leaving his eldest son the supreme authority over this, and all the neighbouring islands. The young king had taken the name of *Otoo*, and my old friend that of *Pomurrey*; having given up his name with his sovereign jurisdiction, though he still seemed to retain his authority as regent. Mr. Broughton had received some presents from *Otoo*, who being now arrived from Oparre, had sent desiring that gentleman would visit him on shore at Matavai. I had received no invitation; but, as some of the natives gave me to understand that my accompanying Mr. Broughton would be esteemed a civility, I did not hesitate to comply, especially as Mr. Broughton had prepared a present in so handsome a way, that I considered it a sufficient compliment to the young king from us both. As soon as the ship was secured, Mr. Whidbey and myself attended Mr. Broughton, with intention to fix on an eligible spot for our tents, and for transacting our necessary business on shore; and afterwards to pay our respects to his Otaheitean majesty.

The surf obliged us to row round the point near the mouth of the river; where we landed, and were received by the natives with every demonstration of regard. A messenger was instantly dispatched to inform the king of our arrival, and intended visit. The station of our tents on my former visits to this country, was not likely, on the present occasion, to answer our purpose; the beach was considerably washed away, and the sand being removed from the coral rocks rendered the landing very unsafe. The surf had also broken into the river, and made it very salt. These circumstances induced me to fix on a situation about a quarter of a mile further along the beach, to the southward. The messenger that had been dispatched to inform *Otoo* of our landing and proposed visit, returned with a pig, and a plantain leaf, as a peace-offering to me; accompanied by a speech of congratulation on our arrival, and offers of whatever refreshments the country afforded. This short ceremony being finished, we proceeded along

the beach in expectation of meeting the young sovereign, until we arrived near to the place where the river had broken its banks. There we were directed to halt, under the shade of a palm tree, to which we readily consented, the weather being nearly calm, and excessively sultry. After waiting a short time, we were acquainted that the king, having some objection to cross the river for the purpose of meeting strangers, requested we would go to him. A canoe was in waiting to take us over and having walked about an hundred yards on the other side, the interview took place. We found *Otoo* to be a boy of about nine or ten years of age. He was carried on the shoulders of a man, and was clothed in a piece of English red cloth, with ornaments of pigeons' leathers hanging over his shoulders. When we had approached within about eight paces, we were desired to stop: the present we had brought was exhibited; and although its magnitude, and the value of the articles it contained, excited the admiration of the by-standers in the highest degree, it was regarded by this young monarch with an apparently stern and cool indifference. It was not immediately to be presented; a certain previous ceremony was necessary. Not considering myself sufficiently master of the language, I applied for assistance to an inferior chief named *Moerree*, (who had been useful to Mr. Broughton) to be my prompter. At first he used some pains, but not finding me so apt a scholar as he expected, he soon took the whole office upon himself. He answered for our peaceable and friendly intentions, and requested supplies of provisions, and a pledge of good faith towards us, with as much confidence as if he had been intimately acquainted with our wishes and designs. Our situation on this occasion was similar to that of his Otaheitean majesty, who condescended to say but a few words, a person by his side sparing him that trouble by going through all the formal orations. A ratification of peace and mutual friendship being acknowledged on both sides, and these ceremonies concluded, which took up fifteen or twenty minutes, the different European articles composing the present, were, with some little form, presented to *Otoo*; and on his shaking hands with us, which he did very heartily, his countenance became immediately altered, and he received us with the greatest cheerfulness and cordiality. He informed me, that his father, my former acquaintance and friend, was at Morea, and requested I would send thither a boat for him; for, as the islanders were much accustomed to raise false reports, *Pomurrey* would not believe that I was arrived without seeing some of us, by whom he would be convinced. He also added, that if we should sail without seeing his father, he would not be only very much concerned, but very angry. This language being in the mouths of every one around us, and feeling a great desire to see an old friend who had ever conducted himself with propriety, and appeared firmly

attached to our interest, I promised to comply with the young king's request. The suffusions of joy, and a readiness to oblige, were evident in the countenances of all whom we met. Their instant compliance with all our requests, and their eagerness to be foremost in performing any little friendly office, could not be observed without the most grateful emotions. Each of us was presented with a quantity of cloth, a large hog, and some vegetables; after which we returned on board extremely well pleased with our visit and reception.

My original intention in calling here was for the sole purpose of recruiting our water, and obtaining a temporary supply of fresh provisions; but on further consideration I was convinced, that we should not find any place this winter, where the necessary duties we had to perform before we could proceed to the coast of America, would be so well done, or executed with so much ease and convenience, as in our present situation. A small boat for the Chatham was to be built, and a great repair was necessary to her large cutter. The timber cut in Dusky bay wanted to be sawn into planks for many other essential purposes. These matters required immediate attention, and could not so properly be executed on board; beside which, the known accuracy with which the situation of this island is settled, made me anxious to land our chronometers, for the purpose of ascertaining their error, and rate of going, which had lately become somewhat equivocal. These reasons induced me to determine on giving the vessels every equipment here they required, which would have the further convenience of shortening our visit this season at the Sandwich islands. Directions were therefore given, that the sails should be unbent, the topmasts, &c. struck, and that a thorough examination of the rigging and sails should take place. The Discovery's carpenters were ordered to assist those of the Chatham, in building and repairing her boats, and sawing out the plank: and all other necessary services that circumstances rendered practicable, were, by the several artificers, put in a train of execution.

Agreeably to the promise made to *Otoo*, Mr. Mudge, accompanied by Mr. Menzies, was on Saturday the 31st dispatched to the island of Morea for *Pomurrey*. *Matuarro*, who we were informed was, under *Otoo*, sovereign of Huaheine, and who was now here on an Ereeoi party,^[6] undertook to be their pilot. As soon as the boat put off, the crowd about the ship becoming acquainted with her errand, the news was speedily carried with acclamations to the shore, and there received with great demonstrations of gladness.

During the night, the swell in the bay had greatly increased, and conceiving we were nearer the Dolphin bank than was imagined on our

arrival, we warped nearer in shore, and moored in 13 fathoms black sand, and muddy bottom: One-Tree hill bearing by compass S. 26 W.; and point Venus N. 14 E. The surf breaking with great violence, had hitherto prevented our landing the camp party; but as I had been accustomed to see this place perfectly smooth, I entertained no doubt that the bay would in a day or two resume its usual tranquillity.

Sunday morning ushered in the new year. The surf had in some measure subsided, though it still broke with great violence on the shore; which induced me to make new year's day a holiday. Every one had as much fresh pork, and plum-pudding as he could make use of; and lest in the voluptuous gratifications of Otaheite, we might forget our friends in old England, all hands were served a double allowance of grog to drink the healths of their sweethearts and friends at home. It is somewhat singular that the gunner of the Discovery was the only married man of the whole party.

January 1792

The weather becoming pleasant on the morning of Monday the 2d, the tents, observatory, &c. were sent on shore. These were constantly protected by a guard of marines, and our field pieces; which were very properly constructed for our occasions, and answered every expected purpose. Mr. Puget was charged with the encampment, and Mr. Whidbey was particularly to attend the observatory. My attention and residence was divided between the ship and the shore. On pitching our tents, a great concourse of the natives in the most friendly and orderly manner attended. Their numbers, in some measure, proved inconvenient, by interrupting our labours; but, on a line being drawn on the ground, denoting the space we intended to occupy, not one attempted to trespass; and those who were permitted to help in the debarkation of our stores, conducted themselves with the utmost decorum, and seemed amply repaid with a few beads for their assistance.

Towards noon Mr. Mudge returned with my old friend *Pomurrey*, who was saluted, previously to his coming on board, with four guns from each, vessel, which gratified him extremely. With him came *Matooara Mahow*, commonly called *Mahow*; the reigning prince, under *Otoo*, of Morea. There was however little probability of his long enjoying this honourable station, as he appeared to be in the last stage of a deep and rapid decline; his person was reduced to a mere skeleton, which he was not able to raise without great assistance. He was hoisted on board in a chair, and supported by six people down to the cabin where, unable to sit up, or to stand, a bed was prepared for him on the lockers. The reasons that could induce a man in his

deplorable condition to undertake such a visit, must, without doubt, be not less curious than extraordinary!

Pomurrey had perfect recollection of me; and every expression, and action, indicated the sincerity of the happiness he professed on our arrival. He frequently observed, I had grown very much, and looked very old since last we had parted. In the afternoon, his two wives and youngest sister arrived; the former were the sisters, and the latter the wife of *Mahow*. His two brothers also accompanied the ladies, with many chiefs and attendants, each presenting me on their coming on board with cloth, hogs, fowls and vegetables, in such abundance, that we had now more than we could well dispense with. This profusion, however, and the manner in which it was bestowed, was very grateful to our feelings, as it plainly evinced the kind-hearted disposition of the inhabitants, and that we could not experience any want were our stay to be protracted far beyond the period of my present intention. It now became necessary that a handsome return should be made to the whole group, agreeably to the rank and situation of each individual. In selecting the presents I was fortunate enough at once to succeed, far beyond their most sanguine expectations.

As *Pomurrey* and *Mahow*, with their wives, were to sleep on board, their donations were not to be exhibited to public view until the crowd was dispersed; and I was instructed, in the event of inquiries being made concerning the presents I proposed to make these illustrious personages, to enumerate but few of the articles. Amongst those intended for *Pomurrey* were two axes. These he desired no one should know of; and to prevent even suspicion, hid them under my bureau, where they remained some days, until he sent his elder wife *Pomurrey Whaheine* for them. This degree of secrecy seemed inexplicable.

Amongst the several chiefs who visited us, was *Poeno*, chief of Matavai, who brought with him a portrait of Captain Cook, drawn by Mr. Webber, in the year 1777. This picture is always deposited in the house of the chief of Matavai, and is become the public register. On the back of it was written, that the Pandora had quitted this island the 8th of May, 1791.

It is natural to suppose we should be very solicitous to become acquainted with the circumstances that had attended the vessel and the unfortunate persons belonging to the Bounty. Captain Edwards, who in the Pandora was dispatched from England in quest of them some months prior to our sailing, had, we understood, arrived here, and taken on board those of the crew who were left at Otaheite, amounting to the number of thirteen, at the time Mr. Christian with the rest of his party sailed from the island, which

was some time before the arrival of the Pandora; since which period I was not able to procure any intelligence of Mr. Christian or his companions.

Whatever particulars could be collected from the natives, respecting this no less criminal than melancholy event, I thought it an incumbent duty to procure and transmit to England, lest any accident should befall the Pandora. But as a legal investigation has since taken place, I trust I shall neither incur the displeasure of the humane, nor the reproach of the curious, by declining any further digression on this sad subject: the former will readily find an apology for me in their own bosoms; and the latter may resort to the publications of the day, for any other particulars with which they may be desirous of becoming acquainted.

A large party of royalty, and chiefs, honoured us with their company at dinner, which failed of being a pleasant circumstance in consequence of the weather being extremely hot, and the cabin excessively crowded. On this occasion, the wives of *Pomurrey* and the wife of *Mahow* were permitted to sit with us at table, and partake of the repast. This indulgence, however, is by no means common, and, I believe, granted to no other of the women on the island. Our attention was particularly attracted by the great desire which the generality of them, both male and female, exhibited, in their endeavours to adopt our manners and customs, and the avidity with which they sought spirituous liquors.

Pomurrey, in the course of dinner and afterwards, drank a bottle of brandy, without diluting it. This threw him into such violent convulsions that four strong men were required to hold him down, and to perform the office of "*Roome, roome,*"^[7] which is done by squeezing the flesh of the limbs, and body of the intoxicated person with their hands. On these convulsions subsiding, he slept for about an hour, and then arose to all appearance as much refreshed with his nap, as if he had retired perfectly sober. I expostulated with a desire to convince him that inebriety was highly pernicious to health, but in vain; his only reply was, "*Nowe none,*" a term used for every thing that delights or pleases, such as music, &c. &c. accused me of being a stingy fellow, and that I was not "*Tio tio,*" a phrase lately adopted to signify a jolly companion. This determined me that he should have his own way, and orders were given that he should have as brandy or rum, as he chose to call for; concluding, that in a few days he would be convinced of its ill effects. In this I was not mistaken; before the week expired he ceased calling for spirits; and a few glasses of wine, at and after dinner, completely satisfied him; frequently saying, that all I had told him of the "*Ava Britarne*" was perfectly true. Spirits and wine are, however, in

great request with all the chiefs, as is sugar; and there can be no doubt that these articles might be rendered amongst them considerable branches of traffic.

We were busily employed on Tuesday the 3d about our rigging, sails, and other matters on board; and in landing the chronometers, instruments, and other necessary articles and implements for the execution of our business on shore; from whence the boats returned with some water; and we began salting pork.

The weather continued to be very sultry; the thermometer generally standing between 83 and 86, my royal guests, with a crowd of attendants, still remained on board, and their company became no less unpleasant than inconvenient. I was given to understand they intended to make the ship their place of residence, until they should return to Morea. This arrangement was very incommodious, and to which it was impossible to object: I was therefore under the necessity of resorting to some little address, which fortunately was attended with the desired success. I took an opportunity of acquainting *Pomurrey* that my attendance at the observatory would now be constantly required, which would oblige me to dine on shore; but that I had ordered a dinner on board, and plenty of brandy, for him and his friends. A consultation shortly took place, and as I was about to leave the ship, he said, if I would call for him after dinner, the whole party would disembark, desiring at the same time, that he might be saluted on his landing, from the encampment; which in the evening was done accordingly. Our royal friends took up their abode in a wretched house brought for the express purpose to point Venus, where our tents on former visits had been pitched. *Pomurrey* was not in a condition to favor us with his presence that evening; but, in the morning of Wednesday the 4th, we had the honour of his company at the encampment. He regarded with inquisitive attention, and great admiration, the several works in which our people were engaged. A large piece of timber which was sawing into plank, greatly attracted his notice, and drew me into a scrape; he said it was impossible we could be in immediate want of so great a quantity, and did not doubt that ere long we should be in a country where we could again be supplied, having understood that this stick had been cut at New Zealand. These considerations led him to request, that I would order a chest of the plank to be made for him, six feet, long, four feet broad, and three feet deep. I excused myself, by replying that I could not with any conveniency part with so much plank, nor could the carpenters be well spared from the business on which they were employed; but that, before we sailed, I would endeavour to have a small chest made for him. *Pomurrey*, however, was of opinion, that a large chest would take little more

time to finish than a small one, and offered to find plank for the top and bottom, if I would supply the sides and ends, and allow a carpenter to make it. In short, he was so pressing and earnest, that much against my inclination, having great demands for the plank, and constant employ for the artificers, I was under the necessity of complying with his wishes.

Mahow, though extremely feeble, paid us a visit on shore; being unable to walk, he was carried about in a kind of litter. Many other chiefs were now constantly attendant upon us with a numerous party of the natives, who all conducted themselves with the strictest propriety, and seemed highly delighted with the new mode of spending their time, in observing and animadverting on our different employments.

The wind, since our arrival, had been eastwardly, blowing a moderate breeze; it had now veered to the north with squalls and showers of rain, attended by a very heavy rolling swell in the bay. The *Discovery's* yawl wanting repair was hauled up for that purpose. In the evening we had much rain, with frequent gusts of wind; which so much increased the surf, that all communication with the shore must have ceased, had not the good offices of our kind friends on the island, enabled us to keep up a correspondence. They successfully contended with the boisterous elements, by swimming to and from the ship; and, to manifest their attachment, supplied us by this means with bread fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments.

On the morning of Thursday the 5th, the N. W. wind, which is the most boisterous and unpleasant known in this country, brought with it a sea which broke with such great violence on the shore, as to insulate the spot on which our royal friends had taken up their abode. The wind could not be considered as a strong gale; yet so violent was the sea that accompanied it, that it broke with unintermitted force in every part of the bay, excepting where the vessels rode; and, even there, we did not intirely escape its fury; two seas broke on board the *Discovery*, although in eight fathoms water, which nearly filled the waist. Towards eight o'clock, the clouds in the N. W. bearing a very threatening appearance, the sheet anchor was dropped underfoot. This disagreeable weather continued all day, and the surf ranged so high on the shore as to make it necessary to remove the observatory further back several paces; notwithstanding which, the kind offices of the friendly natives, regardless of danger, were uninterruptedly continued.

It became calm, and the weather appeared more settled on the morning of Friday the 6th. The sheet anchor was weighed and replaced; and all hands were busily employed in their respective departments. After breakfast, I went on shore, and understood that *Otoo* had, in the course of the last two

days, been carried, as when we first met him, about the encampment. On his approach, I invited him into the marquee, and requested he would visit the ships. Both these invitations he declined; and I was immediately given to understand, that should he enter the tents or ships, neither his father, mother, or any inhabitant of these islands, could again be admitted; that every thing is and must be destroyed out of which he should eat or drink, although vessels or utensils belonging to us. As the young monarch was about the encampment most part of the day; whilst at dinner, I demanded of his father if I might send him a glass of wine; he replied, if I chose to have the glass broken, I was at liberty so to do; and enquired if I had an abundance of such articles to spare. Some wine was therefore sent in the shell of a cocoa-nut, which being emptied by the young king, was instantly broken and thrown in the sea. *Pomurrey* had, early and frequently, asked if we had not fire-works on board, and being informed that we had, Saturday evening was fixed for an exhibition, after which the royal party, with their dying chief *Mahow*, were to return to Morea, and having landed him, *Pomurrey* and his wives were to return, and remain here until we should depart. The intended display of fire-works was made known to all around us, and messengers with the intelligence were dispatched to various parts of the island.

Pomurrey's father, who was formerly known by the name of *Happi*, now called *Taow*, had arrived from Morea, on Saturday the 7th, and was on board the *Discovery*, where he desired to see me; on which, *Pomurrey* with *Urripiah* and *Whytooa*, his two next brothers, accompanied me to pay our respects to their old sire; who had just arrived in a large canoe, laden with the productions of the country as a present. This interview was excessively affecting. It was with great satisfaction that I beheld the affectionate regard with which the three sons embraced their aged and venerable father; who, in acknowledging a grateful sense of their dutiful congratulations, exhibited feelings which drew tears from the whole party. When these filial effusions, which would have done credit to the sensibility of the most polished nations, had subsided, I presented *Taow* with a suitable return; and, on including some articles for his wife, who was still living at Morea, he was highly delighted, and the value of the present in his estimation seemed thereby infinitely increased.

Some of the royal females had now joined our party; and as *Pomurrey* had not yet paid Mr. Broughton a visit, we all went on board the *Chatham*. Presents were necessary on this occasion; and although I considered that Mr. Broughton had been very liberal, our royal guests seemed of a very different opinion; but on explaining that there was not the same abundance of valuable things on board the small vessel that there was in the large ship,

and having some retrospect to the number and value of those obtained from the Discovery, we left the Chatham, and went on shore tolerably well satisfied.

Soon after our arrival at the encampment I witnessed a scene, very different from that which had been exhibited on board on the meeting of three sons with their venerable parent. It was shortly announced that *Otoo* was approaching. On this occasion, it became necessary that the grandfather should pay homage to his grandson. A pig and a plantain leaf were instantly procured, the good old man stripped to the waist, and when *Otoo* appeared in the front of the marquee, the aged parent, whose limbs were tottering with the decline of life, met his grandson, and on his knees acknowledged his own inferiority, by presenting this token of submission; which, so far as could be discovered, seemed offered with a mixture of profound respect, and parental regard. The ceremony seemed to have little effect on the young monarch, who appeared to notice the humiliating situation of his grandsire with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. This mode of behaviour is, however, rather to be attributed to the force of education, than to a want of the proper sentiments of affection; as I perfectly recollected that, when I was here with Captain Cook, *Pomurrey* treated his brothers with the most cool indifference, although, on the present occasion, there are few examples of three brothers living in greater harmony, or regarding each other with more fraternal affection: it should therefore seem, that this sort of distant deportment is a necessary appendage to the high office of sovereign. Another royal son and daughter honoured us with their company. These, with a daughter remaining at Morea, are all the children of *Pomurrey* now living. His family originally consisted of five, but one of his daughters was deceased. All these children were by his eldest wife, known by the name of *Pomurrey Whaheine*, or the female *Pomurrey*; this lady I shall hereafter distinguish by the appellation of Queen Mother. By his youngest wife he has had no children; she is called *Fier re te*. Our new visitors were, each like their brother *Otoo*, carried on men's shoulders; and for the same reasons which interdicted him, they could not enter our habitations. The youth, seemed to be about three or four years younger than *Otoo*, and had taken the name of *Whyeadoo*, in consequence of his being the acknowledged sovereign of *Tiarabou*, under his brother *Otoo*; the daughter appeared to be about two or three years of age, to whom, or to the young lady remaining at Morea, I did not understand that any particular titles or consequence were at present annexed; yet this child seemed treated with much respect and attention.

