

*Supplé Royal 1817.*

V O Y A G E

TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN;

*Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty,*  
OR MAKING DISCOVERIES IN THE NORTHERN  
HEMISPHERE.

PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
CAPTAINS COOK, CLERKE, & GORE,  
In the Years 1776, 7, 8, 9, and 80.

*Compiled from the various Accounts of that Voyage  
hitherto Published.*

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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VOL. III.

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BOOK IV. CONTINUED.

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HAVING stood off till our soundings were eighteen fathoms, we made sail to the eastward along the coast, which, we were now pretty well convinced, could only be the continent of Asia. The wind blowing fresh, and there being,

at the same time, a thick mist, and a very heavy fall of snow, it was requisite that we should proceed with particular caution: we therefore brought to for a few hours in the night. Early the next morning, which was the 30th of August, we steered such a course as we judged most likely to bring us in with the land, being guided, in a great measure, by the land; for the weather was extremely thick and gloomy, with incessant showers of snow. At ten o'clock we obtained a sight of the coast, which was at the distance of four miles, bearing southwest. Soon afterwards, our depth of water having decreased to seven fathoms, we hauled off. A very low point now bore south-southwest, distant two or three miles; to the eastward of which there seemed to be a narrow channel, that led into some water which we saw over the point. It is not improbable, that the lake above mentioned communicates here with the sea.

About twelve o'clock the mist dispersing, we had a view of the coast, which extended from southeast to northwest by west. Some parts of it were apparently higher than others; but the greatest part of it was rather low, with high land further up the country. It was almost entirely covered with snow which had fallen very lately. We ranged along the coast, at the distance of about two leagues, till ten o'clock in the evening, when we hauled off; but resumed our course early on the following morning, when we had another view of the coast, extending from west to southeast by south. At eight o'clock the eastern part bore south, and was found to be an island, which, at twelve, was four or five miles distant, bearing southwest half south.

east by north. At this time we perceived a light on shore : and two canoes, with people in them, came off towards us. We brought to, in order to give them time to approach ; but they resisted all our tokens of amity, and kept at the distance of a quarter of a mile. We therefore left them, and proceeded along the coast. The next morning, at one o'clock, observing that the water shoaled pretty fast, we anchored in ten fathoms, and remained in that situation till day-light came on. We then weighed, and pursued our course along the coast, which trended east, and east half south. At seven o'clock in the evening we were abreast of a point, situate in the longitude of  $197^{\circ}$  east, and in the latitude of  $64^{\circ} 21'$  north ; beyond which the coast assumes a more northerly direction. At eight, this point, which received the appellation of Cape Darby, bore south  $62^{\circ}$  west ; the most northern land we had in view, bore north  $32^{\circ}$  east ; and the distance of the nearest part of the shore was one league. In this situation we let go our anchors in thirteen fathoms, over a muddy bottom.

On the 9th, at break of day, we weighed, and made sail along the coast. We now saw land, which we supposed to be two islands, the one bearing east, the other south  $70^{\circ}$  east. Not long afterwards, we found ourselves near a coast covered with wood ; a pleasing sight, to which we had not been lately accustomed. As we advanced northward, land was seen in the direction of northeast, half north, which proved a continuation of the coast which we now were ; we likewise perceived land and over the islands, apparently, at a considerable distance beyond them. This was imagin-

ed to be the continent, and the other land the isle of Alaschka; but it was already a matter of doubt, whether we should discover a passage between them, for the water gradually shoaled as we proceeded further towards the north. In consequence of this, two boats were dispatched ahead to sound; and the commodore ordered the *Discovery*, as she drew the least water, to lead, keeping nearly in the middle channel, between the coast and the most northerly island. In this manner we continued our course, till three o'clock in the afternoon, when, having passed the island, our soundings did not exceed three fathoms and a half, and the *Resolution* once brought up the mud from the bottom. In no part of the channel could a greater depth of water be found, though we had sounded it from one side to the other; we therefore deemed it high time to return.

At this time, a head-land on the western shore to which the name of Bald head was given, was about one league distant, bearing north by west. The coast extended beyond it as far as north-east by north, where it appeared to terminate in a point; behind which, the coast of the high land, that was seen over the islands, stretched itself. The shore the western side of Bald-head forms a bay, in bottom of which is a beach, where we perceived many huts of the natives.

We continued to ply back during the whole night; and, by day-break on the 10th, had deepened our water six fathoms. At nine o'clock, we were about three miles from the west side of the island. Captain Cook, accompanied by Mr King, with two boats in search of wood and

They landed in that part where the coast projects into a bluff head, composed of perpendicular *strata* of a dark blue rock, intermixed with glimmer and quartz. Adjoining to the beach is a narrow border of land, which was at this time covered with long grass, and where they observed some angelica. The ground beyond this rises with some abruptness; towards the top of this elevation, they found a heath that abounded with berries of various kinds: further onward the country was rather level, and thinly covered with small spruce trees, birch, and willows. They saw the tracks of foxes and deer upon the beach; in many parts of which there was a great abundance of drift-wood: there was also no want of fresh water.

Our gentlemen and their attendants having returned on board, the commodore had thoughts of bringing the ships to an anchor here; but the wind when shifting to northeast, and blowing rather on this shore, he stretched over to the opposite one, expecting to find wood there likewise. At eight in the evening, we anchored near the southern end of the most northerly island, for such as we imagined it to be. The next morning, however, we found that it was a peninsula, connected with the continent by a low isthmus, on each side of which a bay is formed by the coast. We plied into the southernmost of these bays, and cast anchor again, about twelve o'clock, in five fathoms water, over a muddy bottom; the point of the peninsula, to which the appellation of Cape Denbigh was given, being one league distant, in the direction of north  $68^{\circ}$  west. We observed on the peninsula several of the natives; and one of them came off



in a small canoe. Captain Cook gave this man a knife and some beads, with which he appeared to be well pleased; we made signs to him to bring us some provisions, upon which he instantly quitted us, and paddled towards the shore. Happening to meet another man coming off, who had two dried salmon, he got them from him; and when he returned to our ship, he refused to give them to anybody except Captain Cook. Some of our people fancied that he asked for him under the name of *Capitane*; but, in this, they were perhaps mistaken. Others of the inhabitants came off soon afterwards, and gave us a few dried fish in exchange for such trifles as we had to barter with them. They showed no dislike for tobacco, but they were most desirous of knives.

In the afternoon, Mr Gore was dispatched to the peninsula, to procure wood and water; of the former of which articles we observed great plenty upon the beach. At the same time, a boat from each of the ships was sent to sound round the bay; and at three o'clock, the wind freshening at north-east, we weighed anchor, and endeavoured to work further in. But that was quickly found to be impracticable, by reason of the shoals, which extended entirely round the bay, to the distance of upwards of two miles from the shore; as the officers who had been sent out for the purpose of sounding, reported. We therefore stood off and on with the ships, waiting for Lieutenant Gore, who returned about eight o'clock in the evening, with the launch loaded with wood. He informed the commodore that he had found but little fresh-water, and that the wood could not be procured without some difficulty, on account of the boats grounding at some distance

from the beach. As this was the case, we stood back to the other shore; and the next morning at eight, all the boats, and a detachment of men, with an officer, were sent to get wood from the place where Captain Cook had landed on the 10th.

After having continued, for some time, to stand off and on with the ships, we at length cast anchor in less than five fathoms, at the distance of half a league from the coast, whose southern point bore south  $26^{\circ}$  west. Cape Denbigh was about twenty-six miles distant, bearing south  $72^{\circ}$  east; Bald-head was nine leagues off, in the direction of north  $60^{\circ}$  east; and the island near the eastern shore south of Cape Denbigh, named by Captain Cook, Besborough Island, was fifteen leagues distant, bearing south  $52^{\circ}$  east.

This being a very open road, and therefore not a secure station for the ships, the commodore resolved not to wait till our stock of water was completed, as that would take up some time; but only to furnish both ships with wood, and then to seek a more commodious place for the former article. Our people carried off the drift-wood that lay on the beach, and performed that part with great expedition; for, as the wind blew along the shore, the boats were enabled to sail both ways. In the afternoon Captain Cook went on shore, and took a walk into the country; which, in those parts where there was no wood, abounded with heath and other plants, several of which had plenty of berries, all ripe. Scarce a single plant was in flower. The under-wood, such as birch, alders, and willows, occasioned walking to be very troublesome among the trees, which were all spruce, and none of which

exceeded seven or eight inches in diameter; but some were observed lying on the beach that were above twice that size. All the drift-wood that we saw in these northern parts was fir.

The following day, which was Sunday the 13th, a family of the natives came near the spot where our people were occupied in taking off wood. The captain saw only the husband and wife, and their child, besides a fourth person, who was the most deformed cripple he had ever seen. The husband was nearly blind, and neither he nor his wife were such well-looking people as many of those whom we had met with on this coast. Both of them had their lower lips perforated; and they were in possession of some glass beads, resembling those we had seen before among their neighbours. Iron was the article that pleased them most. For four knives which had been formed out of an old iron hoop, the captain obtained from them near four hundred pounds weight of fish, that had been lately caught by them. Some of these were trout, and others were, with respect to size and taste, somewhat between a herring and a mullet. The captain gave a few beads to the child, who was a female; upon which the mother immediately burst into tears, then the father, next after him the cripple, and at last, to add the finishing stroke to the concert, the child herself. This music, however, was not of long duration.

Mr King had, on the preceding day, been in company with the same family. His account of this interview is of the following purport: While he attended the wooding party, a canoe, filled with natives approached, out of which an elderly man

and woman (the husband and wife above mentioned) came ashore. Mr King presented a small knife to the woman, and promised to give her a much larger one in exchange for some fish. She made signs to him to follow her. After she had proceeded with them about a mile, the man fell down as he was crossing a stony beach, and happened to cut his foot very much. This occasioned Mr King to stop; upon which the woman pointed to her husband's eyes, which were covered with a thick whitish film. He afterwards kept close to his wife, who took care to apprise him of the obstacles in his way. The woman had a child on her back, wrapped up in the hood of her jacket. After walking about two miles, they arrived at an open skin-boat, which was turned on one side, the convex part towards the wind, and was made to serve for the habitation of this family. Mr King now performed a remarkable operation on the man's eyes. He was first desired to hold his breath, then to breathe on the distempered eyes, and afterwards to spit on them. The woman then took both the hands of Mr King, and pressed them to the man's stomach, held them there for some time, while she recounted some melancholy history respecting her family; sometimes pointing to her husband, sometimes to her child, and at other times to the cripple, who was related to her. Mr King purchased all the fish they had, which consisted of excellent salmon, salmon-trout, and mullet. These fish were faithfully delivered to the person he sent for them.

The woman was short and squat, and her visage was plump and round. She wore a jacket made of



deer-skin, with a large hood, and had on a pair of wide boots. She was punctured from the lip to the chin. Her husband was well made, and about five feet two inches in height. His hair was black and short, and he had but little beard. His complexion was of a light copper cast. He had two holes in his lower lip, in which, however, he had no ornaments. The teeth of both of them were black, and appeared as if they had been filed down level with the gums.

Before night, on the 13th, we had amply furnished the ships with wood, and had conveyed on board about a dozen tons of water to each. On the 14th a party was detached on shore to cut brooms, and likewise the branches of spruce trees for brewing beer. About twelve o'clock all our people were taken on board, for the wind freshening had raised so heavy a surf on the beach, that our boats could not continue to land without extreme difficulty and danger.

As doubts were still entertained whether the coast upon which we now were belonged to an island, or to the continent of America, lieutenant King was dispatched by the commodore, with two boats, well manned and armed, to make such a search as might tend to remove all difference of opinion on the subject. He was instructed to proceed towards the north, as far as the extreme point seen on Wednesday the 9th, or a little further, if he should find it necessary; to land there, and, from the heights, endeavour to discover whether the land he was then upon, imagined to be the island of Alaschka, was really an island, or was connected with the land to the eastward, supposed to be



the American continent. If it proved to be an island, he was to examine the depth of water in the channel between it and the continent, and which way the flood-tide came : but, if he should find the two lands united, he was to return immediately to the ship. He was directed not to be absent longer than four or five days ; and it was also mentioned in his instructions, that, if any unforeseen or unavoidable accident should force our ships off the coast, the rendezvous was to be at the harbour of Samganoodha.

On Tuesday the 15th, the ships removed over to the bay on the southeastern side of Cape Denbigh, where we cast anchor in the afternoon. Not long after several of the inhabitants came off in canoes, and gave us some dried salmon in exchange for trifling articles. Early the next morning, nine men, each in a separate canoe, paid us a visit, with the sole view of gratifying their curiosity. They approached the ship with caution, and drawing up abreast of each other, under our stern, favoured us with a song ; while one of their number made many ludicrous motions with his hands and body, and another beat upon a sort of drum. There was nothing savage either in the song or the gestures with which it was accompanied. There seemed to be no difference, either with respect to size or features, between these people and those whom we had seen on every other part of the coast, except King George's Sound. Their dress, which chiefly consisted of the skins of deer, was made after the same mode ; and they had adopted the practice of perforating their lower lips, and affixing ornaments to them.

The habitations of these Americans were situate close to the beach. They consist merely of a sloping roof, without any side-walls, formed of logs, and covered with earth and grass. The floor is likewise laid with logs. The entrance is at one end, and the fire-place is just within it. A small hole is made near the door of the hut, for the purpose of letting out the smoke.

A party of men was dispatched this morning to the peninsula, for brooms and spruce. Half the remainder of the people of both ships were at the same time permitted to go ashore and gather berries. These returned on board about twelve o'clock, and the other half then landed for the same purpose. The berries found here were huckle-berries, heath-berries, partridge-berries, and wild currant-berries. Captain Cook also went ashore himself, and took a walk over part of the peninsula. He met with very good grass in several places, and scarcely observed a single spot on which some vegetable was not growing. The low land by which this peninsula is united to the continent, abounds with narrow creeks, and likewise with ponds of water, several of which were at this time frozen over. There were numbers of bustards and geese, but they were so shy, that it was impossible to get within musket-shot of them. Some snipes were also seen; and on the higher grounds were partridges of two species; where there was wood, mosquitoes were numerous. Some of the officers, who went further into the country than Captain Cook did, met with some of the natives of both sexes, who treated them with civility and kindness.

The commodore was of opinion that this peninsula had been an island in some distant period; for there were marks of the sea having formerly flowed over the isthmus; and even at present it appeared to be kept out by a bank of sand, stones, and wood, which the waves had thrown up. It was manifest from this bank, that the land here encroached upon the sea, and it was not difficult to trace its gradual formation.

Lieutenant King returned from his expedition about seven o'clock this evening. He had set out at eight o'clock at night, on the 14th. The crews of the boats rowed without intermission towards the land, till one in the morning of the 15th. They then set their sails, and stood across the bay, which the coast forms to the westward of Bald-head. They afterwards, about three o'clock, again made use of their oars, and, by two in the afternoon, had got within two miles of Bald-head, under the lee of the high land. At that time all the men in the boat belonging to the Resolution, except two, were so oppressed with fatigue and sleep, that Mr King's utmost endeavours to make them put on were perfectly ineffectual. They, at length, were so far exhausted, as to drop their oars, and fall asleep at the bottom of the boat. In consequence of this Mr King, and two gentlemen who were with him, were obliged to lay hold of the oars; and they landed, a little after three o'clock, between Bald-head and a point that projects to the eastward.

Mr King, upon his landing, ascended the heights, from which he could see the two coasts join, and that the inlet terminated in a small creek or river, before which there were banks of sand or mud, and

vented, by meeting with shoal water. Having but little wind all the day, we did not pass that island before it was dark ; and the night was spent under an easy sail.

At day-break, on the 18th, we resumed our progress along the coast. At noon our soundings were no more than five fathoms. Besborough Island, at this time, bore north  $42^{\circ}$  east, the most southerly land in sight, which also proved to be an island, bore south  $66^{\circ}$  west ; the passage between it and the continent, was in the direction of south  $40^{\circ}$  west, and the nearest land was at the distance of about two miles.

We continued to steer for this passage till the boats, which were a-head, made the signal for having no more than three fathoms water. In consequence of this, we hauled without the island, and displayed the signal for the Resolution's boat to keep between the shore and the ships.

This island, to which the name of Stuart's Island was given, lies in the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 35'$  north, and is seventeen leagues distant from Cape Denbigh, in the direction of south  $27^{\circ}$  west. It is six or seven leagues in circumference. Though some parts of it are of a moderate height, yet, in general, it is low, with some rocks off the western part. The greatest part of the coast of the continent is low land, but we perceived high land up the country. It forms a point opposite the island, which was distinguished by the name of Cape Stephens, and is situate in the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 33'$  north, and in the longitude of  $197^{\circ} 41'$  east. Some drift-wood was observed on the shores, both of the island and of the continent ; but not a single tree was seen grow-

ing upon either. Vessels might anchor, upon occasion, between the continent and the northeast side of this island, in a depth of five fathoms, sheltered from the easterly, westerly, and southerly winds. But this station would be entirely exposed to the northerly winds, the land, in that direction, being too remote to afford any security. Before we reached Stuart's Island, we passed two little islands, situate between us and the main land; and as we ranged along the coast, several of the natives made their appearance upon the shore, and, by signs, seemed to invite us to approach.

We were no sooner without the island, than we steered south-by-west, for the most southern part of the continent in sight, till eight in the evening, when, the depth of water having decreased from six fathoms to less than four, we tacked and stood to the northward, into five fathoms, and then passed the night in standing off and on. At the time we tacked, the southermost point of land above mentioned, which we named Point Shallow-Water, bore south half east, at the distance of seven leagues. On the 19th, at day break, we resumed our southerly course; but shoal water soon obliged us to haul more to the westward. We were at length so far advanced upon the bank, that we could not hold a north-northwest course, as we sometimes only met with four fathoms. The wind blowing fresh at east-northeast, it was now high time to endeavour to find a greater depth of water, and to quit a coast upon which we could no longer navigate with safety. We therefore hauled the wind to the northward, and the water gradually increased in depth to eight fathoms.



At the time of our hauling the wind, we were about twelve leagues distant from the continent, and nine to the west of Stuart's Island. We saw no land to the southward of Point Shallow-Water, which captain Cook judged to lie in the latitude of  $63^{\circ}$  north; so that between this latitude and Shoal Ness, in latitude  $60^{\circ}$ , the coast has not been explored. It is probably accessible only to boats, or very small vessels; or, if there are channels for vessels of greater magnitude, it would require some time to find them. From the mast-head the sea within us appeared to be chequered with shoals; the water was very muddy and discoloured, and much fresher than at any of the places where our ships had lately anchored. From this we inferred that a considerable river runs into the sea, in this unexplored part.

After we had got into eight fathoms water, we steered to the westward, and afterwards more southerly, for the land discovered by us on the 5th September, which, at noon on the 20th, bore south-west by west, at the distance of ten or eleven leagues. We had now a fresh gale at north, and, at intervals, showers of hail and snow, with a pretty high sea. To the land before us the Commodore gave the appellation of Clerke's Island. It stands in the latitude of  $63^{\circ} 15'$ , and in the longitude of  $190^{\circ} 30'$ . It seemed to be an island of considerable extent, in which are several hills, all connected by low ground, so that it looks, at a distance, like a group of islands. Near its eastern part is a little island, which is remarkable for having on it three elevated rocks. Both the greater island and this smaller one were inhabited.

About six o'clock in the afternoon we reached the northern point of Clerke's Island; and having ranged along its coast till dark, we brought to during the night. Early the next morning we again stood in for the coast, and proceeded along it in quest of an harbour, till twelve o'clock, when finding no probability of success, we left it and steered south-southwest for the land discovered by us on the 29th of July; having a fresh gale at north, accompanied with showers of snow and sleet.

On Wednesday the 23d, at day break, the land above mentioned made its appearance, bearing southwest, at the distance of six or seven leagues. From this point of view, it resembled a cluster of islands; but it was found to be only one of about thirty miles in extent, in the direction of northwest and southeast; the southeastern extremity being Cape Upright, which we have mentioned before. The island is narrow, particularly at the low necks of land by which the hills are connected. Captain Cook afterwards found that it was entirely unknown to the Russians, and therefore, considering it as a discovery of our own, he named it Gore's Island. It appeared to be barren and destitute of inhabitants, at least we saw none. Nor did we observe such a number of birds about it as we had seen when we first discovered it. But we perceived some sea-otters, an animal which we had not found to the north of this latitude. About twelve miles from Cape Upright, in the direction of south  $72^{\circ}$  west, stands a small island, whose lofty summit terminates in several pinnacle rocks, for which reason it obtained the name of Pinnacle Island.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, after we had passed Cape Upright, we steered southeast by south, for Samganoodha, with a gentle breeze at north-northwest, being resolved to lose no more time in searching for an harbour among islands which we now began to suspect had no existence, at least, not in the latitude and longitude in which they have been placed by modern delineators of charts. On the 24th, in the evening, the wind veered to southwest and south, and increased to a fresh gale.

We continued our easterly course till eight in the morning of the 25th, when in the longitude of  $191^{\circ} 10'$ , and in the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 32'$ , we tacked and stood to the westward; soon after which the gale increasing, we were reduced to two courses, and close-reefed main-top-sails. In a short time after the Resolution sprung a leak, under the starboard buttock, which was so considerable as to keep one pump constantly employed. We would not venture to put the ship upon the other tack, from the apprehension of getting upon the shoals that lie to the northwest of Cape Newenham; but continued to steer towards the west, till six in the evening of Saturday the 26th, when we wore and stood to the eastward; and then the leak gave us no further trouble. This proved, that it was above the water-line, which gave us great satisfaction. The gale had now ceased, but the wind continued at south and southwest for some days longer.

At length, on Friday the 2d of October, at day-break, we saw the isle of Oonalashka, in a southeast direction. But as the land was obscured by a thick haze, we were not certain with respect to our situation till noon, when the observed latitude de-

terminated it. We hauled into a bay, ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the appellation of Egoochshac; but finding very deep water, we speedily left it. The natives visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon, and other fish, which our sailors received in exchange for tobacco. Only a few days before, every ounce of tobacco that remained in the ship, had been distributed among them, and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so thoughtless and improvident a being is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains, as if we had arrived at a port in Virginia; by which means, in less than two days, the value of this commodity was lowered above a thousand *per cent*.

The next day, at one o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in the harbour of Samganoodha, and, on the morning of the 4th, the carpenters were employed in ripping off the sheathing of and under the wale of the Resolution on the starboard side. Many of the seams were found entirely open; it was therefore not to be wondered at, that so much water had got into the ship. We cleared the fish and spirit rooms, and the after-hold; and disposed things in such a manner, that, in case of any future leaks of the same nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. Besides this work, and completing our stock of water, we cleared the fore-hold, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables we had met with when we were here before, were now, for the most part, in a state of decay. There being great plenty of berries, one-third of the people, by turns, had permission



to go ashore and gather them. Considerable quantities of them were brought to us by the inhabitants. If there were any seeds of the scurvy among the people of either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce beer, which they were allowed to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them.

We likewise procured abundance of fish; at first, chiefly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in the highest perfection; but there was one sort, which, from the figure of its head, we called hook-nosed, that was but indifferent. Drawing the seine several times, at the head of the bay, we caught many salmon-trout, and a halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds. We afterwards had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning, which seldom returned without eight or ten halibut, a quantity more than sufficient to serve all our people. These fish were excellent, and there were few who did not prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only obtained a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea.

Captain Cook received, on the 8th, by the hands of a native of Oonalashka, named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place we were in. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pye in the form of a loaf, as it inclosed some salmon well seasoned with pepper. This man had brought a similar present for captain Clerke, and a note for each of the captains, written in a character which none of us understood. It was natural to imagine, that these two presents were from some Russians now in our neighbourhood, and therefore the captains sent, by



the same messenger, to these unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine and porter, which they supposed would be highly acceptable. Captain Cook also sent, in company with Derramoushk, corporal Lediard, of the marines, an intelligent man, for the purpose of gaining further information, with orders, that if he met with any Russians, he should endeavour to make them understand, that we were Englishmen, the friends and allies of their nation.

On Saturday the 10th, corporal Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, or furriers, who, with several others, resided at Egoochshac, where they had some store-houses, a dwelling-house, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these Russians was either master or mate of this vessel. They were all three intelligent, well behaved men, and extremely ready to give us all the information we could desire. But, for want of an interpreter we found it very difficult to understand each other. They appeared to have a perfect knowledge of the attempts which their countrymen had made to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries that had been made from Kamtschatka, by Beering, Tscherikoff, and Spangenberg. But they had not the least idea to what part of the world Mr Stæhlin's map referred, when it was laid before them. When captain Cook pointed out Kamtschatka, and some other places, upon this map, they asked him whether he had seen the islands there represented; and, on his answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of the map, where a number of islands are laid down, and said, that he had cruised there in search of land, but could never meet with any. The captain then

showed them his own chart, and found that they were strangers to every part of the coast of America, except that which lies opposite this island.

One of these men said, that he had been with Beering in his American voyage; but he must then have been very young; for even now, at the distance of thirty-seven years, he had not the appearance of being aged. Never was greater respect paid to the memory of any eminent person, than by these men to that of Beering. The trade in which they are engaged is very advantageous, and its being undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka, was the immediate result of the second voyage of that distinguished navigator, whose misfortunes proved the source of much private benefit to individuals, and of public utility to the Russian empire. And yet, if his distresses had not accidentally carried him to the island which bears his name, where he ended his life, and from whence the remainder of his ship's crew brought back specimens of its valuable furs, the Russians would probably have undertaken no future voyages, which could lead them to make discoveries in this sea, towards the American coast. Indeed, after his time, their ministry seem to have paid less attention to this object; and, for what discoveries have been since made, we are principally indebted to the enterprising spirit of private merchants, encouraged, however, by the superintending care of the court of Petersburg.

The three Russians having remained all night with the commodore, visited captain Clerke the following morning, and then departed, perfectly satisfied with the reception they had met with.

They promised to return in a few days, and bring with them a chart of the islands situate between Kamtschatka and Oonalashka.

In the evening of the 14th, while Captain Cook and Mr Webber were at a village, not far from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there, who proved to be the principal person among his countrymen in this and the adjacent isles. His name was Erasim Gregorloff Sin Ismyloff. He arrived in a canoe that carried three persons, attended by twenty or thirty smaller canoes, each conducted by one man. Immediately after landing, they constructed a small tent for Ismyloff, of materials which they had brought with them, and they afterwards made others for themselves, of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass. Ismyloff having invited the captain and Mr Webber into his tent, set before them some dried salmon and berries. He appeared to be a man of sense; and the captain felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, except by signs, with the assistance of figures and other characters. The captain requested him to favour him with his company on board the next day, and accordingly he came with all his attendants. He had, indeed, moved into the neighbourhood of our station, for the express purpose of waiting upon us.

Captain Cook was in hopes of receiving from him the chart which his three countrymen had promised, but he was disappointed. However, Ismyloff assured him he should have it, and he kept his word. The captain found him very well acquainted with the geography of those parts, and with all the discoveries which had been made in this quarter by the

Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he instantly pointed out their errors: he said he had accompanied lieutenant Syndo, or (as he called him) Synd, in his northern expedition; and, according to his account, they did not proceed further than the Tschukotskoi Noss, or rather than St Lawrence's Bay; for he pointed on our chart to the very place where captain Cook landed. From thence he said they went to an island, in the latitude of  $63^{\circ}$  north, upon which they did not land. He did not recollect the name of that island; but the captain conjectured that it was the same with that to which the appellation of Clerke's Island had been given. To what place Synd repaired afterwards, or in what particular manner he employed the two years, during which, according to Ismyloff, his researches lasted, he was either unable or unwilling to inform us. Perhaps he did not comprehend our inquiries on this point; and yet, in almost every other thing, we found means to make him understand us. This inclined us to suspect that he really had not been in this expedition, notwithstanding what he had asserted.

Not only Ismyloff, but also the others affirmed that they were totally unacquainted with the American continent to the northward; and that neither lieutenant Synd, nor any other Russian, had seen it of late years. They called it by the same name which Mr Stæbblin has affixed to his large island, that is Alaschka.

According to the information we obtained from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to gain a footing upon that part of the North American continent that lies con-



tiguous to Oonalashka and the adjacent islands, but have constantly been repulsed by the inhabitants, whom they represent as a very treacherous people. They made mention of two or three captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians showed us wounds which they declared they had received there.

Ismyloff also informed us, that, in the year 1773, an expedition had been undertaken into the Frozen Ocean in sledges, over the ice, to three large islands, that are situate opposite the mouth of the river Kovyra. But a voyage, which he said he himself had performed, engaged our attention more than any other. He told us, that on the 12th of May 1771, he sailed from Bolcheretzk, in Kamtschatka, in a Russian vessel, to Mareekan, one of the Kurile Islands, where there is an harbour, and a Russian settlement. From this island he proceeded to Japan, where his continuance appears to have been but short; for, as soon as the Japanese knew that he and his companions professed the Christian faith, they made signs for them to depart; but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or violence. From Japan he repaired to Canton, in China; and from thence, in a French ship, to France. He then travelled to Petersburg, and was afterwards sent out again to Kamtschatka. We could not learn what became of the vessel in which he first embarked, nor what was the principal intention of the voyage. His being unable to speak one word of the French language, rendered this story rather suspicious; he seemed clear, however, as to the times of his arrival at the different places,

and of his departure from them, which he put down in writing.

The next morning (Friday the 16th), he offered captain Cook a sea-otter skin, which, he said, was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. The captain, however, thought proper to decline the offer; but accepted of some dried fish, and several baskets of the lily, or *saranne* root. In the afternoon Ismyloff, after having dined with captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, but promised to return in a few days. Accordingly, on the 19th, he paid us another visit, bringing with him the charts above mentioned, which he permitted captain Cook to copy; and the contents of which are the foundation of the following remarks.

These charts were two in number, they were both manuscripts, and bore every mark of authenticity. One of them comprehended the Penshinskian sea, the coast of Tartary, as low as the latitude of  $41^{\circ}$  north; the Kurile Islands, and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. Since this chart had been made, Wawseelee Irkeechoff, a naval captain, explored, in the year 1758, the coast of Tartary, from Okotsk and the river Amur, to Japan, or  $41^{\circ}$  of northern latitude. We were informed by Mr Ismyloff, that a great part of the sea-coast of Kamtschatka had been corrected by himself; and he described the instrument used by him for that purpose, which must have been a theodolite. He also told us that there were only two harbours proper for shipping on all the eastern coast of Kamtschatka, viz. the bay of Awatska, and the river Olutora, in the bottom of the gulph of the same name; that there was not one harbour on its western coast; and

that Yamsk was the only one except Okotsk, on all the western side of the Penshinskian sea, till we come to the river Amur. The Kurile Islands contain but one harbour, and that is on the northeast side of Mareekan; where, as we have already mentioned, the Russians have a settlement.

The other chart comprehended all the discoveries that the Russians had made to the eastward of Kamtschatka, towards America. That part of the American coast with which Tscherikoff fell in, is laid down in this chart between the latitude of  $58^{\circ}$  and  $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north, and  $75^{\circ}$  of eastern longitude, from Okotsk, or  $218\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  from Greenwich; and the place where Beering anchored in  $59\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude, and  $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of longitude, from Okotsk, or  $227^{\circ}$  from Greenwich. To say nothing of the longitude, which may, from several causes, be erroneous, the latitude of the coast, discovered by Beering and Tscherikoff, particularly that part of it which was discovered by the latter, differs considerably from Mr Muller's chart. Whether the chart now produced by Ismyloff, or that of Muller, be most erroneous in this respect, it may be difficult to determine.

According to Ismyloff's account, neither the number nor the situation of the islands which are dispersed between  $52^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$  of latitude, in the space between Kamtschatka and America, is properly ascertained. He struck out about a third of them, assuring us that they did not exist; and he considerably altered the situation of others; which he said was necessary, from the observations which he himself had made; and there was no reason to entertain a doubt about this. As these islands are nearly under the same parallel, different navigators,

misled by their different reckonings, might easily mistake one island, or cluster of islands, for another; and imagine they had made a new discovery, when they had only found old ones, in a position somewhat different from that which their former visitors had assigned to them.