We had a very large party of the royal family and of the different chiefs to dinner at the marquee; after which it was proposed, that the "*Heava no Britarne,*" that is, the English entertainments, should commence. *Pomurrey* requested that some guns from the ships should be fired as a prelude; that the marines on shore should go through their exercise, and fire; and that the efforts of the field pieces should be exhibited. From the latter were fired both round and cannister shot, which the surrounding multitude beheld with surprize, admiration, and terror, manifested by their expressions, particularly on observing the distance to which the small three-pounders threw the round shot; and the execution that evidently could be done by the cannister, which was fired at a rock in the sea, lying at a convenient distance. On firing with some dispatch, three rounds from the field pieces, the fear of *Pomurrey* completely overcame his curiosity, and he exclaimed "*Ateerara,*" signifying he was perfectly satisfied.

In the evening, we were very fortunate in our display of fire-works. They had been well prepared and preserved; and were, without exception, of their various kinds, equal to any I ever saw discharged in Europe. A numerous crowd assembled on the occasion expressed as much astonishment and admiration as if these had been the first exhibited in the island. I endeavoured to prevail on *Pomurrey* to assist in the performance. He once took the port fire in his hand, but his heart failed, and calling his youngest wife *Fier re te*, desired I would instruct her. She was by no means so alarmed as her husband; and, with a little of my assistance, she fired several rockets, a catharine wheel, some flower-pots, and balloons. Having displayed an assortment of these, together with some water rockets, &c. the exhibition was closed; and the natives retired in the most perfect good order to their respective habitations, excessively well pleased with their entertainment; although it was evident, that the major part had been as much affected by terror as admiration. *Pomurrey*, with his two wives and after, came to breakfast the next morning, Sunday the 8th, and expressed great satisfaction and many thanks for the pleasure which the last evening had afforded them. The young king, with his brother and sister, honoured the encampment also with their presence. Understanding that our royal party were about to leave us for some days, presents were made them on the occasion; with which, highly delighted with their excursion, and their reception by us, they departed.

The chronometers and other instruments had now been landed nearly a week; but, owing to the very unsettled state of the weather, until this day, we had not been able to get corresponding altitudes. The like cause had operated also in retarding the general transactions at the encampment; where whilst I

was busily employed at the observatory, *Poatatou* arrived; having sent before him a magnificent present of hogs, vegetables, cloth, mats, &c. I had been very intimate with this chief on my last visit to this country; we perfectly recollected each other; and the sincerity of my friend, and his wife also, did not spare me the mortification of being informed a second time, that I was grown exceedingly old. He much regretted that he had not arrived in time to partake of the entertainments of the preceding day and evening; as he had never been so fortunate as to be present at such an exhibition. This induced me to promise, that, on the return of *Pomurrey* from Morea, a similar display should take place.

Poatatou, who was now called *Hidiea*, with his wife and sister, accompanied me on board. Amongst the valuables with which I presented my old acquaintance and friend, was an axe, of which his sister became so enamoured, claiming to herself a part of the present I had received, that *Hidiea* was under the necessity of using some force to prevent her wrenching it out of his hand; but, on my making a small addition to the articles she had received, the lady became reconciled.

Our business in the several departments was now in great forwardness; yet we were likely to experience an inconvenience in procuring firewood, as we had few trees in our neighbourhood but such as bore fruit. On mentioning this circumstance to *Urripiah*, he undertook, with *Whytooa*, *Poeno*, and *Moerree* an inferior chief, to supply more than the ships would contain, provided they were furnished with two axes each, as, on such an occasion, they could not afford to wear out their own; which, on my part, was readily acceded to.

The sea had broken so much into the river as to render it brackish and unfit for use near our encampment; this obliged us to have our casks filled near a mile off, opposite *Urripiah's* habitation; who ordered them to be emptied, and filled, for the purpose of seasoning, as often as we desired; and giving them in charge to his trusty domestics, they remained in his custody several days in the most perfect safety. This conduct was not singular; for it is but justice to acknowledge, that every one of the inhabitants behaved with an uniform propriety, as deserving of our thanks as of our commendations. In every transaction, they were emulous to afford us assistance to the utmost of their power; and seemed amply and satisfactorily rewarded for their exertions in our service, by the humble return of a few beads, or small nails.

The departure of *Pomurrey's* family was daily put off, *Mahow* being very desirous that we should convey him home in one of our boats; but as these, as well as our men, were too much employed to be spared for this

purpose, we were daily honoured at our meals with most of this good company; and it must be acknowledged, that their deportment at table was now so much improved, that the major part conducted themselves with great consistency. Excepting the daughter of *Opoone*, who reigned over Bolabola, and its two neighbouring isles, we had now the presence of all the sovereigns of this group of islands. *Opoone* had formerly conquered and annexed the islands of Ulietea and Otaha to the government of Bolabola; but, on his death, the sovereignty of these islands had, in right of natural, or original succession, fallen to a chief whose name was *Mowree*. He was a shrewd sensible fellow, affected to be well acquainted with the English language, and certainly had acquired some words which he pronounced so as to be understood. He was a brother of *Pomurrey's* mother, was on a visit to the royal family here, and was by them treated with much respect and attention.

Hitherto I had received a few trifling presents of provisions only from *Pomurrey*, who had lately expressed some regret that he had not made me a return for the many useful matters I had bestowed upon him, and had fixed this day to make an acknowledgment.

Towards noon *Pomurrey* came to the marquee, attended by a considerable train. He was preceded by three men, each bearing a *parri*, or mourning dress, esteemed the most valuable present the country can afford. Many of the rest were laden with cloth, fowls and vegetables; these with some very large hogs which brought up the rear, made altogether a very superb and grateful compensation. *Pomurrey* and his wives dined with us; after which they took leave of the encampment to embark for Oparre, there to join *Mahow*, who had departed early in the morning for Morea; for which island the whole of the royal party were to sail the next day; there they proposed to land *Mahow*, and, in the course of four or five days, return; having given them to understand we should, about that time, be on the eve of our departure. They were saluted from our station on shore, on their way on board the *Discovery*, where a canoe was waiting to receive them; and in which were two large hogs, that *Pomurrey* had desired might be sent me from Oparre. Considering myself, on this occasion, his debtor, I endeavoured to discover what would be most acceptable in return. He had promised to solicit a file for a man in his canoe, and he could not be prevailed upon to accept any other article. After a short stay on board, they bade us farewell, and were saluted with eight guns from the vessels. Most of the chiefs left us, in order to procure such articles as they considered might be acceptable to us previously to our departure.

Mr. Broughton, Mr. Menzies, and several officers of the *Discovery* and *Chatham* made an excursion on Friday the 13th to the westward, towards *Oparre*, and the country in its vicinity; which, together with the absence of the chiefs and their attendants, so much reduced our society, that the encampment had the appearance of being almost deserted.

At day-break the next morning, Saturday the 14th, I received a message from *Pomurrey*, acquainting me with the death of *Mahow*; in consequence of which their voyage to *Morea* was at an end. Little concern could possibly be felt on this occasion. *Mahow*'s relief from the wretched condition in which he existed, was directed by humanity to be esteemed a most happy event; particularly when the very singular treatment is considered, which this poor being endured whilst in our neighbourhood. Almost every evening, and sometimes thrice in the night, he was brought in the litter from the royal habitation near the point, and placed in some one of our tents for a short time, and then carried back again. In the day time he was either visiting the encampment, or, in the heat of the sun, or in the midst of rain was rowed round the ships, and insisted one evening on sleeping on board the *Chatham*. He was very fond of tea, and extremely desirous that whatever nourishment he took should be dressed in the English fashion. The conduct observed towards this dying man, seemed calculated, if not intended, to hasten his dissolution. This however, was not to be reconciled with the general deportment of the whole royal party, and especially with that of *Pomurrey*, who appeared to regard him with great tenderness and affection. I was particularly inquisitive why he was so harassed about; and they all agreed it was in consequence of his own desire, which, so far as could be learned, seemed dictated by superstitious notions.

I desired the messenger to inform *Pomurrey*, that I would attend the funeral solemnities of the deceased the next day. On the morning of Sunday the 15th he again returned with a request from *Pomurrey*, that I would not visit *Oparre* until Tuesday, when the religious interdiction under which that district had been laid would be at an end, no communication at present being permitted between the inhabitants of *Oparre* and those of the other parts of the island. This was made generally known by the display of flags in the several path-ways; not a canoe was suffered to move along the shores; nor was a fire allowed to be made; which produced a degree of solemnity, that was very expressive of the concern felt for the death of this chief, and of his consequence and respectability. Numerous fires had been observed the preceding day all over the district of *Oparre*. These, we were given to understand, were ceremonies of a religious nature consequent on the demise of *Mahow*; and it is reasonable to suppose that the mourners took advantage

of this ordinance to cook sufficient provisions for the time of the interdiction.

Our provisions having been supplied in the greatest abundance, permission was now granted for the purchase of curiosities, agreeably to my promise contained in the restrictive orders of the 25th of December last. And as nothing worthy of attention had occurred in our neighbourhood during the absence of Mr. Broughton and his party, I shall insert such observations made during their excursion, as were communicated to me on their return.

Our gentlemen embarked in a canoe belonging to *Mowree*, the sovereign of Ulietea, who together with *Whytooa* and his wife accompanied them towards Oparre. On their way they landed for the purpose of seeing the morai of *Tapootapootatea*. *Mowree*, who attended them, on approaching the sacred spot, desired the party would stop until he should address the *Eatooa*. For this purpose he seated himself on the ground, and began praying before a watta, ornamented with a piece of wood indifferently carved, on which was placed, for the present occasion, a bundle of cloth and some red feathers. During this ejaculation, which took up a considerable time, the names of the party were twice mentioned. He likewise repeated the names of the several commanders who had visited the island; together with those of “*Keene Corge*” (that is, King George) and “*Britarne*,” which were frequently expressed. When these introductory ceremonies were finished, *Mowree* attended them to every part of the morai, and explained every particular. He appeared to be well versed in all the ceremonials and rites appertaining to their religion, which made the party greatly lament their want of a competent knowledge of the language, as they were unable to comprehend his meaning, except in a few common instances. Having left the morai, and proceeded westward about a mile, they arrived at a house surrounded by a plantation of *ava* belonging to *Urripiah*, who was then at dinner with a numerous company of our Matavai friends; and whilst our gentlemen were taking some refreshment, a messenger arrived from *Whytooa*, whose guests they were to be, and who had gone before them from the morai, requesting their attendance at his habitation, which they found situated on the verge of the sea shore. In the front of it was an *ava* plantation, interspersed with sugar cane, and bananas; near the house was a small shrubbery, of native ornamental plants. The whole surrounded by a well constructed fence of bamboo, neatly intersected with clean paths, that led in different directions, produced an effect that was extremely pleasing, and redounded much to the credit and ingenuity of the proprietor. *Whytooa* had taken very effectual means to provide for their entertainment; for a large hog had been committed to the oven, and was nearly ready for the table,

with an abundance of other refreshments. The mansion was large and airy. By lines stretched across, they had quiet possession of one half of the building; and this partition prevented the idle curiosity of the assembled natives from interrupting the comfort of their repair. In the afternoon they were visited by *Urripiah* and some of his attendants. He observed, that, in the absence of his royal brothers, and other principal chiefs, it was not improbable that some of the natives might take advantage of this circumstance, and discontinue their present orderly behaviour in the neighbourhood of the vessels and the encampment. He therefore requested Mr. Broughton would, in his name, write to me, recommending the five following chiefs to be admitted into our society on board and on shore; whose presence would be the means of effectually restraining the populace. Their names were *Poeno*, *Matiapo*, and *Moerree*, of Matavai; and *Tatoah*, and *Arreheah* of Hapino; in the protection and good offices of whom we may place the fullest confidence. *Matiapo* being present, he was charged by Mr. Broughton with this embassy. From our earliest acquaintance with this royal and worthy chief, his mind had appeared to be wholly engrossed in devising the means for our comfort, and for preserving a friendly and good understanding between us and his countrymen; and even here, though retired to his cottage, he was found equally zealous in the same laudable pursuit. They were also complimented by the young king *Otoo* with a visit. His approach was announced by the usual ceremony of all the natives present uncovering their shoulders; and as he could not with propriety enter *Whytooa's* fence, they paid him their respects on the beach; whence, after receiving some trinkets, he hastened with his royal sister, each carried as before, to meet *Pomurrey*, who was about to land at the morai. Towards the evening, a scene was presented that gave a very different turn to the feelings of the party. On paying their respects to the royal family, who had landed near them, the sorrow and dejection which appeared in the countenance of *Pomurrey*, induced an inquiry into the cause of his melancholy; he replied in a low tone of voice, that "*Matooara Mahow* was dead." *Urripiah* on hearing the news burst into a flood of tears; and a sorrowful gloomy sadness soon overspread the whole assembly. On advancing a little further, we observed the queen-mother and *Fier re te* in tears near the canoe from which they had landed, searching a bundle containing some shark's teeth, with which the women of this country torture themselves, to manifest their grief on such occasions. After each had made choice of an instrument for this purpose, they retired in silent affliction to a neighbouring plantation.

The next morning, (Monday the 16th) they were again honoured by a visit from *Otoo* and several of the chiefs, in their way to the morai. Soon

after, a canoe covered with an awning was seen coming from the westward, paddling in a slow and solemn manner towards the morai, in which was the corpse of the deceased chief. On their expressing great anxiety to see *Pomurrey* for the purpose of obtaining permission to attend the burial ceremony, they were informed that he was gone to the morai, but would have no objection to their being present. They proceeded; and, near the rivulet that flows by *Urripiah's* house, they saw the queen-mother, *Fier re te*, and the widow of the deceased *Mahow*, sitting all in tears; and in the paroxysms of their affliction, wounding their heads with the shark's teeth they had prepared the preceding evening. The widow had a small spot shaved on the crown of her head, which was bloody, and bore other evident marks of having frequently undergone the cruel effect of her despair. Being apprehensive that the presence of strangers might be unwelcome, they took leave, and repaired to the morai, where the priests had already begun their funeral solemnities. *Pomurrey*, *Urripiah*, and others, silently assenting, they moved quietly through the assembly, and were seated with as little interruption to the duties, as on entering a church in England after the service is commenced. Five priests were seated before *Pomurrey*, chanting a prayer, with their faces towards *Otoo*, who sat on a man's lap. About ten yards from him was held a bundle of cloth, which contained emblematically the *Eatooa*; a general name for their deities. The body of *Mahow*, wrapped in English red cloth, was deposited under an awning in a canoe, whose bow was drawn up a little way on the beach near the morai, and was attended by one man only at her stern up to his middle in water, to prevent her driving from the spot. The priests continued chanting their prayers, frequently exalting their voices, until they ended in a very shrill tone. He who, on this occasion, performed the office of chief priest, was discovered to be our friend *Mowree*, whose prayer was equally fervent, and continued nearly half an hour longer than the rest; during which he was occasionally joined by another priest in a very shrill tone of voice. This prayer of *Mowree's* seemed at intervals, like an expostulation with the Divinity, by adverting to the different productions of the island remaining, and still flourishing in the greatest plenty, and yet *Matooara Mahow* was suffered to die.

The address being ended they all rose up, and proceeded westward along the shore, followed by the canoe in which was the corpse, to the mouth of the rivulet, where the three royal ladies still continued to indulge their excessive grief; and who, on perceiving the canoe, burst forth into a loud yell of lamentation, which was accompanied by an accelerated application of the shark's teeth, until the blood very freely following, mingled with their tears. The canoe entered the brook, and proceeded towards another morai at

the foot of the mountains, where the ceremonies to be performed on the body of the deceased required such secrecy, that, on no account, could our gentlemen be permitted to attend, although it was most earnestly requested. As some alleviation to this disappointment, *Pomurrey* promised they should see the manner in which the remains would be deposited the next day, and earnestly intreated they would desist from following the procession any further on the present occasion. As it was generally suspected that the body was now to undergo the process of embalming, the party much lamented *Pomurrey's* interdiction, as it deprived them of the only opportunity that possibly might ever occur of becoming acquainted with the nature of this operation; whence might be derived not only curious, but useful anatomical information. This prompted Mr. Menzies to renew his solicitations to *Pomurrey* to be admitted alone; but as these were attended with no better success they determined to abandon these melancholy solemnities, and extend their excursion a few miles westward to *Pomurrey's* residence; which they found pleasantly situated near the shore, consisting of two large houses lately erected. Here they were entertained with a heava performed by a number of very young girls, in the wanton manner of the country. At a particular part of the dance, a fellow stept in amongst the performers, and in a very obscene though ludicrous manner entertained the native audience; but, on our gentlemen expressing their abhorrence of such indecorous behaviour, the girls, in finishing their parts, did not expose their persons below the waist. After distributing some presents to the young actresses, they retired; and directing their route back, through the plantations, soon arrived at the house of a chief, where *Whytooa* having provided an excellent repast they were sumptuously regaled.

In the evening, as they returned to our friend's house, they observed many fires were burning at Oparre, as if a grand entertainment was preparing; they however fared as usual; and after supper, on requesting their worthy host would join in a glass of grog, to the health of friends in *Britarne*, he, though extremely fond of the liquor, very politely declined the invitation, saying, there was but little for themselves, and he would therefore drink "*Britarne*" in a bowl of Otaheitean ava, which was immediately prepared.

Before break of day, *Mowree* acquainted them, that, as religious restrictions were laid on all the canoes in that part of the island, his could not be launched; he was informed this would not be any inconvenience, as it was the intention of the party to return by land; and requested, that *Whytooa* would prepare them an early breakfast. This, *Whytooa* hoped they would excuse, as fires were interdicted, and cooking could not be suffered at his

house; but that he would endeavour to provide them with some refreshment on their journey, when out of the district of Oparre. Accompanied by their worthy host and hostess, they now set forth on their return, highly impressed with the attentive kindness and hospitality they had received.

On reaching the rivulet, they requested to be shewn the morai to which the remains of *Mahow* had been carried the preceding day. The road was pointed out, but having advanced a little way a message was delivered, requesting they would return. On explaining the promise made by *Pomurrey*, much hesitation ensued; after which *Whytooa* directed one of the natives only to accompany them, giving him at the same time very particular injunctions. Mr. Broughton and Mr. Menzies followed this man, who appeared exceedingly cautious and apprehensive of every step he took. They had not proceeded far when a general solitary gloom prevailed; all the houses were deserted, and not a living creature, excepting two or three dogs, were to be seen until they arrived near the morai; where, in a small house, three men were observed, who, most probably, were the centinels of the sacred place. These questioned the guide in a very particular manner, and then acquainted him, that the body of *Mahow* had been removed to the morai, where it had stopped the day before; and that *Pomurrey* was there also. They now took a cursory view of the holy spot, which afforded little worthy of notice. It was terminated by high perpendicular rocks, whence issued several streams of water, whose continued murmurs, assisted by the wild and gloomy situation of the morai, gave an awful solemnity to the place, and fitted it to the mournful, sacred purpose, for which it is designed. On the return of these two gentlemen to join the rest of the party, they passed the residence of the young king *Otoo*. It consisted of a middling-sized house, inclosed by a railing of wood, situated on the confines of the districts of Matavai and Oparre; beyond which the religious interdictions did not seem to extend any great distance, as they soon afterwards partook of an excellent breakfast that *Whytooa* had taken care to provide. They then returned to the encampment, extremely well pleased with their excursion, on which they had been constantly attended by several of the natives, who were always struggling to be foremost in acts of friendly attention; such as carrying the party over the rivulets; taking charge of their superfluous apparel, and other bundles; which, although comprised of many articles highly valuable to them, yet, in justice to their honesty, it must be recorded that the most trivial article was not missed.

I shall take leave of this excursion by adding a few ideas which, though principally founded on conjecture, may not be unimportant, as they respect these peculiar religious ceremonies. The opinion that the operation of

embalming commenced at the morai near the mountains was most probably correct. One of the principal parts of this ceremony I have been given to understand, is always performed in great secrecy, and with much religious superstition; this is the disembowelling of the body. The bowels are, by these people, considered as the immediate organs of sensation, where the first impressions are received, and by which all the operations of the mind are carried on: it is therefore natural to conclude, that they may esteem, and venerate the intestines, as bearing the greatest affinity to the immortal part. I have frequently held conversations on this subject, with a view to convince them, that all intellectual operations were carried on in the head; at which they would generally smile, and intimate, that they had frequently seen men recover whose skulls had been fractured, and whose heads had otherwise been much injured; but that, in all cases in which the intestines had been wounded, the persons on a certainty died. Other arguments they would also advance in favor of their belief; such as the effect of fear, and other passions, which caused great agitation and uneasiness, and would sometimes produce sickness at the stomach, which they attributed intirely to the action of the bowels. If therefore this reasoning be admitted, it would appear probable that the intestines of *Mahow* were deposited at the morai under the mountains; and as it is natural to imagine they would consider the soul most attached to those mortal parts which bore to it the greatest affinity, so wherever those parts were deposited, there they may probably suppose the soul occasionally resorts. And hence it may be inferred, that it is in the places made sacred by the deposit of these relics, that the ceremony of chief mourner, habited in the *parie*, is performed; whose business it is to keep off the inquisitive, and to maintain as far as possible a profound silence over a certain space in which he parades, having a kind of mace, armed with shark's teeth, borne before him by a man almost naked, whose duty is to assail any one with this formidable weapon, who may have the temerity to venture within his reach. This may account for *Whytooa's* disinclination to permit our gentlemen to visit the morai; the apparently deserted houses; and the apprehensions of the guide, who started at the least interruption of the profound and solemn silence which prevailed in that neighbourhood.

[6] Vide Cook's Voyages.

[7] Vide Cook's Voyages.

CHAPTER VII.

*Two Natives punished for Theft—Obsequies of Mahow—
Several Articles stolen—Measures for their Recovery
—Towereeroo the Sandwich Islander absconds—
Brought back by Pomurrey—Sail from Matavai Bay
—Character of Pomurrey—His Wives—Changes in
the Government of Otaheite—Astronomical and
nautical Observations.*

On the morning of Tuesday the 17th we were visited by the young king, his uncles, and several other chiefs from Oparre. Two men had been detected in stealing a hat from on board the *Discovery*; and, as several other petty thefts had been committed at the encampment, I desired the delinquents to be sent on shore, that they might be punished in the presence of their chiefs, and countrymen, which was done by shaving their heads, and bestowing on each a slight manual correction.

A message was received from *Pomurrey*, requesting my attendance at Oparre, to “*tiehah*,” that is, to mourn for the death of *Mahow*. It was understood to be much wished, that we should be provided to fire some vollies; and that I should present, on this occasion, a piece of red cloth as an offering to the deceased. I was informed also that most of the neighbouring chiefs were to pay their last tribute of respect to the remains of *Mahow*, and that the ceremony would consequently be attended with many formalities; but on our arrival at Oparre there did not appear the least foundation for any such report. Mr. Broughton and Mr. Whidbey accompanied me. On our landing, we were conducted to a temporary habitation of *Pomurrey*, where we found him, his wives, and sisters, in readiness to receive us. Some little concern was certainly apparent for the loss of their friend and relation; though very unequal to the affliction I expected to have witnessed, from the great care, and tender regard, manifested to *Mahow* by the whole party when alive. The grief of these people is of two descriptions, natural and artificial; it is excessive on the first impulse, but soon moderates and wears away.

The corpse was laid on the tapapao, which seemed to have been erected for the express purpose about a quarter of a mile to the eastward of the grand morai; (or as it is called, “*tapoota-pootatea*”) and appeared to be then undergoing the latter part of the embalming process, in the same manner as described by Captain Cook in the instance of *Tee*. The body was exposed to the sun; and, on our approach, the covering was taken off, which exhibited the corpse in a very advanced state of putrefaction. The skin shone very

bright with the cocoa-nut oil, with which it had been anointed, and which, we understood, was highly impregnated with “*aehigh*,” or sweet-scented wood. One of the arms and a leg being moved, the joints appeared perfectly flexible. The extremely offensive exhalations that were emitted, rendered it natural to conclude, that the whole mass would soon be completely decomposed; but, if credit may be given to their assertions, which were indubitably confirmed by the remains of *Tee*, and to which I could myself bear testimony, this will not be the case. *Pomurrey* informed us, the corpse was to remain a month in this place; then a month was to be employed in its visiting some of the western districts; after which it was to be removed to Tiarabou for another month; whence it was to be carried to Morea, and there finally deposited with his forefathers in the morai of the family. In the course of a few months after its arrival there, it would gradually begin to moulder away, but by such very slow degrees, that several months would elapse before the body would be intirely consumed.

This method of embalming, or rather of preserving human bodies, is certainly an object of great curiosity; particularly, when it is considered that is performed under the influence of a vertical sun; sometimes in the rainy season; and that the operators are totally ignorant of the properties of spices, salts, &c. &c. as antiseptics. Whether their preparations be simple or compounded, or what may be the peculiarities observed in the process, remains, I believe, intirely unknown to Europeans; and it is much to be regretted, that their religious interdictions precluded our attending the whole of these mysterious obsequies, as many vessels may visit this country without meeting so favorable an opportunity, with persons on board qualified and inclined to direct such enquires into effect.

The boat’s crew were ranged before the paling that encompassed the tapapao; the piece of red cloth was given to the widow, who spread it over the dead body; some vollies were then fired, and I was directed to pronounce “*Tera no oca Mahow*,” that is, For you *Mahow*. On some rain falling, the body was taken under cover, and carefully wrapped up. We had but a few yards to retire to *Pomurrey*’s habitation, where himself and family had taken up a temporary abode for this occasion; but the exceedingly offensive smell of the corpse obliged us to proceed to an excellent new house of *Whytooa*’s, a little to the westward of *Pomurrey*’s former habitation, which had been destroyed during the late wars, and had not been rebuilt; nor did it appear that he had any other house at present in this part of the district. Here we dined, and returned to Matavai with two large hogs, presented on this mournful occasion by the widow of *Mahow*.

Our friends with their axes made so little progress, that on the morning of Wednesday the 18th, I requested *Urripiah* would point out such trees as we might cut down ourselves. This, with *Whytooa's* assistance, he shortly did; and we procured of the apple, and bread fruit, sufficient numbers to supply our wants. Parties for this service were sent on shore, and the axes lent to the chiefs for this express purpose, were directed to be forthwith returned; with which *Urripiah*, *Whytooa*, and *Poeno*, immediately complied.

The mourning for *Mahow* being now at an end, the royal females paid us a visit, and returned after dinner to Oparre. *Pomurrey*, his father, wives, brothers and sisters, with our several friends, were again about us the next morning, perfectly cheerful and in high spirits. As Sunday was now determined upon for our departure, the preceding evening was fixed for a further display of fire-works, in which all our friends seemed to anticipate much pleasure. *Pomurrey* returned there in evening to Oparre, for the purpose of procuring us such supplies as he thought would be acceptable previously to our sailing.

A great number of presents were received on board on the morning of Friday the 20th, consisting of hogs, fowls, goats,^[8] roots and vegetables, from our several friends; who had uniformly conducted themselves with the greatest propriety, and who all appeared to regret that the period of our departure was now to near at hand. In the midst of this happy intercourse and desirable harmony, a circumstance unfortunately occurred, which occasioned much concern. A bag, containing a large quantity of linen belonging to Mr. Broughton, had been artfully taken out of the marquee. *Moerree*, who had offered to be a cutter of wood, had neither sent any down since the first or second day, nor had he returned the axes with which he had been furnished. This led me to suspect he intended something unfair; of which, as well as of the theft, I acquainted *Urripiah*, who immediately replied he would go in quest both of the axes and the linen. He seemed, by no means, to be ignorant of the theft, and requested I would apply to *Whytooa*, who, having in a more particular manner attached himself to Mr. Broughton, was the most proper person to exert himself on this occasion; especially as he had reason to believe the linen had been taken to a part of the country where *Whytooa's* influence was very considerable. Several shirts also had been, the preceding evening, reported missing from the people's tents; but as circumstances induced me to believe the inhabitants were little concerned in their removal, no means, were pursued for their recovery. Mr. Broughton's linen was, however, too serious a loss, and was a robbery too audacious to be passed over in silence; particularly, as it became evident the

chiefs knew of the linen having been stolen before we discovered the theft; which was strongly suspected to have been projected by themselves.

Urripiah had prepared a *heava*, close to the lines of the encampment, for our amusement; but, to shew my disapprobation, I deemed it expedient to forbid the performance, and told *Urripiah*, that, whilst his people conducted themselves so treacherously, the less connection there subsisted between us the more agreeable it would be; and that, unless the articles purloined were immediately returned, I should be under the disagreeable necessity, though greatly against my inclination, of enforcing the restoration of them by the adoption of very serious measures. On this he immediately departed; and about noon, returned with one of the axes, and said that he had dispatched people in search of the linen, which he hoped would soon be found; but that *Moerree* would not give up the other axe; alledging as an excuse for withholding it, that he had left an adz with me to be altered, which when done and sent to him, he would send back the other axe; but this was a kind of bargaining with which I did not think proper to comply. The queen-mother, who was our guest, informed me that *Pomurrey* would be at the tents the next morning, and for that reason I deferred any further proceedings until his arrival.

A favorable opportunity occurred in the evening to send on board the observatory, chronometers, instruments, together with a large quantity of lumber from the encampment; and apprehending that the natives might attempt to commit other depredations on our moveable property, additional centinels were posted; and, as a summary and immediate punishment when caught in the fact, seemed most likely to prevent in future a repetition of crime; orders were issued to shoot any person who might be found in the act of stealing; but, on no pretence, to fire without the presence of an officer, who had the strictest injunctions to be extremely circumspect.

On going on board the next morning, (Saturday the 21st) I had the additional mortification to understand that a much more material circumstance than the loss of the linen had occurred to interrupt the harmony which had so long subsisted.

Towereroo the Sandwich islander had, in the course of the preceding night, found means to elope from the ship. Of this his intention, we had not for some time been free of suspicion; but I did not like to impose absolute confinement upon him without some proof. He had formed an attachment with the daughter of *Poeno*, the chief of Matavai, on whom, by examination, we now found he had lavishly bestowed nearly all he had possessed. This was of no small value, for, independent of his abundant outfit in England,

many presents had been made him; to which his want of principle had added, by making too free with some valuable articles belonging to the gunner, with whom he had messed previously to his departure, *Towereroo* was a boy of weak intellect, of a sullen disposition, and excessively obstinate; and though his condition was so very subordinate at the Sandwich islands, that there was little probability of his services being important to us or to our countrymen hereafter; yet his example was a matter of such consequence, as to render it highly expedient that his return should be insisted upon; lest the crew might suppose I had not sufficient influence with the chiefs to procure it, and some of them be tempted to abscond from the vessels. On my return on shore *Pomurrey* and his wives were at the encampment, and seemed not at all ignorant of what had happened, therefore little explanation was necessary. A servant of *Moerree* being sent for by *Pomurrey*, delivered the same message *Urripiah* had brought respecting the wood axe, and with which *Pomurrey* requested I would comply. I shewed him the adz, but insisted on the restoration of the axe before it should be returned. A short conference now took place, on which he said he would himself go for the wood axe, and gave directions that proper persons should be sent in quest of *Towereroo*, who he most solemnly promised should be given up; and added, that he would immediately take measures for the recovery of the linen, but requesting, as *Urripiah* had before done, that I would resort to *Whytooa* for this especial purpose, as it lay in his particular department. About noon *Pomurrey* returned with the wood axe, and the adz was accordingly restored to its owner.

In the presence of *Taow* his father, his two brothers, *Poatatou*, and several other chiefs, *Pomurrey* inquired if, agreeably to my promise, I intended a display of fire-works that evening; to which I replied in the negative, and explained, that when that promise was made there was no reason to expect the treatment had since experienced, from those whose duty it was to have observed a very different conduct with respect to the theft of the linen, and the elopement of *Towereroo*; in both of which unpardonable transactions many of the principal chiefs were materially concerned. *Pomurrey* instantly replied, that *Towereroo* should the next day be brought back, either to the tents or to the Discovery; and, on interrogating him respecting the linen, a very warm argument took place between the three brothers, in which *Pomurrey* in particular accused *Whytooa* of a want of exertion and friendship on the occasion. In the course of this debate, the name of *Arreheah* was frequently mentioned; and so far as I could understand, *Pomurrey* seemed convinced that he was very principally concerned. This man was an inferior chief in Hapino, one of the districts

belonging to *Whytooa*, who, as well as *Urripiah*, had recommended himself to our notice; in consequence of which, he had lately been a constant attendant on the encampment: a man, who had also been recommended by some of the chiefs to assist in cooking, had been observed with *Arreheah* to have slept near the marquee on the night the robbery was committed. On this circumstance being made known to *Pomurrey*, he replied, that one, if not both, were certainly guilty. The dinner being now served, ended the debate; after which the three brothers sallied out in quest of the stolen linen, and soon returned with the servant who had absconded. On his being examined he accused *Arreheah* as the thief; but being conscious of the robbery, he had fled, lest he should be suspected and punished. This man's evidence although tending to acquit himself, as the principal, clearly proved him an accomplice; and, not being without my suspicions that he was in reality the thief, I ordered a halter to be put about his neck *in terrorem* and sent him on board the ship, there to be confined in irons; with the assurance, that if the linen was not restored, he should certainly be hanged.

A short debate, nearly to the same purport, again took place between the three brothers, in which *Whytooa* seemed much affected by *Pomurrey*'s rebuke. As the thief was now known, I embraced this occasion to inform the royal party, that very considerable presents were intended to have been made to them and the several chiefs; but not one single article would be presented unless *Towereroo* and Mr. Broughton's linen were forthcoming. On this they again departed, saying every thing should be restored.

The surf being tolerably smooth in the afternoon, the large working tent, with various other articles were sent off; leaving the marquee, the guard's tent, and cannon, only to be embarked. Whilst thus employed, the chiefs had all, imperceptibly, withdrawn themselves; towards sun-set, most of the canoes that had been on the banks of the river were observed to be moving off, and the houses on the opposite side, which had been fully inhabited, were intirely stripped and deserted. We were soon given to understand that the Erees and people were "*mattowed*," that is, alarmed, because I was angry; which intelligence a man named *Boba* was extremely urgent to communicate. He had, on the evening the linen was stolen, come over the river under a flimsy pretence, with which at the time I was by no means satisfied; and since then he had not been seen. Suspecting him to be an accessory, I gave directions that he should be secured; and that the remaining canoe, which chanced to contain many of their most valuable articles, should be detained; that we might have something in our power in case the chiefs should have deserted us, which I began to apprehend, as a general *mattow* seemed to have taken place. Mr. Broughton, who had been with the

natives on the other side of the river, informed me that the principal cause of the *mattow*, was the confinement of *Boba*; and that they conceived, I had also confined the queen-mother. This good lady had been our constant companion, even in the absence of her husband; and was, on all occasions, very solicitous to imitate our manners. Having carried her politeness rather too far, in taking a few glasses more at dinner than was quite agreeable, she had been sleeping in the marquee most of the afternoon. On this information, I requested she would instantly repair to *Pomurrey*, who, with several chiefs, and a large concourse of the inhabitants, were assembled on the opposite shore of the river. She complied, though greatly against her inclination, saying she well knew that I was the friend of her *Pomurrey*, and all the chiefs, and it was his and their business to come to me. This conversation took place at the river-side, whilst *Pomurrey* and the natives were accusing me of detaining his wife, who, with all imaginable spirit contradicted the assertion. The crowd replied, she was instructed by me to say so; asserting that I well understood their language. Matters thus situated I insisted she should cross the river, with which at length she complied, and was received on the opposite side with great demonstrations of joy. On her assuring *Pomurrey* that I was still his friend, and that I earnestly wished to confer with him on the unpleasant circumstances that had occurred, he attempted to come over the river, but was prevented by the crowd. On his assuring them his intentions were not to cross, but to be sufficiently near to understand me perfectly, he was allowed to advance a few paces, when he again questioned my pacific intentions, and whether I would confine him if he crossed the river. After receiving the most unequivocal assurances of a continuance of my friendship, and his own personal liberty, he disengaged himself from those who forcibly attempted to stop him, and came over to us much against the general voice and opinion of the multitude, who murmured excessively on the occasion; but this shortly subsiding, his wives soon followed his example. I acquainted *Pomurrey* with the detention of the canoe, and the man I had confined. The instant he saw it was *Boba*, he assured me he was innocent, and requested he might be released; and, as he had been arrested on suspicion only, I did not hesitate to comply with the request of *Pomurrey*, who had gratified me exceedingly by the confidence he had so recently reposed in my integrity.

Our royal guests became perfectly reconciled, spent the evening with us, and slept in the marquee. Early on the morning of Sunday the 22d they departed. *Pomurrey* informed me, he was then going to *Oparre* in quest of *Towereroo*, who, it was reported, had secreted himself in the mountains of that district; that in the course of the day he would be taken, and that, with

him, he would return to Matavai; he further added, that *Whytooa* was going in search of the linen, which would likewise be restored.

It was an excessively mortifying reflection, now that we were in every respect ready for sea, after having lived three weeks on terms of the strictest amity with these good people, that just on the eve of our departure, they should so conduct themselves, as materially to incur our disapprobation and censure, and prevent our bidding them farewell with that cordiality and good-will, to which they were so highly intitled by their former good behaviour.

Having nothing further to transact on shore, every thing was sent on board excepting the marquee, at which, with a guard, Mr. Puget remained for the more easy communication with the chiefs, should they be inclined to renew their visits; as no one person of any distinction had appeared since the departure of *Pomurrey* in the morning. Mr. Broughton having strolled over the river, found *Whytooa* in soft dalliance with his wife at home, instead of being in search of the linen. Mr. Broughton invited them to the marquee, but *Whytooa* replied he was “*mattowed.*” After some persuasion he complied, and having come opposite the encampment, he requested some assurance of friendship on my part; which being complied with, he consented, and having gained about the middle of the river, he was compelled by the natives to return. Another conversation now took place; and on Mr. Broughton proposing to remain with them during *Whytooa*'s absence, he came over, and being soon reconciled after his arrival, to his situation, he sent a servant to desire Mr. Broughton would cross the river. On this occasion *Whytooa*'s wife accompanied him, and we afterwards went all on board to dinner. On my enquiring, he said *Pomurrey* and *Urripiah* were at Oparre, but would return the instant *Towereroo* was taken. With respect to the linen I could gain no satisfactory account; and, as I wished to encourage him in the confidence he had manifested, I did not think it right to push this inquiry further; wishing to detain him and his wife, in case their imprisonment hereafter should be deemed necessary to effect our purpose; but desisted from any further measures, until I should see or hear something of the other royal brothers. The canoe and goods we had arrested the preceding evening now appearing to belong to a chief of Ulietea, who could not have had any concern in the late improper transactions, justice dictated its restoration to the proper owner, and directions to that effect were accordingly given.