The isles of St Theodore, St Stephen, St Abraham, St Macarius, Seduction Island, and several others, which are represented in Mr Muller's chart, were not to be found in this now produced to us; nay, Ismyloff and the other Russians assured captain Cook that they had been frequently sought for without effect. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that Mr Muller could place them in this chart without some authority. Captain Cook, however, confiding in the testimony of these people, whom he thought competent witnesses, omitted them in his chart; and made such corrections respecting the other islands, as he had reason to think were necessary.

We shall now proceed to give some account of the islands, beginning with those which are nearest to Kamtschatka, and computing the longitude from the harbour of Petropaulowska, in the bay of Awatska. The first is Beering's Island, in  $55^{\circ}$  of northern latitude, and  $6^{\circ}$  of eastern longitude. At the distance of ten leagues from the southern extremity of this, in the direction of east-by-south, or east-southeast, stands *Maidenoi Ostroff*, or the Copper Island. The next island is Atakou, in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 45'$ , and in the longitude of  $15^{\circ}$  or  $16^{\circ}$ . The extent of this island is about eighteen leagues, in the direction of east and west; and it is perhaps the same land which Beering fell in with,



and to which he gave the name of Mount St John.

We next come to a cluster of six or more islands, two of which, Amluk and Atghka, are of considerable extent, and each of them has a good harbour. The middle of this group lies in the latitude of  $52^{\circ} 30'$ , and  $28^{\circ}$  of longitude from the bay of Awatska; and its extent is about four degrees, in the direction of east and west. These are the isles that Ismyloff said were to be removed four degrees to the eastward. In the situation they have in captain Cook's chart, was a group, comprehending ten little islands, which we were informed were entirely to be struck out; and also two islands, situate between them and the group to which Oonalashka appertains. In the place of these two, an island named Amoghta, was introduced.

The situation of many of these islands may, perhaps, be erroneously laid down. But the position of the largest group, of which Oonalashka is one of the most considerable islands, is free from such errors. Most of the islands that compose this cluster were seen by us; their longitude and latitude were therefore determined with tolerable accuracy, particularly the harbour of Samganoodha, in Oonalashka, which must be considered as a fixed point. This group may be said to extend as far as Halibut Isles, which are forty leagues distant from Oonalashka, towards the east-northeast. Within these isles a passage communicating with Bristol Bay, was marked in Ismyloff's chart; which converts about fifteen leagues of the coast that captain Cook had supposed to be part of the continent, into an island named Ooneemak. This passage might ea-

sily escape us, being, as we were informed, extremely narrow, shallow, and only to be navigated through with boats, or vessels of very small burthen.

From the chart, as well as from the testimony of Ismyloff and his countrymen, it appears that this is as far as the Russians have made any discoveries, or have extended themselves, since the time of Beering. They all affirmed that no persons of that nation had settled themselves so far to the eastward as the place where the natives gave the note to captain Clerke; which being delivered to Ismyloff for his perusal, he said that it had been written at Oomanak. From him we procured the name of Kodiak \*, the largest of Schumagin's Islands; for it had no name assigned to it upon the chart which he produced. It may not be improper to mention that no names were put to the islands which Ismyloff said were to be struck out of the chart; and captain Cook considered this as some confirmation that they have no existence.

The American continent is here called by the Russians, as well as by the islanders, Alashka; which appellation, though it properly belongs only to that part which is contiguous to Oonemak, is made use of by them when speaking of the American continent in general.

This is all the intelligence we obtained from these people, respecting the geography of this part of the globe; and perhaps this was all the information they were able to give. For they repeatedly assured captain Cook that they knew of no other islands, besides those which were represented upon

\* A Russian ship had touched at Kodiak in the year 1776.

this chart, and that no Russian had ever visited any part of the American continent to the northward, except that which is opposite the country of the Tschutski. If Mr Stæhlin was not greatly imposed upon, what could induce him to publish a map so singularly erroneous, as his map of the New Northern Archipelago, in which many of these islands are jumbled together without the least regard to truth? Nevertheless, he himself styles it "a very accurate little map."

Ismloff continued with us till the evening of the 21st, when he took his final leave. Captain Cook intrusted to his care a letter to the Lords of the Admiralty, inclosing a chart of all the northern coasts we had visited. Ismyloff said there would be an opportunity of transmitting it to Kamtschatka, or Okotsk, in the course of the succeeding spring; and that it would be at Petersburg the following winter. He gave the captain a letter to Major Behm, Governor of Kamtschatka, who resides at Bolcheretsk in that peninsula, and another to the commanding officer at Petropaulowska.

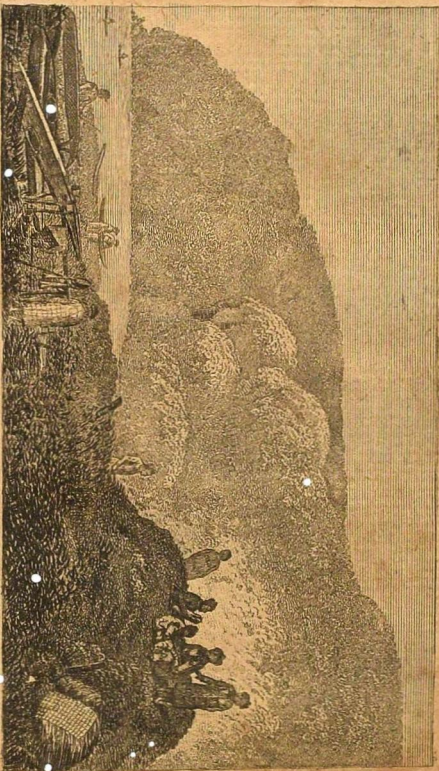
Mr Ismyloff seemed to possess abilities that might entitle him to a higher station than that in which we found him. He had considerable knowledge in astronomy, and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. Captain Cook made him a present of an Hadley's octant; and though, perhaps, it was the first he had ever seen, he very quickly made himself acquainted with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

On Thursday the 22d, in the morning, we made an attempt to get out to sea, with the wind at south-east, but did not succeed. In the afternoon of the

23d we were visited by one Jacob Ivanovitch Soposnicoff, a Russian, who commanded a small vessel at Oomanak. This man seemed very modest, and would drink no strong liquor, of which the other Russians, whom we had met with here, were extremely fond. He appeared to know what supplies could be obtained at the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, and the price of the various articles, more accurately than Mr Ismyloff. But, by all accounts, every thing we should have occasion to purchase at that place, was very scarce, and bore a high price. This man informed us that he was to be at Petropaulowska in the ensuing May; and, as we understood, was to have the charge of captain Cook's letter. He seemed very desirous of having some token from the captain to carry to Major Behm; and, to gratify him, the captain sent a small spying-glass.

After we had contracted an acquaintance with these Russians, several of our gentlemen, at different times, visited their settlement on the island, where they always met with friendly treatment. It consisted of a dwelling-house and two store-houses. Besides the Russians, there was a number of the Kamtschadales, and of the Onalashkans, as servants to the former. Some other natives of this island, who appeared to be independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians, were all of the male sex; and they are either taken or purchased from their parents when young. There were, at present, about twenty of these who could be considered in no other light than as children. They all reside in the same house, the Russians at the upper end, the





*Webber del.*  
NATIVES OF COMANDASHKA AND THEIR HABITATIONS.

Kamtschadales in the middle, and the Oonalashkans at the lower end, where is fixed a capacious boiler for preparing their food, which principally consists of fish, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is no great difference between the first and last table, except what is produced by cookery, by which the Russians can make indifferent things palatable. They dress whales flesh in such a manner as to make it very good eating, and they have a kind of pan-pudding of salmon-roe, beaten up fine and fried, which is a tolerable substitute for bread. They may perhaps, occasionally, taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is one of the principal ingredients. If we except the juice of berries, which they generally sip at their meals, they drink no other liquor than pure water; and it seems to be very fortunate for them that they have nothing stronger.

As the island furnishes them with subsistence, so it does, in some measure, with clothing. This is chiefly composed of skins. The upper garment, which is made like a waggoner's frock, reaches down to the knees. Besides this, they wear a waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches, a fur cap, and a pair of boots, the legs of which are formed of some kind of strong gut, but the soles and upper leathers are of Russian leather. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore a calico frock; and they, as well as several others, had shirts of silk.

Many Russians are settled upon all the most considerable islands between Kamtschatka and Oonalashka, for the purpose of collecting furs. Their principal object is the sea-beaver or otter; but skins of inferior value also make a part of their

cargoes. We neglected to inquire how long they had a settlement upon Oonalashka and the neighbouring islands; but if we form our judgment on this point from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date \*. These furriers are, from time to time, succeeded by others. Those we saw arrived here from Okotsk in 1776, and were to return in 1781.

As for the native inhabitants of this island, they are, to all appearance, a very peaceable inoffensive race of people; and, in point of honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilized nations. But, from what we saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians are unconnected, we have some doubt whether this was their original disposition; and are rather inclined to be of opinion, that it is the consequence of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if we did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been under the necessity of making some severe examples before they could bring the islanders into tolerable order. If severities were really inflicted at first, the best excuse for them is, that they have produced the most beneficial effects; and, at present, the greatest harmony subsists between the Russians and the natives. The latter have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property without molestation. Whether they are tributaries to the Russians or not, we could never learn; but we had reason to suppose they are.

\* According to Mr Coxe, in his account of the discoveries of the Russians, they began to frequent Oonalashka in the year 1726.

The people of Oonalashka are in general rather low of stature, but plump, and well shaped. Their necks are commonly short, and they have swarthy chubby faces. They have black eyes, and small beards. Their hair is long, black, and straight: the men wear it loose behind, and cut before; but the women generally tie it up in a bunch.

The dress of both sexes is the same with respect to fashion, the only difference is in the materials. The frock worn by the women is made of the skins of seals, and that of the men, of the skins of birds; both reach below the knees. This constitutes the whole dress of the females. But, over the frock, the men wear another composed of gut, which water cannot penetrate; it has a hood to it, which is drawn over the head. Some of them wear boots, and all of them wear a sort of oval snooted cap, made of wool, with a rim that admits the head. They dye these caps with green and other colours; and round the upper part of the rim, they fix the long bristles of some sea-animal, on which glass beads are strung; and on the front is a small image or two formed of bone. They do not make use of paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly, and both sexes perforate the lower lip, in which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon here to see a man with this ornament, as to observe a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip under the nostrils; and they all suspend ornaments in their ears.

Fish and all other sea-animals, birds, roots, berries, and even sea-weed, compose their food. They dry quantities of fish during the summer, which they lay up in small huts for their use in winter; and,



probably, they preserve berries and roots for the same season of scarcity. They eat most of their provisions raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that we saw practised among them; and the former they in all probability learnt from the Russians. Some have in their possession small brass kettles; and those who have not, make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay.

Captain Cook once happened to be present when the chief of this island made his dinner of the raw head of a large halibut, just caught. Before any part of it was given to the chief, two of his servants ate the gills, with no other dressing than squeezing out the slime. After this, one of them having cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea, and washed it, then came with it, and seated himself by the chief; but not before he had pulled up some grass, upon a part of which the head was placed, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces off the cheeks, and put them within the reach of the chief, who swallowed them with great satisfaction. When he had finished his meal, the remains of the head being cut in pieces, were given to the servants, who tore off the meat with their teeth, and gnawed the bones like so many dogs.

As the Oonalashkans use no paint, they are less dirty in their persons than those savages who thus besmear themselves; but they are full as filthy in their houses. The following is their method of building: they dig in the ground an oblong pit, which rarely exceeds fifty feet in length, and twenty in breadth; but the dimensions are in general smaller. Over this excavation they form the roof

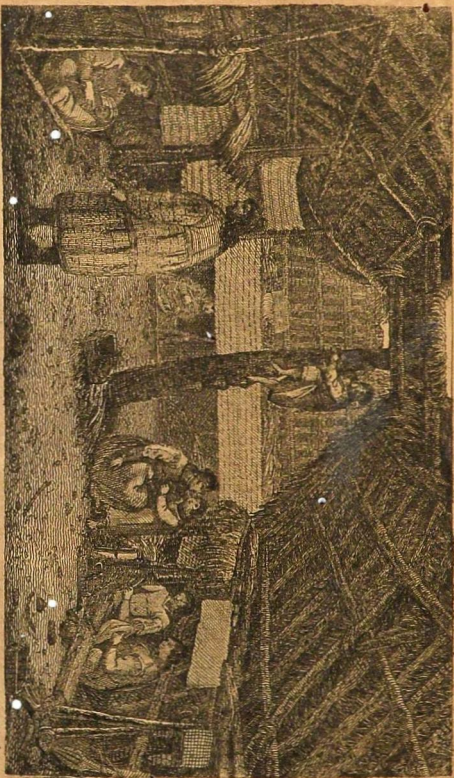
of wood, which they cover first with grass, and then with earth, so that the external appearance resembles a dung-hill. Near each end of the roof is left a square opening, which admits the light; one of these openings being only intended for this purpose, and the other being also used to go in and out by, with the assistance of a ladder; or rather a post, in which steps are cut. In some of the houses there is an entrance below, but this is rather uncommon. Round the sides and ends of the habitations, the families, several of which dwell together, have their separate apartments, where they sleep, and sit at work; not on benches, but in a sort of concave trench, dug entirely round the inside of the house, and covered with mats, so that this part is kept pretty clean and decent. The same cannot be said of the middle of the house, which is common to all the families. For though it is covered with dry grass, it is a receptacle for every kind of dirt, and the place where the urine trough stands; the stench of which is by no means improved by raw hides, or leather, being almost continually steeped in it. Behind, and over the trench, they place the few effects that they have in their possession, such as their mats, skins, and apparel.

Their furniture consists of buckets, cans, wooden bowls, spoons, matted baskets, and sometimes a Russian kettle or pot. All these utensils are made in a very neat manner; and yet we observed no other tools among them than the knife and the hatchet; that is, a small flat piece of iron, made like an adze, by fixing it into a crooked wooden handle.

Though the Russians live among these people; we found much less iron in possession of the latter than we had met with among other tribes on the neighbouring continent of America, who had never seen the Russians, nor perhaps had any intercourse with them. Probably a few beads, and a small quantity of tobacco and snuff, purchase all they have to spare. There are few of them that do not both smoke and chew tobacco, and take snuff.

They did not appear to be very desirous of more iron, or to want any other instruments except sewing needles, their own being formed of bone. With these they sew their canoes, and make their clothes, and also work very curious embroidery. They use, instead of thread, the fibres of sinews, which they split to the thickness which is required. All sewing is performed by the females. They are the shoemakers, taylors, and boat-builders, or boat-coverers; for the men, in all probability, construct the wooden frame, over which the skins are sewed. They manufacture mats, and baskets of grass, which are both strong and beautiful. There is, indeed, a neatness and perfection in most of their work, that shows they are neither deficient in ingenuity nor perseverance.

We did not observe a fire-place in any one of their habitations. They are lighted, as well as heated by lamps; which, though simple, effectually answer the purpose for which they are intended. They consist of a flat stone, hollowed on one side like a plate; in the hollow part they put the oil, mixed with some dry grass which serves for a wick. Both sexes often warm themselves over one of these lamps, by placing it between their legs, under their





garments, and sitting thus over it for several minutes. These people produce fire both by collision and attrition; the first by striking two stones against each other, on one of which a quantity of brimstone has been previously rubbed. The latter method is performed by means of two pieces of wood, one of which is flat, and the other is a stick of the length of about a foot and a half. They press the pointed end of the stick upon the other piece, whirling it nimbly round as a drill, and thus fire is procured in a few minutes. This method is common in many countries. It is not only practised by these people, but also by the Kamtschadales, the Greenlanders, the Otaheiteans, the New Hollanders, and the Brazilians, and probably by other nations. Some men of learning and genius have founded an argument on this custom, to prove that this and that nation are of the same extraction. But casual agreements, in a few particular instances, will not wholly authorize such a conclusion; nor, on the other hand, will a disagreement, either in manners or customs, between two different nations, prove of course that they are of different extraction.

We saw no offensive, nor even defensive weapon among the natives of Oonalashka. It can scarcely be supposed that the Russians found them in such a defenceless state; it is rather to be imagined, that, for their own security, they have disarmed them. Political motives, likewise, may have induced the Russians not to permit these islanders to have any large canoes; for we can hardly believe that they had none such originally, as we found them among all their neighbours. How-

ever, we observed none here except two or three that belonged to the Russians.

The canoes in use among the natives, are smaller than any of those we had seen upon the coast of America, from which, however, they differ but little in their construction. The form of these terminate somewhat abruptly; the head is forked, and the upper point of the fork projects without the under one, which is level with the surface of the water. It is remarkable that they should thus construct them, for the fork generally catches hold of every thing that comes in the way; to prevent which, they fix a piece of small stick from one point to the other. In other respects they build their canoes after the manner of those of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders; the same frame being of slender laths, and the covering of the skins of seals. They are about twelve feet in length, eighteen inches in breadth in the middle, and twelve or fourteen inches in depth. They sometimes carry two persons, one of whom sits in the seat, or round hole, which is nearly in the middle; and the other is stretched at full length in the canoe. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which gut-skin is sewed, which can be drawn together, or opened like a purse, with leathern strings fitted to the outer edge. The man sits in this place, draws the skin tight about his body over his gut-frock, and brings the ends of the thongs, or purse-strings, over his shoulder. The sleeves of his frock are fastened tight round his wrists; and it being close round his neck, and the hood being drawn over his head, where his cap confines it, water cannot easily penetrate, either into the canoe, or to his body. If, however, any

water should find means to insinuate itself, the boatman dries it up with a piece of sponge. He makes use of a double-bladed paddle, which is held with both hands in the middle, striking the water first on one side, and then on the other, with a quick regular motion. Thus the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction perfectly straight. In sailing from Egoochshac to Samganoodha, though our ship went at the rate of seven miles an hour, two or three canoes kept pace with her.

Their implements for hunting and fishing lie ready upon their canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all extremely well made of wood and bone, and are not very different from those used by the Greenlanders. The only difference is in the point of the missile dart; which, in some that we saw at this island, does not exceed an inch in length; whereas those of the Greenlanders, according to Crantz, are about eighteen inches long. Indeed these darts, as well as some other of their instruments, are extremely curious. Their darts are generally made of fir, and are about four feet in length. One end is formed of bone, into which, by means of a socket, another small piece of bone, which is barbed, is fixed, but contrived in such a manner as to be put in and taken out without trouble: this is secured to the middle of the stick by a strong, though thin piece of twine, composed of sinews. The bird, fish, or other animal is no sooner struck, than the pointed bone slips out of the socket, but remains fixed in its body by means of the barb. The dart then serves as a float to trace the animal, and also contributes to fatigue it considerably, so that it is easily taken. They

throw these darts by the assistance of a thin piece of wood, twelve or fourteen inches long; the middle of this is slightly hollowed, for the better reception of the weapon; and the termination of the hollow, which does not extend to the end, is fixed a short pointed piece of bone, to prevent the dart from slipping. The other extremity is furnished with a hole for the reception of the fore-finger, and the sides are made to coincide with the other fingers and thumb, in order to grasp with greater firmness. The natives throw these darts to the distance of eighty or ninety yards, with great force and dexterity. They are exceedingly expert in striking fish, both in the sea and in rivers. They also use hooks and lines, nets and wears. The lines are formed of twisted sinews, and the hooks of bone.

Whales, porpoises, grampuses, halibut, sword-fish, salmon, trout, cod, soals, flat-fish, and several other sorts, are found here; and there may be many more that we had not an opportunity of seeing. Salmon and halibut appear to be in the greatest plenty; and on them the people of these isles principally subsist; at least they were the only sort of fish, except cod, that we observed to be laid up for their winter store.

Seals, and all that tribe of sea-animals, are not so numerous as they are in many other seas. Nor can this be thought surprising, since there is hardly any part of the coast, on either continent, nor any of these islands, situate between them, but what is inhabited, and whose inhabitants hunt these animals for their food and clothing. Sea-horses are, indeed, to be found in prodigious numbers about the ice; and the sea-otter is scarce anywhere to be



met with but in this sea. An animal was sometimes seen by us that blew after the manner of whales. It had a head resembling that of a seal. It was larger than that animal, and its colour was white, with dark spots interspersed. This was perhaps the *manati*, or sea-cow.

Water-fowls are neither found here in such numbers, nor in such variety, as in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. However there are some in these parts, that we do not recollect to have seen in other countries; particularly the *alca monochroa* of Steller, and a black and white duck, which we judge to be different from the stone-duck that Krasheninikoff has described in his History of Kamtschatka. All the other birds we saw are mentioned by this author, except some which we observed near the ice; and the greatest part of these, if not all, have been described by Martin, in his voyage to Greenland. It is somewhat extraordinary, that penguins, which are so frequently met with in many parts of the world, should not be found in this sea. Albatrosses too are extremely scarce here. The few land-birds seen by us are the same with those of Europe; but there were probably many others which we had no opportunity of observing. A very beautiful bird was shot in the woods at Norton Sound; which, we understand, is sometimes found in England, and known by the appellation of chatterer. Our people saw other small birds there, but in no great abundance of variety; such as the bull-finch, the wood-pecker, the yellow-finch, and tit-mouse.

Our excursions and observations being confined to the sea-coast, we cannot be expected to have

much knowledge of the animals or vegetables of the country. There are few other insects besides musquitoes, and we saw few reptiles except lizards. There are no deer at Oonalashka, or any of the neighbouring islands; nor are there any domestic animals, not even dogs. Weasels and foxes were the only quadrupedes we observed; but the natives told us that they had likewise hares, and the *marmottes* mentioned by Krasheninikoff. Hence it appears, that the inhabitants procure the greatest share of their food from the sea and rivers. They are also indebted to the sea for all the wood which they use for building, and other necessary purposes; as there is not a tree to be seen growing upon any of the islands, nor upon the neighbouring coast of the continent.

The seeds of plants are said to be conveyed, by various means, from one part of the world to another; even to islands lying in the midst of extensive oceans, and far distant from any other lands. It is therefore remarkable, that there are no trees growing on this part of the American continent, nor upon any of the adjacent isles. They are doubtless as well situate for receiving seeds, by the various ways we have heard of, as those coasts which have plenty of wood. Nature has, perhaps, denied to some soils the power of raising trees without the assistance of art. With respect to the drift-wood, upon the shores of these islands, we have no doubt of its coming from America. For though there may be none on the neighbouring coast, a sufficient quantity may grow farther up the country, which may be broken loose by torrents in the spring, and brought down to the sea.

and not a little may be conveyed from the woody coasts, though situate at a more considerable distance.

Plants are to be found in great variety at Oonashka. Several of them are such as we meet with in Europe, and also in Newfoundland, and other parts of America; and others of them, which are likewise found in Kamtschatka, are eaten by the natives both there and here. Of these, Krashenikoff has favoured us with descriptions. The principal one is the *saranne*, or lily-root: which is about as large as a root of garlic, round, and composed of a number of small cloves and grains. When boiled, it somewhat resembles saloop; the taste of it is not disagreeable. It does not appear to be in great abundance.

Among the food of the natives we may reckon some other wild roots; the stalk of a plant not unlike angelica; and berries of different species, such as cran-berries, hurtleberries, bramble-berries, and heath-berries; besides a small red berry, which, in Newfoundland, is denominated partridge-berry; and another brown berry, with which we were unacquainted. This has somewhat of the taste of a sloe, but is different from it in every other respect. When eaten in a considerable quantity it is very astringent. Brandy may be distilled from it. Captain Clerke endeavoured to preserve some; but they fermented, and became as strong as if they had been steeped in spirits.

There were several plants which were serviceable to us, but are not used either by the Russians or the natives. These were pea-tops, wild purslain, a sort of scurvy grass, cresses, and a few others. We

found all these very palatable, whether dressed in soups or in sallads. The valleys and low grounds abound with grass, which grows very thick, and to a great length. We are of opinion that cattle might subsist at Oonalashka in every season of the year, without being housed. The soil in many places appeared to be capable of producing grain and vegetables. But at present the Russian traders and the natives seem contented with the spontaneous productions of nature.

We observed native sulphur among the people of this island; but we could not learn where they procured it. We also found ochre, and a stone that affords a purple colour, besides another that gives a good green. This last, in its natural state, is of a greyish green hue, coarse, and heavy. It teadily dissolves in oil; but when it is put into water, it altogether loses its properties. As for the stones about the shore and hills, we perceived in them nothing that was extraordinary.

The Oonalashkans inter their dead on the tops of hills, and raise over the grave a little hillock. One of the natives, who attended captain Cook in a walk into the country, pointed out several of these repositories of the dead. There was one of them, by the side of the road, that had a heap of stones over it; and all who passed it, added a stone to the heap. In the country were seen several stone hillocks, that seemed to have been artificially raised. Some of them were, to appearance, of great antiquity.

We are unacquainted with the notions of these people respecting the deity, and a future state. We are equally uninformed with regard to their



diversions ; having seen nothing that could give us an insight into either.

They are extremely chearful and friendly among each other ; and they always treated us with great civility. The Russians said they never had any connection with their women, on account of their not being christians. Our people, however, were less scrupulous ; and some of them had reason to repent that the women of Oonalashka encouraged their addresses ; for their health was injured by a distemper that is not wholly unknown here. The natives are also subject to the cancer, or a complaint of a similar nature, which those who are attacked by it are studious to conceal. They do not appear to be long-lived. We did not see a person, man or woman, whom we could suppose to be sixty years of age ; and we observed very few who seemed to exceed fifty.

We have occasionally mentioned, from the time of our arrival in Prince William's Sound, how remarkably the inhabitants on this northwestern side of America resemble the Esquimaux and Greenlanders in various particulars of person, dress, weapons, canoes, and the like. We were, however, much less struck with this, than with the affinity subsisting between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, and those of Oonalashka and Norton's Sound. But we must observe, with respect to the words which were collected by us on this side of America, that too much stress is not to be laid upon their being accurately represented ; for, after the death of Mr Anderson, we had few who took any great degree of pains about such matters ; and we have often found that the same word, writ-

ten down by two or more persons, from the mouth of the same native, differed considerably, on being compared together. Nevertheless, enough is certain to authorize this judgment, that there is great reason to suppose that all these nations are of the same extraction; and if that be the case, there is little doubt of there being a northern communication by sea, between the western side of America and the eastern side, through Baffin's Bay; which communication, however, is perhaps effectually shut up against ships, by ice and other obstructions; such, at least, was captain Cook's opinion at this time.

The tides in these parts are not very considerable, except in Cook's river. The flood comes from the south or southeast, following the direction of the coast to the northwest. Between Cape Prince of Wales and Norton Sound we found a current setting towards the northwest, particularly off that cape, and within Sledge Island. This current, however, extended but a little way from the coast, and was neither consistent nor uniform. To the north of Cape Prince of Wales we observed neither tide nor current, either on the coast of America or that of Asia. This circumstance gave rise to an opinion which some of our people entertained, that the two coasts were connected either by land or ice; and that opinion received some degree of strength, from our never having any hollow waves from the northward, and from our seeing ice almost the whole way across.

From the observations made during our continuance in the harbour of Samganoodeha, its latitude is

53° 5' north, and its longitude 193° 29' 45" east.

On Monday the 26th of October, we sailed from Samganoodha harbour, when, the wind being southerly, we stood to the westward. We intended to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, in order to pass a few of the winter months there, if we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then advance in our progress to Kamtschatka, so as to arrive there about the middle of May, in the ensuing year. This being determined on, the commodore gave captain Clerke instructions for proceeding, in case of separation; Sandwich Islands being appointed for the first place of rendezvous; and, for the second, Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka. Having got out of the harbour, the wind veered to the southeast, with which we were carried to the western point of Oonalashka, by the evening. Here the wind was at south, and we stretched to the westward till the next morning at seven, at which time we wore, and stood to the east. The wind had now so greatly increased, as to reduce us to our three courses. It blew in heavy squalls, accompanied with rain, hail, and snow.

In the morning of the 28th, at about nine o'clock, Oonalashka bore southeast, about four leagues distant. The strength of the gale was much abated, and, towards the evening, insensibly veered round to the east, and soon after got to northeast, increasing to a very hard gale, attended with rain.

At half after six, in the morning of the 29th, we discovered land, which we supposed to be the island Amoghta. At eight, the wind having veered to the westward, we could not weather the island,

and gave over plying; bearing away for Oonalashka, in order to go to the north of it, not daring, in so hard a gale of wind, to attempt a passage to the southeast of it. When we bore away, the land was about four leagues distant. The longitude was  $191^{\circ} 17'$ , and the latitude  $53^{\circ} 38'$ . The Russian map is very inaccurate in the situation of this island.

Steering to the northeast, we discovered, at eleven o'clock, a rock, elevated like a tower, bearing north-northeast, at the distance of about four leagues. The latitude was  $53^{\circ} 57'$ , and the longitude  $191^{\circ} 2'$ . We got sight of Oonalashka about three in the afternoon, when we shortened sail, and hauled the wind, being unable to get through the passage before night. On the 20th, at day-break, having a very hard gale at west-northwest, with heavy squalls and snow, we bore away under courses and close reefed topsails. About noon we were in the middle of the strait, and got thro' it at three in the afternoon, Cape Providence bearing west-southwest; the wind at west-northwest, blew a strong gale, with fair weather.

On the 2d of November, the wind was at south, and, in the evening, blew a violent storm, which occasioned us to bring to. Several guns were fired by the Discovery, which we immediately answered. We lost sight of her at eight, and saw no more of her till eight the next morning. She joined us at ten; when, the height of the gale being over, and the wind having veered to north-northwest, we made sail, and pursued our course to the southward.



In the morning of Saturday the 7th, a shag or cormorant flew often round the ship. As it is not common for these birds to go far out of the sight of land, we supposed there was some at no great distance; though we could not discover any. Having but little wind in the afternoon, captain Clerke came on board with some melancholy intelligence. He informed us that the second night after we departed from Samganoodha, the main tack of the Discovery gave way, by which accident one man was killed, and the boatswain, with two or three others, wounded. He added, that his sails and rigging received considerable damage on the 3d, and that he fired the guns as a signal to bring to.

On the 8th, we had a gentle breeze at north, with clear weather. On the 9th, we had eight hours calm. To this succeeded a wind from the south, accompanied with fair weather. Such of our people as could handle a needle, were now employed to repair the sails; and the carpenters were directed to put the boats in order.

At noon, on the 12th, the wind returned to the northward, and veered to the east on the 15th. We now saw a tropic bird and a dolphin; the first we had observed in our passage. On the 17th, the wind was southward, where it remained till the 19th in the afternoon, when it was instantly brought round by the west to the north, by a squall of wind and rain. The wind increased to a very strong gale, and brought us under double-reefed topsails. In lowering the main topsail, in order to reef it, the force of the wind tore it out of the foot-rope, and it was split in several parts. We got, however, another topsail to the yard the next morning.

We steered to the southward till the 25th, at daylight, when we were in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 55'$ .

The next morning, at day-break, land was discovered, extending from south-southeast to west. We stood for it, and at eight o'clock it extended from southeast to west, the nearest part about two leagues distant. We now perceived that our discovery of the group of Sandwich Islands had been very imperfect, those which we had visited in our progress northward, all lying to the leeward of our present station.

An elevated hill appeared in the country, whose summit rose above the clouds. The land, from this hill, fell in a gradual slope, terminating in a steep rocky coast; the sea breaking against it in a most dreadful surf. Unable to weather the island, we bore up, and ranged to the westward. We now perceived people on many parts of the shore, and several houses and plantations. The country appeared to be well supplied with wood and water, and streams were seen, in various places, falling into the sea.

It being of the utmost importance to procure a proper supply of provisions at these islands, which could not possibly be accomplished, if a free trade with the natives were to be permitted, captain Cook published an order, prohibiting all persons on board the ships from trading, except those appointed by himself and captain Clerke; and these were under limitations of trading only for provisions and refreshments. Injunctions were also laid against the admittance of women into the ships, but under certain restrictions. But the evil, which was intended

to have been prevented by this regulation, had already got amongst them.