Neither *Pomurrey* nor *Urripiah* having arrived on the morning of Monday the 23d, Mr. Broughton proposed that *Whytooa* and his wife, who were still with us, should accompany him to Oparre, in order to procure an

interview with *Pomurrey*, and learn how our affairs stood in that district. To this *Whytooa* readily agreed, and whilst the boat was preparing for their conveyance, the royal females paid us a visit. They said *Pomurrey* was still at Oparre, but would return to the ship the instant that *Towereroo* could be found. The ladies were immediately informed of Mr. Broughton's errand, and told, that, until his return, they were to remain on board. With this arrangement they seemed perfectly satisfied; and from their mirth, and joking with each other as to their being carried to sea, their reception in England, &c. &c. I began to conjecture that *Towereroo* was in reality taken, though it was their pleasure to keep me in suspense. We did not long remain in this state. About noon, the boat returned with the three royal brothers, and *Towereroo*. Mr. Broughton met them on their way towards the ships, attended by a fleet of canoes, laden with every species of provisions as presents from the royal family and our several other friends, who all flocked on board with such a profusion of their various valuable commodities, that unable to dispose of their bounty, several laden canoes returned to the shore.

Pomurrey and *Urripiah* observed, on the delivery of *Towereroo*, that they had now restored every thing in which they considered I was particularly interested, and that it was *Whytooa's* business to recover the linen for Mr. Broughton. *Whytooa* protested that, if we could remain until the morning, it should certainly be brought on board; but as we had been repeatedly instructed to place little reliance on assurances of this nature, had the wind been favorable, we should not have waited to put his integrity to the test.

Poatatou, with many other chiefs of the distant districts, were made extremely happy by the presents which each of them received; and, finding we were to sail with the first favorable wind, took their leave in the evening, with much apparent regret for our departure; which was evidently increased by their being disappointed of a second display of fire-works. From the inordinate love of pleasure which these people possess, I do not believe it were possible to have caused, by any other means, so general and so great a degree of mortification. Many chiefs, and numbers of the inhabitants, had come from the most distant parts of the island, and from Morea likewise, for no other purpose than to gratify their curiosity, and to be present at the expected exhibition. These, in particular, complained much of their disappointment; to which I replied, their concern was by no means unpleasant to me, as it gave me reason to hope it would operate to prevent the cause of it in future; and that, if thefts, and other breaches of confidence had not been committed, and sanctioned, as I was confident they had been by the chiefs themselves, I should not have been under the painful necessity

of denying them the promised entertainment, and we should have parted much better friends. On the arrival of another ship, I trusted, from this disappointment, they would all be taught to conduct themselves with more fidelity.

Pomurrey and his wives remained on board all night. The next morning, Tuesday the 24th, brought no tidings of the linen. On reflecting that, without using rigorous measures, which, in all probability, would fall more on the innocent who were in our power, than on the guilty who were at a distance, there did not appear the most remote prospect of regaining this property; and as we had now a favorable breeze from the eastward, and could ill afford a longer detention, about ten in the forenoon we sailed out of the bay. *Pomurrey* and his wives were our guests until we were beyond the reefs: they were now presented with an assortment of valuables, which afforded them the highest satisfaction; and *Pomurrey* requesting as a particular favor that they might be saluted on leaving the ship, they took a very friendly and affectionate leave, and were complimented agreeably to his wishes. *Whytooa* had also accompanied Mr. Broughton in the *Chatham*; who, after we were out, brought him on board the *Discovery*, with an assortment of such articles as he conceived *Whytooa* intitled to, for his hospitable attention, and the large quantity of provisions, &c. &c. which he had supplied, without having as yet received the least return: but as I had repeatedly declared *Whytooa* should receive no present, unless the linen was restored, my ultimate decision was now requested. On considering, that possibly it might not have been in his power to recover the linen, and that equity demanded he should be paid for the supplies which he had furnished, I consented to his receiving in return, such articles as were deemed fairly equal in point of value; but he was not presented with any thing from me, although I had promised him several valuable implements. These were again enumerated, the reason of their being with-held fully explained, and shewn to have arisen from his not having acted towards Mr. Broughton with that propriety which had been observed in the conduct of his royal brothers towards me.

I am well aware that our visit to this country will fill the inquisitive mind with the expectation of acquiring much additional information, relative to a people whose situation and condition have been long the subjects of curious investigation; but the shortness of our stay, and various concurring circumstances afforded little opportunity to gratify such desires.

The veneration these people entertain for the names of their sovereigns, has been already very justly related by Mr. Anderson. But no example, I believe, had then appeared to that judicious observer, of the extent to which

this respect is carried. On *Otoo's* accession to the *Maro*,^[9] a very considerable alteration took place in their language, particularly in the proper names of all the chiefs, to which however it was not solely confined, but extended to no less than forty or fifty of the most common words which occur in conversation, and bearing not the least affinity whatever to the former expressions.

This new language every inhabitant is under the necessity of adopting; as any negligence or contempt of it is punished with the greatest severity. Their former expressions were, however, retained in their recollection; and for our better communication, were, I believe, permitted to be used in conversation with us, without incurring displeasure. *Pomurrey* however would frequently correct me on my accidentally using the former mode of expression, saying, I knew it was wrong, and ought not to practise it. Were such a pernicious innovation to take place, generally, at the arbitrary will of the sovereigns throughout the South-Sea Islands, it would be attended with insurmountable difficulties to strangers; but it appears to be a new regulation, and, as yet, confined to these islands, or it would be impossible to reconcile the affinity which has been hitherto found to subsist in the language of different parts of the Great South-Sea nation. The new-fashioned words produce a very material difference in those tables of comparative affinity which have been constructed with so much attention and labour; and may, possibly, when the reasons for the alteration are known and developed, be a matter of interesting political inquiry. This, however, required more leisure, and a more intimate knowledge of the language, than I possessed. Circumstances of greater importance to the expediting the various services here, which the grand object of our voyage demanded, and on which my mind was every hour anxiously engaged; augmented by the difficulties we had to encounter, in the new modification of so many terms, rendered most of my inquiries ineffectual. These perplexities and disadvantages were also materially increased, by the difficulty of obtaining the truth from a race who have a constant desire to avoid, in the slightest degree, giving offence; insomuch, that, on the least appearance of displeasure, even in conversation, to disengage themselves from any such inconvenience, they would often, by that extensive and spacious comprehension, which their language admits of, seemingly so qualify, what they before had asserted, as to contradict, according to our acceptance, a positive matter of fact; or, what amounted to nearly the same thing, a completely different construction was by us very frequently put on a second conversation, from that which we had conceived from, or had attributed to, the first. Had we been more competent linguists, we might, in all probability,

have found both their modes of expression tending to the same point, and differing only in the figurative relation of the circumstances, to which these people are much accustomed. This deception I have more than once experienced, and have on reflection, thus reconciled the apparent incongruity. Such, and various other important circumstances must ever occur, to render the acquirement of knowledge in the language, manners, and customs, of newly-discovered countries (beyond a certain superficial extent) a business of much labour and study, although aided by a series of minute observations. Under such evident disadvantages, how far my abilities might or might not have empowered me to direct such inquiries to effect, had time and other objects permitted, must still remain to be proved. I shall therefore resign the palm to those gentlemen who have preceded me, and to whom the world is indebted for many pertinent and judicious observations contained in their general description of this country.

Notwithstanding I must concur with Mr. Anderson in opinion, that much information remains to be acquired which would be extremely acceptable to the contemplative mind, yet it remains with me to record faithfully those circumstances only which arose in our transactions and intercourse with these people.

The changes which have taken place in their government, so far as I have been able to understand from the chiefs, with such other matters worthy attention as have fallen under my own immediate observation, I shall proceed to relate; as the preceding narration would be incomplete without such an explanation.

We have become acquainted by subsequent visitors, that, shortly after the last departure of Captain Cook from these islands, considerable disputes had arisen between *Maheine* the usurping chief of Morea, and *Pomurrey* (then *Otoo*) in some of which wars (for there had been many) *Maheine* was joined by *Towha*, and other chiefs of the western districts of Otaheite; by which means, for a considerable space of time, *Pomurrey* was materially worsted, and his own districts laid intirely waste. Thus his Majesty's benevolent intentions of adding to the comforts of these people, have been nearly frustrated. Most of the animals, plants and herbs, which had caused Captain Cook to much anxiety and trouble to deposit here, have fallen a sacrifice to the ravages of war. The black cattle were carried to Morea, where they still remain; and having bred, are now five in number, four cows and a bull. The latter has very unfortunately received a hurt in his loins, which renders him an intire cripple; consequently their further propagation will be at an end unless some additional assistance is afforded.

In the midst of these hostile engagements, *Pomurrey* married the queen-mother, a near relation of his most inveterate enemy *Maheine*. This lady having taken a very material part in the advantageous change of *Pomurrey's* government, I shall obtrude a few lines as a sketch of her character, and also that of *Fier re te* her sister, and conjugal partner in the royal affection.

The queen-mother, although destitute of any pretensions to beauty, and having in her person a very masculine appearance, has yet, in her general deportment, something excessively pleasing and engaging; free from any austerity or pride, she is endued with a comparative elegance of manners, which plainly bespeaks her descent, and the high situation in which she is placed. Although her figure exhibited no external charms of feminine softness, yet great complacency and gentleness were always conspicuous; indicating, in the most unequivocal manner, a mind possessing, and alone actuated by those amiable qualities which most adorn the human race. All her actions seemed directed to those around her with an unalterable evenness of temper, and to be guided by a pure disinterested benevolence. Self, which on most occasions is the governing principle in the conduct of these islanders, with her was totally disregarded; and indeed, such was her very amiable disposition, that it counter-balanced any disadvantages she might labour under in a deficiency of personal attractions.

The portrait of *Fier re te* on canvas would most probably be generally thought intitled to a preference; yet she appeared by no means to possess either mental endowments, or other excellent qualities, in the same degree with the queen-mother; if she had them, they were latent, and required some particular exertion to bring them into action. Her softness and effeminacy afforded her some advantage over her sister; yet there was a shyness, want of confidence and manner in her general demeanor, that evinced her motives to be less disinterested. We were however led to believe, that she was not destitute of the amiable qualities, though to us they did not appear so conspicuous as in the character of the queen-mother. Of the two ladies, *Fier re te* was now the favorite of *Pomurrey*, at least we had every reason to think so by the general tenor of his conduct. Notwithstanding this preference, he was observed in several instances to abide implicitly by the advice and opinion of the queen-mother, and to treat her with great affection and regard; who in return never appeared jealous or dissatisfied at the marked attention, or evident partiality, with which her sister *Fier re te* was treated by *Pomurrey*.

In consequence of the very superior rank and condition of these two ladies, they possessed privileges which I had never before seen conferred on

any of the women of the Great South-Sea nation; as they were not only permitted to eat of all the good things of the country, but allowed to partake of them in company with men; as well the chiefs of the island as ourselves; and of the identical dishes at any repast of which men had eaten, without incurring displeasure or disgrace; these were honours to which we had reason to believe no other females of the island could aspire.

These two ladies, with the deceased *Matooara Mahow*, were the children of a sister of *Maheine*, and his only near relations. *Mahow* I considered to be the same person mentioned by Captain Cook, under the name of *Tiareetaboonooa*; as, on our first arrival, he was introduced to me by the name of *Areetaboonooa*, which appellation was almost immediately dropped, and he was afterwards called *Mahow*; occasioned most likely by the recent alteration in their language, which has before been stated to have taken place on the accession of the young king *Otoo*.

As *Maheine* was an Ereeoi, whose advanced age precluded the expectation of his having children, little doubt was entertained that his consequence and power would soon descend to his family, which had become more firmly attached to the Otaheitean authority by the intermarriage of the late *Matooara Mahow* with *Pomurrey's* youngest sister. This connection appears to have been an important political measure, to insure a permanent establishment of peace and tranquillity between the two islands, on the conquest or death of *Maheine*. The event was however long looked for before it arrived, for we understood it did not happen until about fifteen months previous to our arrival; at which time *Maheine* was killed in a battle fought at Athoora by him and some of the western chiefs, against the partizans of *Pomurrey*, who, I believe, then for the first time came off victorious.

Maheine having fallen in this conflict, and *Towha* being dead, little was necessary to complete the conquest, which was finally accomplished by the excursion of the Bounty's people in a vessel they had constructed from the timber of the bread fruit tree; and as good or bad fortune is generally attended with corroborating events, other circumstances intervened to foster and indulge the ambition of *Pomurrey*. At this time *Whyeadooa* the king of Tiarabou died, leaving only a very distant relation to assume his name and government; who was by *Pomurrey* and his adherents obliged to relinquish all pretensions to such honours, and with the people of Tiarabou to acknowledge *Pomurrey's* youngest son as their chief, under the supreme authority of his eldest son *Otoo*; which on their assenting to, the youth assumed the name of *Whyeadooa* as a necessary appendage to the

government. By this acquisition it should appear, they have more effectually established a firm and lasting peace amongst themselves than has been enjoyed for a long series of years; and to insure this inestimable blessing to their dominions, the royal brothers have so disposed themselves as completely to watch over and protect the two young princes during their minority.

Urripiah, the next brother to *Pomurrey*, having acquired the reputation of a great warrior, has taken up his residence on the borders of Tiarabou, to watch the conduct of those people in their allegiance to his nephew *Whyeadooa*; and on the least appearance of disaffection or revolt, to be at hand for pursuing such measures as may be required to bring them back to their obedience. *Whytooa*, the next brother, resides for the like reason at Oparre, near the young monarch; and *Pomurrey* with his wives has retired to Morea, where the inhabitants are, in all respects, perfectly reconciled; firmly attached to his interest; and ready to afford him and his children every support and assistance they may require. From the relative situation of this island with Otaheite, there is but little probability that *Pomurrey* could long remain ignorant of any dissensions that might take place, or that he would be prevented affording such succour as the nature of the occasion might demand.

There is yet a fourth brother whose insignificance has hitherto precluded his name, which is *Tapahoo*, from appearing in any of our transactions with these worthy people. Although in the possession of a very considerable property, *Tapahoo* seems little regarded by his family, and less esteemed by his people. This want of respect is greatly, and possibly wholly, to be attributed to a natural imbecillity of mind; as, to all appearance, he is a young man of an exceedingly weak and trifling character.

On the late decease of *Mahow*, his daughter by *Pomurrey*'s sister succeeded to the sovereignty of Morea, under the supreme authority of her cousin *Otoo*. To this young princess *Pomurrey* became regent, and in course, the inhabitants of Morea were intirely at his command. In consequence of *Pomurrey*'s connection with *Mahow*'s family, his son *Otoo* in right of his mother was acknowledged as the supreme sovereign of Huaheine; and *Matuarro* the king of that island, had consented to the superiority of *Otoo* over him, as "Aree Maro Eora;" but that he *Matuarro* was "Aree de Hoi."

Omai having died without children, the house which Captain Cook had built for him, the lands that were purchased, and the horse which was still alive; together with such European commodities as remained at his death, all descended to *Matuarro*, as king of the island; and when his majesty is at

home, *Omai's* house is his constant residence. From *Matuarro* we learned, that *Omai* was much respected, and that he frequently afforded great entertainment to him, and the other chiefs, with the accounts of his travels, and describing the various countries, objects, &c. that had fallen under his observation; and that he died universally regretted and lamented. His death, as well as that of the two New Zealand boys left with him by Captain Cook, was occasioned by a disorder that is attended by a large swelling in the throat, of which very few recover, but die a slow lingering death. During the latter part of our stay several persons were pointed out who seemed much afflicted with this fatal malady, particularly those belonging to Tiarabou, who said the disease had been imported by a Spanish vessel which had anchored near the south part of Otaheite.

Otoo, in right of his grandmother by his father's side, on the death of *Mowree* will claim the sovereignty of Ulietea and Otaha. *Mowree*, who is brother to *Pomurrey's* mother, is an Ereeoi of an advanced age. He seemed extremely fond of *Otoo*, and proud of his succeeding him in the government of those islands; saying, that, at present, there were two sovereigns, that "*Maw ta Tarta,*" but when he should die then there would be but one, meaning *Otoo*. This expression, in its literal signification, means "*to eat the Man;*" the idea, however, which in this sense it is intended to convey, is to point out those, whose rank and authority intitle them to preside at human sacrifices; a power which at present is possessed only by *Mowree* and *Otoo*.

In consequence of the extensive dominion that has devolved upon this young monarch, he is not now distinguished by the title of *Aree de Hoi*, but by one which is considerably more eminent and comprehensive; since they say there may be many *Arees de Hoi*, but there can be but one *Aree Maro Eoora*; which means the chief of the red feathered *Maro*; and under which title, *Otoo's* authority is acknowledged in Otaheite, Morea, Mattea, Tetero, Tupea-mannoo, and Huaheine. But the people of Ulietea and Otaha, seem much averse to this submission; and it does not appear, that even *Mowree* himself has much influence in those islands, notwithstanding that he is their acknowledged sovereign. Since the death of *Opoone*, the government of the islands under his late authority appears to have been ill administered; the inhabitants having been very turbulent and much disposed to anarchy: and in consequence of the disinclination which the people of these islands have manifested to subscribe to the Supreme authority of *Otoo*, an expedition was in contemplation from Otaheite, to enforce the power of the *Aree Maro Eoora* over them, and little doubt was entertained of its success. Another favorite object was the annexing to *Otoo's* present dominions by conquest, (for no right was set up) the islands of Bolabola, Mowrooa, and Tapi, which,

since the death of *Opoone*, had been governed by his daughter, and were said, in a great measure, to have lost their former high reputation as a martial and warlike nation.

Pomurrey and his brothers having procured from the vessels which had lately visited Otaheite, several muskets and pistols, they considered themselves invincible; and the acquiring of new possessions for *Otoo*, now seemed to occupy the whole of their study and attention. They were extremely solicitous that I should contribute to their success by augmenting their number of fire-arms, and adding to their stock of ammunition. Of the latter I gave *Pomurrey* a small quantity; but of the former I had none to dispose of, even, if I had seen no impropriety in complying with his request. Finding there was no prospect of increasing their armory, they requested that I would have the goodness to conquer the territories on which they meditated a descent, and having so done, to deliver them up to *Otoo*; and as an excuse for their subjugation, insisted that it was highly essential to the comfort and happiness of the people at large, that over the whole group of these islands there should be only one sovereign. On satisfying them that the islands in question were quite out of my route, and that I had no leisure for such an enterprise, *Pomurrey*, in the most earnest manner requested, that on my return to England I would, in his name, solicit his Majesty to order a ship with proper force to be immediately sent out, with directions, that if all those islands were not subjected to his power before her arrival, she was to conquer them for *Otoo*; who, he observed, I well knew would ever be a steady friend to King George and the English. This request was frequently repeated, and he did not fail to urge it in the most pressing manner at our parting.

I cannot take leave of my friend, for to such an epithet from me *Pomurrey's* conduct justly intitles him, without adverting to the alteration which seemed to have taken place in his character, since my former visits to this country. At that time, he was not only considered as a timid, but a very weak prince; on this occasion, however, he did not appear deficient either in discernment, or intrepidity; although it must be acknowledged his fears were exceedingly awakened at the display of our fire-works, and that he always appeared to regard fire-arms with a considerable degree of terror; which possibly might arise from his knowledge of their destructive powers, whilst at the same time he remained ignorant of the extent to which they were capable of doing execution; but this description of weapons out of the question, we had reason to believe his courage was equal to that of his neighbours, of which he certainly gave an undeniable proof by joining our party alone and unarmed at the encampment; in direct opposition to the

counsel and apprehensions of his surrounding countrymen. On former occasions, I had also considered his general character to be haughty, austere, and combined with much low cunning. When he condescended to speak, or converse, which was not frequent, little or no information could be derived; whilst the questions he asked in return, did not tend to the acquisition of useful knowledge. His conduct and deportment on the present occasion, were extremely different; and, when compared with that of his associates, were marked with an evident superiority, expressive of the exalted situation he filled; and indicated that he possessed a just knowledge of himself, and an open, generous, and feeling heart. In conversation, there were few from whom better information could be acquired; nor was he now deficient in directing his observations and enquiries to useful and important objects. For this purpose only, he would remain whole days in our working tents, observing with the strictest attention the different transactions going forward; and frequently interrupting the mechanics, to require explanations of their several operations. The whole tenor of his behaviour towards us was so uniformly correct and meritorious, that, on his taking leave, I could not resist making him, and his wives, such acknowledgments in useful articles, as he conceived they could have no possible claim to; and suspecting I was about to make some addition, he caught my arm, expressed how highly repaid and gratified they were with what they had received, and observed, as I was going to visit many other countries where such things would be equally valuable; I ought to be careful and œconomical.

How far these disinterested sentiments had actuated the conduct of the royal party in all their former transactions, is not easy to ascertain; but certain it is, they took great pains to keep up the value of our commodities, and, by their own example, established the price of three large hogs, weighing from an hundred to an hundred and fifty and two hundred pounds each, at an axe; under which they desired we would not part with our axes; and would frequently admonish us, when they considered we were about to pay extravagantly for our purchases. In our traffic, axes were the most valuable; next to these, red cloth, and all kinds of European linen; files, knives, and fishing hooks, were in great request; as were scissars and looking glasses by the ladies; nails were of little value, and such things as were only of an ornamental nature were accepted with indifference, red feathers excepted, which I believe would still find a ready market.

So important are the various European implements, and other commodities, now become to the happiness and comfort of these islanders, that I cannot avoid reflecting with Captain Cook on the very deplorable condition to which these good people on a certainty must be reduced, should

their communication with Europeans be ever at an end. The knowledge they have now acquired of the superiority and the supply with which they have been furnished of the more useful implements, have rendered these, and other European commodities, not only essentially necessary to their common comforts, but have made them regardless of their former tools and manufactures, which are now growing fast out of use, and, I may add, equally out of remembrance. Of this we had convincing proof in the few of their bone, or stone tools, or utensils, that were seen amongst them; those offered for sale were of rude workmanship, and of an inferior kind, solely intended for our market, to be purchased by way of curiosity. I am likewise well convinced, that, by a very small addition to their present stock of European cloth, the culture of their cloth plant, which now seems much neglected, will be intirely disregarded, and they will rely upon the precarious supply which may be obtained from accidental visitors, for this and many others of the most important requisites of social life.

Under these painful considerations, it manifestly appears that Europeans are bound by all the laws of humanity, regularly to furnish those wants which they alone have created; and to afford the inhabitants from time to time supplies of such important useful articles as have been already introduced, and which having excluded their own native manufactures, are, in most respects, become indispensably necessary to their whole œconomy of life: in return for which a valuable consideration would be received in provisions and refreshments, highly beneficial to the traders who may visit the Pacific Ocean.

The various manufactures in iron and in cloth have become so essentially requisite to their common concerns, that instead of these commodities being reduced in their value by the frequent visits of Europeans, or their supplies of food and refreshments being less plentiful in return, we were served with every article in the greatest profusion. Six hogsheads of very fine pork were cured; and had we been better provided with salt, we might have secured ten times that quantity; and sailed with a large supply for present use, which comprehended as many live hogs and vegetables, as we could find room to dispose of; the whole procured at least 200 per cent. cheaper than on any of Captain Cook's visits, notwithstanding the recent departure of the Pandora.

Great alteration has taken place in the military operations of these people. On our first discovery of these islands their wars were principally of a maritime nature; but at present it should seem they were conducted in a very different manner. For although some of our gentlemen extended their

excursions to a considerable distance, not a single war canoe was seen belonging to Otaheite. I had much conversation with *Urripiah* on this subject; from whom I learned, that in their late contests they had found them so unmanageable, particularly when the wind blew at all strong, that they had intirely given them up, and now carried on their enterprises by land, using the larger sort of their common canoes, when their wars were offensive, to convey them to the place of their destination, which was generally effected under cover of the night, or in dark rainy weather.

The youth of *Otoo* authorises us to say little more, than that he bore every appearance of becoming a very promising man. Some circumstances attendant on this young monarch were so very peculiar and extraordinary, as to make a few observations indispensable. Amongst the first was the curious restriction which prohibited his entering any of our habitations. His father, when *Otoo*, and king of the island, was under no such interdiction; but, as frequently as his inclination prompted, visited our ships and tents without attaching the inconvenience which would now have fallen upon the people had the young king done the same. Nor was the grandfather *Taow* then treated with that degree of obedience and respect, which is at present paid to him on all occasions. The origin of the above mysterious restraint, or the reasoning on which it has been founded, I could not satisfactorily learn. The result, however, of my enquiries on this head induces me to believe, that a ceremony very similar to the *Natche* of the Friendly islands described by Captain Cook, on *Poulahou's* son being permitted to eat in company with his father, will be performed here. This ceremony will occupy a considerable space of time, after which he will no longer be carried on men's shoulders, but be at liberty like others to walk about; but when this was to take place in respect of *Otoo*, I could not discover; for as often as the question was put, so often the period when the event was to take place varied. It was likewise very remarkable, that we never saw any person of consequence or respectability about the young monarch. His nearest relations, though they paid all respect to his high office, did not appear to regard or converse with him; and those whose duty it was to attend him on his journies between Oparre and our encampment, were servants from the lowest order of the people. Amongst these was a man named *Peterrah*, who apparently was a very shrewd, sensible fellow, on whose shoulders the young king never rode, but who, on all occasions acted as messenger, and bore no higher office than that of a butler, or upper servant. I had originally taken this man for a priest and sort of preceptor; but, on repeated enquiries, they always pointed to my steward as bearing the same office with that of *Peterrah*.

Much encomium, and with great justice, has been bestowed on the beauty of the female inhabitants of this country. I cannot avoid acknowledging how great was the disappointment I experienced, in consequence of the early impression I had received of their superior personal endowments. The natives themselves freely admit the alteration, which in a few years has taken place, and seem to attribute much of the cause to the lamentable diseases introduced by European visitors, to which many of their finest women, at an early period of life, have fallen sacrifices. Beauty in this country, especially amongst the women, is a flower that quickly blossoms, and as quickly fades: like the personal accomplishments of the Creoles of America, theirs soon arrive at maturity, remain but a short time stationary, and as rapidly decay. The extreme deficiency of female beauty on these islands makes it singularly remarkable, that so large a proportion of the crew belonging to the Bounty, should have become so infatuated as to sacrifice their country, their honour, and their lives, to any female attachments at Otaheite. The objects of their particular regard, by whom they have children, we frequently saw. Whatever superiority they may be intitled to from their mental accomplishments, we had no opportunity of ascertaining; but with respect to their personal attractions, they were certainly not such as we should have imagined could possibly have tempted Englishmen to so unpardonable a breach of their duty; nor were any of the women they selected, persons of the least power or consequence in the island.

The European animals and plants deposited here by Captain Cook, and other navigators, with the hope of their future increase, I have already had occasion to regret, had been almost intirely destroyed in the late conflicts of the contending parties. My concern at this circumstance was greatly augmented, not only by my having little in my power with which I could replace them, but in the confidence of their now succeeding could I have furnished a supply; as the recent alteration which has taken place in the government, afforded reasonable grounds to believe that, whatever I might have bestowed on the present occasion, would have been carefully protected. To the race of animals, I could add but two Cape geese and a gander. We planted some vine cuttings that had flourished extremely well on board; with some orange and lemon trees; and an assortment of garden seeds; but as nature has been so very bountiful in the variety of vegetables she has bestowed on this country, the natives seem to possess little desire for any addition; and, if a judgment is to be formed, by the deplorable state in which we found the several spots where foreign plants and seeds had been deposited, we had little reason to be sanguine in the success of our gardening. Nor do I believe such attempts will ever succeed until some

Europeans shall remain on the island, and, by the force of their example, excite in the inhabitants a desire of cultivating the soil by their manual labour, to which at present they are almost strangers.

The *ava*, and the cloth plant in a small proportion, are the only vegetables which the Otaheiteans take the least trouble to cultivate. Some few indifferent shaddocks, a little tolerably good maize, a few pods of the capsicon, and some very coarse radishes, were the only productions I saw from the various and numerous vegetable exotics, that, from time to time, have been introduced into this island.

The milk of goats not having been appropriated to any use, and the animal not being sufficiently fat for the taste of these people, they have fallen into disrepute, and become scarce. I collected, however, a sufficient number to establish a breed of those animals on the Sandwich islands, in case I should there find them acceptable to the inhabitants.

The few astronomical and nautical observations, here made, tending only to our own useful and necessary purposes, will conclude our transactions at Otaheite, and are as under, viz.

Eighteen sets of meridian observations of the zenith distances of the sun and stars, gave the latitude of the observatory by their mean result	17	°	30	'	20	"
Its longitude, by the chronometer, allowing the Dusky bay rate, to the 19th of January at noon	209		58			
Its longitude to the same time, allowing the Portsmouth rate	211		18			
Its longitude by eighteen sets of distances, by my sextants, of ☉ a ☽, east of her	210		31		53	
Its true longitude, as determined by Captain Cook	210		24		15	

By our observations made at the observatory the first day, viz. the 7th of January, on allowing the Dusky bay rate, the chronometer gave the longitude 209° 55' 45", from which day to the 19th instant inclusive, being twelve days observations of equal altitudes, it was found gaining at the rate of 4" 2''' per day, and fast of mean time at Greenwich, on the 20th at noon, 31' 42" 46'''. Allowing the chronometer this error, and the above rate of going since we discovered the island of Oparre, the difference of the longitude between it and point Venus, will by such means be 5° 14' 45" west, and consequently

its longitude, by that mode of calculating, would be $215^{\circ} 39'$; my observations however place it in $215^{\circ} 58' 20''$; the mean between the two $215^{\circ} 48' 40''$, I should suppose can be liable to little, if any error; and as such I shall adopt it for the true longitude of that island. This is further authorised on finding, that by nearly the same number of observations, made with the same instruments at point Venus, and the sun on the same side the moon as when the observations were taken off Oparre, I placed that point $7' 38''$ to the eastward of the truth.

Mr. Arnold's chronometer on board the Chatham, when taken to the observatory, was found to be fast of mean time at Greenwich on the 20th of January at noon $2^{\circ} 10' 25'' 46'''$, and to be gaining at the rate of $19'' 51''' 24''''$ per day.

The variation of the magnetic needle, with all our cards, and compasses, in fifteen sets of azimuths, varied from $7^{\circ} 30'$ to $5^{\circ} 30'$ east variation, giving their mean result $6^{\circ} 12'$, and the vertical inclination as under:

Marked end,	North,	face	East,	$30^{\circ} 15'$
Ditto	ditto		West,	31 13
Ditto	South,	face	East,	30 43
Ditto	ditto		West,	30 47
The mean vertical inclination of the south point of the dipping needle				30 53

[8] Produced from the stock originally established by Captain Cook.

[9] Or girdle of royalty.

BOOK THE SECOND.

VISIT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS; PROCEED TO SURVEY THE
COAST OF NEW ALBION; PASS THROUGH AN INLAND
NAVIGATION; TRANSACTIONS AT NOOTKA; ARRIVE AT PORT
ST. FRANCISCO.

CHAPTER I.

*Passage to the Sandwich Islands—Arrive off Owwhyhee—
Visit from Tianna and other Chiefs—Leave Towereroo
at Owwhyhee—Proceed to Leeward—Anchor in
Whyteete Bay Waohoo—Arrival at Attowai.*

Our friends having quitted us soon after noon on Tuesday the 24th, we directed our course to the northward, and notwithstanding we had now been nearly ten months absent from England, it was not until the present moment that our voyage could be considered as commenced; having now for the first time pointed our vessels' heads towards the grand object of the expedition. I cannot help mentioning that I felt, on this occasion, very considerable regret for the little progress we had hitherto made. It was now within a few days of the time I had calculated, agreeably to the arrangements in England, that we should be quitting the Sandwich islands which were yet at the remote distance of nearly eight hundred leagues. One satisfactory reflection however was, that we had not been retarded by any mispent time, or inexcusable delays; and that although a month had been devoted to the examination of the south-west part of New Holland, that period was, without doubt, not unprofitably employed. Adverse winds, and the indifferent sailing of the vessels had principally operated to prevent our being further advanced.

A light eastwardly breeze brought us in the afternoon within sight of Titeroa, and at sun-set that island bore by compass from N. by W. to N. by E.; Otaheite S. E. to S.; and Morea S. S. W. to S. W. Our progress was so slow that, at noon on Wednesday the 25th, we observed in latitude $17^{\circ} 1'$, Morea bearing by compass from S. 24 W. to S. 8 W.; Otaheite from S. 11 E. to S. 41 E. and Titeroa from N. 85 E. to N. 45 E. about three or four miles distant. Some of the inhabitants visited us from this island, and brought a few fowls, fish, and cocoa-nuts to barter. The weather falling calm, and the ship drifting fast in with the land, we were employed until sun-set in towing her from it. At this time a light breeze springing up from the south the boats

were taken on board, and all sail made to the northward; but so tardily did we proceed that, on Friday the 27th, in the morning, Otaheite and Morea were still in sight a-stern. We continued moving at this gentle rate until Wednesday the 1st of February, at which time we had reached only the latitude of $13^{\circ} 54'$, longitude $209^{\circ} 53'$.

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The wind had been variable, though chiefly from the eastern quarter, with tolerably fair weather. From this period our progress was somewhat accelerated. We were daily visited by numerous birds, which inhabit the low half drowned islands of this ocean, varying in their kinds as well as numbers, until Wednesday the 8th, when, in latitude $4^{\circ} 36'$, and longitude $209^{\circ} 15'$, they appeared to have intirely deserted us. During this last week the weather had been clear, though very sultry, with a moderate breeze between the E. N. E. and N. N. E. The dead reckoning had hitherto varied about half a degree only to the westward of the chronometer; but as we now advanced, we found a very strong westwardly current, which affected us so much, that when we reached the equator, which was about noon on Sunday the 12th, our longitude by account was $210^{\circ} 35'$, although by the chronometer we were then in $207^{\circ} 38'$ only. This afternoon, Wednesday the 15th, a few birds were again seen about the ship; the winds and weather continued nearly the same, attended with a heavy northwardly swell, which continued to be very unpleasant, and generally from the N. E. After crossing the line, the current seemed to set to the north-westward, until in latitude $4^{\circ} 54'$ north,^[10] longitude by the chronometer $204^{\circ} 4'$, by the dead reckoning, $209^{\circ} 22'$, which proved, that since we had entered the northern hemisphere, we had been set, in the course of three days, $81'$ to the westward, and $50'$ to the north. From this point the current ceased to set to the westward, but continued its northern direction, inclining a little to the east, at the rate of four to five leagues per day. Several birds, which had been our constant attendants since the 12th, became very scarce after this evening. The trade wind between N. E. and E. N. E. blew a fresh gale. The weather in general was cloudy, with squalls, accompanied with a very heavy sea from the eastward.

The sky, on the morning of Thursday the 16th, being tolerably clear, I was enabled to obtain six sets of distances of ☾ a ☼, the mean result of which gave the longitude $204^{\circ} 5' 53''$, the chronometer shewed $204^{\circ} 6' 15''$; latitude $6^{\circ} 14'$. Very few birds were now to be seen; but in the morning one or two turtles were observed. The wind prevailing to the northward of N. E., rendered our reaching the Sandwich islands, without being first led a considerable distance beyond them, a very doubtful circumstance. This induced me to take advantage of the current, which still continued to set to

the northward; and by standing to the eastward or northward as the wind veered, on Thursday the 23d we reached the latitude of $12^{\circ} 18'$, the longitude by the chronometer $203^{\circ} 16'$, and by the dead reckoning $207^{\circ} 42'$. The wind now blew a moderate breeze mostly from the eastward; which permitted us to make a course a little to the eastward of north.

On Sunday the 26th, the mean result of six sets of distances \odot a \odot gave the longitude at noon $203^{\circ} 48'$, the chronometer $203^{\circ} 40'$, by the dead reckoning $208^{\circ} 23'$, the latitude $15^{\circ} 25'$.

The wind, which was light, continued between the east and N. E. attended with a hollow rolling swell from the N. W. On Wednesday the 29th, in latitude $17^{\circ} 22'$, longitude $203^{\circ} 30'$, after a few hours calm, towards sunset a breeze sprang up from the N. W. We now stood to the N. N. E.; which course, by day-light on Thursday the 1st of March, brought us in sight of Owhyhee, bearing by compass from north to N. March 1792
by E. about twenty-four leagues distant.

The order for prohibiting general trade with the Indians was again read to the ship's company. A particular attention to such regulations with persons circumstanced as we were, was not only of material importance, but was absolutely indispensable.

As the day advanced, which was delightfully pleasant, the wind gradually veered round to the north-eastward, which enabled us shortly after noon to steer for the south point of Owhyhee, then bearing by compass N. 8 W. 14 leagues distant. Our latitude was now $18^{\circ} 9'$, longitude per dead reckoning $209^{\circ} 33'$; by the chronometer $204^{\circ} 19'$, which latter is to be received as the true longitude, notwithstanding the difference of $5^{\circ} 14'$; for so much had we been affected by western or lee currents, in performing this very long and tedious passage. About midnight, we passed to the westward of the south point of Owhyhee; and in the hope of procuring some provisions and refreshments, as we sailed past the west coast of this island we kept close in shore.

In the morning of Friday the 2d, with a light breeze from the land, at the distance of about three miles, we stood along shore to the northward. Several canoes came off with a supply of pigs, and vegetables; amongst the latter were some very excellent water melons; the natives, however, demanded a very exorbitant return for these refreshments, and seemed very indifferent about trading, or having any other communication with us. At noon on Saturday the 3d, with very pleasant weather and light breezes, generally from off the land, Karakakooa bore north about five miles distant;

and we had now the satisfaction of finding our chronometer, allowing the Otaheitean rate, to agree within a few seconds of its longitude as settled by Captain Cook. The Portsmouth rate made it $1^{\circ} 18'$ to the eastward. On board the Chatham, Mr. Arnold's chronometer erred $24'$ to the westward, according to its rate of going as settled at Otaheite.

The steep precipice which forms the north side of Karakakooa bay, renders it too remarkable to be easily mistaken, especially as the interior country rises thence more abruptly than from the coast to the north or south of the bay; which, although presenting both woodland and cultivated country above the barren rocky shores where the habitations of the natives are chiefly situated, is, nevertheless, in a great degree destitute of that diversity of prospect which might have been expected here, and which is also the general character of all this side of the island.

Several canoes having stood to sea after us in the morning, we now brought to, for the purpose of trading with them; and were soon honoured with a visit from *Tianna*, the person mentioned in Mr. Meares's voyage. He was received in a manner agreeable to the distinguished character he had been represented to support, and which, from his grateful inquiries after his patron, he appeared to deserve. This complimentary conversation he seemed desirous of speedily putting an end to, being very anxious to acquaint us that, since his return from China, he had resided on this island, where many severe conflicts had taken place; in which he had taken part with *Tamaahmaah*, against *Teamawheere*, who, it seemed, had, since the death of *Terreeoboo*, shared the government with *Tamaahmaah*. In one of these battles *Tianna* having shot *Teamawheere*, a complete victory was gained, and these two chiefs agreed to divide the island between them. *Tamaahmaah* becoming the sovereign over the three northern, and *Tianna* of the three southern districts.