About noon, the coast extended from southeast to northwest, the nearest shore three miles distant, in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 59'$ , and the longitude of  $203^{\circ} 50'$ . Some canoes came off, and, when they got along side, many of the conductors of them came into the ship without hesitation. We perceived that they were of the same nation as those islanders more to the leeward, which had already been visited by us; and, as we understood, they were no strangers to our having been there. It was, indeed, too evident; these people having got the venereal disease among them; which they probably contracted by an intercourse with their neighbours, after we had left them.

Our visitors supplied us with a quantity of cuttle-fish, in exchange for nails and iron. They brought but little fruit or roots, but said they had plenty of them on their island, as well as of hogs and fowls. The horizon being clear, in the evening, we supposed the westernmost land that we could see to be an island, distinct from that off which we now were. Expecting the natives would return the next day, with the produce of their island, we plied off the whole night, and stood close in shore the next morning. At first we were visited but by few, but, towards noon, many of them appeared, bringing with them potatoes, taro, bread-fruit, plantains, and small pigs, all of which were bartered for iron tools and nails, we having few other articles to give them. We traded with them till about four in the afternoon, at which time they had disposed of all

their cargoes, and, not expressing any inclination to fetch more, we immediately made sail.

On the 30th, in the afternoon, being off the north-east end of the island, some more canoes came off. These principally belonged to Terreeoboo, a chief who came in one of them. He made the commodore a present of two or three pigs; and we procured a little fruit by bartering with the other people. In about two hours they all left us, except seven or eight, who chose to remain on board. Soon after, a double sailing-canoe arrived to attend upon them, which we towed astern the whole night. In the evening another island was seen to the windward, called by the natives *Owhyhee*. That which we had been off for some days was called *Mowee*.

At eight in the morning, on the 1st of December, *Owhyhee* extended from southeast to southwest. Perceiving that we could fetch *Owhyhee*, we stood for it, when our visitors from *Mowee* thought proper to embark in their canoes, and went ashore. We spent the night standing off and on the north side of *Owhyhee*.

On the 2d of December, in the morning, to our great surprise, we saw the summits of the mountains covered with snow. Though they were not of an extraordinary height, the snow, in some places, appeared to be of a considerable depth, and to have remained there some time. Drawing near the shore, some of the natives approached us, who appeared a little shy at first, but we prevailed on some of them to come on board; and, at length, induced them to return to the island, to bring a supply of what we wanted. We had plenty of company after these had reached the shore, who brought us a tolerable



supply of pigs, fruit, and roots. We traded with them till about six in the evening, when we stood off, in order to ply to windward round the island.

An eclipse of the moon was observed in the evening of the 4th. Mr King used, for the purpose of observation, a night telescope, with a circular aperture at the object end. The commodore observed with the telescope of one of Ramsden's sextants.

In the evening of the 6th, being near the shore, and five leagues further up the coast, we again traded with the natives; but, receiving only a trifling supply, we stood in the next morning, when the number of our visitors was considerable, with whom we trafficked till two in the afternoon. We had now procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient to supply us for four or five days. We therefore made sail, and still plied to windward.

Captain Cook having procured a great quantity of sugar-cane, and having, upon a trial, discovered that a decoction of it made very palatable beer, he ordered some of it to be brewed for our general use; but, on the broaching of the casks, not one of the crew would even taste it. The commodore, having no other motive in preparing this beverage, than that of preserving our spirits for a colder climate, neither exerted his authority, nor had recourse to persuasion, to induce them to drink it; well knowing that, so long as we could be plentifully supplied with other vegetables, there was no danger of the scurvy. But, that he might not be disappointed in his views, he ordered that no grog should be served in either of the ships. The commodore and his officers continued to drink this sugar-cane beer, whenever materials could be procured for brewing

it. Some hops, which we had on board, improved it much; and it was doubtless extremely wholesome; though the captain's inconsiderate crew could not be persuaded but that it was injurious to their health.

Innovations of whatever kind on board a ship are sure to meet with the disapprobation of the seamen, though ever so much to their advantage. Portable soup and sour kroust were condemned at first as improper food for human beings. Few commanders have introduced more useful varieties of food and drink into their ships than captain Cook has done. Few others indeed have had the opportunities, or have been driven to the necessity of trying such experiments. It was, nevertheless, owing to certain deviations from established practice, that he was enabled, in a great degree, to preserve his people from the scurvy, a distemper that has often made more havock in peaceful voyages than the enemy in military expeditions.

Having kept at some distance from the coast till the 13th, we stood in again, six leagues more to windward; and, after trading with the natives who came off to us, returned to sea. We also intended to have approached the shore again on the 15th, to get a fresh supply of fruit and roots; but the wind happening to be then at southeast, we embraced the opportunity of stretching to the eastward, in order to get round the south-east end of the island. The wind continued at southeast the greatest part of the 16th; on the 17th it was variable, and on the 18th it was continually veering. Sometimes it blew in hard squalls, and at other times it was calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

The wind was westerly for a few hours in the afternoon, but it shifted in the evening to east by south. The southeast point of the island now bore southwest by south, distant about five leagues, and we expected that we should be able to weather it; but it became calm at one the next morning, and we were left wholly at the mercy of a northeasterly swell, which greatly impelled us towards the land; insomuch, that before morning lights were seen upon the shore, which was then about the distance of a league. It was a dark night, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

A breeze from the southeast succeeded the calm at about three, blowing in squalls, with rain. At day-break the coast extended from north by west to southwest by west, about half a league distant; a most dreadful surf breaking upon the shore. We had certainly been in the most imminent danger, from which we were not yet secure, the wind veering more easterly; so that for a considerable time we were but just able to keep our distance from the coast. Our situation was rendered the more alarming by the leach-rope of the main-top-sail giving way, in consequence of which the sail was rent in two; the top-gallant-sails giving way in the same manner. We soon, however, got others to the yards, and left the land astern. The Discovery was at some distance to the north, entirely clear from the land; nor did she appear in sight till eight o'clock.

It is an obvious remark, that the bolt-ropes to our sails are extremely deficient in strength or substance. This has frequently been the source of infinite labour and vexation, and occasioned the loss of much canvass, by their giving way. It was, up-

on this occasion, observed by Captain Cook, that the cordage, canvas, and other stores made use of in the navy, are inferior in general to those used in the merchant service.

The commodore also observed that an opinion prevailed among all naval officers, that the King's stores were superior to any others; no ships being so well fitted out as those of the navy. They may be right, he admits, as to the quantity; but, he apprehends, not with respect to the quality of the stores. This, indeed, is not often tried; for these things are usually condemned, or converted to other uses before they are half worn out. Only such voyages as ours afford an opportunity of making the trial; our situation being such as to render it necessary to wear every thing to the extreme\*.

When day-light appeared, the natives ashore exhibited a white flag, as a signal, we imagined, of peace and friendship. Many of them ventured out after us; but, as the wind freshened, and we were unwilling to wait, they were presently left astern. In the afternoon we made another attempt to weather the eastern extreme, in which we failed; when the commodore gave it up, and ran down to the Discovery.

Our getting round the island was, indeed, a matter of no importance; for we had seen the extent of it to the southeast, which was all the commodore aimed at; the natives having informed us that

\* Captain Cook, in this particular, appears to be mistaken; the best cordage being made in the King's yard. In time of war, indeed, when the cordage is, from necessity, supplied by contract, some of an inferior quality may sometimes be made.



there was no other island to the windward of this. But, as we were so near accomplishing our design, we did not entirely abandon the idea of weathering it, and continued to ply.

At noon, on the 20th, the southeast point bore south, at the distance of three leagues. The snowy hills bore west-northwest; and we were within four miles of the nearest shore. We were visited in the afternoon by some of the natives, who came off in their canoes, bringing with them pigs and plantains. The latter were highly acceptable, we having been without vegetables for some days; but this was so inconsiderable a supply (hardly sufficient for one day) that we stood in the next morning, till within about four miles of the land, when a number of canoes came off, laden with provisions. The people in them continued trading with us till four o'clock in the afternoon; at which time we had got a good supply; we therefore made sail, stretching off to the northward.

We met with less reserve and suspicion in our intercourse with the people of this island, than we had ever experienced among any tribe of savages. They frequently sent up into the ship the articles they meant to barter, and afterwards came in themselves, to traffic on the quarter-deck. The inhabitants of Otaheite, whom we have so often visited, have not that confidence in our integrity. Whence it may be inferred, that those of Owhyhee are more faithful in their dealings with each other than the Otaheiteans.

It is but justice to observe that they never attempted to over-reach us in exchanges, nor to commit a single theft. They perfectly understand

trading, and clearly comprehend the reason of our plying upon the coast. For, though they brought off plenty of pigs and other provisions, they were particular in keeping up their price; and, rather than dispose of them at an undervalue, would carry them to shore again.

At eight in the morning of the 22d, we tacked to the southward. At noon the snowy peak bore southwest. We stood to the southeast till midnight, when we tacked to the north till four. We had hopes of weathering the island, and should have succeeded, if a calm had not ensued, and left us to the mercy of a swell, which impelled us towards the land, from which we were not above the distance of two leagues. Some light puffs of wind, however, took us out of danger. Whilst we lay in this situation, some islanders came off with hogs, fowls, and fruit. From one of the canoes we got a goose, which was not larger than a Muscovy duck. The colour of its plumage was dark grey, and the bill and legs were black.

After purchasing what the natives had brought off, we made sail, and stretched to the north. At mid-night we tacked, and stood to the southeast. Imagining the Discovery would see us tack, we omitted the signal; but it afterwards appeared that she did not see us, and continued standing to the north; for the next morning, at day-light, she was not to be seen. But, as the weather was now hazy, we could not see far; it was therefore possible that the Discovery might be following us. At noon, we were in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 55'$ , and in the longitude of  $205^{\circ} 3'$ ; and we were two leagues from the nearest part of the island. In the even-

ing, at six, the southermost part of the island bore southwest, the nearest shore about seven miles distant. We had, therefore, now succeeded in our endeavours in getting to the windward of the island.

The Discovery was not yet within sight, but as the wind was favourable for her to follow us, we expected she would shortly join us. We kept cruising off this point of the island, till Captain Clerke was no longer expected here. It was, at length, conjectured, that he was gone to leeward in order to meet us that way, not having been able to weather the northeast part of the island.

Keeping generally from five to ten leagues from the land, only one canoe came off to us till the 28th; at which time we were attended by about a dozen, bringing, as usual, the produce of the island. We were concerned that the people had been at the trouble of coming, as we could not possibly trade with them, not having yet consumed our former stock; and experience had convinced us that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots be many days preserved from putrefaction. We meant, however, not to leave this part of the island till we had got a supply, as we could not easily return to it, if it should hereafter be found necessary. On the 30th, we began to be in want, but a calm prevented us from approaching the shore. A breeze, however, sprung up at mid-night, which enabled us to stand in for the land at day-break. At ten o'clock the islanders visited us, bringing with them a quantity of fruit and roots, but only three small pigs. This scanty supply was, perhaps, occasioned

by our not having purchased those which had lately been brought off.

For the purposes of traffic we brought to, but we were shortly interrupted with an excessive rain; and, indeed, we were too far from the shore; nor could we venture to go nearer, as we could not, for a moment, depend upon the wind's continuing where it was. The swell, too, was extremely high, and set obliquely upon the shore, where it broke in a most frightful surf. We had fine weather in the evening, and passed the night in making boards. Before day-break, on the 1st of January 1779, the atmosphere was laden with heavy clouds; and the new year was ushered in with a heavy rain. We had a light breeze southerly, with some calms. At ten, the rain ceased, the sky became clear, and the wind freshened.

Being now about four or five miles from the shore, some canoes arrived with hogs, fruit, and roots. We traded with the people in the canoes till three in the afternoon; when, being well supplied, we made sail, in order to proceed to the lee-side of the island, in search of the Discovery. We stretched to the eastward, till mid-night, when the wind favoured us, and we went upon the other tack.

The 2d, 3d, and 4th, were passed in running down the southeast side of the island, standing off and on during the nights, and employing part of each day in lying to, to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. They frequently came off to us, at the distance of five leagues from the shore, but never brought much with them, at those times, either from a fear of losing their articles in



the sea, or from the uncertainty of a market. We procured a quantity of salt, of a most excellent quality.

In the morning of the 5th we passed the south point of the island, in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 54'$ , beyond which the coast trends north  $60^{\circ}$  west. A large village is situate on this point, many of whose inhabitants thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. The latter could not possibly be prevented from coming on board; and they were less reserved than any women we had ever seen. They seemed, indeed, to have visited us with no other view than to tender us with their persons.

Having now got a quantity of salt, we purchased only such hogs as were large enough for salting; refusing all those that were under size. But we could seldom procure any that exceeded the weight of sixty pounds. Happily for us, we had still some vegetables remaining, as we were now supplied with but few of these productions. Indeed, from the appearance of this part of the country, it seemed incapable of affording them. Evident marks presented themselves of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano; and though we had not then seen any thing of the kind, the devastation it had made in the neighbourhood was but too visible.

Though the coast is sheltered from the reigning winds, it had no anchorage; a line of an hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching the bottom, within half a-mile of the shore. The natives having now left us, we ran a few miles down the coast in the

evening, and passed the night in standing off and on.

We were again visited by the natives the next morning. They came laden with the same articles of commerce as before. Being not far from the shore, captain Cook sent Mr Bligh, in a boat, in order to sound the coast, and also to go ashore in search of fresh water. He reported, on his return, that, within two cables length of the shore, he found no soundings with a line of one hundred and sixty fathoms; that, on the land, he could discover no stream or spring; that there was some rain water in holes, upon the rocks, which the spray of the sea had rendered brackish; that the whole surface of the country was composed of slags and ashes, interspersed with a few plants.

To our great satisfaction, the Discovery made her appearance between ten and eleven, coming round the south point of the island, and she joined us about one. Captain Clerke then came on board the Resolution, and acquainted us, that, having cruised four or five days where we were separated, he plied round the east side of the island; where, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been driven to some distance from the coast. One of the islanders continued on board the whole time, at his own request, having refused to leave the ship, though opportunities had presented themselves. The night was spent in standing off and on. In the morning we stood in again, and were visited by many of the natives. At noon, the latitude was  $19^{\circ} 1'$ , and the longitude  $203^{\circ} 26'$ ; the nearest part of the island two leagues distant. On the 8th, at day-break, we perceived, that whilst we were

plying in the night, the currents had carried us back considerably to windward; and that we were now off the southwest point of the island, where we brought to, in order to enable the inhabitants to trade with us.

The night was spent in standing off and on. Four men and ten women, who came on board the preceding day, were with us still. The commodore not liking the company of the latter, we stood in for the shore, on the 9th, about noon, solely with a view of getting rid of our guests; when, some canoes coming off, we embraced that opportunity of sending them away.

On the 10th, in the morning, we had light airs from northwest, and calms; at eleven, the wind freshened at north-northwest, which so greatly retarded us, that, in the evening, at eight, the south snowy hill bore north,  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 11th, the wind being at west, we approached the land, in expectation of getting some refreshments. The natives, seeing us so near them, began to come off, and we continued trading with them the whole day; though we procured but a very scanty supply, many of those who came off in their canoes, not having a single thing to barter. From this circumstance, it appeared, that this part of the island was extremely poor, and had already furnished us with every thing they could spare.

The 12th was employed in plying off and on, with a fresh gale at the west. A mile from the shore we found ground, at the depth of fifty-five fathoms. At five, we stood to the southward, and at mid-night we had a calm. The next morning

at eight, we had a small breeze at south-southeast, and steered for the land.

A few canoes came off to us with some hogs; but they brought no vegetables, which were now much wanted. In the evening, we had got the length of the southwest point of the island, but, by the veering of the wind, we lost in the night all that we had gained in the day. Being in the same situation the next morning, some more canoes attended us; but they brought nothing which we stood in need of. We were now destitute of roots and fruit, and therefore obliged to have recourse to our sea provisions. Some canoes, however arrived from the northward, which supplied us with some hogs and roots.

On the 15th, we had variable light airs till five in the afternoon, when a breeze at east-northeast sprung up, and enabled us to steer along shore to the northward. The weather was this day remarkably fine and we had plenty of company; many of whom continued with us on board all night, and their canoes were towed astern. On the 16th, at day-break, seeing the appearance of a bay, the commodore sent Mr Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to survey it, being now about three leagues off.

Canoes arrived from all quarters; insomuch that, by ten o'clock in the morning, there were at least a thousand about the two ships, crowded with people, and laden with hogs and other provisions. We were perfectly convinced of their having no hostile intentions; not a single person having a weapon with them of any sort. Trade and curiosity were their only inducements to visit us. Such numbers



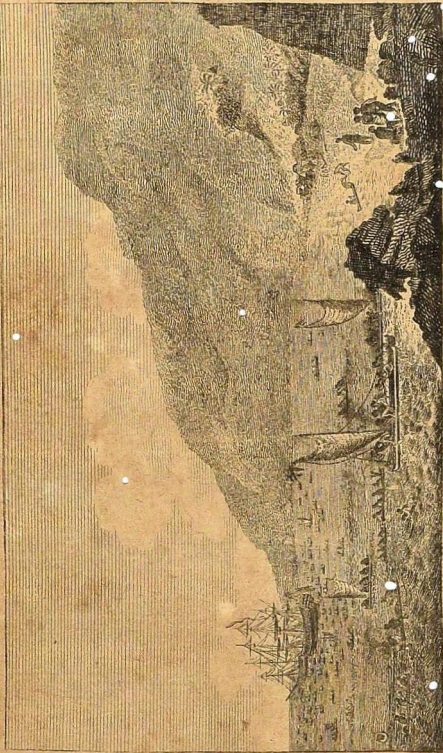
as we had frequently on board, it might be expected that some of them should betray a thievish disposition. One of them took a boat's rudder from the ship, and was not detected till it was too late to recover it. Captain Cook imagined this to be a proper opportunity to show these islanders the use of fire-arms; two or three musquets, and as many four pounders, were, by his orders, fired over the canoe which went away with the rudder. But, as the shot was not intended to take effect, the surrounding multitude were more surprised than frightened.

Mr Bligh, when he returned in the evening, reported, that he had found a bay with good anchorage, and fresh-water, in a desirable situation. Into this bay the commodore determined to take his ships, in order to refit, and supply ourselves with refreshments. At the approach of night the most considerable part of our visitors retired to the shore; but many, at their own earnest request, were permitted to sleep on board. Curiosity, at least with some of them, was not the only motive; for several articles were missing the next morning; in consequence of which, the commodore came to a resolution not to admit so many on any future night.

On the 17th, at eleven in the forenoon, we anchored in the bay, called by the natives *Karakakooa*, within a quarter of a mile of the northeast shore. The south point of the bay bearing south by west, and the north point west half north. After we were moored, the ships continued much crowded with the natives, and surrounded by a vast multitude of canoes. In the course of our voyages we had nowhere seen such vast numbers of people as-

sembled at one place. Besides those who visited us in canoes, all the shore was covered with spectators, and hundreds were swimming about the ships, like shoals of fish. We were struck with the singularity of this scene; and few of us lamented that we had not succeeded in our late endeavours to find a northern passage homeward. To this disappointment we were indebted for revisiting the *Sandwich Islands*, and for enriching our voyage with a discovery, in many respects, the most important that has been made by Europeans in the Pacific Ocean.

The bay of Karakakooa is situate in the district of Akona, on the west side of the island of Owhyhee. It extends about a mile in depth, and is bounded by two points of land, bearing south-east and northwest from each other, at the distance of half a league. The north point is flat and barren, on which is situate the village of Kowrowa. A more considerable village, called Kakoo, stands in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of stately cocoa trees. A high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea-shore, runs between them. Near the coast, on the south side, the land has a rugged appearance; beyond which the land gradually rises, and abounds with cultivated inclosures, and groves of cocoa trees. The habitations of the people are scattered about in great plenty. Round the bay the shore is covered with a black coral rock, except at Kakooa, where there is an excellent sandy beach, with a *Morai* at one extremity, and a spring of fresh water at the other. We moored at the north side of this bay, and within a quarter of a mile from the shore. The inhabitants, perceiving



Our intention to anchor in the bay, came off in astonishing numbers, expressing their joy by singing, shouting, and the most extravagant gestures. The decks, sides, and riggings of our ships were covered with them. Women and boys, who were unable to procure canoes, came swimming round us in great multitudes; some of whom, not finding room to get on board, amused themselves the whole day by playing in the water.

One of the chiefs, who visited the *Resolution*, was named Pareea. Though a young man, we soon discovered him to be a person of great authority. He told captain Cook that he was a *Yakane*\* to the sovereign of the island, who was then on a military expedition at Mowee; whence he was expected to return in a few days. Some presents from the commodore attached him to our interests, and we found him exceedingly useful to us. Before we had been long at anchor, the *Discovery* had so many people hanging on one side, that she was observed to heel considerably; and our people found it impossible to prevent the crowds from pressing into her. Captain Cook, apprehensive that she might receive some injury, communicated his fears to Pareea, who instantly cleared the ship of her incumbrances, and dispersed the canoes that surrounded her.

From this circumstance, it appears that the chiefs have a most despotic authority over the inferior people. An instance, similar to this, happened on board the *Resolution*; where the crowd so far im-

\* We could not learn with certainty whether this was a name of office, or expressive of some degree of affinity.



ped the ordinary business of the ship, that we found it necessary to apply to Kaneena, another chief, who had also attached himself particularly to captain Cook. The inconvenience we suffered was no sooner mentioned, than he ordered the natives immediately to quit the vessel; when, without a moment's hesitation, we saw them all jump overboard, except one person, who loitered behind, and, by his manner, expressed some degree of unwillingness to obey. Kaneena observing this contempt of his authority, took hold of him immediately, and threw him into the sea.

These two chiefs were exceedingly well proportioned, and had countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena, whose portrait was drawn by Mr Webber, was as fine a figure as can be seen. His height was about six feet, his features were regular and expressive, his deportment was easy, firm, and graceful, and he had dark lively eyes.

Mention has already been made that while we were cruizing off this island, the inhabitants had acted fairly and honestly, without manifesting the least propensity to theft; which was the more remarkable, because those with whom we had hitherto had any dealing, were people of the lowest rank, such as fishermen or servants. The case was now exceedingly altered. The multitude of islanders, who blocked up every part of the ships, afforded opportunities of pilfering without danger of discovery, and even if detected, must have escaped with impunity from our inferiority in number. To the encouragement of their chiefs this alteration might also be attributed; for, as we frequently traced the booty into the possession of some great men, there

is little doubt but these depredations were made at their instigation.

The Resolution having got into her station, the two chiefs, Pareea and Kaneena, brought a third on board, whose name was Koah. He was represented to us as a priest, and one who, in his early days, had distinguished himself as a warrior. He was a little old emaciated figure, having sore red eyes, and his body covered with a leprous scurf, occasioned by the immoderate use of the *ava*. Being conducted to the cabin, he approached the commodore with the greatest deference, threw a piece of red cloth over his shoulders, and, retreating a few paces, made an offering of a small pig, at the same time pronouncing a discourse of a considerable length.

During our continuance at Owhyhee, this ceremony was repeated often, and, from a variety of circumstances, appeared to us to be a kind of religious adoration. Red cloth is an article with which their idols are arrayed, and a pig is their common offering to the *Eatoos*. Their speeches were delivered with a volubility that indicated them to be conformable to some ritual.

At the conclusion of this ceremony, Koah dined with the commodore, and ate plentifully of the viands before him; but, like most of the islanders in these seas, he could hardly be induced to taste our wine or spirits a second time. In the evening the commodore, Mr King, and Mr Bailey, accompanied him on shore. As soon as we landed on the beach, we were preceded by four men, bearing each a wand tipped with dog's hair, and pronouncing, with a loud voice, a short sentence, in which the

word *Orono*\* was very distinguishable. The crowd, which had assembled on the shore, retired at our approach; and not an individual was to be seen, except a few who had prostrated themselves on the ground, near the habitations of the adjacent village.

Before we relate an account of the peculiar ceremonies respecting the adoration paid to captain Cook, it may not be unnecessary to describe the *Morai*, already mentioned, situate on the beach at *Kakooa*. It consisted of a square solid pile of stones, of the length of forty yards, the breadth of twenty, and the height of fourteen. The top of it was flat, and a wooden rail surrounded it, on which were displayed the skulls of those natives who had been sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. A ruinous wooden building was situate in the centre of the area, connected with the rail by a stone wall, dividing the whole space into two parts. Five poles, of about twenty feet in height, supported an irregular kind of scaffold on the side next the country; and on the side towards the sea were two small houses, with a covered communication.

Koah conducted us to the top of this pile. At our entrance we beheld two large wooden images, with most distorted features, having a long piece of wood proceeding from the top of their heads, of a conical form inverted; the other parts were covered with red cloth. Here captain Cook was received by a tall young man, having a long beard,

\* This was captain Cook's general appellation among the natives of Owhyhee. Sometimes it was applied by them to an invisible being inhabiting heaven. It was also a title of great rank in the island.

who presented him to the images, and chanted a kind of hymn, in which he was assisted by Koah. We were then led to that side of the *Morai* where the poles were erected; at the foot of which twelve images were ranged in the form of a semicircle; the middle figure having a high table before it like the *Whatta* of Otaheite, on which we saw a putrid hog, and under it some cocoa-nuts, plantains, potatoes, bread-fruit, and pieces of sugar-cane. The commodore was conducted under this stand by Koah; who, taking down the hog, held it towards him; when, having again addressed him in a long and vehement speech, he suffered it to fall upon the ground, and ascended the scaffolding with him, though at the peril of their falling.

We now beheld, advancing in solemn procession, and entering the top of the *Morai*, ten men bearing a live hog, and a piece of large red cloth of considerable dimensions. Advancing a few paces, they stopped, and prostrated themselves; and Kairee-keea, the tall young man already mentioned, approaching them, received the cloth, and carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the commodore, and made him an offering of the hog.

Captain Cook was now aloft, in a situation truly whimsical, swathed in red cloth, and hardly able to keep his hold in the rotten scaffolding. In this situation he was entertained with the chanting of Koah and Kairee-keea, sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. After this office was performed, which was of considerable duration, Koah let the hog drop, and he and the commodore immediately descended. He then conducted him to the images just mentioned, to each of which he ex-



pressed himself in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed. He then presented him to that in the centre ; which, from its being habited in red cloth, appeared to be in the highest estimation. He fell prostrate before this figure, and kissed it, requesting captain Cook would do the same ; which he readily submitted to, being determined to follow Koah's directions throughout the whole of this ceremony.

We were now conveyed into the other division of the Morai, where a space of about twelve feet square was sunk three feet below the level of the area. We descended into this, and the commodore was immediately seated between two idols ; one of his arms being supported by Koah, and Mr King was requested to support the other. A second procession of natives at this time arrived with a baked hog, a pudding, some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and other vegetables. As they drew near, Kaireekkea placed himself before them, and presented the hog to the commodore, in the usual manner ; chanting as before, and his companions making regular responses. Their speeches and responses, we observed, grew gradually shorter and shorter, and, towards the conclusion, Kaireekkea's did not exceed three or four words, which was answered by the word *orono*.

At the conclusion of this offering, the natives seated themselves fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to break the cocoa-nuts, and to peel the vegetables. Others were employed in brewing the ava, by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekkea then chewed part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, and wrapped it

in a piece of cloth, with which he rubbed the captain's head, face, hands, arms, and shoulders. The ava was afterwards hauded round, and when we had all tasted it, Koah and Pareea pulled the flesh of the hog in pieces, and proceeded to put some of it into our mouths. Mr King had no particular objection to being fed by Pareea, who was remarkably cleanly in his person; but captain Cook, to whom a piece was presented by Koah, could not swallow a morsel, the putrid hog being strong in his recollection; and as the old man, from motives of civility, had chewed it for him, his reluctance was much increased.

This ceremony being concluded, we quitted the *Morai*, after distributing among the populace some pieces of iron and other articles, with which they were much delighted. We were then conducted in procession to the boats; the men with wands attending, and pronouncing sentences, as before. Most of the natives again retired, and the remaining few prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore.

We went immediately on board, full of the idea of what we had seen, and perfectly satisfied with the honest dispositions of our new friends. Of the singularity and novelty of the various ceremonies performed upon this occasion, we can only form conjectures; but they were certainly highly expressive of respect on the part of the inhabitants; and, as far as related to the commodore, they approached to adoration.

Mr King went on shore the next morning with a guard of eight marines; having received orders to erect the observatory in a proper situation; by which means the waterers and other working par-

ties on shore might be superintended and protected. Observing a convenient spot for this purpose, almost in the centre of the village, Pareea immediately offered to exercise his power in our behalf and proposed that some houses should be taken down, that our observations might not be obstructed. This generous offer, however, was declined, and we made choice of a potatoe field adjoining to the *Morai*, which was granted us most readily; and, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, the place was consecrated by the priests, by placing their wands round the wall which inclosed it.

This interdiction the natives call *taboo*, a term frequently repeated by these islanders, and seemed to be a word of extensive operation. In this instance it procured us more privacy than we could have wished. No canoes attempted to land near us; the natives only sat on the wall, not daring to come within the *tabooed* space without obtaining our permission. The men, at our request, would bring provisions into the field; but our utmost endeavours to induce the women to approach us were ineffectual. Presents were tried, but without success. Attempts were made to prevail on Pareea and Koah to bring them, but to no purpose, the *Eatooa* and Terreeoboo, they said, would kill them if they did.

This circumstance afforded great amusement to our friends on board, whither multitudes of people (particularly women) continually flocked; inso-much that they were frequently obliged to clear the vessel, in order to have room to perform their necessary duties. Two or three hundred women were sometimes obliged to jump at once into the water;

where they continued to swim and play till they could be re-admitted.

Pareca and Koah left us on the 19th of January, in order to attend Terrecoboo, who had landed on a distant part of the island ; and nothing material happened on board till the 24th. The caulkers were employed on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was repaired. The salting of hogs was also a principal object of the commodore's attention ; and as we had improved in this operation since the former voyages, a detail of the process of it may not be thought improper.

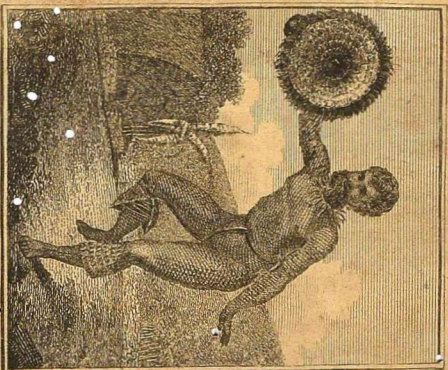
To cure the flesh of animals in tropical climates, by salting, has long been thought impracticable ; putrefaction making so rapid a progress, as not to allow the salt to take effect before the meat gets tainted. Captain Cook appears to be the first navigator who has attempted to make experiments relative to this business. His first attempts in 1774, in his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, so far succeeded, as to convince him of the error of the general opinion. As his present voyage was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time that provisions had been supplied for the ships, he was obliged to contrive some method of procuring subsistence for the crews, or relinquish the prosecution of his discoveries. He, therefore, renewed his attempts, and his most sanguine expectations were completely answered.