Understanding that I purposed going directly to the Leeward islands, *Tianna* requested he might be permitted to accompany us, and, with his wives and retinue, to sleep on board; with which request I thought proper to comply. From the character given of this chief,^[11] I was not a little surprized to find him totally ignorant of our language, and unable to pronounce a single word articulately: but by our knowledge of his speech we soon understood, that, since the preceding autumn, not any vessel had arrived; that about that time three or four American brigs, and one, in which was Mr. Colnett, belonging to Macao, had visited the islands; and, that it was not possible for any vessels to touch at the other islands, without himself and the people of Owhyhee being informed of their arrival. This intelligence made

me despair of meeting the store-ship, and the hope which I had so long indulged, as a compensation for the tardy progress which circumstances had hitherto compelled us to make, now seemed intirely to vanish.

Tianna viewed every transaction on board with attentive admiration, whilst our numbers seemed to create in his mind a degree of surprize he was unable to subdue. In the course of the evening he held frequent conversations with *Towereroo*, and during the night he was several times on deck, endeavouring to ascertain the number of men on duty in the different parts of the ship.

The retinue of *Tianna* on this occasion was to consist of a considerable number; part were to attend him on board the *Discovery*, and the remainder was to proceed in the *Chatham*. His residence was a little to the north of *Karakakooa*; and as it was proposed his suite should be taken on board the next afternoon, we kept off that station. A messenger, apparently of some consequence, was dispatched to the shore with directions for this purpose the preceding evening; in the forenoon of Sunday the 4th, however, several consultations took place with those about him, which finally ended in his declining to accompany us to *Attowai*. The conversation he had held with *Towereroo* had induced him to believe that the services of this lad might be of great importance to him; and as he promised *Towereroo* a very handsome establishment of house, land, and other advantages, I thought it adviseable to fix him with *Tianna* for the present, that, on my return in the winter, I might be enabled to form some judgment of his treatment. *Morotoi*, the native island of *Towereroo*, was in a state of great confusion, in consequence of its being the general rendezvous of *Titeere* and *Taio*, the sovereigns of *Woahoo* and *Attowai*, who were then meditating a war against this island. This was an additional reason for consenting to the arrangement. *Towereroo*, though exceedingly anxious to accept *Tianna's* offer, seemed to entertain great doubts as to the future safety of himself and his property; to the last moment he had his choice of remaining on board, or departing with *Tianna*; and, notwithstanding he did not hesitate to prefer the latter, yet he earnestly requested the few clothes he had left, and the articles I had given him, since our leaving *Otaheite*, might be taken care of on board, until our return; and he would take with him a very small assortment of the different articles of traffic only, to supply his present necessities.

As *Tianna* had several goats, I did not present him with any of these animals, but made him very happy by giving him some vine and orange plants, some almonds, and an assortment of garden seeds, to all of which he promised the most particular care and attention. After receiving some

acceptable valuables in return for ten small hogs, he took his leave of us with *Towereroo* about five in the afternoon; and though he affected to be pretty well satisfied with his reception, and flattered with being saluted with four guns on his departure, yet it was very evident he was extremely disappointed and chagrined in not having been able to procure any fire-arms or ammunition; which were anxiously solicited, not only by himself but by all his countrymen, and by us as uniformly refused.

To the care of *Towereroo* I intrusted a letter, addressed to the officer commanding the vessel charged with stores and provisions for our service, acquainting him with our departure from Owhyhee, and of my intention to call at the Leeward islands to recruit our water, after which, we should proceed immediately to the coast of America: and I directed him to follow us thither without loss of time, agreeably to the arrangements I had previously made with the Secretary of State's office.

As we stood along shore with a light breeze, we were in the evening greatly surprized on being hailed from a large canoe, which was meeting us, in broken English, demanding who we were, and to what country we belonged, and very civilly requesting to be admitted on board. This being granted, the speaker proved to be a young man named *Terehooa*, a native of Attowai, who had accompanied a Mr. John Ingram commanding an American ship laden with furs, from North-West America, bound to Boston in New England by the way of China. *Terehooa* had been with Mr. Ingram in North America about seven months, and had returned in a brig with him some months before.

His present master, he informed me, was a chief named *Kahowmotoo*, of great importance, and nearly equal in consequence with *Tianna*; and who like him had been very instrumental in gaining for *Tamaahmaah* the sovereignty of the whole island. We were instantly made known to this chief, who presented me with a letter written in Spanish, dated "Sloop Princess Royal, March 28, 1791," (probably the same vessel that was captured at Nootka) attended by an English translation of the same date, and both signed "Emanuel Kimper;" recommending in the strongest terms *Tamaahmaah*, *Tianna*, and this chief *Kahowmotoo*, for their having, on all occasions, shewn Mr. Kimper and his people every mark of friendly attention and hospitality. *Kahowmotoo* presented me with three fine hogs, for which in return he received ample compensation; but, like *Tianna*, was much mortified that it had not been made in arms or ammunition. He requested to sleep on board, and that his canoe might be taken in tow, in both of which he was indulged. Much conversation took place in the

evening. He confirmed the account given by *Tianna* of the non-arrival of any vessels for some months past, and the wars which had taken place; but it was excessively difficult to reconcile the story he told of *Tianna*, with that which *Tianna* had related of himself. *Tianna's* achievements he readily admitted, and candidly allowed him great merit for his military exploits; but denied his having equal power with *Tamaahmaah*; saying, there was but one *aree de hoi* over all Owhyhee, and he was *Tamaahmaah*; and that if *Tianna* was an *aree de hoi*, so also must he be, and other chiefs of equal consequence with *Tianna* and himself.

This instance will serve to illustrate how very difficult it is, according to our comprehension of their language, to obtain matter of fact from these people; and that nothing short of indefatigable labour can obtain the truth, and correct information, from man in so early a state of civilization.

The next morning we were abreast of the south point of Toca-yah-ha bay, near which is *Kahowmotoo's* residence. It was a great pleasure to observe the avidity with which all the chiefs who had visited the ship sought after the vegetable productions we had brought; which, if attended to, will in future add to their present abundant production. *Kahowmotoo* was very anxious to obtain every acquisition of this sort, and was made very happy by receiving some fine orange plants, and a packet of different garden seeds; and likewise a goat and kid. With these valuables he appeared to be highly delighted, and promised to give them his greatest care and attention.

Terehooa, who preferred the name of Jack, had been with Mr. Ingram in the capacity of a servant; but was now promoted to the office of interpreter in the service of this chief, which he by no means badly executed. Jack was extremely solicitous to remain on board, and to accompany us on our voyage. As he appeared to be a very shrewd active fellow, and there was a probability of his being made useful, I accepted of his services on Monday the 5th, to which the chief consented, though with a mixture of regret, and a friendly regard for Jack's future advantage and success. After being saluted with four guns, a compliment which *Tianna* had received, and taking a very affectionate leave of his interpreter, *Kahowmotoo* departed with the most friendly assurance, that whenever we should think proper to visit his district, we should be abundantly supplied with refreshments.

A light breeze, chiefly from the south, advanced us slowly towards the north point of Owhyhee, until the trade wind at E. N. E. no longer intercepted by the high mountains which compose the island, met us; when we directed our course towards Woahoo. Early in the morning of Tuesday the 6th, being well in with the island of Tahoorowa, the Chatham's signal

was made to denote our situation in bearing up along the south side of that island; but as neither this nor some previous signals had been acknowledged, I concluded the Chatham had remained becalmed under the high land of Owhyhee; whilst we had benefited by a very fine gale, owing to our being a little further advanced; and Woahoo being our next appointed rendezvous, a long separation could not be apprehended. The trade wind blew strong from the N. E. until we were under the lee of Ranai, when light and variable winds succeeded. At noon Tahoorowa by compass bore S. 88 E.; the S. W. part of Mowee N. 79 E.; the east part of Ranai N. 60 E.; south point N. 20 E.; north-west point N. 18 W.; and the western part of Morotoi indistinctly seen, bore N. N. W. In this situation the latitude was observed to be $20^{\circ} 41'$, longitude by the chronometer $203^{\circ} 2'$. The south point of Ranai being the nearest land, was about four miles distant, and was placed by our observations $1'$ south, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ to the west of the situation assigned to it by Captain King. In the afternoon some few of the natives visited us from Ranai, merely, I believe, to satisfy their curiosity, as they brought with them scarcely any thing for barter. Indeed, the dreary and desolate appearance of their island, seemed a sufficient apology for their coming empty handed. The apparent sterility of the country, and a few scattered miserable habitations which we were able with our glasses to discern, indicated the part of it now presented to our view to be very thinly inhabited, and incapable of affording any of its productions to strangers. During the afternoon we proceeded to the north along the west side of Ranai; and, towards sun-set again met the trade wind, which about midnight brought us in light of Woahoo, bearing by compass west six or seven miles distant. We plied until day-light of Wednesday the 7th, when we directed our course along the south side of that island, whose eastern shores bear a similar desolate appearance to those of Ranai, and are principally composed of barren rocks and high precipices, which fall perpendicularly into the sea. We did not pass at a greater distance than a league, yet verdure or cultivation was not any where to be seen. From its east point the north-east side of Woahoo takes a direction N. 35 W. off which are scattered some detached islets and rocks; the northernmost of these which we saw, is a low flat rock, lying from the east point N. 22 W. three or four leagues distant; and near the shore was a hill whose summit bears the appearance of a volcanic crater. The land to the north of the east point seemed much indented, but whether capable of affording any shelter or not, we were too far off to discern. On the south-east part of this island are two remarkable promontories, which lie from each other S. 81 W. and N. 81 E. about seven miles asunder; the first or easternmost of these is formed of barren rocky cliffs, rising so suddenly from the sea, that to all appearance vessels might brush their sides in passing

them; whence the land falls a little back, and forms a shallow bay in a northern direction, where the different colours in the water indicated a rocky bottom; on the beach the surf broke very violently, behind which a lagoon extended some distance to the northward. Should the bottom be found good, vessels might ride in this bay tolerably well protected against the general trade wind; but as our place of rendezvous was round the second promontory, we did not examine it in a more particular manner. Continuing our course about nine we hauled round the reef which lies about a quarter of a mile from that point, and had soundings from 22 to 10 fathoms; in which latter depth of water we anchored about ten o'clock, the bottom sand and pieces of small coral. This promontory, which is the south point of the island, has also on its top the appearance of a crater, formed by volcanic eruptions; this bore by compass N. 82 E.; the outward part of the reef S. 81 E.; the westernmost part of the land in sight N. 82 W. a break in the reef, which extends at irregular distances along the shore, N. 20 W.; a low sandy point, near the west end of a large Indian village N. 7 W.; and the middle of the village (where, the natives informed us, we might land in perfect safety with our boats) N. N. E. about two miles distant. We examined a considerable space around the ship, and found in shore the same description of bottom, though the coral which principally composed it was of so soft a nature, as to cause little apprehension for the safety of our cables. The depth of water within us gradually decreased to six fathoms, and without, to the distance of nearly a mile, as gradually increased to 25 and 30 fathoms, where the bottom was found to be a fine grey sand.

As our quarter-deck required caulking, the carpenters were immediately employed on this business. Some few of the natives visited us from the shore, who brought in their canoes a very sparing supply of refreshments, amongst which, the musk and water melons made no inconsiderable part, and were very excellent of their kinds. The situation occupied by us in this bay, which the natives call Whyteete, seemed nearly as eligible as most of the anchoring places these islands are generally found to afford. The inhabitants were excessively orderly and docile, although there was not a chief or any person of distinction amongst them to enforce their good behaviour; neither man nor woman attempted to come on board, without first obtaining permission; and when this was refused, they remained perfectly quiet in their canoes alongside.

The information obtained at Owhyhee, that *Titeere* and *Taio*, with most of the principal chiefs and warriors of this island, and those to leeward, were on a hostile expedition at Morotoi and Mowee, was here confirmed; but differed as to the immediate cause of their absence, which was now

represented to be for the purpose of repelling an invasion likely to take place from Owwhyhee, by *Tamaahmaah*, *Kahowmotoo*, and *Tianna*. This, in a great measure, seemed to account for the small number of inhabitants who visited us, the wretched condition of their canoes, and the scanty supply of their country's produce which they brought to market. On the shores, the villages appeared numerous, large, and in good repair; and the surrounding country pleasingly interspersed with deep, though not extensive valleys; which, with the plains near the sea side, presented a high degree of cultivation and fertility. The apparent docility of these people, who have been represented by former victors as the most daring and unmanageable of any who belong to the Sandwich islands, might probably, be attributed in a great measure to the absence of their fighting men, and to our manifest superiority in numbers, regularity in point of order, and military government; which seemed to make a wonderful impression on all who were permitted to come on board, and who, to a man, appeared very much afraid of fire-arms. This was evinced, on our mounting guard to post the centinels round the ship. On this occasion they all hastily paddled towards the shore, and it was not without much persuasion that they were induced to return.

It appeared very singular, that the war of which we had heard so much, was not yet begun; and *Kahowmotoo*, who had frequently mentioned the subject, said they were not to begin the combat until after the expiration of fifteen months. If this information be correct, designs so long premeditated, or preparations delayed so long from being carried into execution, were hard to account for. *Taio* and *Titeere* had now been several months from their respective governments.

Our new ship-mate Jack became very useful; he took upon him to represent us in the most formidable point of view to all his countrymen; magnifying our powers, and augmenting our numbers, and proclaiming that we were not traders, such as they had been accustomed to see; but that we were belonging to King George, and were all mighty warriors. This being his constant discourse, it is not to be wondered that his countrymen became much intimidated; and as this could be productive of no ill consequences, we permitted Jack to proceed in his encomiums, and unanimously agreed it would not be his fault if we were not in high repute amongst the islanders.

After caulking the decks I purposed to execute such trivial repairs, at this place, as might be found necessary to the rigging, &c. &c. provided that water, for which I was alone solicitous, could be procured; as the abundant and excellent refreshments we had obtained at Otaheite, and the high state of

health which we had enjoyed since our leaving Dusky bay, rendered supplies of any other nature a secondary consideration.

For this purpose, attended by two armed boats, and a guard of seven marines, I landed, accompanied by Mr. Mudge, Mr. Whidbey, and Mr. Menzies. Our boats remained perfectly quiet on the beach, having passed to the shore between some rocks, which completely protected it from the surf. The natives, who were present, received us in a very orderly manner. Two bustling men with large sticks, kept the few spectators at a respectful distance; to these I made some presents; and, on inquiring for water, they directed us to some stagnant brackish ponds near the beach. This being rejected, we were given to understand that good water was to be had in abundance at some distance, to which they readily undertook to conduit us: and as they all appeared friendly and pacific, the boats were left in charge of Mr. Swaine and Mr. Manby; and we proceeded, with our guard, in search of the promised supply. Our guides led us to the northward through the village, to an exceedingly well-made causeway, about twelve feet broad, with a ditch on each side.

This opened to our view a spacious plain, which, in the immediate vicinity of the village, had the appearance of the open common fields in England; but, on advancing, the major part appeared divided into fields of irregular shape and figure, which were separated from each other by low stone walls, and were in a very high state of cultivation. These several portions of land were planted with the eddo or *taro* root, in different stages of inundation; none being perfectly dry, and some from three to six or seven inches under water. The causeway led us near a mile from the beach, at the end of which was the water we were in quest of. It was a rivulet five or six feet wide, and about two or three feet deep, well banked up, and nearly motionless; some small rills only, finding a passage through the dams that checked the sluggish stream, by which a constant supply was afforded to the *taro* plantations. The water was excellent, but the road was too rough and hard for rolling our casks such a distance, without exposing them to great damage. This induced me to make our guides understand, that, if the inhabitants would collect, and carry this water on board in gourds, they should be well rewarded for their trouble. The offer was instantly communicated to their neighbours about us, who immediately replied, we should have an ample supply the next day. At the termination of the causeway, the paths of communication with the different fields or plantations were on these narrow stone walls; very rugged, and where one person only could pass at a time. The gentleness and civility of the natives tempted us to extend our walk through the plantations, which we found very

pleasant. A fine refreshing breeze prevailed, and the Indians kept at a sufficient distance to prevent their company being incommodious. In this excursion we found the land in a high state of cultivation, mostly under immediate crops of *taro*; and abounding with a variety of wild fowl, chiefly of the duck kind, some of which our sportsmen shot, and they were very fine eating. The sides of the hills, which were at some distance, seemed rocky and barren; the intermediate vallies, which were all inhabited, produced some large trees, and made a pleasing appearance. The plains, however, if we may judge from the labour bestowed on their cultivation, seem to afford the principal proportion of the different vegetable productions on which the inhabitants depend for their subsistence. The soil, though tolerably rich, and producing rather a luxuriant abundance, differs very materially from that of Matavai, or the other parts of Otaheite. At Woahoo, Nature seems only to have acted a common part in her dispensations of vegetable food for the service of man; and to have almost confined them to the *taro* plant, the raising of which is attended with much care, ingenuity, and manual labour. In the several parts of its culture, the inhabitants, whether planting, weeding, or gathering, must, during the whole of these operations, be up to their middle in mud, and exposed to the rays of a vertical sun: whereas, on the plains of Otaheite, the surface teems, as it were, spontaneously with the most abundant produce of esculent vegetables, without the help of industry to sow, plant, or rear them, or the assistance of the aqueducts which these people construct with great labour and ingenuity to insure them a crop. There, the continued groves of the lofty and umbrageous bread fruit, apple, palm, and other trees, afford a delightful cool retreat to those favored islanders; here the inhabitants know not the luxury of such retirement. Nor did it appear in the vegetable kingdom alone that Nature here had been less favorable; the human species, though without doubt originally of the same nation, differ excessively; and it would seem that the comparative benevolence of the Otaheiteans and these people was about equal to the natural fertility of the soil on which they respectively lived. It may however appear rather uncharitable to form any decided opinion on so short an acquaintance; yet first impressions will ever have their influence on visiting different countries under circumstances similar, or nearly so. On such occasions it is scarcely possible to avoid comparisons, in which one must necessarily suffer. On our landing at Otaheite, the effusions of friendship and hospitality were evident in the countenances of every one we met. Each endeavoured to anticipate our wants or our wishes by the most fascinating attention, and by sedulously striving to be first in performing any little service we required; inviting us to take refreshments at every house we approached, and manifesting a degree of kindness that would justly be

extolled amongst the most polished nations. At Woahoo we were regarded with an unwelcome austerity, and our wants treated by the generality with a negligent indifference. In the course of our walk they exhibited no assiduity to please, nor did they appear apprehensive lest offence should be given; no refreshments were offered, nor had we invitation to any of their houses. Their general behaviour was distantly civil, apparently directed by a desire to establish a peaceable intercourse with strangers, from whom there was a prospect of deriving many valuable acquisitions, which would be unattainable by any other mode of conduct as they must have been convinced immediately on our landing, that we were too powerful to be conquered, and too much upon our guard to suffer the least indignity by surprize. I must, however, do justice to the hospitality of our two guides, who on our reaching the shore took upon them the office of constables; and who had also each caused a hog and a quantity of vegetables to be prepared for our entertainment. On our return this repast was ready, and we were much intreated by them to partake of it; but as it was now past sun-set, we were under the necessity of declining their civility; on which they very obligingly put our intended supper into the boats. I presented each of our guides with an acceptable acknowledgment, and earnestly renewing my request of a supply from the brook, which they promised should be complied with the next day, we returned on board.

Towards midnight the Chatham arrived, and anchored a little to the westward of the Discovery. I soon learned from Mr. Broughton that as I had suspected, his vessel had been becalmed the evening we parted until near one the next morning, when they stood towards Mowee; but on his not being able to see the Discovery at day-light, he steered to the north-west along the southern side of that island, and found an eligible anchoring place off its western part, with soundings regular and good; and as the natives brought off a considerable quantity of water, he had great reason to believe that article could there be readily procured.

The few natives in our immediate neighbourhood, though they conducted themselves in a very civil and submissive manner, yet brought us so little water in the course of the next day, Tuesday the 8th, that I was induced to give up the idea of obtaining a supply by their means, and to proceed immediately to Attowai; where I was assured we should have that necessary article completely within our own reach and power. After employing the forenoon in setting up our rigging, and in other useful occupations, we weighed anchor, and steered to the westward.