The hogs we cured were of various sizes, from four to ten or twelve stone, fourteen pound to the stone. They were always slaughtered in the afternoon ; and, after scalding off the hair, and removing the entrails, the hog was cut into pieces, from

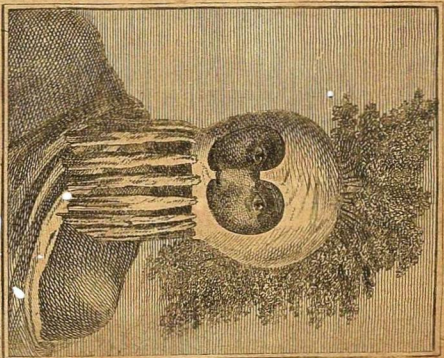


four to eight pounds each, and the bones taken out of the legs and chine; in the larger sort, the ribs were also taken out. The pieces were then carefully examined and wiped, and the coagulated blood taken from the veins. After this they were given to the salters, whilst they continued warm, and, when they were well rubbed with salt, placed in a heap on a stage in the open air, covered with planks, and pressed with very heavy weights. The next evening they were again well wiped and examined, when the suspicious parts were taken away. This done, they were put into a tub of strong pickle, after which they were examined once or twice a day; and, if it happened that any piece had not taken the salt, which might be discovered by the smell of the pickle, they were instantly taken out and examined again, the sound pieces being put into fresh pickle. This, however, did not often happen. At the end of six days they were examined for the last time; and, after being slightly pressed, they were put into barrels, having a thin layer of salt between them. Mr King brought home some barrels of this pork that had been pickled at Owhyhee, in January 1779, which was tasted here by several persons, about Christmas 1780, who declared it to be perfectly sound and wholesome.

But to return from this digression. We had not been long settled at the observatory before we discovered the habitations of a society of priests, who had excited our curiosity by their regular attendance at the *morai*. Their huts were erected round a pond, inclosed within a grove of cocoa trees, by which they were separated from the beach and the village, and gave the situation an air of religious



*J. Webb del.*  
 A MAN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS DANCING.



*J. Webb del.*  
 A MAN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS IN A MASK.

retirement. Captain Cook being made acquainted with these circumstances, he was determined to visit them; and, expecting the manner of his reception would be singular, he took Mr Webber with him, to enable him to represent the ceremony in a drawing.

When he arrived at the beach, he was conducted to *Harre-no-Orono*, or the House of Orono. On his approaching this sacred place, he was seated at the foot of a wooden idol, resembling those which we had seen at the *morai*. Here Mr King again supported one of his arms. He was then arrayed in red cloth, and Kaireekhea, assisted by twelve priests, presented a pig with the usual solemnities. After this ceremony, the pig was strangled, and thrown into the embers of a fire prepared for that purpose. When the hair was singed off, a second offering was made, and the canting repeated as before; after which the dead pig was held for some time under captain Cook's nose; and then laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet. This part of the ceremony being concluded, the performers sat down, and the *ava* was brewed and handed about; a baked hog was brought in, and we were fed as in the former ceremony.

While we continued in the bay, whenever the commodore came on shore, he was preceded by one of these priests, who proclaimed the landing of the *Orono*, and ordered the inhabitants to prostrate themselves. He was constantly attended by the same person on the water, where he was stationed in the bow of the boat, having a wand in his hand, to give notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes; on which they instantly ceased

paddling, and fell on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he visited the observatory, Kaireekkea and his assistants presented themselves before him, making an offering of hogs, bread-fruit, coconuts, &c. with the accustomed solemnities. Upon these occasions some of the inferior chiefs entreated permission to make an offering to the *Orono*. If their request was complied with, they presented the hog themselves; in the performance of which their countenances displayed that they were greatly impressed with awe and terror. Kaireekkea and the priests assisted, and accompanied the ceremony with their accustomed hymns.

But their civilities extended beyond parade and ceremony; our party on shore were daily supplied by them with hogs and vegetables, sufficient for our subsistence, and to spare; and canoes laden with provisions were as regularly sent off to the ships. Nothing was demanded in return, nor was the most distant hint ever given that any compensation was expected. Their manner of conferring favours appeared more like the discharge of a religious duty than to result from mere liberality. On asking to whom we were indebted for all this magnificence, we were informed that it was at the expence of Kaoo, the chief priest, and grandfather to Kaireekkea, who was then in the suit of the sovereign of the island.

We had, indeed, less reason to be satisfied with the behaviour of the warrior chiefs, than with that of our priests. In our intercourse with the former, they were always sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and, besides their propensity to stealing, which may admit of palliation from its universality



in these seas, they had other practices equally dishonourable. The following is one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, that our good friend Koah was a party principally concerned.

The chiefs, who made us presents of hogs, were always generously rewarded; in consequence of which we were supplied with more than we could consume. On these occasions Koah, who constantly attended us, usually petitioned for those that we did not absolutely want, and they were given to him of course. A pig was one day presented to us by a man whom Koah introduced as a chief, which we knew to be the pig that had a short time before been given to Koah. Suspecting we had been imposed upon, we found, on further inquiry, that the pretended chief was one of the common people; and, from other concurrent circumstances, we were perfectly convinced that we had been the dupes of similar imposition.

On Sunday the 24th, we were not a little surprised to find that no canoes were permitted to put off, and that the natives confined themselves to their houses. At length, however, we were informed that the bay was *tabooed*, and that all intercourse with us was interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeboo, their king. Not apprehending an accident of this kind, the ships were deprived of their usual supply of vegetables.

On Monday the 25th, in the morning, we endeavoured, by threats and promises, to induce the inhabitants to approach us. At length some of them were venturing to put off, and a chief was observed to be very active in driving them away. In order to make him desist, a musquet was instant-

ly fired over his head, which operated as it was intended, and refreshments were soon after to be had as usual. In the afternoon the ships were privately visited by Terreeoboo, attended only by one canoe, which had his wife and family on board. After staying till almost ten o'clock, he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

About noon the next day, the king, in a large canoe, with some attendants in two others, paddled from the village, in great state, towards the ships. Their appearance was noble and magnificent. Terreeoboo and his chiefs were in the first canoe, arrayed in feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with spears and daggers. In the second came Kaoo, the chief priest, together with his brethren, having their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were figures of an enormous size, made of wicker-work, and curiously ornamented with small feathers of a variety of colours. Their eyes were large pearl oysters, with a black nut placed in the centre; a double row of the fangs of dogs was fixed in each of their mouths, which, as well as the rest of their features, appeared strangely distorted. The third canoe was laden with hogs and vegetables. As they advanced, the priests, in the second canoe, chanted their hymns with great solemnity. After paddling round the vessels, they did not come on board, as we expected, but made immediately towards the shore, at the beach where we were stationed. When Mr King beheld them approaching, he ordered our little guard to receive the king; and captain Cook, seeing that he intended to go on shore, went thither also, and landed almost at the same instant. We ushered them into the tent, and the king had

hardly been seated, when he rose up, and gracefully threw over the captain's shoulders the rich feathered cloak that he himself wore, placed a helmet on his head, and presented him with a curious fan. Five or six other cloaks, of great beauty and value, were spread at the commodore's feet.

Four hogs were then brought forward by the king's attendants, together with bread-fruit, coconuts, and sugar-canes. Then followed the ceremony of Terreeoboo's changing names with captain Cook; the strongest pledge of friendship among all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean. A solemn procession now advanced, consisting of priests, preceded by a venerable old personage, followed by a train of people, leading large hogs; others being laden with potatoes, plantains, &c. We could instantly perceive, by the countenance and gestures of Kaireekkea, that the old man who headed the procession was the chief priest, on whose bounty we were told we had so long subsisted. He wrapped a piece of red cloth round the shoulders of captain Cook, and, in the usual form, presented him with a pig. He was then seated next the king, and Kaireekkea and his attendants began their vocal ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs assisting in their responses.

In the person of this king we were surprized to recognize the same emaciated old man who came on board the Resolution from the northeast side of the island of Mowee; and we perceived that several of his attendants were the same persons who at that time continued with us the whole night. Among these were the king's two youngest sons, the eldest about the age of sixteen; and Maiha-Maiha,

his nephew, whom we could not immediately recollect, having had his hair plaistered over with a dirty paste and powder, which was no bad improvement to the most savage countenance we had ever seen.

The formalities of the meeting being ended, captain Cook conducted Terreeoboo and several of his chiefs on board the Resolution. They were received with every possible attention and respect; and the commodore, as a compensation for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt upon the sovereign, and girt his own hanger round him. Kaoo and about half a dozen other ancient chiefs remained on shore.

All this time not a canoe was permitted to appear in the bay, and those natives who did not confine themselves to their huts, lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king quitted the Resolution, he granted leave for the natives to trade with the ships as usual; but the women (we know not on what account) were still interdicted by the *taboo*; that is, to remain at home, and not have any kind of intercourse with us.

The behaviour of the inhabitants was so civil and inoffensive, that all apprehensions of danger were totally vanished. We trusted ourselves amongst them at all times, and upon all occasions, without the least hesitation. The officers ventured frequently up the country, either singly or in small parties, and sometimes continued out the whole night. To relate all the instances of generosity and civility which we experienced upon these occasions, would require volumes. In all places the people flocked about us, anxious to afford every



assistance in their power, and appeared highly gratified if we condescended to accept of their services. Variety of innocent arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran through their villages before us, stopping us at every opening where there was a commodious place to form a group for dancing. We were at one time solicited to take a draught of the milk of cocoa-nuts, or accept of such other refreshment as their huts afforded; at another we were encircled by a company of young women, who exerted their skill and agility in amusing us with songs and dances.

But though their gentleness and hospitality were pleasing to us, they were addicted to stealing, like all the other islanders of these seas. This was a distressing circumstance, and sometimes obliged us to exercise severity, which we should have been happy to have avoided, if it had not been essentially necessary. Some expert swimmers were one day detected under the ships, drawing out the filling nails from the sheathing, which they ingeniously performed with a flint stone, fastened to the end of a short stick. This practice was so injurious to our vessels, that we fired small shot at the offenders; but that they easily evaded, by diving under the ship's bottom. It therefore became highly necessary to make an example of one of them, by logging him on board the *Discovery*.

A large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out, about this time, on an excursion into the country, in order to examine its natural productions; an account of which will be hereafter given. At present, however, we shall observe, that it afforded

Kaoo a fresh opportunity of exercising his civility and generosity. No sooner was he informed of their departure, than he sent after them a large quantity of provisions, with orders, that every attention and assistance should be granted them by the inhabitants of those districts through which they were to pass. His conduct, on this occasion, was so delicate and disinterested, that even the people he employed were not permitted to accept of the smallest present. At the end of six days, the gentlemen returned, without having penetrated more than twenty miles into the island; owing partly to improper guides, and partly to the impracticability of the country.

On the 27th the Resolution's rudder was unhung and sent ashore, in order to undergo a thorough repair. The carpenters, at the same time, were sent into the country, under the guidance of some of Kaoo's people, to get planks for the head rail-work, which was become rotten and decayed.

Captain Clerke, who was generally confined on board by ill health, paid Terreeoboo his first visit on the 28th, at his habitation on shore. The ceremonies observed with captain Cook were performed in honour of captain Clerke; and, on his return, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and such a quantity of vegetables as could not be consumed, by his crew, in less than a week. This was the more extraordinary, as it was quite an unexpected visit.

Not having seen any of their sports or exercises, the natives, at our request, entertained us in the evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were inferior, in every respect, to those we had seen

exhibited at the Friendly Islands; yet, as they were somewhat different, a short account of them may not be thought improper.

A vast concourse of people assembled on an even spot of ground, not far distant from our tents.— A long vacant space was left in the centre of them at the upper end of which the judges presided, under three standards. Slips of cloth, of various colours, were pendent from these standards; as were the skins of two wild geese, some small birds, and a few bunches of feathers.

The sports being ready to begin, the judges gave the signal, and two combatants appeared in view.— They advanced slowly, drawing up their feet very high behind, and rubbing their hands upon their soles. As they came forward, they frequently surveyed each other from head to foot, with an air of contempt, looking archly at the spectators, distorting their features, and practising a variety of unnatural gestures. When they were advanced within the reach of each other, they held both arms straight out before their faces, at which part they always aimed their blows. They struck with a full swing of the arm, which to us had a very awkward appearance. They did not attempt to parry; but endeavoured to elude their adversary's attack, by stooping, or retreating. The battle was expeditiously decided; for if either of them fell, whether by accident, or from a blow, he was deemed vanquished; and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of strange gestures, which usually excited a loud laugh among the spectators, for which purpose it seemed to be calculated. • The successful combatant waited

for a second antagonist ; and, if again victorious, for a third ; and so on till he was at last defeated.

It is very singular in these combats, that, when any two are preparing to attack each other, a third may advance, and make choice of either of them for his antagonist, when the other is under the necessity of withdrawing. If the combat proved long and tedious, or appeared unequal, a chief generally interfered, and concluded it by putting a stick between the combatants. As this exhibition was at our desire, it was universally expected that some of us would have engaged with the natives ; but, tho' our people received pressing invitations to bear a part, they did not hearken to the challenges, not having forgot the blows they received at the Friendly Islands.

William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew, died this day : this event is the more particularly mentioned, as death had hitherto been uncommon amongst us. He was a man in years, and much respected for his attachment to captain Cook. He had served twenty-one years as a marine, and then entered as seaman in 1772, on board the *Resolution*, and served with the Commodore in his voyage towards the south pole. On their return, he got admittance into Greenwich Hospital, thro' the interest of captain Cook, at the same time with himself ; and, anxious to follow the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it with him, on his appointment to the command of the present expedition. He had been often subject to light fevers, in the course of the voyage, and was infirm when we arrived in the bay, where, having been sent for a few days on shore, he thought himself perfectly restored, and requested



to return on board. His request was complied with, but the day following he had a stroke of the palsy, which, in two days afterwards, put a period to his life.

At the request of Tereoboo, the remains of this honest seaman were buried in the *morai*; the ceremony being performed with great solemnity. Kaoo and his brethren were present at the funeral, who behaved with great decorum and paid due attention while the service was performing. On our beginning to fill up the grave, they approached it with great awe, and threw in a dead pig, together with some cocoa nuts and plantains. For three successive nights they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and reciting hymns and prayers till morning.

We erected a post at the head of the grave, and nailed thereon a piece of board, on which was inscribed the name and age of the deceased, and the day of his departure from this life. These they assured us they would not remove; and they will probably be permitted to remain, so long as such frail materials can endure.

Our ships were in much want of fuel, therefore captain Cook desired Mr King to treat with the priest for the purchase of the rail on the *morai*.

Mr King had his doubts about the decency of his overture, and apprehended that the bare mention of it might be deemed impious; but in this he was exceedingly mistaken. They expressed no kind of surprise at the application, and the wood was delivered without the least stipulation. Whilst our people were taking it away, he saw one of them with a carved image; and, upon inquiry, was informed, that the whole semicircle (as mentioned in

the description of the *morai*) had been carried to the boats.

Though the natives were spectators of this business, they did not seem to resent it; but, on the contrary, had even assisted in the removal. Mr King thought proper to mention the particulars to Kaoo, who seemed exceedingly indifferent about the matter, begging him only to restore the centre image; which was immediately done, and it was conveyed to one of the priest's houses.

The King, and his chiefs, had for some time been very importunate to know the time of our departure. Mr King's curiosity was excited, from this circumstance, to know the opinion these people had entertained of us, and what they supposed to be the objects of our voyage. He took considerable pains to satisfy himself on these points; but the only information he could get was, that they supposed we had left our native country on account of the scantiness of provisions, and that we had visited them for the sole purpose of filling our bellies. This conclusion was natural enough, considering the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the voracity with which we devoured their fresh provisions, and our anxiety to purchase as much of it as we were able. One circumstance may be added to these, which puzzled them exceedingly; that of our having no women with us.

It was matter of entertainment to see the natives patting the bellies of the sailors (who were much improved in sleekness since their arrival in the bay) and telling them, in the best manner they could, that it was time for them to depart; but, if they would return the next bread-fruit season, they should

be better able to supply them. We had now continued sixteen days in the bay, during which time our consumption of hogs and vegetables had been so enormous, that we need not be surprised at their wishing to see us take our leave. But Terreeoboo had, perhaps, no other view, in his inquiries, than a desire of having sufficient notice, to prepare suitable presents for us at our departure; for, when we informed him of our intention to quit the island in two days, a kind of proclamation was immediately made, requiring the natives to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for Terreeoboo to present to the Orono.

At the beach, we were this day much entertained with the buffooneries of one of the natives.— In his hand he held an instrument of music, such as we have already described; bits of sea weed were fastened round his neck, and, round each leg, some strong netting; on which were fixed some rows of dogs' teeth, hanging loose. His dancing was accompanied with strange grimaces, and unnatural distortions of the features; which, though sometimes highly ridiculous, was, upon the whole, without meaning or expression. Mr Webber made a drawing of this person; the manner in which the maro is tied; the figure of the instrument, and of the ornaments round the legs.

Wrestling and boxing matches afforded us diversion for the evening; and we, in return, exhibited the few fire-works we had remaining. Nothing could more effectually excite the admiration of these islanders, or strike them with more exalted ideas of our superiority, than such a representation. Though this was, in every respect, much inferior to that at

Hapae, yet the astonishment of the people was equally great.

The carpenters who had been sent up the country to cut planks for the head rail-work of the Resolution, had now been gone three days; and, not having heard from them, we began to be alarmed for their safety. We expressed our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared equally concerned with ourselves; but while we were planning measures with him for sending proper persons after them, they all safely arrived. They went further into the country than they expected, before they found any trees suitable for their purpose. This circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of conveying the timber to the ships, had so long detained them. They bestowed high commendations on their guides, who not only supplied them with provisions, but faithfully protected their tools.

The 4th of February being fixed for our departure, Terreeboo invited captain Cook and Mr King to attend him, on the 3d, to Kaoo's residence. On our arrival there, we saw large quantites of cloth lie scattered on the ground; abundance of red and yellow feathers, fastened to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks; and plenty of hatchets and iron ware, which had been received from us in barter. Not far from these was deposited an immense quantity of various kinds of vegetables; and, at a little distance, a large herd of hogs. We supposed, at first, that the whole was intended as a present for us; but we were informed by Kaireekeea, that it was a tribute to the king from the inhabitants of that district. And we were no sooner seated, than the bundles were



brought, and laid severally at Terrecoboo's feet; and the cloth, feathers, and iron, were displayed before him.

The king was perfectly satisfied with this mark of duty from his people; and selected about a third of the iron utensils, a third of the feathers, and some pieces of cloth; he ordered these to be set aside by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, hogs, vegetables, &c. were afterwards presented to captain Cook and Mr King. The value and magnitude of this present far exceeded any thing we had met with. The whole was immediately conveyed on board.—The large hogs were selected, in order to be salted for sea store; but the smaller pigs, and the vegetables, were divided between the crews.

We left the *morai*, and got our observatories on board. The *taboo* was removed, and, with it, its magical effects. As soon as we had quitted the place, the people rushed in, and vigilantly searched; hoping to find some valuable articles left behind. Mr King being the last on shore, and waiting for the return of the boat, the inhabitants crowded about him, and having prevailed on him to sit down among them, expressed their regret at our separation. It was even with difficulty that they would suffer him to depart. He was, indeed, highly esteemed among them, as will appear from the following relation.

Having had, while we were in the bay, the command of the party on shore, he became more acquainted with the natives, and they with him, than those who were required to be on board. He experienced great kindness and civility from the in-

habitants in general, but the friendship shown by the priest was constant and unbounded.

He was anxious to conciliate their esteem; in which he so happily succeeded, that, when they were acquainted with the time of our departure, he was urged to remain behind, and received overtures of the most flattering kind. When he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alleging, that captain Cook would not permit it, they proposed to conduct him to the mountains, and there conceal him till the departure of the ships. On Mr King's assuring them that the captain would not sail without him, the King and Kaoo repaired to captain Cook, (whom they supposed to be his father) formally requesting that he might be suffered to remain behind. The Commodore, unwilling to give a positive refusal to a proposal so generously intended, assured them, that he could not then part with him; but he should return thither the next year, when he would endeavour to oblige them.

On Thursday the 4th of February, early in the morning, we unmoored, and the Resolution and Discovery sailed out of the bay, attended by a vast number of canoes. It was captain Cook's intention to finish the survey of Owhyhee before he went to the other islands, hoping to meet with a road more sheltered than Karakakooa Bay; and, if he should not succeed here, he meant to examine the southeast part of Mowee, where he had been informed there was a most excellent harbour.

On the 5th, and the following day, we had calm weather, and consequently our progress was but slow. A great number of the natives followed us in their canoes; and Terreeoboo gave an additional proof

of his steem for the Commodore, by sending after him a large present of hogs and vegetables.

Having a light breeze, in the night of the 5th of February, we made some progress to the northward; and, on the 6th, in the morning, we were abreast of a deep bay, which the natives call Toeyah-yah. We flattered ourselves with hopes of finding a commodious harbour in this bay, as we saw some fine streams of water to the northeast; and the whole appeared to be well sheltered. These observations seeming to tally with the accounts given us by Koah, who now accompanied captain Cook, the master was sent in the pinnace, with Koah as his guide, to observe and examine the bay: ~~Koah~~ having first altered his name, out of compliment to us, to that of Britannee.

The weather became gloomy in the afternoon, and such violent gusts of wind blew off the land that we were obliged to take in all the sails, and bring to, under the mizen-stay-sail. The canoes all left us as soon as the gale began; and Mr Bligh, on his return, preserved an old woman and two men from drowning, whose canoe had been overset in the storm. We had several women remaining on board, whom the natives, in their hurry to depart, had left to shift for themselves.

Mr Bligh reported, that he had landed at a village on the north side of the bay, where he was shown some wells of water that would not, by any means, answer our purpose; that he proceeded further into the bay; where, instead of meeting with good anchorage, he found the shores were low, and a flat bed of coral rocks extended along the coast, and upwards of a mile from the land; the depth of

water, on the outside, being twenty fathoms. During this survey, Britannee had contrived to slip away, being, perhaps, afraid of returning, as his information had proved erroneous.

The weather became more moderate in the evening, and we again made sail; but it blew so violently about midnight as to split the fore and main-top-sails. We bent fresh sails in the morning of the 7th, and had a light breeze, and fair weather. Being now about four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, the canoes would not venture off, so that our guests were under the necessity of remaining with us, though much against their inclination; for they were all exceedingly sea-sick, and many of them had left their infants on shore.

Though the weather continued squally we stood in for the land in the afternoon; and, being within three leagues of it, we saw two men in a canoe, paddling towards us. We naturally conjectured that they had been driven off the shore by the late violent gale; and stopped the ship's way, in order to take them in. They were so exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would hardly have been able to fix it to the rope thrown out for that purpose. With difficulty, however, we got them up the ship's side, together with a child about four years of age, which had been lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, with only its head above the water. They informed us that they had quitted the land the morning before, since which time they had not had food or water. Provision was given them with the usual precautions, and the child intrusted



to the care of one of the women ; and, the next morning, they were all perfectly recovered.

A gale of wind coming on at mid-night, we were obliged to double reef the top-sails. At day-break, on the 8th, we found that the fore-mast had again given way ; the fishes being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to unstep the mast. Captain Cook, for some time, hesitated whether he should return to Karakakooa, or take the chance of finding a harbour in the islands to leeward. The bay was not so commodious, but that a better might probably be met with, either for repairing the masts, or procuring refreshments ; the latter of which, it was imagined, the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had lately been pretty well drained of. It was, on the other hand, considered as an imprudent step, to leave a tolerably good harbour, which, once lost, could not be regained, for the mere possibility of meeting with a better ; especially as the failure of such a contingency might have deprived us of any resource.

We stood on towards the land, to give the natives on shore an opportunity of releasing their friends on board ; and, about noon, when we were within a mile of the shore, several canoes came off to us, but so loaded with people, that no room could be found for any of our guests ; the pinnace was therefore hoisted out to land them ; and the master who commanded it, was instructed to examine the south coasts of the bay for water, but returned without success.

Variable winds, and a strong current to the northward, retarded our progress in our return ; and, in the evening of the 9th, about eight o'clock, it blew

very hard from the southeast, which occasioned us to close reef the top-sails. Early in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers, to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to avoid them, and fired several guns to alarm the *Discovery*, and apprise her of the danger.

The weather in the forenoon was more moderate, and a few canoes ventured to come off to us; when those on board them informed us that much mischief had been occasioned by the late storms, and that a great many canoes had been lost. We kept beating to windward the remainder of the day; and, in the evening, were within a mile of the bay; but ~~we stood off and on till day-light the next morning, when we anchored in our old station.~~

The whole of the 11th, and part of the 12th of February, we were engaged in getting out the foremast, and conveying it on shore. Not only the head of the mast had sustained damage, but the heel was become exceedingly rotten, having a very large hole in the middle of it. Several days being probably required to make the necessary repairs, Messrs King and Bailey got the observatory on shore, and pitched their tents on the *morai*, guarded by a corporal and six marines. A friendly intercourse was renewed with the priests, who, for our greater security *tabooed* the place with their wands as before. The sail-makers also repaired to the shore to repair the damages in their department, sustained by the late heavy gales. They occupied an habitation, lent us by the priests, adjoining to the *morai*.

Our reception, on coming to anchor, was so different from what it had been at our first arrival, that we were all astonished : no shouts, bustle, or confusion, but a solitary deserted bay, with hardly a canoe stirring. Their curiosity, indeed, might be supposed to be diminished by this time ; but the hospitable treatment we had continually been favoured with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, induced us to expect that, on our return, they would have received us with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Various were our conjectures on the cause of this extraordinary appearance, when the whole mystery was unravelled by the return of a boat, which we had sent on shore, bringing intelligence that Terreeoboo was absent, and that the bay was *tabooed*. This account appeared very satisfactory to many of us ; but others were of opinion, that there was, at this time, something very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives, and that the *taboo* or interdiction, on pretence of Terreeoboo's absence, was artfully contrived to give him time to consult his chiefs in what manner we should be treated. We never could ascertain whether these suspicions were well founded, or whether the natives had given a true account. It is probable, indeed, that our sudden return, for which they could assign no apparent cause, might create alarms in them ; yet the conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival the next morning, immediately waited on captain Cook, and the natives, from that moment, renewing their friendly intercourse with us, seemed to evince that they neither meant, nor apprehended, a different kind of conduct.

An account of another accident, similar to this, may be mentioned in support of this opinion, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the king's arrival. A native having sold a hog on board the Resolution, and received the price agreed on, Pareea, who saw the transaction, advised the seller not to part with his hog without an advanced price. For his interference in this business he was harshly spoken to, and pushed away; and as the *taboo* was soon laid on the bay, we at first supposed it to be in consequence of the affront offered to the chief.

These two circumstances considered, it is extremely difficult to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of a people, with whose language and custom we are so imperfectly acquainted. Some idea, however, may be formed of the difficulties those have to encounter, who, in their intercourse with these strangers, are obliged to steer their course in the midst of uncertainty, where the most serious consequences may be occasioned by only imaginary offences. Whether these conjectures are erroneous or true, it is certain that things were conducted in their usual quiet course till the 13th of February, in the afternoon.

At the approach of evening on that day, the commander of the Discovery's watering party came to inform Mr King, that several chiefs were assembled near the beach, and were driving away the natives who assisted the sailors in rolling the casks to the shore: at the same time declaring that their behaviour seemed exceeding suspicious, and that he imagined they would give him some further disturbance. He sent a marine with him, agreeable



to his request, but permitted him to take only his side-arms. The officer in a short time returned, and informed Mr King, that the inhabitants had armed themselves with stones, and were become tumultuous. He therefore went himself to the spot, attended by a marine, with his musquet. At their approach the islanders threw away their stones, and, on Mr King's application to some of the chiefs, the mob was dispersed. Every thing being now quiet, Mr King went to meet captain Cook who was then coming on shore in the pinnace. He related to him what had recently happened, and received orders to fire a ball at the offenders, if they again behaved insolently, and began to throw stones. In consequence of these directions, Mr King gave orders to the corporal, that the sentinel's pieces should be loaded with ball, instead of shot.

On our return to the tents, we heard a continued fire of musquets from the Discovery; which we perceived to be directed at a canoe, which was hastening towards the shore, with one of our small boats in pursuit of it. This firing, we concluded, was the consequence of some theft, and captain Cook ordered Mr King to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people as they landed. They accordingly ran to the place where the canoe was expected to come ashore, but did not arrive in time; the people having quitted it, and fled into the country before their arrival.

At this time they did not know that the goods had been already restored; and thinking it probable, from what they had observed, that they might be of importance, they did not choose to relinquish their endeavours to recover them; and having en-

quired of the natives what course the people had taken, they pursued them till it was almost dark, when they supposed themselves to be about three miles from the tents, and, thinking the islanders amused them with false information in their pursuit, they gave up the search and returned.

A difference of a more serious nature had happened during their absence. The officer, who had been dispatched in the small boat after the thieves, and who was returning on board with the booty that had been restored, seeing captain Cook and Mr King engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, seized a canoe which was drawn up on the shore. This canoe unfortunately belonged to Pareea, who, at that instant arriving from on board the *Discovery*, claimed his property, and protested his innocence. The officer persisted in detaining it, in which he was encouraged by the crew of the pinnace, then waiting for captain Cook; in consequence of which a scuffle ensued, and Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. Several of the natives, who had hitherto been peaceable spectators, began now to attack our people with such a shower of stones, that they were forced to a precipitate retreat, and swam off to a rock, at a considerable distance from the shore. The pinnace was plundered immediately by the natives, and would have been entirely demolished, if Pareea had not interposed, who had not only recovered from his blow, but had also forgot it at the same instant. He ordered the crowd to disperse, and beckoned to our people to come and take possession of the pinnace; and afterwards assured them that he would use his influence to get the

things restored which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, carrying them a midshipman's cap, and some other articles of the plunder; and, expressing much concern at what had happened, begged to know if the *Orono* would kill him, and whether he might be permitted to come on board the next day? He was assured that he would be well received, and therefore joined noses with the officers (their usual token of friendship) and paddled over to Kowrowa.

Captain Cook, when these particulars were represented to him, was exceedingly concerned; and, when he and Mr King were returning on board, he expressed his fears that these islanders would oblige him to pursue violent measures; adding, they must not be permitted to suppose that they have gained an advantage over us. It was then, however, too late to take any steps that evening; he therefore only gave orders that every islander should be immediately turned out of the ship. This order being executed, Mr King returned on shore; and the events of the day having much abated our former confidence in the natives, a double guard was posted on the *morai*, with orders to let Mr King know if any men were lurking about the beach. At eleven o'clock, five of the natives were seen creeping round the bottom of the *morai*; they approached with great caution, and, at last, perceiving they were discovered, immediately retired out of sight. About mid-night one of them ventured himself near the observatory, when a sentinel fired over him; on which they all fled, and we had no farther disturbance during the remainder of the night. At day-light the next morning Mr King

went on board the *Rosolution*, in order to get the time-keeper ; and in his way hither was hailed by the *Discovery*, and received information that their cutter had some time in the night been stolen from the buoy, where it had been moored.

On Mr King's return on board, he found the marines were arming themselves, and captain Cook busied in loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst he was acquainting him with what had happened in the night at the *morai*, he eagerly interrupted him, and informed him of the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and of the preparations he was making to recover it. It was his usual practice in all the islands of this ocean, when any thing of consequence had been stolen from him, by some stratagem, to get the king, or some of the principal *Erees* on board ; where he detained them as hostages till the property was restored. This method having hitherto proved successful, he meant to adopt it on the present occasion ; and gave orders to stop every canoe that should attempt to leave the bay ; resolving to seize and destroy them if the cutter could not be recovered by peaceable means. In pursuance of which, the boats of both ships, properly manned and armed, were stationed across the bay ; and, before Mr King quitted the ship, some great guns were fired at two canoes that were attempting to escape.

Between seven and eight o'clock, captain Cook and Mr King quitted the ship together ; the former in the pinnace with Mr Phillips, and nine marines ; and the latter in the small boat. The last orders Mr King received from captain Cook were, to quiet the minds of the people, on our side of



the bay, by the strongest assurances that they should not be injured; to keep his people together, and to be continually on his guard. Captain Cook and Mr King then separated; the captain going towards Kowrowa, where Terreeoboo resided; and Mr King proceeded to the beach; his first business, when he arrived on shore, was to issue strict orders to the marines to continue within the tent, to charge their musquets with ball, and not on any consideration to quit their arms. He then attended old Kaoo and the priests, at their respective huts, and explained to them, as well as he was able, the reason of the hostile preparations which had so exceedingly alarmed them. He found they were no strangers to the circumstance of the cutter's being stolen, and assured them, that though the commodore was not only resolved to recover it, but also to punish, in the most exemplary manner, the authors of the theft, yet that they, and all the inhabitants of the village, on our side, had not the least occasion to be alarmed, or to apprehend the least danger from us. He importuned the priests to communicate this to the people, and entreat them not to entertain the least idea of fear, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo interrogated Mr King, with great emotion, if any harm was to happen to Terreeoboo? He assured him there was not; and both he and his brethern appeared much satisfied with this assurance.