Anxious to communicate the intelligence of our progress to the officer commanding the store-ship, (this being one of the appointed rendezvous) I entrusted a letter to one of the natives, a very active sensible fellow, who promised to take great care of it, and to deliver it on the vessel's arrival, in this bay; and for the faithful discharge of this trust, he was assured of receiving a very handsome present, to which I promised him an addition on my return.

Whyteete bay is formed, by the land falling a little back round the south point of Woahoo; and although open above half the compass in the southern quarters, it is unquestionably the most eligible anchoring place in the island. We found the latitude of the ship's station by four good meridional altitudes to be $21^{\circ} 16' 47''$; its longitude by the chronometer $202^{\circ} 9' 37''$; and the variation of the compass to be $7^{\circ} 50'$ eastwardly. Mr. Arnold's chronometer on board the Chatham gave the longitude $201^{\circ} 45' 30''$, allowing the rate as settled at Otaheite; our chronometer by the Portsmouth rate, shewed the longitude to be $203^{\circ} 29' 50''$; but $202^{\circ} 9' 37''$ is to be received as its true longitude.

A fine breeze between five and six brought us round the south-west part of Woahoo, which lies from the south point N. 82 W. five leagues distant. This point is low flat land, with a reef round it, extending about a quarter of a mile from the shore. The reef and low land continue some distance to the eastward towards Whyteete bay, and form, between the south and south-west points, a large open shallow bay, with high land rising very irregularly at some distance from the beach; which, towards the south-west point, appeared to be broken in two places, and to form lagoons that seemed capable of receiving boats and small craft. One of the natives, who was accompanying us to Attowai, informed me, that all along the shore off these openings the bottom was rocky, and would cut our cables. This, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe, that there was not any where in this spacious bay such good anchorage as at our last station.

At eight in the evening, the west point of Woahoo bore N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. three leagues distant. The Chatham being under the land becalmed, we soon lost sight of her. We continued our course under all sail, and to our great surprize came within sight of Attowai, by half past four the next morning, Friday the 9th. The east end, by compass, bore N. by W. at a trifling distance, having gained almost six leagues in the night's run from land to land, more than the log ascertained; which I concluded must have been effected by a very strong north-west current.

At day-break, we bore away along the south side of Attowai for Whymea bay, where about nine o'clock we anchored, and moored a cable each way; the depth of water was 24 fathoms, with a bottom of dark grey sand and mud. The east point of the bay bearing, by compass, S. 67 E. the west point N. 70 W.; and the river N. 31 E. about two miles distant.

[10] The latitude is hereafter to be considered as north latitude until it shall be otherways indicated.

[11] Meares's Voyage.

CHAPTER II.

Transactions at Attowai—The Prince and Regent visit the Ships—Fidelity of the Natives—Observations on the Change in the several Governments of the Sandwich Islands—Commercial Pursuits of the Americans.

By the time we had anchored, several of the natives visited us in the same submissive and orderly manner as at Woahoo, and appeared better provided. Towards noon of Friday the 9th, the Chatham arrived; but the wind shifting about prevented her coming to anchor until sun-set, when she moored a little to the westward of the station we had taken.

Our boats, guard, &c. being in readiness, about one o'clock we proceeded to the shore. Mr. Menzies accompanied me in the yawl, and Mr. Puget followed with the cutter and launch. The surf was not so high as to prevent our landing with ease and safety; and we were received by the few natives present, with nearly the same sort of distant civility which we experienced at Woahoo.

A man, named *Rehooa*, immediately undertook to preserve good order, and understanding we purposed to remain some days, caused two excellent houses to be *tabooed* for our service; one for the officers, the other for the working people, and for the guard, consisting of a sergeant and six marines. Stakes were driven into the ground from the river to the houses, and thence across the beach, giving us an allotment of as much space as we could possibly have occasion for; within which few encroachments were attempted. This business was executed by two men, whose authority the people present seemed to acknowledge and respect, although they did not appear to us to be chiefs of any particular consequence. I made them some very acceptable presents; and a trade for provisions and fuel was soon established. Certain of the natives, who had permission to come within our lines, were employed in filling and rolling our water casks to and from the boats; for which service they seemed highly gratified by the reward of a few beads or small nails.

Having no reason to be apprehensive of any interruption to the harmony and good understanding that seemed to exist, and the afternoon being invitingly pleasant, with Mr. Menzies, our new ship-mate Jack, and *Rehooa*, I proceeded along the river-side and found the low country which stretches

from the foot of the mountains towards the sea, occupied principally with the *taro* plant, cultivated much in the same manner as at Woahoo; interspersed with a few sugar canes of luxuriant growth, and some sweet potatoes. The latter are planted on dry ground, the former on the borders and partitions of the *taro* grounds, which here, as well as at Woahoo, would be infinitely more commodious were they a little broader, being at present scarcely of sufficient width to walk upon. This inconvenience may possibly arise from a principle of œconomy, and the scarcity of naturally good land. The sides of the hills extending from these plantations to the commencement of the forest, a space comprehending at least one half of the island, appeared to produce nothing but a coarse spiry grass from an argillaceous soil, which had the appearance of having undergone the action of fire, and much resembled that called the red dirt in Jamaica, and there considered little better than a *caput mortuum*. Most of the cultivated lands being considerably above the level of the river, made it very difficult to account for their being so uniformly well watered. The sides of the hills afforded no running streams; and admitting there had been a collection of water on their tops, they were all so extremely perforated, that there was little chance of water finding any passage to the *taro* plantations. These perforations, which were numerous, were visible at the termination of the mountains, in perpendicular cliffs abruptly descending to the cultivated land; and had the appearance of being the effect of volcanic eruptions, though I should suppose of very ancient date. As we proceeded, our attention was arrested by an object that greatly excited our admiration, and at once put an end to all conjecture on the means to which the natives resorted for the watering of their plantations. A lofty perpendicular cliff now presented itself, which, by rising immediately from the river, would effectually have stopped our further progress into the country, had it not been for an exceedingly well constructed wall of stones and clay about twenty-four feet high, raised from the bottom by the side of the cliff, which not only served as a pass into the country, but also as an aqueduct, to convey the water brought thither by great labour from a considerable distance; the place where the river descends from the mountains affording the planters an abundant stream, for the purpose to which it is so advantageously applied. This wall, which did no less credit to the mind of the projector than to the skill of the builder, terminated the extent of our walk; from whence we returned through the plantations, whose highly improved state impressed us with a very favorable opinion of the industry and ingenuity of the inhabitants.

On our arrival at the beach, I had the comfort of finding all things in perfectly good order. As the trading and working party were extremely well

lodged, it was reasonable to believe that our business would not only be much facilitated, but that a more plentiful supply of refreshments would, probably, be procured, by allowing them to remain on shore. This induced me to leave Mr. Puget in charge of the party, and I returned on board perfectly satisfied with the safety of their situation.

Like our treatment at Woahoo, our reception here was not of that hearty, friendly nature, I had been accustomed to experience from our southern friends. The eagerness, nay even avidity, with which the men here assisted in the prostitution of the women; and the readiness of the whole sex, without any exception, to surrender their persons without the least importunity, could not fail, at the moment, to incur our censure and dislike; and, on reflection, our disgust and aversion. I have read much, and seen something in my several visits to this ocean, of the obscenity attributed to the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society islands; but no indecency that ever came under my observation, could be compared with the excessive wantonness presented in this excursion. Had this levity, now so offensively conspicuous, been exhibited in my former visits to these islands, its impressions could not have been effaced, and it must have been recollected at this time with all the abhorrence which it would at first have naturally created; but as no remembrance of such behaviour occurred, I was induced to consider this licentiousness as a perfectly new acquirement, taught, perhaps, by the different civilized voluptuaries, who, for some years past, have been their constant visitors.

At Woahoo, and also on our arrival here, we were given to understand that there were Englishmen resident on this island.

One of them, a young man about seventeen years of age, whose name was Rowbottom, on Saturday the 10th came on board in a large double canoe, who said he was of Derbyshire, that he had sailed from England about five years since in an Indiaman to China, which ship he had quitted in order to engage with some of the vessels in the fur trade between North-West America and China; and that he had ever since been thus employed in the American service. He informed me, that himself, John Williams a Welchman, and James Coleman an Irishman, had been left at Oneway, in order that they might return to this island for the purpose of collecting sandal-wood, and pearls, for their master John Kendrick, an American, commanding the brig Lady Washington, in whose service they still remained at the wages of eight dollars per month. The Lady Washington had quitted these islands the preceding October, bound to New England, with a cargo of furs to dispose of in her way thither at China; she was immediately to return

from Boston, and having spent the next winter in North-West America, was, in the autumn of the ensuing year, to call for these men at Attowai, and take in a cargo of sandal-wood for the Indian market, with such pearls as they might have collected.

With Rowbottom came two chiefs, the one named *No-ma-tee-he-tee*, the other *Too*; both of whom he said would be useful at Attowai and Onehow. On making these chiefs each a present, with which they were greatly pleased, they said they were directed by the king, or rather the prince *Ta-moo-eree*, (who is a boy, and the eldest son of *Taio* the sovereign of this and the neighbouring islands) to say, that *Enemoh*, the regent in *Taio*'s absence, and *Tamooere*, would be with us in a day or two; giving me to understand that *Enemoh* was the principal acting officer. A messenger was immediately dispatched to request of his highness, that, as my stay would be very short, he would do me the favor to lose no time in giving us the honour of his company; and, as a pledge of our friendly disposition, I sent him a large axe as a present.

Our young countryman laid it was highly important to have the strictest watch over the behaviour of these people; for although he conceived our force was too great for them to attempt any thing hostile with the least prospect of success, yet he could not determine how far their ambitious views might lead them, as, since their success in taking a schooner at Owhyhee, they had become so elated, that they had attempted to take a brig at Mowee.

The schooner belonged to a Mr. Metcalf, an American trader, who having been successful in the fur trade, equipped and entrusted her to the command of his son, who sailed with eight men from Macao, in order to prosecute that branch of commerce. This vessel was captured at Owhyhee; but as Rowbottom's narrative of the facts was afterwards found erroneous, the particulars of the enterprise, from better authority, will be given in a future chapter.

Nomateehetee and *Too*, with other natives present, confirmed the intelligence of this atrocious act, and, at the same time, highly reprobated the inhuman murder of the crew, who were all put to death excepting one man. *Tianna* was accused by them of having projected this wicked scheme, and of having perpetrated the horrible massacre; but they positively denied that *Taio*, who had been suspected of meditating the capture of the brig at Mowee, had any knowledge of that business; saying, that it was intirely the act of the people of Mowee. On becoming acquainted with these daring and ambitious designs, I inquired what reception *Tianna* would have experienced

had he accompanied us from Owhyhee? Every one present seemed to be astonished at his entertaining such an idea, and agreed that he would have been put to death the instant he had landed, as they all considered him as their most inveterate enemy. These reports, and the observations that were made by the natives in consequence of their being related to me, gave me great reason to apprehend that *Tianna's* intentions of accompanying us hither, which on reflection he had thought proper to decline, were not dictated by motives of the most friendly and disinterested nature.

These unwelcome tidings being concluded, Mr. Broughton attended me on shore with the two chiefs and the young Englishman, who was extremely serviceable to us as an interpreter; and pointed out to the natives our friendly intentions towards them, and the manner in which they should conduct themselves, not only to insure our good opinion, but to obtain the advantages that would eventually result to themselves from our visit. On landing, I understood from Mr. Puget that every thing was, and had been, conducted with the greatest propriety and good order by all parties. Trade for provisions, wood, &c. was going on very briskly, and our supply of water was equal to our wishes.

Matters thus pleasantly circumstanced, we embarked with Mr. Menzies and Mr. Whidbey, who had accompanied us on shore in a double canoe to examine the river, which, at the distance of about half a league from the entrance, divides into two branches, one stretching towards the E. N. E.; the other, seemingly the furthest navigable, took a northerly direction, in which however we were not able to advance more than five hundred yards beyond the wall we had visited the preceding evening. Here we landed, and considered ourselves about three miles from the sea side, to which we now returned by a path somewhat nearer the foot of the mountains than before, through a similar country; and were on this occasion, more pestered and disgusted, if possible, with the obscene importunities of the women, than on our former excursion.

Nomateehetee returned with us to dinner; *Too* remained with *Rehooa* to assist our party on shore. The next morning, Sunday the 11th, *Nomateehetee* produced a list of certificates from four different commanders of trading vessels who had lately visited these islands. The first, dated in April 1791, signed by J. Colnett of the *Argonaut*, recommended this chief to the notice of future visitors; but the others signed by J. Ingram of the *Hope*, Thomas Barnet of the *Gustavus*, and John Kendrick of the *Lady Washington*, the two former without dates, the latter dated 27th of October, 1791, all direct that the greatest circumspection should be observed in the intercourse of

strangers with these islanders, notwithstanding the good opinion entertained of their fidelity, or the recommendation given, by Mr. Colnett. I told *Nomateehetee* the paper spoke much in his praise and favor, and desired that he would not omit shewing it to the commander of the next and every other vessel that might arrive at Attowai, which he promised to do, and requested it might remain on board until our departure.

The caulkers having finished the quarter-deck of the *Discovery*, they were sent on board the *Chatham* to execute a similar service.

Another of the party left by the *Lady Washington* now made his appearance, which did not speak much in his favor. This man's name was Coleman, and Rowbottom had said he was of Ireland, which the man himself positively denied, and declared he was an American, born at New York. He had in most respects adopted the customs of the natives, particularly in dress, or rather in nakedness; for, excepting the *maro*, which he wore with much less decency than the generality of the inhabitants, he was perfectly naked, and the colour of his skin was little whiter than the fairest of these people. I asked him what he had done with his former clothes; to which he answered with a sneer, that "they were hanging up in a house for the admiration of the natives;" and seemed greatly to exult in having degenerated into a savage way of life. He acquainted me, that he was charged with a message from the prince, to ask what stay I intended to make, and to inquire if we were friendly and peaceably disposed. I desired he would inform the prince, that we should depart the instant a supply of water was obtained; that I was very desirous of having an interview both with him and *Enemoh*, but that I could not be detained for this purpose; and that, as a further pledge of the favorable disposition we bore towards him and his people, I desired he would present to the prince a piece of scarlet cloth in my name. With this embassy he immediately set off, after assuring me that the prince and regent, with many other chiefs, would pay us their respects by noon the next day.

The afternoon being delightfully pleasant, I made a small excursion to the westward along the beach; and on returning, observed the hills to the eastward of the river to be on fire from a considerable height, in particular directions, down towards the water's edge. I was by no means pleased with this appearance, well knowing that fires are generally resorted to by these and other rude nations as the signal for collecting the distant inhabitants, when an enterprise or scheme is meditated to be carried into effect.

I desired Rowbottom to attend to the conversation of the Indians who were near; but he collected nothing from them in our walk that could give

rise to suspicion. On joining the shore party, I asked *Nomatehetee* and some other chiefs, what was the cause of this extensive conflagration. Some replied, it was to announce the arrival of the prince, the regent, and other great chiefs in this neighbourhood on the morrow; whilst others contended it was for no other purpose than that of burning the weeds. This disagreement in opinion concerning the cause of so unusual an appearance, was far from being satisfactory. The surf ran very high, and other circumstances concurred to render the embarkation of our working party very inconvenient; in addition to which, I did not think it prudent to manifest our apprehensions by a sudden and hasty retreat. The party on shore amounting to twenty armed persons was tolerably strong. Mr. Puget had directions to be vigilantly on his guard; and he was informed that the two launches, armed and provided with false fires to make signals in case of alarm, would be stationed as close to the beach as the surf would permit during the night, in case he should need further assistance. Having taken these precautions I returned on board, with the hope, that in the event of any tumult little danger was to be apprehended. During the night, the chiefs who had taken up their lodgings near our party, frequently visited the beach near where our boats rode, and seemed inquisitive as to the cause of the precautions which they beheld. The night however passed without the least interruption; and in the morning the natives were again trading in their usually civil and friendly manner.

Our supply of water was completed on Monday the 12th; and the few hogs and vegetables we were able to purchase were received from the shore. As the market no longer afforded provisions, and as our business was now finished, directions were given for the embarkation of the party in the afternoon, it being my intention the next day to sail for Onehow. The surf having prodigiously increased, Mr. Puget, on these orders being delivered to him, represented to me, that he was fearful our people would not be able to reach the boats with their arms without exposing themselves to some danger. Conceiving that with the assistance of a canoe, which hitherto had been the general mode of conveyance between our boats and the shore, there would be little hazard, I desired he would use his utmost endeavours to get off; as the re-appearance of the fires on the hills, and the non-appearance of either prince or regent, indicated a possibility that the natives might have thought proper to discontinue their former services and good behaviour.

In the evening our boats returned; they had been some time detained by the absence of a man belonging to the Chatham, who had strayed from the party, and whom at length they had been obliged to leave behind. To effect the embarkation, Mr. Puget had procured a large double canoe, which

unfortunately was stove and swamped the first trip; but by the exertions of those in the boats every person had happily been saved, though amongst them were some who could not swim. By this accident two muskets, three axes, a cross cut saw, and a set of accoutrements went to the bottom, but they had recovered one of the muskets. Several articles belonging to the officers who had been on shore on duty could not be taken without imminent danger of being lost, as those on shore after the loss of the canoe had to swim to the boats through the surf. Amongst these were some arms, and a valuable double-barrelled fowling-piece, which were left in the charge of *Nomatehetee*, who *tabooed* them; and, with John Williams, (the Welchman left by the lady Washington) gave every assurance of their security; to insure which, they both proposed to sleep in the house where the valuables were deposited. Mr. Puget seemed to entertain great confidence of the safety of the articles and of their being all forthcoming; but I must own, I expected that this confidence would put their fidelity severely to the test, and might eventually be the means of preventing our interview with the prince and regent; especially as Williams had returned with an apology for their having broken their engagement, which he said had been occasioned by excessive fatigue; but that we might rely on seeing them the next morning. This unpleasant state of suspense occasioned me some anxiety; but at day-break I was agreeably relieved by receiving a message that the prince and regent were arrived at Whymea.

On Tuesday the 13th Mr. Puget was dispatched to the shore for the purpose of obtaining the things which had been left behind, and with directions to use every possible means to impress the prince and regent with our friendly disposition, and to prevail on them to visit the ships. In these respects he had the good fortune to succeed, and communicated to me the following particulars of his reception.

On landing, he was received with great marks of friendship and cordiality by *Enemoh*, who is an elderly chief; guardian to the children of *Taio*, king of the island, and regent during his absence. At some distance the young prince was seated in a man's lap, to whom Mr. Puget hastened to pay his respects, and had the satisfaction of seeing him well pleased with the presents he made him on this occasion. Having settled the business of their visiting the ships, to which *Enemoh* had contented, he was extremely anxious to become acquainted with the fate of the several articles which he had intrusted to the care of Williams and *Nomatehetee* the preceding evening. Much to their credit and honour, he not only found every thing he had consigned to their protection and integrity, but also the musket with its bayonet, and cross cut saw, which had been lost out of the canoe, but which

in the course of the night had been recovered by the natives; who promised, that the axes which were not yet obtained should likewise be restored, the instant they were recovered. The several articles being collected and sent down to the boat, with the man belonging to the Chatham who had been left on shore the preceding evening, Mr. Puget acquainted *Enemoh* that he was ready to attend them on board. *Enemoh* replied that, with respect to himself, he had not the least objection to accompany Mr. Puget with the young prince and *Tipoone*, a young chief about the prince's age, who seemed his principal companion; but that he was now prevented following his own inclinations by the chiefs who were present, and some women apparently of great consequence, who collectively demanded an hostage to be left with them on shore, whilst we on board were honoured with the company of these illustrious personages. On Mr. Puget's receiving and making known my orders, that Mr. Manby and Mr. Sheriff should remain behind in compliance with their desires, a general approbation was expressed by all present, and the regent with some attendants embarked; saying, that on his return the prince and his young friend should go on board, but that the island could not be left without either the prince or the regent.