Captain Cook having in the mean time called off the launch from the north point of the bay, and taken it with him, landed at Kowrowa, with the lieutenant and nine marines. He proceeded immediately into the village, where he was respect-

fully received; the people, as usual, prostrating themselves before him, and making their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Perceiving that his design was not suspected, his next step was to inquire for the king, and the two boys, his sons, who had been almost continually his guests on board the *Resolution*. The boys presently returned with the natives, who had been searching for them, and immediately conducted captain Cook to the habitation where Terreeoboo had slept. The old man had just awoke; and after some conversation respecting the loss of the cutter, from which the commodore was convinced that he was not in anywise privy to it, he invited him to accompany him, and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. The king accepted the invitation, and arose immediately to accompany him.

Every thing had now a prosperous appearance; the two boys were already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party approaching the water side, when a woman, named Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of Terreeoboo's favourite wives, followed him, beseeching him, with tears and entreaties, not to venture to go on board. Two chiefs, who came with her, took hold of him, and, insisting he should proceed no further, obliged him to sit down. The islanders were now collecting in vast numbers along the shore, who had probably been alarmed by the discharging of the great guns, and the hostile appearances in the bay, gathered round captain Cook and Terreeoboo. Thus situate, the lieutenant of marines perceiving that his men were huddled together in the crowd, and consequently unable to use their arms, if there

should appear to be a necessity for it, proposed to captain Cook to draw them up along the rocks, close to the edge of the water. The populace making way for them to pass, the lieutenant drew them up in a line; within about thirty yards of the place where Terreeoboo was sitting.

The old king continued all this time on the ground, bearing the most visible marks of terror and dejection in his countenance. Captain Cook, unwilling to abandon the object which occasioned him to come on shore, urged him most earnestly to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, if the king expressed any inclination to follow him, the chiefs, who surrounded him, interposed; at first they had recourse to prayers and entreaties, but afterwards to force and violence, and even insisted on his remaining on shore. Captain Cook, at length, perceiving that the alarm had spread too generally, and that there was not a probability of getting him off without much bloodshed, gave up the point; at the same time observing to Mr Phillips, that, to compel him to go on board, would probably occasion the loss of many of the lives of the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding this enterprise had now failed, and was abandoned by captain Cook, yet it did not appear that his person was in the least degree of danger, till an accident happened, which occasioned a fatal turn to the affair. The boats, stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes for attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed one of their principal chiefs. Intelligence of his death arrived at the village where captain Cook then was, just as he had parted from the king, and was proceeding with great deliberation towards the

shore. The ferment it immediately occasioned was but too conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent away, and the men were soon clad in their war-mats, and armed with spears and stones. One of the natives, having provided himself with a stone, and a long iron spike (called by the natives a *pahooa*) advanced towards the captain, flourishing his weapon in defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain requested him to desist; but the islander repeating his menaces, he was highly provoked, and fired a load of small-shot at him. The man was shielded in his war-mat, which the shot could not penetrate; his firing, therefore, served only to irritate and encourage them. Volleys of stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the *Erees* attempted the life of Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*; but, not succeeding in the attempt, he received from him a blow with the butt end of his piece. Captain Cook immediately discharged his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the most violent of the assailants. A general attack with stones succeeded, which was followed on our part by a discharge of musquetry, not only from the marines, but also from the people in the boats. The natives, to our great astonishment, received our fire with great firmness; and without giving time for the marines to charge again, they rushed in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of horror and confusion, which can be more easily conceived than properly related.

Four of the marines retreated among the rocks, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three others were dangerously wounded; and the lieu-



to represent the horror, dejection, and dismay, which followed so dreadful and unexpected a catastrophe.

For a general review of the talents and services of this worthy commander, we refer our readers to the Memoirs of him prefixed to this work.

A  
V O Y A G E  
TO THE  
PACIFIC OCEAN.

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BOOK V.

CONTENTS.

Further transactions at Owhyhee—Mr King's conference with the Chiefs—Some great guns fired at them—A piece of Captain Cook's flesh brought ; afterwards his Bones—Leave Karakakooa—Mowee Described—Arrive at Atooi—Insolence of the Natives—Transactions at Atooi—Description of the Sandwich Islands—Particular account of Owyhee—Productions, &c.—Particular account of the Natives of the Sandwich Islands—The Customs, Manners, Weapons, &c.—Ranks and History—Religious Institutions, &c.

**W**E have observed before, that four of the marines, who accompanied captain Cook, were killed by the natives on the spot. The others, with their lieutenant, Mr Phillips, threw themselves into the sea, and made their escape, being protected by a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a striking instance of gallant behaviour, and of af-

fection for his men, was displayed by Mr Phillips; for he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was not a very expert swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the islanders, he instantly leaped into the sea to his assistance, though considerably wounded himself; and, after receiving a blow on his head from a stone, which had almost sent him to the bottom, he caught the marine by the hair, and brought him off in safety. Our people for some time kept up a constant fire from the boats (which, during the whole transaction, were at no greater distance from the land than twenty yards), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of effecting their escape. These continued efforts, seconded by a few guns that were at the same time fired from the Resolution, having at length compelled the natives to retire, a small boat, manned by five midshipmen, pulled towards the shore, where they perceived the bodies lying on the ground, without any signs of life. However, they judged it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so inconsiderable a force; and their ammunition being nearly consumed, they returned to the ships, leaving the bodies in possession of the natives, together with ten stands of arms.

When the general consternation, which the news of this misfortune had diffused throughout the whole company of both ships, had in some degree subsided, their attention was called to the party at the *morai*, where the mast and sails were on shore, guarded by only six marines. It is difficult to describe the emotions that agitated the minds of Mr

King and his attendants, at this station, during the time in which these occurrences had happened at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a mile from the village of Kowrowa, they could distinctly perceive a vast multitude of people collected on the spot where captain Cook had just before landed. They heard the firing of the musquets, and observed an uncommon bustle and agitation among the crowd. They afterwards saw the islanders retreating, the boats retiring from the shore, and passing and repassing with great stillness between the ships. Mr King's heart soon misgave him on this occasion. Where so valuable a life was concerned, he could not avoid being alarmed by such new and threatening appearances. Besides this, he knew that captain Cook, from a long series of success in his transactions with the natives of this ocean, had acquired a degree of confidence, which might, in some ill-fated moment, put him too much off his guard; and Mr King now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without deriving much consolation from the consideration of the experience which had given rise to it. His first care, on hearing the report of the musquets, was to assure the islanders, considerable numbers of whom were assembled round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed at a loss how to account for what they had heard and seen, that they should meet with no molestation; and that, at all events, he was inclined to continue on peaceable terms with them.

Mr King and his attendants remained in this situation, till the boats had returned on board, when captain Clerke perceiving, by means of his teles-



scope, that our party was surrounded by the natives, who, he thought, designed to attack them, ordered two four pounders to be fired at the islanders. These guns, though well aimed, did no mischief; but they gave the natives a convincing proof of their powerful effects. A cocoa-nut tree, under which some of them were sitting, was broken in the middle by one of the balls; and the other shivered a rock, which stood in an exact line with them. As Mr King had just before given them the strongest assurances of their safety, he was extremely mortified at this act of hostility, and, to prevent its being repeated, instantly dispatched a boat to inform captain Clerke, that he was at present on the most amicable terms with the islanders, and that, if any future occasion should arise for changing his conduct towards them, he would hoist a jack as a signal for captain Clerke to afford him his assistance.

Mr King waited the return of the boat with the greatest impatience; and after remaining for the space of a quarter of an hour, under the utmost anxiety and suspense, his fears were at length confirmed by the arrival of Mr Bligh, with orders to strike the tents immediately, and to send on board the sails that were repairing. At the same instant Kaireckeea having also received information of the death of captain Cook, from a native who had arrived from the other side of the bay, approached Mr King with great dejection and sorrow in his countenance, inquiring whether it was true.

The situation of the party at this time was highly critical and important. Not only their own lives, but the issue of the expedition, and the return of

at least one of the ships, were involved in the same common danger. They had the mast of the Resolution and the greater part of the sails on shore, protected by only half a dozen marines. The loss of these would have been irreparable; and though the islanders had not as yet testified the smallest disposition to molest the party, it was difficult to answer for the alteration, which the intelligence of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. Mr King therefore thought proper to dissemble his belief of the death of captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekeea to discourage the report; apprehending that either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might perhaps lead them to seize the favourable opportunity which at this time presented itself of giving us a second blow. He, at the same time, advised him to bring old Kaoo and the other priests into a large house adjoining to the *morai*, partly from a regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to have recourse to violent measures; and partly from a desire of having him near our people, in order to make use of his authority with the natives, if it could be instrumental in maintaining peace.

Mr King having stationed the marines on the top of the *morai*, which formed a strong and advantageous post, intrusted the command to Mr Bligh, who received the most positive directions to act solely on the defensive, went on board the Discovery, in order to confer with captain Clerke on the dangerous situation of our affairs. He had no sooner left the spot than the islanders began to annoy our people with stones; and, just after he had

reached the ship, he heard the firing of the marines. He therefore hastily returned on shore, where he found affairs growing every moment more alarming. The natives were providing arms, and putting on their mats; and their numbers augmented very fast. He also observed several large bodies advancing towards our party along the cliff by which the village of Kakooa is separated from the north side of the bay, where Kowrowa is situate.

They at first attacked our people with stones from behind the walls of their inclosures, and meeting with no resistance, they soon became more daring. A few courageous fellows having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, suddenly presented themselves at the foot of the *morai*, with an intention of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and they were not dislodged before they had stood a considerable quantity of shot, and had seen one of their number fall.

The courage of one of these assailants deserves to be recorded. Having returned with a view of carrying off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, he received a wound, which obliged him to quit the body, and retire; but a few minutes afterwards he again made his appearance, and, receiving another wound, was under the necessity of retreating a second time. At that moment Mr King arrived at the *morai*, and saw this man return a third time, faint from the loss of blood and fatigue. Being informed of what had happened, he forbade the soldiers to fire; and the islander was suffered to carry off his friend, which he was just

able to accomplish; and then fell down himself, and breathed his last.

A strong reinforcement from both ships having landed about this time, the natives retreated behind their walls; which affording Mr King access to the priests, he sent one of them to exert his endeavours to bring his countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, he would not allow our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and our people were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails, astronomical instruments, &c. without molestation. As soon as our party had quitted the *morai*, the islanders took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, which, however, did no mischief.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, Mr King arrived on board the *Discovery*, where he found that no decisive plan had been adopted for the regulation of our future proceedings. The recovery of captain Cook's body, and the restitution of the boat, were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and Mr King declared it as his opinion, that some vigorous methods should be put in execution, if the demand of them should not be instantly complied with.

Though it may justly be supposed that Mr King's feelings, on the death of a beloved and respected friend, had some share in this opinion, yet there were doubtless other reasons, and those of the most serious nature, that had some weight with him. The confidence which the success of the natives in killing our commander, and obliging us to leave the shore, must naturally have inspired; and the



advantage, however inconsiderable, which they had gained over us the preceding day, would, he had no doubt, excite them to make further dangerous attempts; and the more particularly, as they had no great reason, from what they had hitherto observed, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. This kind of weapon, indeed, contrary to the expectations of us all, had produced in them no signs of terror. On our side, such was the condition of our vessels, and the state of discipline among us, that, had a vigorous attack been made on us during the night, the consequences might perhaps have been highly disagreeable. Mr King was supported, in these apprehensions, by the opinion of the greater part of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to him more likely to encourage the islanders to make the attempt, than the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only impute to weakness or to fear.

On the other hand it was urged, in favour of more conciliatory measures, that the mischief was already done, and was irreparable; that the natives, by reason of their former friendship and kindness, had a strong claim to our regard; and the more particularly, as the late calamitous accident, did not appear to have taken its rise from any premeditated design; that, on the part of Terreeboo, his ignorance of the theft, his willingness to accompany captain Cook on board the Resolution, and his having actually sent his two sons into the pinnace, must rescue his character in this respect from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the behaviour of his women and the chiefs might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occa-

sioned in their minds by the armed force with which captain Cook landed, and the hostile preparations in the bay ; appearances so unsuitable to the confidence and friendship in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the islanders was manifestly with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to expect would be made, to carry off their sovereign by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people who had a remarkable affection for their chiefs.

To these dictates of humanity other motives of a prudential kind were added ; that we were in want of a supply of water and other refreshments ; that the Resolution's foremast would require seven or eight days work before it could be stepped ; that the spring was advancing very fast ; and that the speedy prosecution of our next expedition to the northward ought now to be our sole object ; and that therefore, to engage in a vindictive contest with the natives, might not only subject us to the imputation of needless cruelty, but would require great delay in the equipment of the ships.

Captain Clerke concurred in this latter opinion : and though Mr King was convinced that an early and vigorous display of our resentment would have more effectually answered every object both of prudence and humanity, he was, upon the whole, not sorry that the measures he had recommended were rejected. For, though the contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary occupations on shore, arising most probably from a misconstruction of our lenity, obliged us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence ; yet he was not certain that the cir-

cumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the generality of people, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance. Cautionary severity is ever invidious, and the rigour of a preventive measure, when it is the most successful, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

While we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future operations, a very numerous concourse of the natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them coming off in canoes, approached within pistol-shot of the ships, and insulted us by various marks of defiance and contempt. It was extremely difficult to restrain the seamen from the use of their arms on these occasions; but, as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were allowed to return unmolested.

Mr King was now ordered to proceed towards the shore with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view of bringing the islanders to a parley; and of obtaining, if possible, a conference with some of the *Erees*. If he should succeed in this attempt, he was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of captain Cook; to threaten them, in case of a refusal, with our resentment; but by no means to fire, unless attacked; and not to go ashore on any account whatever. These instructions were delivered to Mr King before the whole party in the most positive manner.

Mr King and his detachment left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, as they approached the shore, they perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The natives were all in motion; the women and children retiring; the men arming themselves with long spears and daggers,

and putting on their war mats. It also appeared that, since the morning, they had thrown up breast-works of stone along the beach where captain Cook had landed, in expectation, perhaps, of an attack at that place.

As soon as our party were within reach, the islanders began to throw stones at them with slings, but without doing any mischief. Mr King concluded from these appearances, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be ineffectual, unless he gave them some ground for mutual confidence: he therefore ordered the armed boats to stop, and advanced alone in the small boat, holding in his hand a white flag; the meaning of which, from an universal shout of joy from the natives, he had the satisfaction to find was immediately understood. The women instantly returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats, and all seated themselves together at the sea side, extending their arms, and inviting Mr King to land.

Though such behaviour seemed expressive of a friendly disposition, he could not avoid entertaining suspicions of its sincerity. But when he saw Koah, with extraordinary boldness and assurance, swimming off towards the boat, with a white flag in his hand, he thought proper to return this mark of confidence, and accordingly received him into the boat, though he was armed; a circumstance which did not contribute to lessen Mr King's suspicions. He had, indeed, long harboured an unfavourable opinion of Koah. The priests had always represented him as a person of a malicious temper, and no friend to us; and the repeated detections of his



fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their assertions. Besides, the melancholy transactions of the morning, in which he was seen performing a principal part, inspired Mr King with the utmost horror at finding himself so near him, and as he approached him with feigned tears, and embraced him; Mr King was so distrustful of his intentions, that he took hold of the point of the *pahoa*, which the chief held in his hand, and turned it from him. He informed the islanders that he had come to demand the body of captain Cook, and to declare war against the natives, unless it was restored without delay. Koah assured him this should be done as soon as possible, and that he would go himself for that purpose; and after requesting a piece of iron of Mr King, with marks of great assurance, he leaped into the water, and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen that we were all friends again.

Our people waited with great anxiety near an hour for his return. During this interval the other boats had approached so near the shore, that the men who were in them entered into conversation with a party of the islanders at a little distance; by whom they were informed that the captain's body had been cut to pieces, and carried up the country; but of this circumstance Mr King was not apprized till his return to the ships.

Mr King now began to express some degree of impatience at Koah's delay; upon which the chiefs pressed him exceedingly to land; assuring him, that, if he would go in person to Terreeboo, the body would be undoubtedly restored to him. When they found they could not prevail on Mr King to go

ashore, they endeavoured, on pretence of conversing with him with greater ease, to decoy his boat among some rocks, where they might have had it in their power to separate him from the other boats. It was easy to see through these artifices, and he was, therefore, very desirous of breaking off all communication with them, when a chief approached, who had particularly attached himself to captain Clerke, and the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed when we last quitted the bay, intending to take his passage to the island of Mowee. He said he came from Terreeboo, to acquaint our people, that the body was carried up the country, but that it should be brought back the following morning. There appeared much sincerity in his manner; and being asked, if he uttered a falsehood, he hooked together his two fore-fingers, which is here understood as the sign of veracity, in the use of which these islanders are very scrupulous.

Mr King being now at a loss how to proceed, sent Mr Vancouver to inform captain Clerke of all that had passed; that it was his opinion the natives did not intend to keep their word with us; and, far from being grieved at what had happened, were, on the contrary, inspired with great confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time till they could plan some scheme for getting our people into their power. Mr Vancouver came back with orders for Mr King to return on board, after giving the islanders to understand, that if the body was not restored the next morning, the town should be destroyed.

When they perceived our party retiring, they endeavoured to provoke them by the most contemptu-

ous and insulting gestures. Several of our people said, they could distinguish some of the natives parading about in the clothes which had belonged to our unhappy countrymen, and among them, an Eree brandishing captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard.

In consequence of Mr King's report to captain Clerke, of what he supposed to be the present temper and disposition of the inhabitants, the most effectual methods were taken to guard against any attack they might make during the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional sentinels were stationed in each of our ships; and guard-boats were directed to row round them, in order to prevent the islanders from cutting the cables.

In the night, we saw a vast number of lights on the hills, which induced some of us to imagine, that they were removing their effects further up into the country, in consequence of our menaces. But it seems more probable, that they were kindled at the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war, in which they supposed themselves likely to be engaged; and perhaps the bodies of our slain countrymen were, at that time, burning. We afterwards observed fires of the same kind, as we passed the island of Morotoi; and which, according to the information we received from some of the natives then on board, were made on account of a war they had declared against a neighbouring island. This agrees with what we learned among the Friendly and Society Isles, that previous to any hostile expedition, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate the courage of the people, by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We passed the night without any disturbance, except from the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore. Early the next morning, (Monday the 15th) Koah came alongside the Resolution, with a small pig, and some cloth, which he desired permission to present to Mr King. We have already mentioned, that this officer was supposed, by the islanders, to be the son of captain Cook; and as the latter had always suffered them to believe it, Mr King was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as he came on deck, he interrogated Koah with regard to the body; and, on his returning evasive answers, refused to accept his present; and was on the point of dismissing him with expressions of anger and resentment, had not captain Clerke, with a view of keeping up the appearance of friendship, judged it more proper, that he should be treated with the customary respect.

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

He was extremely urgent both with captain Clerke and Mr King to go on shore, imputing the detention of the bodies to the other chiefs; and assuring those gentlemen, that every thing might be adjusted to their satisfaction by a personal interview with the king. However, they did not think it prudent to comply with Koah's request; and, indeed a fact came afterwards to their knowledge, which proved his want of veracity. For they were informed that, immediately after the action in which cap-



tain Cook had lost his life, Terreeboo had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by means of ropes, and where he continued for several days, having his provisions let down to him by cords.

After the departure of Koah from the ships, we observed that his countrymen, who had assembled by day-break, in vast crowds on the shore, flocked around him with great eagerness on his landing, as if they wished to learn the intelligence he had gained, and what steps were to be taken in consequence of it. It is highly probable that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution; and they appeared fully determined to stand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in various parts of the coast; large parties were perceived marching over the hills; and, upon the whole, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream anchor, for the purpose of hauling the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack; and boats were stationed off the northern point of the bay, in order to prevent a surprise from the natives in that quarter.

The warlike posture in which they appeared at present, and the breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, occasioned fresh debates among us concerning the measures which should now be pursued. It was at length determined, that nothing should be permitted to interfere with the repair of the Resolution's mast and the preparations for our departure; but that we should, nevertheless, continue our negotiations for the restoration of the bodies of our countrymen.

The greater part of the day was employed in getting the fore-mast into a proper situation on deck, that the carpenters might work upon it; and also in making the requisite alterations in the commissions of the officers. The chief command of the expedition having devolved on captain Clerke, he removed on board the Resolution, promoted Lieutenant Gore to the rank of captain of the Discovery, appointed Mess. King and Williamson first and second Lieutenants of the Resolution, and nominated Mr Harvey, a midshipman who had accompanied captain Cook during his two last voyages, to fill the vacant lieutenancy. During the whole day we sustained no interruption from the islanders; and, in the evening, the launch was moored with a top-chain, and guard-boats stationed round each of the ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being exceedingly dark, we heard a canoe paddling towards the ship; and it was no sooner perceived than both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two of the natives in this canoe, who immediately roared out "*Tinne*," (which was their method of pronouncing Mr King's name), and said that they were friends, and had something with them which belonged to captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at the feet of our officers, and seemed to be extremely terrified. It fortunately happened that neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone thro' the canoe.

One of them was the person who has been already mentioned, under the appellation of the *taboo* man, who constantly attended captain Cook with

the particular ceremonies we have before described ; and who, though a man of distinction in the island, could scarcely be prevented from performing for him the most humiliating offices of a menial servant. After bewailing, with many tears, the loss of the *Orono*, he informed us that he had brought a part of his body. He then gave us a small bundle which he brought under his arm ; and it is impossible to describe the horror with which we were seized, upon finding in it a piece of human flesh, of the weight of about nine or ten pounds. This, he said, was all that now remained of the body ; that the rest had been cut in pieces and burnt ; but that the head and all the bones, except those which belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeboo and the other chiefs ; that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, for the purpose of being used in some religious ceremony ; and that he had sent it as a testimony of his innocence, and of his attachment to us.

We had now an opportunity of learning whether they were cannibals ; and we did not neglect to avail ourselves of it. We first endeavoured, by several indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to gain information respecting the manner in which the other bodies had been treated and disposed of ; and, finding them very constant in one account, that, after the flesh had been cut off, the whole of it was burnt, we at last put the direct question, whether they had not fed on some of it ? They immediately testified as much horror at such an idea, as any European would have done ; and asked, whether that was the practice among us. They afterwards asked

us, with great earnestness, and with an appearance of apprehensions when the *Orono* would come again. And how he would treat them on his return. The same inquiry was often made in the sequel by others; and this idea is consistent with the general tenor of their conduct towards them, which indicated, that they considered him as a being of a superior species.

Though we pressed our two friendly visitants to continue on board till the next morning, we could not prevail upon them. They informed us, that, if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king, or any of the other *Erees*, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; to prevent which, they had been under the necessity of coming to us in the dark; and the same precaution, they said, would be requisite in returning on shore. They further told us, that the chiefs were eager to take revenge on us for the death of their countrymen; and particularly cautioned us against trusting Koah, who, they assured us, was our implacable enemy, and ardently longed for an opportunity of fighting us, to which the blowing of the conch, that we had heard in the morning, was intended as a challenge.

It also appeared from the information of these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were slain in the first action, at the village of Kowrowa, five of whom were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our particular friends, were of that number.

Eight, they said, had lost their lives at the observatory; three of whom likewise were persons of the first distinction.

The two natives left us about eleven o'clock, and took the precaution to desire, that one of our guard-



boats might attend them till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which, by alarming their countrymen on shore, might expose them to the danger of detection. This request was readily complied with, and we had the satisfaction to find, that they reached the land safe and undiscovered.

We heard, during the remainder of this night, the same loud lamentations as in the preceding one.

Early the following morning, we received a visit from Koah. Mr King was piqued at finding, that, notwithstanding the most glaring marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive declaration of our friends, the priests, he should still be suffered to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear the dupes of his hypocrisy. Our situation was, indeed, become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific plan of proceedings had been adopted, having hitherto been, in any respect, promoted by it. No satisfactory answer had been given to our demands; we did not seem to have made any progress towards a reconciliation with the natives; they still remained on the shore in hostile postures, as if determined to oppose any endeavours we might make to go ashore; and yet it was become absolutely necessary to attempt landing, as the completing our stock of water would not admit of any longer delay.

We must remark, however, in justice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was highly probable, from the great numbers of the islanders, and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect our approach, that an attack could not have been made without danger; and that the loss of even a very few

men might have been severely felt by us during the remainder of our voyage ; whereas the delaying to put our menaces into execution, though, on the one hand, it diminished their opinion of our valour, had the effect of occasioning them to disperse on the other. For this day, about twelve o'clock, upon finding that we persisted in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every method of defiance, marched off, over the hills, and never made their appearance afterwards. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and presumptuous.

One of them had the insolence to come within musquet-shot ahead of the Resolution, and, after throwing several stones at us, waved over his head the hat which had belonged to Captain Cook, while his countrymen ashore were exulting and encouraging his audacity.

Our people were highly enraged at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with such reiterated provocations, and requested Mr King to obtain permission for them, from captain Clerke, to take advantage of the first fair occasion of avenging the death of their much lamented commander. On Mr King's acquainting the captain with what was passing, he ordered some great guns to be fired at the islanders on shore ; and promised the crew, that if they should be molested at the watering-place the next day, they should then be permitted to chastise them.

Before we could bring our guns to bear, the natives had suspected our intentions, from the bustle and agitation they observed in the ship ; and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were

consequently obliged to fire in some degree at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects we could desire. For, in a short time afterwards, we perceived Koah paddling towards us with the greatest haste; and, when he arrived, we learned, that some people had lost their lives, and among the rest Maiha-maiha, a principal *Eree*\* nearly related to Terreeoboo.

Not long after Koah's arrival, two boys swam off from the *morai* towards our vessels, each armed with a long spear; and, after they had approached pretty near, they began, in a very solemn manner, to chant a song; the subject of which, from their frequently mentioning the word *Orono*, and pointing to the village where captain Cook had been slain, we concluded to be the late calamitous occurrence. Having sung for near a quarter of an hour in a plaintive strain, during all which time they continued in the water, they repaired on board the *Discovery*, and delivered up their spears; and, after remaining there a short time, returned on shore. We could never learn who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony.

During the night we took the usual precautions for the security of the ships; and, as soon as it was dark, the two natives, who had visited us the preceding evening, came off to us again. They assured us, that though the effects of our great guns, this afternoon, had greatly alarmed the chiefs, they had

\* In the language of these islands, the word *matee* is generally used either to express killing or wounding; and we were afterwards informed, that this chief had only received a trifling blow on the face, from a stone which had been struck by one of our balls.

by no means relinquished their hostile intentions, and they advised us to be on our guard.

The following morning, which was the 17th, the boats of both ships were dispatched ashore, to procure water; and the Discovery was warped close to the beach, in order to protect the persons employed in that service. We soon found that the intelligence which had been sent us by the priests was not destitute of foundation, and that the islanders were determined to neglect no opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much hazard.

The villages, throughout this whole cluster of islands, are, for the most part, situate near the sea; and the adjacent ground is enclosed with stone walls, of the height of about three feet. These, we at first supposed, were designed for the division of property; but we now discovered that they served for a defence against invasion, for which purpose they were, perhaps, chiefly intended. They consist of loose stones, and the natives are very dexterous in shifting them, with great quickness, to such particular situations, as the directions of the attack may occasionally require. In the sides of the mountain that stands near the bay, they have likewise holes, or caves, of considerable depth, whose entrance is secured by a fence of a similar kind. From behind both these stations, the islanders perpetually harassed our watering party with stones; nor could the inconsiderable force we had on shore, with the advantage of musquets, compel them to retreat.

Thus opposed, our people were so occupied in attending to their own safety, that, during the whole forenoon, they filled only one ton of water. It being therefore impossible for them to perform this service,



till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the Discovery was ordered to dislodge them with her great guns ; which being accomplished by means of a few discharges, the men landed without molestation.

The natives, however, made their appearance again soon afterwards, in their usual method of attack ; and it was now deemed absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling huts near the wall behind which they had sheltered themselves. In executing the orders that were given for that purpose our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary devastation and cruelty. Some allowance ought certainly to be made for their resentment of the repeated insults and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and for their natural desire of revenging the death of their beloved and respected Commander. But at the same time their conduct strongly evinced, that the greatest precaution is requisite in trusting, even for a moment, the discretionary use of arms in the hands of private soldiers, or seamen, on such occasions. The strictness of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to suitable objects, lead them to conceive, that whenever they have the power, they have likewise a right to perform. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they expect to receive punishment, they are apt to consider it as the sole measure of right and wrong ; and hence they are too ready to conclude, that what they can do with impunity, they may also do consistently with honour and justice ; so that the feelings of humanity, and that generosity towards an unresisting enemy, which, at other times, is a striking distinction of

brave men, become but feeble restraints to the exercise of violence, when set in opposition to the desire they naturally have of showing their own power and independence.

It has been before observed, that directions had been given to burn only a few straggling houses, which afforded shelter to the islanders. We were therefore greatly surprised on perceiving the whole village in flames; and before a boat, that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief, could reach the land, the habitations of our old and constant friends, the priests, were all on fire. Mr King had, therefore, great reason to lament the illness that confined him on board this day. The priests had always been under his protection; and unfortunately, the officers then on duty, having seldom been on shore at the *morai*, were but little acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had he been present himself, he might, in all probability, have been the means of preserving their little society from destruction.

In escaping from the flames, several of the inhabitants were shot; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one unhappy native was much lamented by all of us. As he was repairing to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball happened to strike his calibash, which he instantly threw from him, and ran off. He was pursued into one of the caves above mentioned, and no man could have defended his den with greater bravery and fierceness; till at length, after he had found means to keep two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds.

This accident first brought us acquainted with the use to which these caverns are applied.

About this time an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and conveyed on board the Resolution, in the same boat, with the heads of his two countrymen. We never observed horror so strongly portrayed, as in the face of this person, nor so violent a transition to immoderate joy, as when he was untied, and given to understand, that he might depart in safety. He showed us that he was not deficient in gratitude, as he not only returned afterwards with presents of provisions, but also did us other services.

In a short time after the destruction of the village, we saw, coming down the hill, a man, accompanied by fifteen or twenty boys, who held in their hands pieces of white cloth, plantains, green boughs, &c. It happened that this pacific embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This however did not deter them from continuing their procession, and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they made a nearer approach, the principal person proved to be our friend Kaireekeca, who had fled when our people first set fire to the village, and had now returned, and expressed his desire of being sent on board the Resolution.

On his arrival we found him extremely thoughtful and grave. We endeavoured to convince him of the necessity there was of setting fire to the village, by which his house, and those of his brethren were unintentionally destroyed. He expostulated with us on our ingratitude and want of friendship; and indeed, it was not till the present moment that we knew the whole extent of the injury that had been

done them. He informed us, that, confiding in the promises Mr King had made them, and as well as in the assurances they had received from the men, who had brought us some of captain Cook's remains, they had not removed their effects back into the country, as the other inhabitants had done, but had put every valuable article of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house adjoining to the *morai*, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by our people. He had, on ~~coming~~ on board, perceived the heads of his two countrymen lying on deck, at which he was greatly shocked, and earnestly desired that they might be thrown overboard. This request, by the directions of captain Clerke, was immediately complied with.

Our watering party returned on board in the evening, having sustained no further interruption. We passed a disagreeable night; the cries and lamentations we heard from the shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation, on this occasion, arose from the hopes that a repetition of such severities might not be requisite in future.

It is remarkable, that, amidst all these disturbances, the female natives, who were on board, did not offer to leave us, or discover any apprehensions either for themselves or their friends on shore. They appeared, indeed, so perfectly unconcerned, that some of them, who were on deck when the village was in flames, seemed to admire the spectacle, and frequently exclaimed, that it was *maitai*, or very fine.

The next morning the treacherous Koah came on to the ships as usual. There being no longer



any necessity for keeping terms with him, Mr King was allowed to treat him as he thought proper. When he approached the side of the *Résolution*, singing a song, and offering a hog, and some plantains, to Mr King, the latter ordered him to keep off, and cautioned him never to make his appearance again without the bones of captain Cook, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his repeated breach of faith. He did not appear much mortified with this unwelcome reception, but immediately returned on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were throwing stones at our waterers. The body of the young man who had been killed the preceding day was found this morning lying at the entrance of the cave; and a mat was thrown over him by some of our people; soon after which they saw several of the natives carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them chanting, as they marched, a mournful song.

The islanders being at length convinced that it was not the want of ability to chastise them which had induced us at first to tolerate their provocations, desisted from molesting our people; and, towards the evening, a chief, named Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the first distinction, came with presents from *Terreeboo* to sue for peace. These presents were accepted, and the chief was dismissed with the following answer: That no peace would be granted till the remains of captain Cook should be restored.

We were informed by Eappo, that the flesh of all the bones of our people who had been slain, as well as the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb-bones of the marines had been distri-

buted among the inferior chiefs; and that the remains of captain Cook had been disposed of as follows : the head to a great *Eree*, called Kahooopeou ; the hair to Maiha-maiha ; and the arms, legs, and thighs, to Terrecoboo. After it was dark, many of the natives came off with various sorts of vegetables ; and we also received from Kaireekaea two large presents of the same articles.

The next day was principally employed in sending and receiving the messages that passed between captain Clarke and the old king. Eappo was very urgent that one of our officers should go on shore ; and offered to remain on board, in the mean time, as an hostage. This request, however, was not complied with ; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the following day. Our watering party at the beach did not meet with the least opposition from the islanders ; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, again ventured themselves amongst us without any marks of diffidence or apprehension.

On Saturday the 20th, early in the morning, we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. This operation was attended with considerable difficulty, and some danger, our ropes being so extremely rotten, that the purchase several times gave way.

This morning, between the hours of ten and eleven, we saw a numerous body of the natives descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a sort of procession, each man carrying on his shoulders two or three sugar-canes, and some bread-fruit, plantains, and taro, in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when they reached the water-side, seated themselves by a white flag, and

began beating their drums, while those who had followed them advanced one by one, and deposited the presents they had brought with them ; after which they retired in the same order. Soon afterwards Eappo appeared in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands ; and having stationed himself on a rock, he made signs that a boat should be sent him.

Captain Clerke, supposing that the chief had brought the bones of captain Cook (which indeed proved to be the case), went himself in the pinnace to receive them, and ordered Mr King to attend him in the cutter. When they arrived at the beach, Eappo, entering the pinnace, delivered the bones to captain Clerke, wrapped up in a great quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterwards attended our gentlemen to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed on to accompany them on board ; being, perhaps, from a sense of decency, unwilling to be present at the opening of the parcel.

We found, in this bundle, both the hands of captain Cook entire, which were well known to us from a scar on one of them, that divided the fore-finger from the thumb, the whole length of the metacarpal bone ; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones of the face wanting ; the scalp, with the ears adhering to it, and the hair upon it cut short ; the bones of the arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them ; the bones of the thighs and legs joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were observed to be entire ; and the whole showed sufficient marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had

the flesh remaining upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, most probably with a view of preserving them. The skull was free from any fracture, but the scalp had a cut in the back part of it. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, had been seized, as Eappo informed us, by different *Erees*; and he also told us, that Terrecoboo was using every means to recover them.

Eappo, and the king's son, came on board the next morning, and brought with them not only the remaining bones of captain Cook, but likewise the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles which had belonged to him. Eappo assured us that Terrecoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself, were extremely desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proofs of it; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still disaffected to us. He lamented, with the most lively sorrow the death of six chiefs, who had been killed by our people; some of whom, he said, were among our best friends. He informed us, that the cutter had been taken away by Pareea's people, probably in revenge for the blow that he had received; and that it had been broken up the following day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, had been carried off, he said, by the populace, and were irrecoverable.

Nothing now remained but to perform the last solemn offices to our excellent commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to *taboo* all the bay; and, in the afternoon, the bones having been deposited in a coffin, the funeral service was read over them, and they were committed to the deep with the usual



military honours. Our feelings, on this mournful occasion, are more easy to be conceived than expressed.

During the morning of the 22d not a canoe was seen in the bay. The *taboo*, which Eappo, at our desire, had laid on it the preceding day, not being yet taken off. At length that chief came off to us. We assured him, that we were now perfectly satisfied; and that, as the *Orono* was buried, all remembrance of the late unhappy transactions was buried with him. We afterwards requested him to take off the *taboo*, and to make it known that the islanders might bring provisions to us as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the *Erves* came on board, expressing their grief at what had happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not favour us with a visit, sent presents of large hogs and other provisions. Among the rest, the old treacherous Koah came off to us, but we refused him admittance.

As we were now prepared for putting to sea, captain Clerke imagining, that, if the intelligence of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders that the ships should be unmoored. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the natives; and Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekkea, took their leave of us in a very affectionate manner. We immediately weighed anchor, and stood out of Karakakooa Bay. The islanders were assembled in great numbers on the shore; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of good-will and affection.

Having cleared the land about ten, we stood to the northward, with a view of searching for a harbour, which the natives had often mentioned, on the southeast side of Mowee. We found ourselves, the next morning, driven to leeward, by a swell from the northeast; and a fresh gale from the same quarter drove us still further to the westward. At midnight we tacked and stood four hours to the south, to keep clear of the land; and, at day-break, on the 24th, we were standing towards a small barren island, named Tahoorowa, about seven miles south-west of Mowee.

Giving up all prospect of making a closer examination of the southeast parts of Mowee, we bore away and kept along the southeast side of Tahoorowa. Steering close round its western extremity, in order to fetch the west side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and saw the sea breaking on some rocks, almost right a-head. We then kept away about a league and half, and again steered to the northward when we stood for a passage between Mowee, and an island named Ranai. In the afternoon the weather was calm, with light airs from the west. We stood to the north-northwest; but, observing a shoal about sunset, and the weather being unsettled, we stood towards the south.

We had now passed the southwest side of this island, without being able to approach the shore.

This side of the island forms the same distant view as the northeast, as seen when we returned from the north, in November 1778; the hilly parts, connected by a low flat isthmus, having at the first view the appearance of two separate islands. This deceptive appearance continued till we were within about

ten leagues of the coast, which, bending a great way inward, formed a capacious bay. The westernmost point, off which the shoal runs that we have just now mentioned, is rendered remarkable by a small hillock, south of which is a fine sandy bay; and, on the shore, are several huts, with plenty of cocoa trees about them.

In the course of the day several of the natives visited us, and brought provisions with them. We presently discovered that they had heard of our unfortunate disasters at Owhyhee. They were extremely anxious to be informed of the particulars, from a woman who had hid herself in the Resolution, in order to obtain a passage to Atooi; making particular inquiries about Pareea, and some other chiefs; and seeming much agitated at the death of Kaneena, and his brother. But, in whatever light this business might have been represented by the woman, it produced no bad effect in their behaviour, which was civil and obliging to the extreme.

During the night the weather varied continually, but on the 25th, in the morning, the wind being at east, we steered along the south side of Ranai, till almost noon, when we had baffling winds and calms till the evening; after which we had a light easterly breeze, and steered for the west of Morotoi. The current, which had set from the northeast, ever since we left Karakakooa Bay, changed its direction, in the course of this day, to the southeast.

The wind was again variable during the night; but, early in the morning of the 26th, it settled at east; blowing so fresh as to oblige us to double-reef the top-sails. At seven we opened a small bay, distant about two leagues, having a fine sandy beach;

but not perceiving any appearance of fresh water, we endeavored to get to the windward of Woahoo, an island which we had seen in January 1778.

We saw the land, about two in the afternoon, bearing west by north, at the distance of about eight leagues. We tacked, as soon as it was dark, and again bore away at day-light on the 27th. Between ten and eleven, we were about a league off the shore, and near the middle of the northeast side of the island.

To the northward the coast consists of detached hills, ascending perpendicularly from the sea; the sides being covered with wood, and the valleys between them appearing to be fertile and well cultivated. An extensive bay was observable to the southward, bounded, to the southeast, by a low point of land, covered with cocoa-nut trees; off which an insulated rock appeared, at the distance of a mile from the shore.

The wind continuing to blow fresh, we were unwilling to entangle ourselves with a lee-shore. Instead of attempting, therefore, to examine the bay, we hauled up and steered in the direction of the coast. At noon we were about two leagues from the island, and abreast of the north point of it. It is low and flat, having a reef stretching off almost a mile and a half. Between the north point and a head-land to the southwest the land bends inward, and seemed to promise a good road. We therefore steered along the shore, keeping it at the distance of about a mile. At two we were induced, by the sight of a fine river, to anchor in thirteen fathoms water. In the afternoon Mr King attended the two captains on shore, where few of the na-



tives were to be seen, and those principally women. The men, we were informed, were gone to Morotoi, to fight Tahyterree; but their chief, Perreorannee, remained behind, and would certainly attend us, as soon as he was informed of our arrival.

The water, to our great disappointment, had a brackish taste for about two hundred yards up the river; beyond which, however, it was perfectly fresh, and was a delightful stream. Further up, we came to the conflux of two small rivulets, branching off to the right and left of a steep romantic mountain. The banks of the river, and all that we saw of Woahoo, are in fine cultivation, and full of villages; the face of the country being also remarkably beautiful and picturesque.

As it would have been a laborious business to have watered at this place, Mr King was dispatched to search about the coast to leeward; but, being unable to land, on account of a reef of coral, which extended along the shore, captain Clerke resolved to proceed immediately to Atooi. In the morning, about eight, we weighed, and stood to the northward; and on the 28th, at day-light we bore away for that island, and were in sight of it by noon. We were off its eastern extremity, which is a green flat point, about sun-set.

It being dark, we did not venture to run for the road on the southwest side, but spent the night in plying on and off, and anchored, at nine the next morning, in twenty-five fathoms water. In running down from the southeast point of the island, we saw, in many places, the appearance of shoal water, at some distance from the land.

Being anchored in our old station, several canoes

came to visit us ; but it was very observable that there was not that appearance of cordiality in their manner, and complacency in their countenance, as when we saw them before. They had no sooner got on board, than one of them informed us, that we had communicated a disorder to the women, which had killed many persons of both sexes. He, at that time, was afflicted with the venereal disease, and minutely described the various symptoms which had attended it. As no appearance of that disorder had been observed amongst them, on our first arrival, we were, it is to be feared, the authors of this irreparable mischief.

The principal object in view, at this place, was to water the ships with as much expedition as possible ; and Mr King was sent on shore in the afternoon, with the launch and pinnace, laden with casks. He was accompanied by the gunner of the Resolution, who was instructed to trade for some provisions ; and they were attended by a guard of five marines. Multitudes of people were collected on the beach, by whom, at first, we were kindly received ; but after we had landed the casks, they began to be exceedingly troublesome.

Knowing, from experience, how difficult a task it was to repress this disposition without the interposition of their chiefs, we were sorry to be informed that they were all at a distant part of the island. Indeed, we both felt and lamented the want of their assistance ; for we could hardly form a circle, as our practice usually was, for the safety and convenience of the trading party. No sooner had we taken this step, and posted marines to keep off the populace, than a man took hold of the bayonet be-

longing to one of the soldier's musquets, and endeavoured to wrench it forcibly from his hand. Mr King immediately advanced towards them, when the native quitted his hold, and retired; but immediately returned, having a spear in one hand, and a dagger in the other; and it was with difficulty that his countrymen could restrain him from engaging with the soldier. This affray was occasioned by the native's having received from the soldier a slight prick with his bayonet, to induce him to keep without the line.

Our situation, at this time, required great management and circumspection. Mr King accordingly enjoined, that no one should presume to fire, or proceed to any other act of violence, without positive commands. Having given these instructions, he was summoned to the assistance of the watering party, where he found the natives in the same mischievous disposition. They had peremptorily demanded, for every cask of water, a large hatchet; which not being complied with, they would not permit the sailors to roll them to the boats.

As soon as Mr King had joined them, one of the natives approached him, with great insolence, and made the same demand. Mr King told him that, as a friend, he was welcome to a hatchet, but he certainly would carry off the water, without paying for it; and instantly ordered the pinnace men to proceed; at the same time calling for three marines, from the trading party, to protect them.

This becoming spirit so far succeeded as to prevent any daring attempt to interrupt us, but they still persevered in the most teasing and insulting behaviour. Some of them, under pretence of assisting,

the sailors in rolling the casks towards the shore, gave them a different direction ; others stole the hats from off our people's heads, pulled them backward by the skirts of their clothes, and tripped up their heels ; the populace, during all this time, shouting and laughing, with a mixture of mockery and malice. They afterwards took an opportunity of stealing the cooper's bucket, and forcibly took away his bag. Their principal aim, however, was to possess themselves of the musquets of the marines, who were continually complaining of their attempts to force them from their hands. Though they, in general, preserved a kind of deference and respect for Mr King, yet they obliged him to contribute his share towards their stock of plunder. One of them approached him in a familiar manner, and diverted his attention, whilst another seized his hanger, which he held carelessly in his hand, and ran away with it.

Such inscience was not to be repelled by force. Prudence dictated that we must patiently submit to it ; at the same time guarding against its effects as well as we were able. Mr King was, however, somewhat alarmed, on being soon after informed by the serjeant of the marines, that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind him, armed with a dagger, in the position of striking. Though he might, perhaps, be mistaken, in this particular, our situation was truly critical and alarming ; and the smallest error, or mistake on our part, might have been of fatal consequences.

Our people being separated into three small parties ; one filling casks at the lake ; another rolling them to the shore ; and a third purchasing provisi-



ons; Mr King had some intentions of collecting them together, in order to protect the performance of one duty at a time. But, on due reflection, he thought it more advisable to let them proceed as they had begun. If a real attack had been made, even our whole force could have made but a poor resistance. He thought, on the other hand, that such a step might operate to our disadvantage, as being an evident token of our fears. Besides, in the present case, the crowd was kept divided, and many of them wholly occupied in bartering.

The principal cause of their not attacking us was, perhaps, their dread of the effects of our arms; and, as we appeared to place so much confidence in this advantage, as to oppose only five marines to such a multitude of people, their ideas of our superiority must have been greatly exalted. It was our business to cherish this opinion; and, it must ever be acknowledged, to the honour of the whole party, that it was impossible for any men to behave better, in order to strengthen these impressions. Whatever could be considered as a jest, they received with patience and good-nature; but if they were interrupted by any serious attempt, they opposed it with resolute looks and menaces. At length, we so far succeeded, as to get all our casks to the sea-side, without any accident of consequence.

While our people were getting the casks into the launch, the inhabitants, thinking they should have no further opportunity of plundering, grew more daring and insolent. The serjeant of marines luckily suggested to Mr King the advantage of sending off his party first into the boats, by which means the musquets would be taken out of their reach, which,

as above related, were the grand objects the islanders had in view: and if they should happen to attack us, the marines could more effectually defend us, than if they were on shore.

Every thing was now in the boats, and only Mr King, Mr Anderson, the gunner, and a seaman of the boat's crew, remained on shore. The pinnace lying beyond the surf, which we were under a necessity of swimming through; Mr King ordered the other two to make the best of their way to it, and told them that he would follow them.

They both refused to comply with this order, and it became a matter of contest who should be the last on shore. Some hasty expression, it seems, Mr King had just before made use of to the sailor, which he considered as a reflection on his courage, had excited his resentment; and the old gunner, as a point of honour was now started, conceived it to be his duty to take a part in it. In this whimsical situation, they, perhaps, might have long remained, had not the dispute been settled by the stones which began to fly plentifully about us, and by the exclamations of the people from the boats, begging us to be expeditious, as the natives were armed with clubs and spears, and pursuing us into the water. Mr King arrived first at the pinnace, and, perceiving Mr Anderson was so far behind, as not to be entirely out of danger, he ordered one musquet to be fired; but, in the hurry of executing his orders, the marines fired two. The natives immediately ran away, leaving only one man and a woman on the beach. The man attempted to rise several times, but was not able, having been wounded in the groin. The islanders, in a short time, returned; and, sur-

rounding the wounded man, brandished their spears at us, with an air of defiance; but, by the time we reached the ships, some persons arrived, which we supposed to be the chiefs, by whom they were all driven from the shore.

Captain Clerke, during our absence, had been under terrible apprehensions for our safety; which had been considerably increased by his misunderstanding some of the natives, with whom he had had some conversation on board. The name of captain Cook being frequently mentioned, accompanied with circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, he concluded that they had received intelligence of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee, to which they alluded. But they were only endeavouring to make him understand what wars had arisen on account of the goats, which captain Cook had left at Oneechew, and that the poor goats had been slaughtered during the contest for the property of them. Captain Clerke, applying these shocking representations to our misfortunes at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, fixed his telescope upon us the whole time; and, as soon as he saw the smoke of the musquets, ordered the boats to be put off to our assistance.

On the 2d of March, being the next day, Mr. King was again ordered on shore with the watering party. As we had so narrowly escaped the preceding day, captain Clerke augmented our force from both ships, and we had a guard of forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was found to be unnecessary; for the beach was left entirely to ourselves, and the ground, extending from the landing-place to the lake, *tabooed*. Hence we con-

cluded, that some of the chiefs had visited this quarter; who, being unable to stay, had considerably taken this step, that we might be accommodated with safety. Several men appeared with spears and daggers, on the other side of the river, but never attempted to molest us. Their women came over, and seated themselves close by us, on the banks; and, about the middle of the day, some of the men were prevailed on to bring us hogs and roots, and also to dress them for us. When we had left the beach, they came down to the sea-side, and one of them had the audacity to throw a stone at us; but, as his conduct was highly censured by the rest, we did not express any kind of resentment.

On the 3d, we completed our watering, without much difficulty; and, on returning to the ships, we were informed that several chiefs had been on board, and had apologized for the conduct of their countrymen, attributing their riotous behaviour to the quarrels then subsisting among the principal people of the island, and which had destroyed all order and subordination.

The government of Atooi was disputed between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were there the preceding year, and a youth named Teavee. By different fathers, they are both the grandsons of Perreeorannee, king of Woahoo; who gave Atooi to the former, and Oneeheow to the latter. The quarrel originated about the goats which we had left at Oneeheow the year before; they being claimed by Toneoneo, as that island was a dependency of his. The adherents of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to support their pretensions, and a battle ensued just



before our arrival, wherein Toneoneo had been defeated. Toneoneo was likely to become more affected by the consequence of this victory, than by the loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee having married a second husband, who was not only a chief at Atooi, but also at the head of a powerful faction there, he thought of embracing the present opportunity of driving Toneoneo out of the island, that his son-in-law might succeed to the government. The goats, which had increased to six, and would probably have stocked these islands in a few years, were destroyed in this contest.

On the 4th, we were visited, on board the Resolution, by the father-in-law, the mother, and the sister of the young prince, who made several curious presents to captain Clerke. Among the rest were some fish-hooks, which were made from the bones of Terreeboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon Woaboo. Also a fly-flap, from the hands of the prince's sister, which had a human bone for its handle, and had been given to her by her father-in-law, as a trophy. They were not accompanied by young Teavee, he being then engaged in the performance of some religious rites, on account of the victory he had obtained.

This day, and the 5th, and 6th, were employed in completing the Discovery's water. The carpenters were engaged in caulking the ships, and preparing for our next cruise. We no longer received any molestation from the natives, who supplied us plentifully with pork and vegetables.

We were now visited by an Indian, who brought a piece of iron on board, to be formed into the shape of a *pabooa*. It was the bolt of some large ship.

timbers, but neither the officers nor men could discover to what nation it belonged; though, from the shape of the bolt, and the paleness of the iron, they were convinced it was not English. They inquired strictly of the native how he came possessed of it, when he informed them, that it was taken out of a large piece of timber, which had been driven upon their island since we were there in January 1778.

We received a visit, on the 7th, from Toneoneo, at which we were surprised. Hearing the dowager princess was on board, he could hardly be prevailed on to enter the ship. When they met, they cast an angry lowering look at each other. He did not stay long, and appeared much dejected. We remarked, however, with some degree of surprise, that the women prostrated themselves before him, both at his coming and going away; and all the natives on board treated him with that respect which is usually paid to persons of his rank. It was somewhat remarkable, that a man, who was then in a state of actual hostility with Teavee's party, should venture alone within the power of his enemies. Indeed, the civil dissensions, which are frequent in all the South-Sea islands, seem to be conducted without much acrimony; the deposed governor still enjoying the rank of an *Eree*, and may put in practice such means as may arise to regain the consequence which he has lost.

At nine in the morning of the 8th we weighed, and proceeded towards Onecheow, and came to anchor in twenty fathoms water, at about three in the afternoon, nearly on the spot where we anchored in 1778. With the other anchor we moored in twenty-six fathoms water. We had a strong gale from

the eastward in the night, and, the next morning, the ship had driven a whole cable's length, both anchors being almost brought a-head; in which situation we were obliged to continue this and the two following days.

The weather being more moderate on the 12th, the Master was dispatched to the northwest side of the island, in search of a more commodious place for anchoring. In the evening he returned, having found a fine bay, with good anchorage in eighteen fathoms water. The points of the bay were in the direction of north by east, and south by west. A small village was situated on the north side of the bay, to the seaward of which were four wells of good water. Mr Bligh went far enough to the north to convince himself that Oreehoua, and Oneecheow, were two separate islands.

Being now on the point of taking our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, we shall here give a general account of their situation and natural history, as well as of the customs and manners of the natives. This will serve as a kind of supplement to the former description, which was the result of our first visit to these islands. This group is composed of eleven islands, extending in longitude from  $109^{\circ} 36'$ , to  $205^{\circ} 6'$ , east, and in latitude from  $18^{\circ} 54'$ , to  $22^{\circ} 15'$  north. Their names, according to the natives, are, 1. Owhyhee. 2. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi; which is also sometimes called Kowi. 3. Woa-hoo, or Oahoo. 4. Mowee. 5. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 6. Oreehoua, or Rechoua. 7. Morotinne, or Morokinnee. 8. Taboora. 9. Ranai, or Oranai. 10. Oneecheow, or Neecheehow. 11. Kahow-

rowee, or Tahoorowa. These are all inhabited, except Tahoor and Morotinnee. Besides those we have enumerated, we heard of another island named Modoo-papapa, or Komodoo-papapa, situate on the west-south-west of Tahoor; it is low and sandy, and is visited solely for the purposes of catching turtle and water-fowl. As we could never learn that the natives had knowledge of any other islands, it is most probable that no others exist in their neighbourhood.

Captain Cook had distinguished this cluster of islands, by the name of the Sandwich Islands in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, then first Lord of the Admiralty, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many valuable discoveries; a tribute justly due to that nobleman, for the encouragement and support which these voyages derived from his power, and for the zealous eagerness with which he seconded the views of our illustrious navigator.

Owhyhee, the most easterly of these islands, and by far the largest of them all, is of a triangular form, and nearly equilateral. The angular points constitute the northern, southern, and eastern extremities. The latitude of the northern extreme is  $20^{\circ} 17'$  north, and its longitude  $204^{\circ} 2'$  east: the southern end stands in the longitude of  $204^{\circ} 15'$  east, and in the latitude of  $18^{\circ} 54'$  north; and the eastern extremity is in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 34'$  north, and in the longitude of  $205^{\circ} 6'$  east. The circumference of the whole island is about 255 geographical miles, or about 293 English ones. Its breadth is twenty-four leagues; and its greatest length, which lies nearly in a north and south direction, is twen-



ty-eight leagues and a half. It is divided into six extensive districts, namely Akona and Koarra, which are on the west side; Kaoo and Opoona, on the southeast; and Aheedoo and Amakooa, on the northeast.

A mountain named *Mouna Koah*, (or the mountain Kaah) which rises in three peaks, continually covered with snow, and may be discerned at the distance of forty leagues, separates the district of Amakooa from that of Aheedoo. The coast, to the northward of this mountain, is composed of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We once flattered ourselves with the hopes of finding a harbour round a bluff head, on a part of this coast, in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 10'$  north, and in the longitude of  $204^{\circ} 26'$  east; but after we had doubled the point, and were standing close in, we found that it was connected, by a low valley, with another elevated head to the northwestward. The country rises inland with a gradual ascent, and is intersected by narrow deep glens, or rather chasms: it seemed to be well cultivated, and to have many villages scattered about it. The snowy mountain above mentioned, is very steep, and its lowest part abounds with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo is of a moderate elevation; and the interior parts have the appearance of being more even than the country towards the northwest. We cruised off these two districts for near a month; and, whenever our distance from the shore would permit, were surrounded by canoes laden with refreshments of every kind. On this side of the island we often met with a very heavy sea, and a great swell; and, as there was foul ground off the shore,

we seldom made a nearer approach to land than two or three leagues.

The coast towards the northeast of Apoona, which constitutes the eastern extreme of the island, is rather low and flat. In the inland parts the acclivity is very gradual; and the country abounds with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees. This appeared to us to be the finest part of the whole island; and we were afterwards informed, that the king occasionally resided here. The hills, at the southwestern extremity, rise with some abruptness from the sea-side, leaving only a narrow border of low land towards the beach. The sides of these hills were covered with verdure; but the adjacent country seemed thinly inhabited.

When our ships doubled the east point of the island, we had sight of another snowy mountain, called by the natives *Mouna Roa* (or the Extensive Mountain) which, during the whole time we were sailing along the southeastern side, continued to be a very conspicuous object. It was flat at the summit, which was perpetually involved in snow; and we once observed its sides also slightly covered with it for a considerable way down. According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Monsieur Condamine, from observations made on the Cordilleras in America, the height of this mountain must be, at least, 16,020 feet. It therefore exceeds the height of the *Pico de Teyde*, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 3680 feet, according to the computation of the Chevalier de Borda, or 724, according to that of Dr Heberden. The peaks of *Mouna Kaah* seemed to be of the height of about half a mile; and, as

they are wholly covered with snow, the altitude of their summits must at least be 18,400 feet.

The coast of Kaoo exhibits a most horrid and dismal prospect; the whole country having, to appearance, undergone an entire change from the consequences of some dreadful convulsion. The ground is, in all parts, covered with cinders; and, in many places, intersected with blackish streaks, which seem to mark the progress of a lava that has flowed, not many centuries ago, from Mouna R. to the shore. The south promontory appears like the mere dregs of a volcano. The head-land consists of broken and craggy rocks, terminating in acute points, and irregularly piled on each other. Notwithstanding the dreary aspect of this part of the island, it contains many villages, and is far more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is it very difficult to account for this circumstance. These islanders not being possessed of any cattle, have no occasion for pasturage; and are therefore inclined to prefer such ground, as is either more conveniently situate for fishing, or best adapted to the cultivation of plantains and yams. Now, amidst these ruins there are many spots of rich soil, which are, with great care, laid out in plantations; and the neighbouring sea abounds with excellent fish of various kinds.

Off this part of the coast, at less than a cable's length from the shore, we did not strike ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line, except in a small bight to the east of the southern point, where we found from fifty to fifty-eight fathoms water, over a sandy bottom. It may be proper to observe, before we proceed to give an account of the weath-

ern districts, that the whole coast we have described, from the northern to the southern extreme, affords not a single harbour, nor the least shelter for shipping.

The southwestern parts of Akona are in a condition similar to that of the adjoining district of Kaoo; but the country, further towards the north, has been carefully cultivated, and is exceedingly populous. In this division of the island lies Karakakooa Bay, of which we have already given a description. Scarce any thing is seen along the coast, but the fragments of black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground, for the space of about two miles and a half, rises gradually, and seems to have been once covered with loose burnt stones. These have been cleared away by the inhabitants, frequently to the depth of three feet and upwards; and the fertility of the soil has amply repaid their labour. Here they cultivate in a rich ashy mould, the cloth-plant and sweet potatoes. Groves of cocoa-trees are scattered among the fields, which are inclosed with stone-fences. On the rising ground beyond these, they plant bread-fruit trees, which flourish with surprising luxuriance.

The district of Koaarra extends from the most westerly point to the northern extreme of the island. The whole coast between them forms a spacious bay, which is called by the natives Toe-yah-yah, and is bounded to the northward by two conspicuous hills. Towards the bottom of this bay there is foul, corally ground, that extends to the distance of a mile from the shore without which there is good anchorage. The country, as far as the eye could discern, appeared to be fruitful and populous; but



no fresh water was to be found. The soil seemed to be of the same kind with that of the district of Kaoo.

Having thus given an account of the coasts of the island of Owhyhee, and the adjacent country, we shall now relate some particulars respecting the interior parts, from the information we obtained from a party, who set out the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, principally with an intention of reaching the snowy mountains. Having previously procured two of the islanders to serve them as guides, they quitted the village about four o'clock in the afternoon. Their course was easterly, inclining a little to the south. Within three or four miles from the bay they found the country as already described; but the hills afterwards rose with a less gradual ascent, which brought them to some extensive plantations, consisting of the *taro* or eddy root, and sweet potatoes, with plants of the cloth tree. Both the *taro* and the sweet potatoes are here planted at the distance of four feet from each other. The potatoes are earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with a proper quantity of light mould. The *taro* is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is put in the form of a bason, for the purpose of holding rain-water; this root requiring a certain degree of moisture. At the Friendly and Society Isles the *taro* was constantly planted in low and moist situations, and generally in those places where there was the conveniency of a rivulet to flood it. This mode of culture was considered as absolutely necessary; but we found that this root, with the precaution before-mentioned, succeeded equally well in a more dry situation. It was, indeed, re-

marked by all of us, that the *taro* of the Sandwich Islands was the best we had ever tasted.

The walls, by which these plantations are separated from each other, are composed of the loose burnt stones, which are met with in clearing the ground; and, being totally concealed by sugar-canes that are planted close on each side, form the most beautiful fences that can be imagined.

Our party stopped for the night at the second but they observed among the plantations, where they supposed themselves to be six or seven miles distant from our ships. The prospect from this spot was described by them as very delightful: they had a view of our vessels in the bay before them; to the left they saw a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees, spreading along the shore; a thick wood extending itself behind them; and, to the right, a very considerable extent of ground laid out with great regularity in well-cultivated plantations, displayed itself to their view. Near this spot the natives pointed out to them, at a distance from every other dwelling, the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had, in the former part of his life, been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago retired from the sea-coast of the island, and now never quitted the environs of his cottage. As they approached him, they prostrated themselves, and afterwards presented him with some provisions. His behaviour was easy, frank, and chearful. He testified little astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept of some European curiosities, he thought proper to decline the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. Our party represented him as by far the most aged

person they had ever seen, judging him to be, at a moderate computation, upwards of a hundred years of age.

As our people had supposed that the mountain was not more than ten or a dozen miles distant from the bay, and consequently expected to reach it with ease early the following morning, they were now greatly surprised to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, with the uninhabited state of the country, which they were on the point of entering, rendering it necessary to provide a supply of provisions, they dispatched one of their conductors back to the village for that purpose. Whilst they waited his return, they were joined by several of Kaoo's servants, whom that generous old man had sent after them, loaded with refreshments, and fully authorised, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand, and take away with them, whatever they might want.

Great was the surprise of our travellers, on finding the cold here so intense. But, as they had no thermometer with them, they could only form their judgment of it from their feelings; which from the warm atmosphere they had quitted, must have been a very fallacious method of judging. They found it, however, so cold, that they could scarce get any sleep, and the islanders could not sleep at all; both parties being disturbed, during the whole night, by continual coughing. As they, at this time, could not be at any very great height, their distance from the sea being no more than six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this uncommon degree of cold must be attributed to the

easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains.