On *Enemo's* coming on board he affected to recollect me, and said we had been acquainted when I was at Attowai with Captain Cook; and, to recall himself to my remembrance added, that he was present when I gave a lock of my hair to *Taio*, which *Taio* had ever since preserved, and always carried about him; and that he, *Enemoh*, had on that occasion requested a similar pledge of friendship, which, however, I thought proper to decline. These circumstances were very likely to have taken place, although at the moment they did not recur to my memory.

A dozen hogs, and a quantity of mats and cloth, being presented by *Enemoh*, I made no delay in offering a suitable return, with which, however, he did not seem either delighted or satisfied. This produced an inquiry on my part on which he frankly acknowledged, that the present I made him was a very liberal one, but that he would gladly give up the whole for a musket, or even for a pistol. These engines of destruction had been uniformly solicited with the greatest ardency, by every native of the least consequence with whom we had any dealings; and I had frequently been much perplexed how, without offence, to refuse complying with requests so importunate, and, at the same time, in my humble opinion, so repugnant to the cause of humanity. On this occasion I availed myself of our peculiar situation, as it had respect to the trading vessels which he had been accustomed to visit; and informed him, that the ship, and every thing she contained, belonged to his Majesty King George, who had *taboed* muskets, pistols, and various

other articles. On this gunpowder and balls were immediately solicited; but, on being told that these were under similar restrictions, he remained silent, and seemed very thoughtful. At length, conceiving no importunities would avail, he recovered himself, and became as suddenly cheerful, as on the refusal of his favorite weapons he had seemed dejected. He now shook me very heartily by the hand, and said, since arms and ammunition were *taboed*, he must acknowledge that the presents he and his friends had received were very ample, and that they had reason to be highly satisfied. *Enemoh* recommended in the strongest terms the attendance of *Nomateehetee* and *Too* on our passage to Onehow, where they would be very serviceable in procuring us the different productions, and would prevent any disorderly behaviour on the part of the inhabitants. His opinion of his own importance was greatly flattered by our saluting him with four guns on his departure; and he took leave with every appearance of being extremely gratified with his visit.

Mr. Puget, who had to execute the remaining part of his embassy, attended the venerable old chief and his suite on board the *Chatham*, where they paid their respects to Mr. Broughton; and, having received some presents from that gentleman, they proceeded to the shore. On landing, *Enemoh* exposed the several articles which had been given to him, and recounted the treatment he had received.

Although Mr. Puget was much pleased with the satisfaction and happiness which the visit had afforded all present, he was much disappointed on understanding that the embarkation of the prince and his young friend would not take place. On his searching for the cause of this sudden alteration, and pointing out to *Enemoh* the reception he had met, the presents he had received, and assuring him, that we had no wish or desire but to shew the same marks of respect and friendship to *Tamooere*, which he had given us an opportunity of paying to him (all of which were readily admitted) *Enemoh*, with some hesitation, explained; and at length the reason was discovered to have proceeded from their having observed, that the two gentlemen who had been left as hostages, were down on the beach near the boats, and they supposed were going on board without waiting the return of the prince to the shore. Mr. Puget instantly removed their apprehensions, when all objections ceased; and the prince and his young companion were now as eager to get to the boat, as they before had been willing to return on the demur of the regent; from whom Mr. Puget understood, that some hogs and vegetables were every minute expected to arrive. But not thinking it advisable to wait, lest any other objection might arise and detain the prince

on shore, he immediately put off, leaving Mr. Manby and Mr. Sheriff in their former situation as hostages.

I was much pleased with the appearance and behaviour of this young prince, who seemed to be about twelve years of age. In his countenance was exhibited much affability and cheerfulness; and, on closely observing his features, they had infinitely more the resemblance of an European than of those which generally characterize these islanders; being destitute of that natural ferocity so conspicuous in the persons about him. In these respects, and in the quickness of his comprehension and ideas, he greatly surpassed his young friend and companion *Tipoone*. At first, he was not without considerable agitation, marked as evidently by the sensibility of his countenance, as by his actions; in constantly clinging to me, and repeatedly saluting me according to their custom, by touching noses. I soon dissipated his fears by a few trifling presents, and encouraged him to visit every part of the ship. His inquiries and observations, on this occasion, were not, as might have been expected from his age, directed to trivial matters; which either escaped his notice, or were by him deemed unworthy of it; but to such circumstances alone, as would have authorized questions from persons of matured years and some experience. He conducted himself with a great degree of good breeding, and applied to Rowbottom or Williams, who were with him, to know if he might be permitted, or if it were proper, to make this, or that inquiry; and never moved forward, or sat down, without first inquiring, if, by so doing, he should incur any displeasure. It was now about our dinnertime. His young friend *Tipoone* did not fail to partake of our repast, whilst the prince seemed infinitely more entertained with the several new objects that surrounded him, and, I believe, would have returned to the shore perfectly satisfied with his visit, had I offered him nothing more. Considering, however, that some acknowledgment was due for their care and honesty in restoring not only the articles, which through, necessity had been committed to their charge, but such as were recovered from the sea; when dinner was ended I presented *Tamooere* with nearly a duplicate assortment of the valuables I had in the forenoon given to *Enemoh*, with some few other things that seemed particularly to attract his attention. Amongst these was a quantity of wine and rum, for which these islanders, like our southern friends, have acquired no inconsiderable relish. I presented likewise to his friend a collection of valuables; and gave to each of his attendants some trivial article, with which, they seemed agreeably surprized, as this compliment was expected by none of them. Our countrymen who were in the habit of living with the prince, were instructed to impress on the minds of the royal party and the inhabitants in general, that the liberality

they had experienced was wholly to be ascribed to their own civil, orderly, and honest behaviour; and, that, (in addition to what they had received) as a particular testimony of my approbation of their conduct, if they would remain on board until it was dark they should be entertained with a display of fire-works. *Tamooere*, though well satisfied that our intentions were pacific and friendly, and though perfectly reconciled to his situation on board, yet requested he might be permitted to go on shore, and, if *Enemoh* had no objection, he would return. He intreated us to remain a few days, to enable him to make us some return for our civilities, in hogs and vegetables; a supply of which he expected were already at the beach; but as we had accomplished all the business for which we had stopped at this island, and being desirous of obtaining from Onehow a stock of yams, (a vegetable that Attowai did not at that time afford) I gave the young prince to understand, that if the wind should prove favorable in the course of the night, we should, on a certainty, depart for Onehow.

After visiting the Chatham with the prince, Mr. Puget returned with his charge to the shore, where the party was received with the greatest cordiality by a large concourse of the natives, who, under the restrictions of the *taboo*, were kept in excellent order. The prince was carried on a man's shoulders and seated in the house which our officers occupied. There he was soon joined by *Enemoh*, with a large train of attendants, who unanimously expressed their satisfaction and gratitude for the treatment their young chief had experienced; of which, the valuable presents brought from the ships bore undeniable testimony.

Not seeing, nor hearing any tidings of, the promised supply of provisions, nor discovering any inclination in the royal party to return for the purpose of attending the fire-works, Mr. Puget took his leave and repaired on board. Previously to his quitting the shore, the prince found out that the exhibition could be equally well seen from the beach, and therefore requested he might be indulged.

As our young friend was anxiously waiting, with a large crowd of his countrymen, in expectation of something new, as soon as it became dark I ordered some sky and water rockets to be displayed. *Nomateehetee* and *Too*, who, with several of the natives, male and female, had begged a passage to Onehow, observed the rockets with infinite surprize and admiration, as did the concourse of people assembled on shore; which was announced to us by their repeated bursts of acclamation, distinctly heard, though at the distance of nearly two miles.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to these people, were I to neglect this opportunity of observing, that the faithful performance of their engagement with Mr. Puget, combined with those principles of honesty that directed the restoration of the articles recovered from the sea, produced in our minds opinions very contrary to those which we had, perhaps too hastily, formed of Attowai, on the report of the recent visitors to this country; and which, on the prejudice of our first impressions, were confirmed greatly to the disadvantage of the general character, to which, it now appeared, these islanders were intitled. The reports, however, ought not to be considered as having originated without cause; though, in all likelihood, transgressions may have been committed by strangers as well as by the natives, and the want of a sufficient knowledge of each other's language, may have provoked mutual aggression, which other ways would not, so repeatedly, have produced misunderstandings. That the natives had not been faithfully dealt with on all occasions, seemed evident, from the prince or regent demanding an hostage for their safe return, on their consenting to venture themselves amongst us; a circumstance that had never before occurred in any of my visits to the islands in this ocean. That they are capable of being taught by proper lessons and examples how to respect the property of others, is placed out of doubt by the exercise of those principles of rectitude that directed the honourable restoration of the musket and tools which they recovered from the sea; and this also affords reasonable grounds to believe, that, on their being convinced that irregularities and frauds are not to be committed with impunity, all the inhabitants of these islands would soon be induced to avoid disgrace and punishment, and secure the advantages resulting from the friendship of the more civilized world. We might possibly be in some measure indebted for the good behaviour of the natives, to the confidence that the chiefs had reason to suppose was placed in their integrity. This, when reposed in their chiefs or responsible persons, I have, in former instances, seen attended with the most happy effect.

The people of the several nations who have visited these islands, are well known and distinguished by the inhabitants. I was extremely well pleased to understand that the three resident men, though at present in the service of an American, had used every endeavour to impress on the minds of the natives the most favorable opinion of the English; and I was made very happy on being convinced of the strong predilection and attachment which the young prince had conceived for the subjects of Great Britain. This prepossession, if properly cherished, may eventually be highly important to the British traders; for, if conclusions may be permitted to be drawn from the general deportment and manners of his early years, the riper ones of this

young prince must be attended with a very considerable degree of consequence in this part of the world. This presumption appears the more warrantable, by the splendid achievements, and the example he will have had exhibited by his father, who has raised himself to the high station he at present fills by his perseverance and prowess in military exploits.

The predilection of the prince was not only conspicuous in the attention shewn to Rowbottom and his comrades, whose persons and property he had made sacred by their constantly residing with him, and by his making them his companions in all his diversions and amusements, but in his having assumed the title of King George; not suffering his domestics to address him by any other name, and being much displeas'd with us, as well as his countrymen, if we call'd him *Tamoore*.

Besides the different articles of traffic with which I presented this promising youth, were a male and female goat, and two geese; Mr. Broughton added a third; and we had hopes they were of different sexes. He had likewise an ewe and a ram in most excellent condition, left by Mr. Colnett; these had bred, but their progeny had been unfortunately killed by a dog. Notwithstanding this accident, there was every prospect of their future propagation and success.

From Mr. Puget I learned, that there appear'd in none of his transactions with the royal party any marks of external respect towards them, either from the subordinate chiefs, or the common people. When I was at these islands with Captain Cook, prostration was very usually observed, and seem'd then to be demand'd even by chiefs, though not of the highest rank. On this occasion, the only circumstance which proclaim'd the prince's superior rank, was a guard consisting of about thirty men, arm'd with iron pahooas, who attend'd him and the royal personages on all excursions, carrying thirteen muskets made up into three bundles, with some callibashes containing ammunition, of which it was thought expedient we should be apprized previous to their visit, lest such formidable appearances should create in us distrust or suspicion. During the time our party was employ'd on shore, an arm'd man was scarcely ever seen; and such of the natives who appear'd so provided, brought their weapons for the purpose of sale only.

About three in the morning of Wednesday, the 14th, we sail'd with a fine northerly breeze for Onehow, in order, whilst the decks of the Chatham were caulking, to take on board such yams and other vegetables as we might be able to procure.

On our arrival at Onehow, we anchored in 14 fathom water off the south part of the island, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the shore; its south-east point bearing by compass S. 77 E. its west point N. 48 W. and the island of Tahoorā S. 58 W. Finding the bottom here soft, sandy, regular, and good, I was induced to prefer this anchorage to a situation I had been in, further to the N. N. W. as the surf broke with great violence on the N. W. side of the island, though here we rode very smoothly. *Nomateehetee* wished we had proceeded further west; saying, the natives would have a great way to bring us their yams and other productions. The station we had taken was not however attended with any such inconvenience; as, by Friday the 16th, in the afternoon, we had purchased a very ample supply: and the Chatham's deck being now finished, about six in the evening we proceeded together towards the coast of America.

On our departure, the two Englishmen with our other friends took their leave, who, for the good services they had rendered us, received acknowledgments far beyond their most sanguine expectations.

The supply of refreshments which the Sandwich islands on this occasion had afforded us, was undeniably a very scanty one. This, however, I did not solely attribute to scarcity, as I had frequently great reason to believe an abundant stock might have been procured, had we been inclined to have purchased them with arms and ammunition; with which, through the unpardonable conduct of the various traders, who have visited these islands, the inhabitants have become very familiar, and use these weapons with an adroitness that would not disgrace the generality of European soldiers. Their great avidity for procuring these destructive engines may possibly have been increased by the successes of *Tianna*, who, it should seem, is principally indebted for his present exaltation to the fire-arms he imported from China, and those he has since procured from the different traders. His example has produced in every chief of consequence an inordinate thirst for power; and a spirit of enterprise and ambition seems generally diffused amongst them. If reliance is to be placed on the information which I received, the flame of these unwarrantable desires has been raised by the practice of every species of artifice and address in their European and American visitors; who have thereby enhanced the value of such destructive articles of commerce. For these alone the natives now seem inclined to exchange the valuable refreshments, with which there can be little doubt these islands still abound. The evil of this trade will be materially felt by vessels that may have occasion to resort to this country, unequipped with military stores for the inhuman purpose of barter with these people; and it is much to be apprehended the mischief will extend considerably further, as we have been

acquainted, by the late adventurers in the fur trade, that these islanders have tried various schemes to destroy the crews, and to gain possession of some of the trading vessels, in which they succeeded too well with Mr. Metcalf's schooner at Owhyhee. These ambitious designs however, had been rendered in most instances ineffectual, by the superiority alone which the traders possessed in fire-arms; and yet, neither the conviction of their own security being wholly dependant on these powerful means of defence, nor the common principles of humanity, seem to have had sufficient influence to restrain a traffic, encouraged by avaricious pursuits in defiance of all moral obligation.

The alteration which has taken place in the several governments of these islands since their first discovery by Captain Cook, has arisen from incessant war, instigated both at home and abroad by ambitious and enterprising chieftains; which the commerce for European arms and ammunition cannot fail of encouraging to the most deplorable extent.

If we may be allowed to decide by comparing the numerous throngs that appeared on the first visits of the Resolution and Discovery, and which were then constantly attendant on all our motions, with the very few we have seen on the present occasion, the mortality must have been very considerable. It may however be objected, that the novelty of such visitors having, at this time, greatly abated, is sufficient to account for the apparent depopulation. But when it is considered how essential our different implements and manufactures are now become to their common comforts, that reason will not apply; as every individual is eager to bring forth all his superfluous wealth, on the arrival of European commodities in the market.

At Whyteete I had occasion to observe that, although the town was extensive, and the houses numerous, yet they were thinly inhabited, and many appeared to be intirely abandoned. The village of Whymea is reduced at least two thirds of its size, since the years 1778 and 1779. In those places where, on my former visits, the houses were most numerous, was now a clear space, occupied by grass and weeds. That external wars and internal commotions had been the cause of this devastation, was further confirmed by the result of my inquiries off Owhyhee, when it did not appear that any of the chiefs, with whom I had been formerly acquainted, excepting *Tamaahmaah*, was then living; nor did we understand that many had died a natural death, most of them having been killed in these deplorable contests.

The short time we remained among these people, did not allow of my obtaining the satisfactory information I sought, and which was so very desirable on this, as well as on other important topics. This has induced me

to reserve the subject matter I had collected, until I should have an opportunity of going into a more correct investigation: for the present, therefore, I shall take leave of the Sandwich islands, by stating the advantages which the Americans promise themselves by the commercial interests they are endeavouring to establish in these seas.

Previously to the departure of Rowbottom and Williams, they informed me, that their captain had conceived a valuable branch of commerce might be created, by the importation of the sandal-wood of this country into India, where it sells at an exorbitant price; that, in the fur trade, immense profits had been gained, insomuch that it was expected not less than twenty vessels would, on these pursuits, sail with their captain (Kendrick) from New England, and that they were desired to engage the natives to provide several cargoes of this wood, which is easily procured, as the mountains of Attowai as well as those of Owhyhee, abound with the trees from which it is produced; though we were not able to procure any of their leaves, to determine its particular class or species. The wood seemed but slightly to answer the description given of the yellow sandal-wood of India, which is there a very valuable commodity, and is sold by weight.

The pearls I saw were but few, and consisted of three sorts, the white, yellow, and lead colour. The white were very indifferent, being small, irregular in shape, and possessing little beauty; the yellow, and those of a lead colour, were better formed, and, in point of appearance, of superior quality. Mr. Kendrick must, undoubtedly, flatter himself with great emoluments from these branches of commerce, or he would not thus have retained three men in constant pay for such a considerable length of time, with a promise of further reward if they conducted themselves with fidelity towards his interest. This proceeding, however, appears to have been the effect of a sudden thought, as it was not until his brig was weighing anchor at Onehow that he came to this determination, and landed the three men; who, in consequence of such short notice, had no means of equipping themselves, and were left almost destitute of apparel. The few clothes they had were nearly worn out; these I replaced with a sufficient stock to serve them some time; and, to add as much as possible to their comforts in their present situation, and to make them respectable in the eyes of the people with whom they were yet to remain for several months, they received such tools and articles of traffic as would best answer their purpose, and some books, pens, ink, and paper, for their amusement, with an assortment of garden seeds, and some orange and lemon plants that were in a very flourishing state.

To the care of Rowbottom, who seemed the most qualified, I intrusted a letter of instructions to the commanding officer of the store-ship, whose arrival we daily expected; as also one to the Lords of the Admiralty, acquainting them with the time we had quitted these islands, the state and condition of the vessels, and health of their crews, the route I had taken to this station, and the discoveries we had made.

Kendall's chronometer, agreeably to its error and rate of going as ascertained at Otaheite, agreed so well on our arrival at Owhyhee, that I was not at all solicitous for any further investigation. Our observations in Whymea road made its latitude $21^{\circ} 57\frac{1}{2}'$, and its longitude, by the chronometer, $200^{\circ} 18' 15''$, varying $5' 15''$ to the eastward of Captain Cook's, and $1' 45''$ to the westward of Captain King's assigned true longitude of the roadstead; whence I concluded its rate of going very correct. The Portsmouth rate shewed $201^{\circ} 40' 45''$. Mr. Arnold's chronometer, on board the Chatham, made the longitude of Whymea, according to its Otaheitean rate, $199^{\circ} 58' 30''$. Our anchorage at Onehow, by observation, was in latitude $21^{\circ} 46' 30''$, the longitude, by the chronometer, $199^{\circ} 40'$. This station is to the E. S. E. of the spot where the Resolution anchored, and which is laid down by Captain Cook in latitude $21^{\circ} 50'$, longitude $199^{\circ} 45'$; consequently, our observations place the south point of Onehow nearly in the same latitude, though $8'$ further to the westward, and two leagues further distant from Whymea. The Portsmouth rate shewed the longitude to be $201^{\circ} 5'$; but Mr. Arnold's chronometer made a much greater difference, as it placed the anchorage at Onehow in longitude $199^{\circ} 12' 15''$. At this island, we found the tides regular, as noticed by Captain Cook; but at Attowai and Woahoo, there was a current which generally set to the eastward.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury Square.

Transcriber's Notes

It is not surprising that spelling was variable across the six volumes of this work. The spelling of variable words, including the names of sails, was changed to match that which predominated, even though that spelling may not have been the preferred spelling at the time of writing or may now be obsolete. Other obvious typographic errors were corrected. All other words are as in the original.

The table of contents for all six volumes was originally published only in the first volume. The part of the table of contents relating to each subsequent volume is reproduced in that volume.

[The end of *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World, Vol. 1*, by George Vancouver]