They proceeded on their journey early the next morning, and filled their calabashes at a well of excellent water, situate about half a mile from their hut. After they had passed the plantations, they arrived at a thick wood, which they entered by a path that had been made for the convenience of the islanders, who frequently repair thither for the purpose of catching birds, as well as procuring the wild or horse-plantain. Their progress now became extremely slow, and was attended with great labour; for the ground was either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and often interrupted by trees lying across it, which they were obliged to climb over, as the thickness of the under-wood, on each side, rendered it impracticable to pass round them. They saw, in these woods, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, at small distances, which they imagined were land-marks for the division of property, as they only observed them where the wild plantains grew. The trees were of the same kind with the spice tree of New Holland; they were straight and lofty, and their circumference was from two to four feet.

Our party having advanced nine or ten miles in the wood, had the mortification of finding themselves, suddenly, within sight of the sea, and not very far from it; the path having turned off imperceptibly to the south, and carried them to the right of the mountain, which it was their intention to reach. Their disappointment was considerably heightened by the uncertainty under which they now were with respect to its true bearings, as they could not, at present, gain a view of it from the top of the



highest trees. They, therefore, thought proper to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left two of their own people, and three of the natives, with the small remnant of their provisions. Here they passed the second night, during which the air was so extremely sharp, that by the morning their guides were all gone off, except one.

Being now in want of provisions, which laid them under a necessity of returning to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they left the wood by the same path by which they had entered it. When they arrived at the plantations, they were surrounded by the islanders, from whom they purchased a fresh supply of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to accompany them as guides, in the room of those who had gone away. Having procured the best information they could possibly obtain, with regard to the direction of their road, the party, who were now nine in number, marched for about half a dozen miles along the skirts of the wood, and then entered it again by a path leading towards the east. They passed, for the first three miles, through a forest of lofty spice trees, which grew on a rich loam. At the back of these trees they met with an equal extent of low shrubby trees, together with a considerable quantity of thick under-wood, upon a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to another forest of spice trees, and the same rich brownish soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of a similar kind with the former. These ridges, as far as they could be seen, appeared to run parallel with the sea-shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre.

As they passed through the woods they found many unfinished canoes; and huts in several places; but they saw none of the inhabitants. After they had penetrated almost three miles into the second wood, they arrived at two huts, where they stopped, being greatly fatigued with the day's journey, in the course of which they had walked, according to their own computation, at least twenty miles. Having found no springs from the time they quitted the plantations, they had greatly suffered from the violence of their thirst; in consequence of which they were obliged, before the evening came on, to separate into small parties, and go in quest of water. They, at last, met with some that had been left by rain, in the bottom of a half-finished canoe; which, though of a reddish colour, was by no means unwelcome to them.

During the night, the cold was more intense than before; and though they had taken care to wrap themselves up in mats and clothes of the country, and to keep a large fire between the two huts, they could get but very little sleep, and were under the necessity of walking about for the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now, in all probability, pretty considerable, as the ground, over which their journey lay, had been generally on the ascent.

The next morning, which was the 26th, they set out early, with an intention of making their last and greatest effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were considerably depressed, on finding that the miserable pittance of water, which they had discovered the preceding night, was expended.—The path, which reached no further than where canoes had been built, being now terminated, they

were obliged to make their way as well as they could; frequently climbing up into the most lofty trees, to explore the surrounding country. They arrived, about eleven o'clock, at a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they had a prospect of the Mouna Roa, which then appeared to be at the distance of between twelve and fourteen miles from them. They now entered into a consultation, whether they should proceed any further, or rest contented with the view they now had of the snowy mountain. Since the path had ceased, their road had become highly fatiguing, and was growing still more so every step they advanced. The ground was almost everywhere broken into deep fissures, which, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble almost continually; and the intervening space consisted of a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet. Into some of these fissures they threw stones, which seemed, from the noise they made, to fall to a considerable depth; and the ground sounded hollow as they walked upon it. Besides these circumstances, which discouraged them from proceeding, they found their conductors so averse to going on, that they had reason to think they would not be prevailed on to remain out another night. They, therefore, at length, came to a determination of returning to the ships, after taking a survey of the country from the highest trees they could find. From this elevation they perceived themselves surrounded with wood towards the sea; they were unable to distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and betwixt them and the snowy mountain was a valley of about eight miles in breadth.

The travellers passed this night at a hut in the second forest ; and the following day, before noon, they had passed the first wood, and found themselves nine or ten miles to the northeast of the ships, towards which they marched through the plantations. As they walked along, they did not observe a spot of ground that was susceptible of improvement left unplanted ; and, indeed, the country, from their account, could scarcely be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the natives.

They were surprised at seeing several fields of hay ; and, upon their inquiry, to what particular use it was applied, they were informed, that it was intended to cover the grounds where the young *taro* grew, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the rays of the sun. They observed, among the plantations, a few huts scattered about, which afforded occasional shelter to the labourers : but they did not see any villages at a greater distance from the sea than four or five miles. Near one of them, which was situate about four miles from the bay, they discovered a cove, forty fathoms in length, three in breadth, and of the same height. It was open at each end ; its sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chissel ; and the surface was glazed over, perhaps by the action of fire.

Having thus related the principal circumstances that occurred in the expedition to the snowy mountain at Owwhyhee, we shall now proceed to describe the other islands of this groupe.

That which is next in size, and nearest in situation to Owwhyhee, is Mowee. It stands at the distance of eight leagues north-northwest from Owwhyhee, and is one hundred and forty geographical miles



in circuit. It is divided by a low isthmus into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the eastward is named Whamadooda, and is twice as large as that to the west, called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise to a very great height, as we were able to see them at the distance of above thirty leagues. The northern shores, like those of the isle of Owhee, afford no soundings; and the country bears the same aspect of fertility and verdure. The east point of Mowee is in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 50'$  north, and in the longitude of  $204^{\circ} 4'$  east.

To the southward, between Mowee and the adjacent islands, we found regular depths with one hundred and fifty fathoms, over a bottom of sand. From the western point, which is rather low, runs a shoal, extending towards the island of Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the south of this is an extensive bay, with a sandy beach, shaded with cocoa trees. It is not improbable that good anchorage might be met with here, with shelter from the prevailing winds; and that the beach affords a commodious landing-place. The country further back is very romantic in its appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, exhibiting a variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, as well as the deep chasms between them, are covered with trees, among which those of the bread-fruit principally abound. The summits of these hills are perfectly bare, and of a reddish brown hue. The natives informed us, that there was a harbour to the south of the eastern point, which they asserted was superior to that of Karakakooa; and we also heard that there was another harbour, named Keepookeepoo, on the north-western side.

Ranai is about nine miles distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and is situate to the southwest of the passage between those two isles. The country, towards the south, is elevated and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better appearance, and seemed to be well inhabited. It abounds in roots, such as sweet potatoes, taro, and yams; but produces very few plantains, and bread-fruit trees. The south point of Ranai is in the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 46'$  north, and in the longitude of  $203^{\circ} 8'$  east.

Morotoi lies at the distance of two leagues and a half to the west-northwest of Mowee. Its southwestern coast, which was the only part of it we approached, is very low: but the land behind rises to a considerable elevation; and, at the distance from which we had a view of it, appeared to be destitute of wood. Yams are its principal produce. The coast, on the southern and western sides of the island, forms several bays, that promise a tolerable shelter from the trade winds. The west point of Morotoi is in the longitude of  $202^{\circ} 46'$  east, and in the latitude of  $21^{\circ} 10'$  north.

Tahoorowa is a small island situate off the southwestern part of Mowee, from which it is nine miles distant. It is destitute of wood, and its soil seems to be sandy and unfertile. Its latitude is  $20^{\circ} 38'$  north, and its longitude  $203^{\circ} 27'$  east. Between it and Mowee stands the little island of Morrotinee, which has no inhabitants.

Woahoo lies about seven leagues to the northwest of Morotoi. As far as we were enabled to judge, from the appearance of the northwestern and northeastern parts (for we had not an opportunity of seeing the southern side) it is by far the finest of

all the Sandwich Islands. The verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and fertile well cultivated valleys, which the whole face of the country presented to view, could not be exceeded. Having already described the bay in which we anchored, formed by the northern and western extremes, it remains for us to observe, that, in the light of the bay, to the southward of our anchoring-place, we met with foul rocky ground, about two miles from the shore. If the ground tackling of a ship should happen to be weak, and the wind blow with violence from the north, to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some degree of danger: but, provided the cables were good, there would be no great hazard, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite the valley through which the river runs, to the northern point, consists of a fine sand. The latitude of our anchoring-place is  $21^{\circ} 43'$  north, and the longitude  $202^{\circ} 9'$  east.

Atooi lies about 25 leagues N. W. of Woahoo. The face of the country to the southward is pretty even, but to the northwest it is very rugged and open; the hills in the inland part of the country are covered with wood, and decrease in size, with a gentle slope, towards the sea-side, where they are bare.

Though the inhabitants far surpass the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations, yet its productions are in general the same with that of the other islands in this cluster. Their plantations were divided by regular and deep ditches, especially in the low grounds contiguous to the bay wherein we anchored; the fences were elegantly formed, and the roads through them, were finished in such a manner, as would have done credit

an European engineer. The longitude of Wymoa bay, in this island, is  $200^{\circ} 20'$  east and its latitude  $21^{\circ} 57'$  north. The latter stands to the south-west, and is uninhabited. Longitude  $199^{\circ} 36'$  east, latitude  $21^{\circ} 43'$  north.

Oneeheow lies five or six leagues to the westward of Atooi. The eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the other parts of the island consist of low ground, excepting a round bluff head on the southeast point. Yams are here produced in great abundance, also the sweet root called *tee*; but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehoua and Tahoorā are two little islands in the neighbourhood of Oneeheow. The former is an elevated hummock, joined to the northern extremity of Oneeheow by a reef of coral rocks. Longitude  $199^{\circ} 52'$  east, and latitude  $22^{\circ} 2'$  north.

The climate of the Sandwich Islands differs very little from that of the West-India Islands, which are in the same latitude. In general, it may perhaps be somewhat more moderate. In Karakakooa Bay the thermometer never rose higher on shore than  $88^{\circ}$ , and that but one day, the mean height at noon being  $83^{\circ}$ . In Wymoa bay, its mean height at twelve o'clock was  $76^{\circ}$ , and at sea  $75^{\circ}$ . In the Island of Jamaica, the mean height of the thermometer is  $86^{\circ}$ , at sea  $80^{\circ}$ .

As we were not at these Islands during any of the tempestuous months, we could not discover whether they are subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no vestiges of their effects were anywhere to be seen, it is prob-



able that in this respect they resemble the Society or Friendly Isles, which are, in a great measure, free from these dreadful visitations. In the interior parts, there was a greater quantity of rain fell, during the four winter months that we continued among these islanders, than usually falls during the dry season in the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the summit of the hills, and producing rain to leeward ; but they are lost, and their place supplied by others, when they are separated from the land by the wind. This happened daily at Owbyhee ; the mountainous part being usually enveloped in a cloud ; showers successively falling in the inland country ; with fine weather, and a clear sky at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were from east-southeast to northeast ; though they sometimes varied a few points each way to the north and south ; but these were light and of short duration. We had a constant land and sea breeze every day and night in the harbour of Karakakooa.

We can say nothing certain as to the currents ; sometimes they set to windward, and sometimes to leeward, without the least regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign ; they often set to windward against a fresh breeze.

The tides are exceedingly regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each. The flood tides come from the eastward ; and at the full and change of the moon, it is high-water forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Two feet seven inches is their greatest rise ; and we observed, that the wa-

ter was always four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon than when below.

Hogs, dogs and rats are the only quadrupeds we observed in these, or any other of the South-Sea Islands yet discovered. The dogs are of the same species with those we saw at Otaheite, having pricked ears, long backs, and short crooked legs. Some of them had long rough hair, and others were perfectly smooth, which was all the variation we noticed among them. They are about the size of a common turnspit; and extremely sluggish in their nature; though this may not perhaps be so much owing to their natural disposition as the manner in which they are treated. We did not observe a single instance of their being made a companion here, but were left to feed and herd with the hogs. Indeed, the practice of eating them is an insuperable bar to their admission into society; and as there are neither objects of chase, nor beasts of prey in the island, it is probable that the fidelity, attachment, and sagacity of these animals will remain unknown to the natives.

Dogs did not appear to be so numerous here, in proportion, as at Otaheite; but hogs are much more plenty, and the breed larger and weightier. It is astonishing how large a supply of provisions we got from them. We were upwards of three months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly allowed to both crews; so that our consumption was computed at sixty puncheons, of five hundred weight each. Besides this quantity, and the extraordinary waste, which, amidst such abundance, could not be entirely prevented,

sixty more puncheons were salted for sea-store. The greater part of this supply was drawn from the isle of Owhyhee alone; and yet we did not perceive that it was at all exhausted, or even that the plenty had decreased.

The birds of these islands are numerous, though the variety is not great. Some of them may vie with those of any country in point of beauty. There are four species that seem to belong to the *trochili*, or honey-suckers of Linnæus. One of them is somewhat larger than a bullfinch; its colour is a glossy black, and the thighs and rumpvent are of a deep yellow. The natives call it *boohoo*. Another is of a very bright scarlet; its wings are black, with a white edge, and its tail is black. It is named *eevee* by the inhabitants. The third is variegated with brown, yellow, and red, and seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the preceding. The fourth is entirely green, with a yellow tinge, and is called *akaiearooa*. There is also a small bird of the fly-catcher kind; a species of thrush, with a greyish breast; and a rail, with very short wings, and no tail. Ravens are met with here, but they are extremely scarce; they are of a dark brown colour, inclining to black, and their note is different from that of the European raven.

We found here two small birds, that were very common, and both of which were of one *genus*. One of these was red, and was usually observed about the cocoa trees, from whence it seemed to derive a considerable part of its subsistence. The other was of a green colour. Both had long tongues, which were ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head was likewise very common here: from

the structure of its beak, our people called it a par-roquet: it, however, does not belong to that tribe, but bears a great resemblance to the *lexia flavicans*, or yellowish cross-bill of Linnæus. Here are also owls, curlews, petrels, and gannets; plovers of two species, one nearly the same as our whistling plover; a large white pigeon; the common water-hen; and a long-tailed bird, which is of a black colour, and the vent and feathers under the wings yellow.

The vegetable produce of the Sandwich Isles is not very different from that of the other islands of the Pacific Ocean. We have already observed, that the *taro* root, as here cultivated, was superior to any we had before tasted. The bread-fruit trees thrive here, not indeed in such abundance as at Otaheite, but they produce twice as much fruit as they do on the rich plains of that island. The trees are nearly of the same height; but the branches shoot out from the trunk considerably lower, and with greater luxuriance of vegetation. The sugar-canés of these islands grow to an extraordinary size. One of them was brought to us at Atooi, whose circumference was eleven inches and a quarter; and it had fourteen feet eatable. At Oneeheow we saw some large brown roots, from six to ten pounds in weight, resembling a yam in shape. The juice, of which they yield a great quantity, is very sweet, and is an excellent succedaneum for sugar. The natives are exceedingly fond of it, and make use of it as an article of their common diet; and our people likewise found it very palatable and wholesome. Not being able to procure the leaves of this vegetable, we could not ascertain to what species of plant it belonged;



but we supposed it to be the root of some kind of fern.

The natives of the Sandwich Isles are doubtless of the same extraction with the inhabitants of the Friendly and Society Islands, of New-Zealand, the Marquesas, and Easter Island; a race which possesses all the known lands between the longitudes of  $167^{\circ}$  and  $260^{\circ}$  east, and between the latitudes of  $47^{\circ}$  south, and  $22^{\circ}$  north. This fact, extraordinary as it is, is not only evinced by the general resemblance of their persons, and the great similarity of their manners and customs, but seems to be established, beyond all controversy, by the identity of their language. It may not, perhaps, be very difficult to conjecture, from what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they had diffused themselves over so immense a space. They bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes, which inhabit the Ladrões and Caroline Isles; and the same affinity and resemblance may also be traced among the Malays and the Battas. At what particular time these migrations happened is less easy to ascertain; the period, in all probability, was not very late, as they are very populous, and have no tradition respecting their own origin, but what is wholly fabulous; though, on the other hand, the simplicity which is still prevalent in their manners and habits of life, and the unadulterated state of their general language, seem to demonstrate, that it could not have been at any very remote period.

The Sandwich Islanders, in general, exceed the middle size, and are well made. They walk in a very graceful manner, run with considerable agility, and are capable of enduring a great degree of fatigue;

but, upon the whole, the men are inferior, with respect to activity and strength, to the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands, and the women are less delicate in the formation of their limbs than the Otaheitean females. Their complexion is somewhat darker than that of the Otaheiteans; and they are not altogether so handsome in their persons as the natives of the Society Isles. Many of both sexes, however, had fine open countenances\*; and the women, in particular, had white well-set teeth, good eyes, and an engaging sweetness and sensibility of look.

The hair of these people is of a brownish black, neither uniformly curling, like that of the African negroes, nor uniformly straight, as among the Indians of America; but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. There is one striking peculiarity in the features of every part of this great nation; which is, that, even in the most handsome faces, there is always observable a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose that distinguishes them from the inhabitants of Europe. It is not wholly improbable that this may be the effect of their customary method of salutation, which is performed by pressing together the extremities of their noses.

The same superiority that we generally observed at other islands in the persons of the *Erees*, is likewise found here. Those that were seen by us were perfectly well formed; whereas the lower class of people, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of figure and make, that is met with in the populace of other parts of the world.

\*The annexed representation of a man of the Sandwich Isles, was taken from a portrait of our friend Kantena.

There are more frequent instances of deformity here, than in any of the other islands we visited. While we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board; one of whom was an old man, of the height of four feet two inches, but very well proportioned; and the other was a woman, nearly of the same stature. We afterwards saw among the natives, three who were hump-backed, and a young man who had been destitute of hands and feet from the very moment of his birth. Squinting is also common among them; and a man who, they told us, had been born blind, was brought to us for the purpose of being cured. Besides these particular defects, they are, in general, extremely subject to biles and ulcers, which some of us ascribed to the great quantity of salt they usually eat with their fish and flesh. Though the *Erees* are free from these complaints, many of them experience still more dreadful effects from the too frequent use of the *ava*. Those who were most effected by it, had their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, their bodies covered with a whitish scurf, and their whole frame trembling and paralytic, attended with a disability of raising their heads.

Though it does not appear that this drug universally shortens life, (for Terreeoboo, Kaoo, and several other chiefs, were far advanced in years) yet it invariably brings on a premature and decrepid old age. It is a fortunate circumstance for the people, that the use of it is made a peculiar privilege of the chiefs. The young son of Terreeoboo, who did not exceed twelve or thirteen years of age, frequently boasted of his being admitted to drink *ava*;

and showed us, with marks of exultation, a small spot in his side that was beginning to grow scaly.

When captain Cook first visited the Society Isles, this pernicious drug was very little known among them. In his second voyage he found it greatly in vogue at Ulietea ; but it had still gained little ground at Otaheite. During the last time we were there, the havock it had made was almost incredible, insomuch that captain Cook scarce recognized many of his former acquaintances. It is also constantly drunk by the chiefs of the Friendly Isles, but so much diluted with water, that it scarcely produces any bad consequences. At Atooi, likewise, it is used with great moderation ; and the chiefs of that island are, on this account, a much finer set of men, than those of the neighbouring islands. It was remarked by us, that, upon discontinuing the use of this root, its noxious effects quickly wore off. We prevailed upon our friends Kaoo and Kairee-keea, to abstain from it ; and they recovered surprisingly during the short time we afterwards remained among them.

To form any probable conjectures with regard to the population of the islands, with many parts of which we have but an imperfect acquaintance, may be thought highly difficult. There are two circumstances, however, which remove much of this objection. One is, that the interior parts of the country are almost entirely uninhabited ; if, therefore, the number of those who inhabit the parts adjoining to the coast be ascertained, the whole will be determined with some degree of accuracy. The other circumstance is, that there are no towns of any considerable extent, the houses of the islanders be-



ing pretty equally scattered in small villages round all their coasts. On these grounds we shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this cluster of islands.

Karakakooa bay, in Owhyhee, is about three miles in extent, and comprehends four villages of about eighty houses each, upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides many straggling habitations, which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. If we allow six people to each house, the country about the bay will then contain two thousand one hundred persons. To these we may add fifty families, or three hundred souls, which we imagine to be nearly the number employed among the plantations in the interior parts of the island; making, in all, two thousand four hundred. If this number be applied to the whole coast round the island, a quarter being deducted for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain a hundred and fifty thousand persons. The other Sandwich Islands, by the same method of calculation, will appear to contain the following number of inhabitants: Mowee, sixty-five thousand four hundred; Atooi, fifty-four thousand; Morotoi, thirty-six thousand; Woahoo, sixty thousand two hundred; Ranai, twenty thousand four hundred; Oneeheow, ten thousand; and Oreehoua, four thousand. These numbers, including the hundred and fifty thousand in Owhyhee, will amount to four hundred thousand. In this computation we have by no means exceeded the truth in the total amount.

It must be confessed, notwithstanding the great loss we sustained from the sudden resentment and violence of these islanders, that they are of a mild and affectionate disposition, equally remote from the

distant gravity and reserve of the natives of the Friendly Isles, and the extreme volatility of the Otaheiteans. They seem to live in the greatest friendship and harmony with each other. Those women who had children showed a remarkable affection for them, and paid them a particular and constant attention, and the men, with a willingness that did honour to their feelings, frequently afforded their assistance in those domestic employments. We must, however, remark, that they are greatly inferior to the inhabitants of the other islands, in that best criterion of civilized manners, the respect paid to the female sex. Here the women are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but are forbidden to feed on the best sorts of provisions. Turtle, pork, several kinds of fish, and some species of plantains are denied them; and we were informed, that a girl received a violent beating, for having eaten, while she was on board one of our ships, a prohibited article of food. With regard to their domestic life they seem to live almost wholly by themselves, and meet with little attention from the men, though no instances of personal ill-treatment were observed by us.

We have already had occasion to mention the great kindness and hospitality with which they treated us. Whenever we went ashore, there was a continual struggle who should be most forward in offering little presents for our acceptance, bringing provisions and refreshments, or testifying some other mark of respect. The aged persons constantly received us with tears of joy, appeared to be highly gratified with being permitted to touch us, and very frequently drew comparisons between us and them.

selves, with marks of extreme humility. The young women, likewise, were exceedingly kind and engaging, and attached themselves to us without reserve, till they perceived, notwithstanding all our endeavours to prevent it, that they had cause to repent of our acquaintance. It must, however, be observed, that these females were in all probability of the inferior class; for we saw very few women of rank during our continuance here.

These people, in point of natural capacity, are, by no means, below the common standard of the human race. The excellence of their manufactures, and their improvements in agriculture, are doubtless adequate to their situation and natural advantages. The eagerness of curiosity with which they used to attend the armourer's forge, and the various expedients which they had invented, even before our departure from these islands, for working the iron obtained from us, into such forms as were best calculated for their purposes, were strong indications of docility and ingenuity. Our unhappy friend, Kaneena, was endowed with a remarkable quickness of conception, and a great degree of judicious curiosity. He was extremely inquisitive with respect to our manners and customs. He inquired after our sovereign; the form of our government; the mode of our constructing our ships; the productions of our country; our numbers; our method of building houses; whether we waged any wars, with whom, on what occasions, and in what particular manner they were carried on; who was our deity; besides many other questions of a like import, which seemed to indicate a comprehensive understanding. We observed two instances of persons disordered in their

senses ; the one a women at Onecheow, the other a man at Owhyhee. From the extraordinary respect and attention paid to them, it appeared, that the opinion of their being divinely inspired, which prevails among most of the oriental nations, is also countenanced here.

It is highly probable that the practice of feeding on the bodies of enemies was originally prevalent in all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, though it is not known, by positive and decisive evidence, to exist in any of them, except New-Zealand. The offering up human victims, which is manifestly a relique of this barbarous custom, still universally obtains among these islanders ; and it is not difficult to conceive why the inhabitants of New-Zealand should retain the repast, which was, perhaps, the concluding part of these horrid rites, for a longer period than the rest of their tribes who were situate in more fertile regions. As the Sandwich islanders, both in their persons and disposition, bear a nearer resemblance to the New-Zealanders, than to any other people of this very extensive race, Mr Anderson was strongly inclined to suspect that, like them, they are still cannibals. The evidence, which induced him to entertain this opinion has been already laid down ; but, as Mr King had great doubts of the justness of his conclusions, we shall mention the grounds on which he ventured to differ from him. With regard to the intelligence received on this head from the natives themselves, it may not be improper to observe, that most of the officers on board took great pains to inquire into so curious a circumstance ; and that, except in the instance a-



bove referred to, the islanders invariably denied that any such practice existed among them.

Though Mr Anderson's superior knowledge of the language of those people ought certainly to give considerable weight to his judgment, yet when he examined the man who had the little parcel containing a piece of salted flesh, Mr King, who was present on that occasion, was strongly of opinion, that the signs made use of by the islander intimated nothing more, than that it was designed to be eaten, and that it was very agreeable or wholesome to the stomach. In this sentiment Mr King was confirmed, by a circumstance of which he was informed, after the decease of his ingenious friend Mr Anderson, namely, that most of the inhabitants of these islands carried about with them a small piece of raw pork, well salted, either put in a calibash, or wrapped up in some cloth, and fastened round the waist: this they esteemed a great delicacy, and would frequently taste it. With regard to the confusion the lad was in, (for his age did not exceed sixteen or eighteen years) no person could have been surprised at it, who had been witness of the earnest and eager manner in which Mr Anderson interrogated him.

Mr King found it less easy to controvert the argument deduced from the use of the instrument made with shark's teeth, which is of a similar form with that used by the New-Zealanders for cutting up the bodies of their enemies. Though he believed it to be an undoubted fact, that they never make use of this instrument in cutting the flesh of other animals, yet, as the practice of sacrificing human victims, and of burning the bodies of the slain, still prevails here, he considered it as not altogether im-

probable, that the use of this knife (if it may be so denominated) is retained in those ceremonies. He was, upon the whole, inclined to imagine, and particularly from the last-mentioned circumstance, that the horrible custom of devouring human flesh has but lately ceased in these and other islands of the Pacific Ocean. Omai acknowledged, that his countrymen, instigated by the fury of revenge, would sometimes tear with their teeth the flesh of their slain enemies; but he peremptorily denied that they ever ate it. The denial is a strong indication that the practice has ceased; for in New-Zealand, where it is still prevalent, the natives never scrupled to confess it.

The Sandwich Islanders, almost universally, permit their beards to grow. There were, however, a few who cut off their beard entirely, among whom was the aged king; and others wore it only on their upper lip. The same variety that is found among the other islanders of this ocean, with respect to the mode of wearing the hair, is likewise observable here. They have, besides, a fashion which seems to be peculiar to themselves: they cut it close on each side of their heads, down to their ears, and leave a ridge, of the breadth of a small hand, extending from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is pretty thick and curling, resembles in point of form, the crest of an helmet of an ancient warrior. Some of them wear great quantities of false hair, flowing in long ringlets down their backs; while others tie it into one large round bunch on the upper part of their heads, nearly as large as the head itself; and some into six or seven separate bunches. They use, for the purpose of daubing or smearing

their hair, a greyish clay, mixed with shells, reduced to powder, which they keep in balls, and chew into a sort of paste, whenever they intend to make use of it. This composition preserves the smoothness of the hair, and changes it, in process of time, to a pale yellow.

Necklaces, consisting of strings of small variegated shells, are worn by both men and women. They also wear an ornament, about two inches in length, and half an inch in breadth, shaped like the handle of a cup, and made of stone, wood, or ivory, extremely well polished: this is hung round the neck by fine threads of twisted hair, which are sometimes doubled an hundred fold. Some of them, instead of this ornament, wear a small human figure on their breast, formed of bone, and suspended in a similar manner.

Both sexes make use of the fan, or fly-flap, by way of use and ornament. The most common sort is composed of cocoa-nut fibres, tied loosely in bunches, to the top of a polished handle. The tail-feathers of the cock, and those of the tropic-bird, are used for the same purpose. Those that are most in esteem, are such as have the handle formed of the leg or arm-bones of an enemy killed in battle: these are preserved with extraordinary care, and are handed down, from father to son, as trophies of the highest value.

The practice of *tatooing*, or puncturing the body, prevails among these people; and, of all the islands in this ocean, it is only at New Zealand, and the Sandwich Isles, that the face is *tatooed*. There is this difference between these two nations, that the New Zealanders perform this operation in elegant

spiral volutes, and the Sandwich Islanders in straight lines, that intersect each other at right angles.

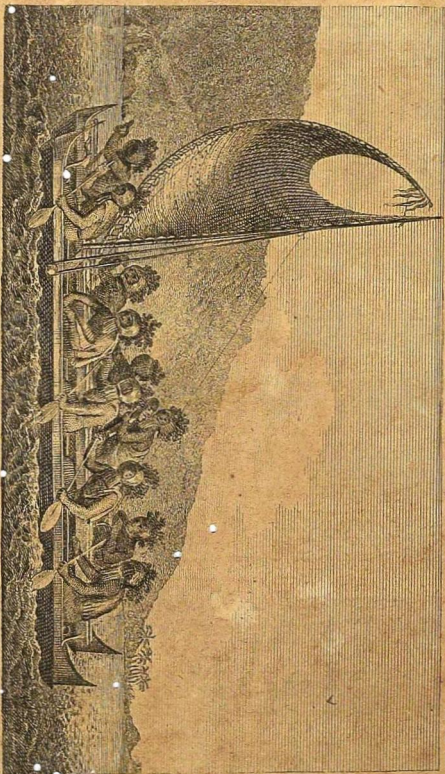
Some of the natives have half their body, from head to foot, *tattooed*, which gives them a most striking appearance. It is generally done with great neatness and regularity. Several of them have only an arm thus marked; others, a leg; some, again, *tattoo* both an arm and a leg; and others only the hand. The hands and arms of the women are punctured in a very neat manner; and they have a remarkable custom of *tattooing* the tip of the tongues of some of the females. We had some reason to imagine, that the practice of puncturing is often intended as a sign of mourning, on the decease of a chief, or any other calamitous occurrence; for we were frequently informed, that such a mark was in memory of such a chief; and so of others. The people of the lowest order are *tattooed* with a particular mark, which distinguishes them as the property of the chiefs to whom they are respectively subject. The common dress of the men of all ranks consists, in general, of a piece of thick cloth called the *maro*, about a foot in breadth, which passes between the legs, and is fastened round the waist. Their mats, which are of various sizes, but, for the most part, about five feet in length, and four in breadth, are thrown over their shoulders, and brought forward before. These, however, are rarely made use of, except in time of war, for which purpose they appear to be better calculated than for common use, since they are of a thick heavy texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or of any blunt weapon. They generally go bare-footed, except when they travel over burnt stones, on which



occasion they secure their feet with a kind of sandal, which is made of cords, twisted from cocoa-nut fibres.

Besides their ordinary dress, there is another, which is appropriated to their chiefs, and worn only on extraordinary occasions. It consists of a feathered cloak and cap, or helmet, of uncommon beauty and magnificence. This dress having been minutely described, in a former part of our work, we have only to add, that these cloaks are of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the person who wears them; some trailing on the ground, and others no lower than the middle. The chiefs of inferior rank have likewise a short cloak, which resembles the former, and is made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the man-of-war bird, and the tropic-bird, having a broad border of small yellow and red feathers, and also a collar of the same. Others are composed of white feathers, with variegated borders. The cap or helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, sufficient to break the blow of any warlike weapon; for which purpose it appears to be intended. These feathered dresses seemed to be very scarce, and to be worn only by the male sex. During our whole continuance in Karakakooa bay, we never observed them used, except on three occasions: first, in the remarkable ceremony of Terreecboo's first visit to our ships; secondly, by some chiefs, who appeared among the crowd on shore, when our unfortunate Commander was killed; and, thirdly, when his bones were brought to us by Eappo.

The striking resemblance of this habit to the cloak and helmet which the Spaniards formerly wore



A CANOE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS THE ROWERS MASKED.

excited our curiosity to inquire whether there might not be some reasonable grounds for imagining that it had been borrowed from them. After all our endeavours to gain information on this head, we found that the natives had no immediate acquaintance with any other people whatever, and that no tradition existed among them of these islands having ever before received a visit from such vessels as ours. However, notwithstanding the result of our inquiries on this subject, the form of this habit seems to be a sufficient indication of its European origin; particularly when we reflect on another circumstance, *viz.* that it is a remarkable deviation from the general agreement of dress, which is prevalent among the several branches of this great tribe, dispersed over the Pacific Ocean. From this conclusion, we were induced to suppose, that some Buccaneer, or Spanish ship, might have been wrecked in the neighbourhood of the islands. When it is considered, that the course of the Spanish trading vessels from Acapulco to Manilla, is not many degrees to the south of the Sandwich Isles, on their passage out, and to the north, on their return, this supposition will not, we think, be deemed improbable.

There is little difference between the common dress of the men and that of the women. The latter wear a piece of cloth wrapped round the waist, which descends half way down their thighs; and sometimes, during the cool of the evening, they throw loose pieces of fine cloth over their shoulders, like the Otaheitean females. The *pan* is another dress, which the younger part of the sex often wear: it consists of the thinnest and finest cloth, wrapped several times about the middle, and reaching down

to the leg ; so that it has the appearance of a full short petticoat. They cut their hair short behind, and turn it up before, as is the custom among the New-Zealanders and Otaheiteans. One woman, indeed, whom we saw in Karakakooa Bay, had her hair arranged in a very singular mode ; she had turned it up behind, and having brought it over her forehead, had doubled it back, so that it formed a sort of shade to her face, and somewhat resembled a small bonnet.

Besides their necklaces, which are composed of shells, or of a shining, hard, red berry, they wear dried flowers of the Indian mallow, formed into wreaths ; and likewise another elegant ornament, termed *eraie*, which is sometimes fastened round the hair, in the manner of a garland, but is usually put round the neck ; though it is occasionally worn in both these ways at once, as may be seen in the annexed representation of the women of the Sandwich Islands. It is a kind of ruff, about as thick as a finger, formed with great ingenuity, of very small feathers, woven together so closely, that the surface may be said to equal the richest velvet in smoothness. The ground is, in general, red, with alternate circles of black, yellow, and green.

We have already described their bracelets, of which they have a variety. Some of the women of Atobi wear small figures of the turtle, made very neatly of ivory or wood, fastened on their fingers in the same manner that rings are worn by us. There is likewise an ornament consisting of shells, tied in rows on a ground of strong net-work, so as to strike against each other, while in motion ; which both sexes, when they dance, fasten either round the



ances, or just below the knee, or round the arm. They sometimes, instead of shells, use for this purpose, the teeth of dogs, and a hard red berry.

Another ornament, if indeed it deserves that appellation, remains to be described. It is a sort of mask, composed of a large gourd, having holes cut in it for the nose and eyes. The top of it is stuck full of little green twigs, which appear at some distance like a waving plume; and the lower part has narrow stripes of cloth hanging from it, somewhat resembling a beard. These masks we never saw worn but on two occasions, and both times by a number of persons assembled in a canoe, who approached the side of the ship, laughing and making droll gesticulations. We could never learn whether they were not also made use of as a defence for the head against stones, or in some of their public sports and games, or were disguised merely for the purposes of mummery.

They dwell together in small towns or villages, which contain from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close to each other, without order or regularity, and have a winding path that leads through them. They are frequently flanked, towards the sea-side, with loose detached walls, which are, in all probability, intended for shelter and defence. The form of their habitations we have before described. They are of various dimensions, from forty-five feet by twenty-four, to eighteen by twelve. Some are of a larger size, being fifty feet in length, and thirty in breadth, and entirely open at one end. These, we were informed, were designed for the accommodation of stran-

gers or travellers, whose stay was likely to be short.

Their furniture having been already mentioned, we have only to add, that, at one end of their houses, are mats, on which they repose, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, perfectly resembling those of the Chinese. Some of the best houses have a court-yard before them, railed in very neatly, with smaller habitations for servants erected round it : in this area the family usually eat and sit in the daytime. In the sides of the hills, and amongst the steep rocks, we saw several holes or caves, which seemed to be inhabited; but, the entrance being defended by wicker-work, and, in the only one that we visited, a stone fence being observed running across it within, we supposed that they were chiefly intended as places of retreat, in case of an attack from enemies.

The people of an inferior class feed principally on fish, and vegetables, such as plantains, bread-fruit, sweet potatoes, sugar canes, yams, and taro. To these, persons of superior rank add the flesh of dogs and hogs, dressed after the same method that is practised at the Society Isles. They likewise eat fowls of a domestic kind, which however, are neither plentiful nor in any great degree of estimation.

Though, on our first arrival at these islands, yams and bread-fruit seemed scarce, we did not find this to be the case on our second visit : it is therefore probable, that, as these vegetable articles were commonly planted in the interior parts of the country, the islanders had not had sufficient time for bring-

ing them down to us, during our short continuance in Wymoa Bay, on our first visit.

They salt their fish, and preserve them in gourd shells ; not, indeed, with a view of providing against an occasional scarcity, but from the inclination they have for salted provisions ; for we also found, that the chiefs frequently had pieces of pork pickled in the same manner, which they considered as a great delicacy. Their cookery is much the same as at the Friendly and Society Islands ; and though some of our people disliked their *taro* puddings, on account of their sourness, others were of a different opinion. It is remarkable, that they had not acquired the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making of it the sour paste named *maibee*, as is the practice at the Society Isles ; and it afforded us great satisfaction, that we had it in our power to communicate to them this useful secret, in return for the generous and hospitable treatment we received from them.

They are very cleanly at their meals ; and their method of dressing both their vegetable and animal food, was universally acknowledged to be superior to ours. The *Erees* constantly begin their meals with a dose of the extract of pepper-root or *ava*, prepared in the usual mode. The women eat apart from the other sex, and are prohibited, as before observed, from feeding on pork, turtle, and some particular species of plantains. Notwithstanding this interdiction, they would privately eat pork with us ; but we could never prevail on them to taste the two latter articles of food.

They generally rise with the sun ; and, after having enjoyed the cool of the evening, retire to their

repose a few hours after sun-set. The *Erees* are occupied in making canoes and mats; the *Towtows* are chiefly employed in the plantations, and also in fishing; and the women are engaged in the manufacture of cloth. They amuse themselves, in their leisure hours, with various diversions. Their young persons, of both sexes, are fond of dancing; and, on more solemn occasions, they entertain themselves with wrestling and boxing matches, performed after the manner of the natives of the Friendly Islands; to whom, however, they are greatly inferior in all these respects.

Their dances, which bear a greater resemblance to those of the New-Zealanders, than of the Friendly or Society Islanders, are introduced with a solemn kind of song, in which the whole number join, at the same time slowly moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts; their attitudes and manner being very easy and graceful. So far they resemble the dances of the Society Isles. After this has continued for the space of about ten minutes, they gradually quicken the tune and the motions, and do not desist till they are oppressed with fatigue. This part of the performance is the counter-part of that of the inhabitants of New-Zealand; and, as among those people, the person whose action is the most violent, and who continues this exercise the longest, is applauded by the spectators as the best dancer. It must be remarked, that, in this dance, the females only engage; and that the dances of the men resemble what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Isles; and which may, perhaps, more properly be termed the accompaniment of songs, with correspondent motions of the whole body. But, as we



saw some boxing exhibitions, of the same kind with those we had seen at the Friendly Isles, it is not improbable that they had likewise here their grand ceremonious dances, wherein numbers both of men and women are performers.

The music of these people is of a rude kind ; for the only musical instruments that we observed among them, were drums of various sizes. Their songs, however, which they are said to sing in parts\*, and which they accompany with a gentle motion of their arms, like the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands, have a very pleasing effect.

They are greatly addicted to gambling. One of their games resembles our game of draughts ; but, from the number of squares, it seems to be much more intricate. The board is of the length of about two feet, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, fourteen in a row. In this game they use black and white pebbles, which they move from one square to another. Another of their games consists in concealing a stone under some cloth, which is spread out by one of the parties, and rumpled in such a manner, that it is difficult to distinguish where the stone lies. The antagonist then strikes, with a stick, that part of the cloth where he supposes the stone to be ; and the chances being, upon the whole, against his hitting it, odds of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the dexterity

\* The circumstance of their singing in parts, has been doubted by several persons of great skill in music. Captain Burney, however, and Captain Phillips of the marines, both of whom have some knowledge of music, are strongly of opinion, that they did sing in parts ; that is, they sung together in different notes.

of the parties, are laid on the occasion. Their manner of playing at bowls nearly resembles ours: the bowls have been before described.

They often entertain themselves with races between boys and girls; on which occasions they lay wagers with great spirit. We saw a man beating his breast, and tearing his hair, in the violence of rage, for having lost three hatchets at one of these races, which he had purchased from us with near half his property a very little time before.

Both sexes are surprisingly expert in swimming, which, among these people, is not only deemed a necessary art, but is also a favourite diversion. One particular method, in which we sometimes saw them amuse themselves with this exercise, in Karakakooa Bay, deserves to be related. The surf that breaks on the coast round this bay, extends about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore; and, within that space, the surges of the sea are dashed against the beach with extreme violence. Whenever the impetuosity of the surf is augmented to its greatest height, they make choice of that time for this amusement, which they perform in the following manner. About twenty or thirty of the islanders take each a long narrow board, rounded at both ends, and set out from the shore in company with each other. They plunge under the first wave they meet, and, after they have suffered it to roll over them rise again beyond it, and swim further out into the sea. They encounter the second wave in the same manner with the first. The principal difficulty consists in seizing a favourable opportunity of diving under it; for, if a person misses the proper moment, he is caught by the surf, and forced back with great violence; and his utmost dexterity is then required, to

prevent his being dashed against the rocks. When, in consequence of these repeated efforts, they have gained the smooth water beyond the surf, they recline themselves at length upon their board, and prepare for their return to shore. As the surf is composed of a number of waves, of which every third is observed to be considerably larger than the rest, and to flow higher upon the shore, while the others break in the intermediate space; their first object is to place themselves on the top of the largest surge, which drives them along with astonishing rapidity towards the land. If they should place themselves, by mistake, on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they gain the shore, or should find themselves unable to keep their board in a proper direction on the upper part of the swell, they remain exposed to the fury of the next; to avoid which, they are under the necessity of diving again, and regaining the place whence they set out. Those persons who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, are still in a very hazardous situation. As the coast is defended by a chain of rocks, with a small opening between them in several places, they are obliged to steer their plank through one of these openings; or, in case of ill success in that respect, to quit it before they reach the rocks, and, diving under the wave, make their way back again as well as they are able. This is considered as highly disgraceful, and is attended with the loss of the plank, which we have seen dashed to pieces, at the very instant the native quitted it. The amazing courage and address, with which they perform these dangerous manœuvres, are almost incredible.

The following accident shows at how early a period they are so far accustomed to the water, as to lose all apprehensions of it, and set its perils at defiance. A canoe, in which was a woman with her children, happening to be upset, one of the children, an infant of about four years of age, appeared to be greatly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a number of tricks, till the canoe was brought to its former position.

Among the amusements of the children, we observed one that was frequently played at, and which showed a considerable share of dexterity. They take a short stick, through one extremity of which runs a peg sharpened at both ends, extending about an inch on each side: then throwing up a ball, formed of green leaves moulded together, and fastened with twine, they catch it on one of the points of the peg; immediately after which, they throw it up again from the peg, then turn the stick round, and catch the ball on the other point. Thus, they continue catching it on each point of the peg alternately, without missing it. They are equally expert at another diversion of a similar nature, throwing up in the air, and catching, in their turns, many of these balls; and we have often seen little children thus keep five balls in motion at once. This latter game is also practised by the young people at the Friendly Isles.

The figure and dimensions of the canoes seen by us at Atooi, have been already described. Those of the other Sandwich Islands were made exactly in the same manner; and the largest we saw was a



double canoe that belonged to Terreeoboo, measuring seventy feet in length, twelve in breadth, and between three and four in depth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

Their method of agriculture, as well as navigation, resembles that of the other islands of the Pacific. They have made considerable proficiency in sculpture, and their skill in painting or staining cloth, and in the manufacture of mats, is very great. The most curious specimens of their sculpture, that we had an opportunity of observing, were the wooden bowls, in which the *Erees* drink *ava*. These are, in general, eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and extremely well polished. They are supported by three or four small human figures, represented in different attitudes. Some of them rest on the shoulders of their supporters; others on the hands, extended over the head; and some on the head and hands. The figures are very neatly finished, and accurately proportioned; and even the anatomy of the muscles is well expressed.

They manufacture their cloth in the same manner, and of the same materials, as at the Society and Friendly Isles. That which they intend to paint is of a strong and thick texture, several folds being beaten and incorporated together; after which they cut it in breadths, two or three feet wide, and then paint it in a great variety of patterns, with such regularity and comprehensiveness of design, as show an extraordinary portion of taste and fancy. The exactness with which even the most intricate patterns are continued, is really astonishing, as they have no stamps, and as the whole is performed by the eye, with a piece of bamboo cane dipped in paint; the

hand being supported by another piece of the same sort of cane. They extract their colours from the same berries, and other vegetable articles, which are made use of at Otaneite for that purpose.

The operation of staining or painting their cloth, is confined to the females, and is denominated *kipparce*. It is remarkable that they always called our writing by this name. The young women would frequently take the pen from our hands, and show us, that they were as well acquainted with the use of it as we ourselves were; telling us, at the same time, that our pens were inferior to theirs. They considered a manuscript sheet of paper, as a piece of cloth stripped after the mode of our country; and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could make them understand, that our figures contained a meaning in them which theirs were destitute of.

They make their mats of the leaves of the *pandanus*; and these, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in various patterns, and stained with divers colours. Some of them have a ground of a straw colour, embellished with green spots; others are of a pale green, spotted with squares, or rhomboids, of red; and some are ornamented with elegant stripes, either in straight or waving lines of brown and red. In this branch of manufacture, whether we regard the fineness, beauty, or strength, these islanders may be said to excel the whole world.

Their fishing-hooks are of various sizes and figures; but those which are principally made use of, are about two or three inches in length, and are formed in the shape of a small fish, serving as a bait, with a bunch of feathers fastened to the head or tail. They make their hooks of bone, mother-of-

pearl, or wood, pointed and barbed with little bones or tortoise-shell. Those with which they fish for sharks, are very large, being, in general, of the length of six or eight inches. Considering the materials of which these hooks are composed, their neatness and strength are amazing; and, indeed, upon trial, we found them superior to our own.

Of the bark of the *touta*, or cloth-tree, neatly twisted, they form the line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for some other purposes. It is of different degrees of fineness, and may be continued to any length. They have also a finer sort, which they make of the bark of a shrub named *areemab*; and the finest is composed of human hair: this last, however, is chiefly made use of for matters of ornament.

They likewise make cordage of a stronger kind, from cocoa-nut fibres, for the rigging of their canoes. Some of this, which was purchased by us for our own use, was found to be well calculated for the smaller kinds of running-rigging. They also manufacture another sort of cordage, which is flat, and extremely strong, and is principally used for the purpose of lashing the roofs of their houses. This last is not twisted after the manner of the former sorts, but is formed of the fibrous strings of the coat of the cocoa-nut, plaited with the fingers, in the same mode which is practised by our seamen in making their points for the reefing of sails.

They apply their gourds to various domestic purposes. These grow to such an enormous magnitude, that some of them will contain from ten to a dozen gallons. In order to adapt them the better to their respective uses, they take care to give them

different shapes, by fastening bandages round them during their growth. Thus, some of them are in the form of a dish, serving to hold their puddings, vegetables, salted provisions, salt, &c. Others are of a long cylindrical form, and serve to contain their fishing-tackle; which two sorts are furnished with neat close covers, made also of the gourd. Others are in the shape of a long-necked bottle; and, in these, water is kept. They frequently score them with a heated instrument, so as to communicate to them the appearance of being painted, in a great variety of elegant designs.

Their pans, in which they make salt, are made of earth, lined with clay; and are, in general, six or eight feet square, and about two thirds of a foot in depth. They are elevated on a bank of stones near the high-water mark, whence the salt water is conducted to the bottom of them, in trenches, out of which they are filled; and, in a short time, the sun performs the process of evaporation. The salt we met with at Oneeheow and Atooi, during our first visit, was brownish and rather dirty; but that which we afterwards procured in Karakakooa Bay, was white, and of an excellent quality; and we obtained an ample supply of it, insomuch that, besides the quantity used by us in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks with it.

The warlike weapons of these people are daggers, which they call by the name *pahooa*; spears, slings, and clubs. The *pahooa* is made of a black heavy wood, that resembles ebony. It is commonly from one to two feet in length: and has a string passing through the handle, by which it is suspended to the arm. The blade is somewhat rounded in the mid-



dle; the sides are sharp, and terminate in a point. This instrument is intended for close engagements; and, in the hands of the natives, is a very destructive one.

Their spears are of two kinds, and are formed of a hard wood, which, in its appearance, is not unlike mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, well polished, and increasing gradually in thickness from the extremity till within the distance of six or seven inches from the point, which tapers suddenly, and has five or six rows of barbs. It is probable, that these are used in the way of javelins. The other sort, with which the warriors we saw at Atooi and Owhyhee were chiefly armed, are from twelve to fifteen feet in length; and, instead of being barbed, terminate towards the point in the manner of their daggers.

Their slings are the same with our common slings, except in this respect, that the stone is lodged on matting instead of leather. Their clubs are formed indifferently of several kinds of wood: they are of various sizes and shapes, and of rude workmanship.

In the Sandwich Islands, the inhabitants are divided into three classes. The *Erees*, or chiefs of each district, are the first; and one of these is superior to the rest, who is called, at Owhyhee, *Eree-taboo*, and *Eree-Moe*; the first name expressing his authority, and the latter signifying, that, in his presence, all must prostrate themselves. Those of the second class appear to enjoy a right of property, but have no authority. Those who compose the third class, are called *towtows*, or servants, and have not either rank or property.

The superior power and distinction of Terreeoboo, Eree-taboo of Owhyhee, was sufficiently evident from his reception at Karakakooa, on his first arrival. The inhabitants all prostrated themselves at the entrance of their houses, and the canoes were *tabooed*, till he discharged the interdict. He was then just returned from Mowee, an island he was contending for, in behalf of his son Teewarro, whose wife was the only child of the king of that place, against Taheeteree, his surviving brother. In this expedition, he was attended by many of his warriors; but we could never learn whether they served him as volunteers, or whether they held their rank and property by that tenure.

That the subordinate chiefs are tributary to him, is evidently proved in the instance of Kaoo, which has already been related. It has also been observed, that the two most powerful chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, are Terreeoboo, and Perreeorannee; the former being chief of Owhyhee, and the latter of Woahoo; all the smaller isles being governed by one of these sovereigns; Mowee was, at this time, claimed by Terreeoboo, for his son and intended successor; Atooi and Oneehcow being in the possession of the grandsons of Perreeorannee.

Without entering into the genealogy of the kings of Owhyhee and Mowee, it may be necessary to mention, that, when we were first off Mowee, Terreeoboo and his warriors were there to support the claims made by his wife, his son, and his daughter-in-law; and a battle had then been fought with the opposite party, in which Terreeoboo had been victorious. Matters, however, were afterwards compromised; Taheeteree was to have possession of

three neighbouring islands, during his life ; Teewarro to be acknowledged the Chief of Mowee, and to succeed to Owhyhee, on the death of Terreeoboo ; together with the three islands contiguous to Mowee, after the death of Taheeterree. If Teewarro, who has lately married his half-sister, should die, and leave no issue behind him, those islands descend to Maiha-maiha, whom we have frequently mentioned, he being the son of Terreeoboo's deceased brother : and should he die without issue, it is doubtful who would be the successor, for Terreeoboo's two youngest sons, being born of a mother who had no rank, would be debarred all right of succession. We did not see Queen Rora-rora, whom Terreeoboo had left at Mowee ; but we had an opportunity of seeing Kanee Kaberaia, the mother of the two youths of whom he was so extremely fond.

From what has been already mentioned, it appears pretty clearly that their government is hereditary ; whence it appears probable, that the inferior titles, as well as property, descend in the same course. Respecting Perreeorannee, we only discovered that he is an *Eree-taboo* ; that he was, on some pretence, invading the possession of Taheeterree, and that the islands to leeward were governed by his grandsons.

The *Erees* appear to have unlimited power over the inferior classes of people ; many instances of which occurred daily whilst we continued among them. On the other hand the people are implicitly obedient. It is remarkable, however, that we never saw the chiefs exercise any acts of cruelty, injustice, or insolence towards them ; though they put in practice their power over each other, in a most ty-

rannical degree; which is fully proved by the two following instances:

One of the lower order of the chiefs having shown great civility to the master of the ship, on his examination of Karakakooa bay; Mr King, some time afterwards, took him on board the Resolution, and introduced him to captain Cook, who engaged him to dine with us. While we remained at table, Pareea entered, whose countenance manifested the highest indignation at seeing our guest so honourably entertained. He seized him by the hair of the head, and would have dragged him out of the cabin, if the captain had not interfered. After much altercation, we could obtain no other indulgence (without quarrelling with Pareea) than that our guest should be permitted to remain in the cabin, on condition that he seated himself on the floor, while Pareea occupied his place at table. An instance somewhat similar happened when Terreeoboo came first on board the Resolution; when Maiha-maiha, who attended him, seeing Pareea upon deck, turned him most ignominiously out of the ship; even though we knew Pareea to be a man of the first consequence.

Whether the lower class have their property secured from the rapacity of the great chiefs, we cannot certainly say, but it appears to be well protected against theft and depredation. All their plantations, their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, are left unguarded, without fear or apprehension. In the plain country, they separate their possessions by walls; and, in the woods where horse-plantains grow, they use white flags to discriminate property, in the same manner as they do bunches of leaves at



Otaheite. These circumstances strongly indicate, that, where property is concerned, the power of the chiefs is not arbitrary ; but so far limited, as to afford encouragement to the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, which they occupy distinct from each other.

The information we could obtain, respecting their administration of justice, is exceedingly imperfect. If a quarrel arose among the lower class of people, the matter was referred to the decision of some chief. If an inferior chief had offended one of superior rank, his punishment was dictated by the feelings of the superior at that moment. If he should fortunately escape the first transports of his rage, he, perhaps found means, through the mediations of others, to compound for his offence, by all, or a part of his effects.

Their religion resembles that of the Society and Friendly Islands. In common with each other, they have all their *Morais*, their *Whattas*, their sacred songs, and their sacrifices. These are convincing proofs that their religious opinions are derived from the same source. The ceremonies here are, indeed, longer, and more numerous than in the islands above-mentioned. And though, in all these places, the care and performance of their religious rites is committed to a particular class of people, yet we had never found a regular society of priests, till we arrived at Kakōoa, in Karakakōoa bay. *Orono* was the title given to the principal of this order ; a title which seemed to imply something highly sacred, and which almost received adoration in the person of Omeeah. The privilege of holding the principal offices in this order, is doubtless limited

to certain families. Omeeah, the *Orono*, was Kaoo's son, and Kaireekeea's nephew. Kaireekeea presided in all religious ceremonies at the *morai*, in the absence of his grandfather. It was observed, likewise, that the son of Omeeah, an infant of about the age of five years, had always a number of attendants, and such other marks of attention and esteem were shown him, as we never observed in any similar instance. Hence we concluded, that his life was an object of much consequence, and that he would eventually succeed to the high dignity of his father.

The title of *Orono*, we have already observed, was bestowed upon captain Cook; and it is very certain that they considered us as a race of beings superior to themselves; frequently repeating, that great *Eatooa* lived in our country. The favourite little idol (which has been already described) on the *morai*, in Karakakooa bay, is called *Koonoorae-kaiee* and is said to be Terreeoboo's god, who also resided amongst us. Infinite variety of these images were to be seen, both on the *morais* and about their houses, on which they bestow different names; but they certainly were held in very little estimation, from their contemptuous expressions of them, and from their exposing them to sale for trifles; though they generally had one particular figure in high favour, to which, whilst it continued a favourite, all their adoration was addressed. They arrayed it in red cloth, beat their drums, and sang hymns before it; placed bunches of red feathers, and different vegetables at its feet: and frequently exposed a pig, or a dog, to rot on the *Whatta*, near which it was placed.

A party of us were conducted to a large house, in a bay to the southward of Karakakooa, in which we beheld the black figure of a man, resting on his toes and fingers, and his head was inclined backward; the limbs were well proportioned, and the whole was beautifully polished. This figure was called *Mae*; round which thirteen others were placed, with shapes rude and distorted. These, we were told, were the *Eatooas* of deceased chiefs, whose names they repeated. Plenty of *Whattas* were seen within the place, with the remains of offerings on many of them. They also admit into their houses many ludicrous and obscene idols, not unlike the *Priapus* of the Ancients.

Former voyagers have remarked, that the Society and Friendly Islanders pay adoration to particular birds; and it seems to be a custom that is prevalent in these islands. Ravens are perhaps the objects of it here; for Mr King saw two of these birds perfectly tame, at the village of Kakooa, and was told they were *Eatooas*: he offered several articles for them, which were all refused; and he was particularly cautioned not to hurt or offend them.

The prayers and offerings, made by the priests before their meals, may be classed among their religious ceremonies. As they always drink *ava* before they begin their repast, whilst that is chewing, the superior in rank begins a sort of hymn, in which he is soon after joined by one or more of the company; the bodies of the others are put in motion, and their hands are gently clapped in concert with the singers. The *ava* being ready, cups of it are presented to those who do not join in the hymn, which are held in their hands till it is concluded;

when, with united voice, they make a loud response, and drink their *ava*. The performers are then served with some of it, which they drink, after the same ceremony has been repeated. And if any person of a very superior rank should be present, a cup is presented to him last of all. After chanting for a short time, and hearing a responsive chant from the others, he pours a small quantity on the ground, and drinks the rest. A piece of the flesh, which has been dressed, is then cut off, and, together with some of the vegetables, is placed at the foot of the figure of the *Eatooa*; and, after another hymn has been chanted, they begin their meal. A ceremony, in many respects resembling this, is also performed by the chiefs when they drink *ava* between their regular meals.

According to the accounts given by the natives, human sacrifices are more common here than in any of the islands we have visited. They have recourse to these horrid rites on the commencement of a war, and previous to every great battle, or other signal enterprize. The death of a chief demands a sacrifice of one or more *towtows*, according to the rank he bears; and we were informed that no less than ten were doomed to suffer on the death of *Terreeoboo*. This practice, however, is the less horrible, as the unhappy victims are totally unacquainted with their fate. Those who are destined to fall, are attacked with large clubs, wherever they may happen to be; and, after they are dead, are conveyed to the place where the subsequent rites are to be performed. This brings to our remembrance the skulls of those who had been sacrificed on the decease of some principal chief, and were



fixed to the *morai* at Kakooa. At the village of Kowrowa we received further information upon this subject; where we were shown a small piece of ground, within a stone fence, which we were told was an *Here-eere*, or burying-place of a chief. The person who gave us this information, pointing to one of the corners, added,—and there lie the *tangata* and *wabeene-taboo*, or the man and woman who became sacrifices at his funeral.

The knocking out their fore-teeth may be, with propriety, classed among their religious customs. Most of the common people, and many of the chiefs, had lost one or more of them; and this, we understood was considered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa*, to avert his anger; and not like the cutting off a part of the finger at the Friendly Islands, to express the violence of their grief at the decease of a friend.

Of their opinions, with respect to a future state, we had very defective information. On inquiring of them, whither the dead were gone? We were told that the breath, which they seemed to consider as the immortal part, was fled to the *Eatooa*. They seemed also to give a description of some place, which they suppose to be the abode of the dead; but we could not learn that they had any idea of rewards or punishments.

An explanation of the word *taboo* may not, in this place, be improperly introduced. On asking the reasons of the intercourse being interdicted, between us and the islanders, the day preceding Terreeoboo's arrival, we were informed, that the bay was *tabooed*. The same interdiction took place, by our desire, when we interred the remains of captain

Cook. The most implicit obedience, in these two instances, was rendered by the natives; but whether on religious principles, or in deference to civil authority, we cannot pretend to determine.

The ground on which our observatories were fixed, and the place where our masts were deposited, were *tabooed*, and the operation was equally efficacious. This consecration was performed only by the priests; and yet, at our request, the men ventured on the spot which was *tabooed*; whence it should seem they entertained no religious apprehensions, their obedience being limited merely to our refusal. No inducements could bring the women near us on account of the *morai* adjoining, which they are at all times prohibited from approaching, not only here, but in all the islands of these seas.

Women, it has been observed, are always *tabooed*, or forbidden to eat certain articles of food. We have seen many of them, at their meals, have their meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our requesting to know the reason of it, we were informed, that they were *tabooed*, and not permitted to feed themselves. This prohibition was always the consequence of assisting at any funeral, touching a dead body, and many other occasions. The word *taboo* is indifferently applied either to persons or things; as, the natives are *tabooed*, the bay is *tabooed*, &c. This word is also expressive of any thing sacred, devoted, or eminent. The king of Owhyhee was called *Eree-taboo*, and a human victim *tangata-taboo*: and, among the Freindly Islanders, Tonga, where the king resides, is called *Tonga-taboo*.

Very little can be said respecting their marriages, except that such a compact seems to exist among

them. It has already been mentioned, that, when Terreeboo had left his queen Rora-rora at Mowee, another woman cohabited with him, by whom he had children, and seemed particularly attached to her; but, whether polygamy is allowed, or whether it is mixed with concubinage, either among the principal or inferior orders, we saw too little of to warrant any conclusions. From what we saw of the domestic concerns of the lower class of people, one man and one woman seemed to have the direction of the house, and the children were subordinate to them, as in civilized countries.

The following is the only instance of any thing like jealousy which we have seen among them; and which shows, that, among married women, of rank, not only fidelity, but even a degree of reserve is required.

At one of their boxing matches, Omeeah rose two or three times from his place, and approached his wife with strong marks of displeasure, commanding her, as we supposed, to withdraw. Whether he thought her beauty engaged too much of our attention, or whatever might be his motives, there certainly existed no real cause of jealousy. She, however, continued in her place, and, at the conclusion of the entertainment, joined our party; and even solicited some trifling presents. She was informed that we had not any about us; but that, if she would accompany us to the tent, she should be welcome to make a choice of what she liked. She was, accordingly, proceeding with us; which, being observed by Omeeah, he followed in a great rage, seized her by the hair, and, with his fists, began to inflict severe corporal punishment. Having been the

innocent cause of this extraordinary treatment, we were exceedingly concerned at it ; though we understood it would be highly improper for us to interfere between husband and wife of such superior rank. The natives, however, at length interposed ; and, the next day, we had the satisfaction of meeting them together, perfectly satisfied with each other ; and, what was extremely singular, the lady would not permit us to rally the husband on his behaviour ; which we had an inclination to do ; plainly telling us, that he had acted very properly.

At Karakakooa bay we had twice an opportunity of seeing a part of their funeral rites. Hearing of the death of an old chief, not far from our observatories, some of us repaired to the place, where we beheld a number of people assembled. They were seated round an area fronting the house where the deceased lay ; and a man, having on a red feathered cap, came to the door, constantly putting out his head, and making a most lamentable howl, accompanied with horrid grimaces, and violent distortions of the face. A large mat was afterwards spread upon the area, and thirteen women and two men, who came out of the house, sat down upon it in three equal rows ; three of the women, and the two men being in front. The women had feathered ruffs on their necks and hands ; and their shoulders were decorated with broad green leaves, curiously scalloped. Near a small hut, at one corner of this area, half a dozen boys were placed, waving small white banners, and *taboo* sticks, who would not suffer us to approach them. Hence we imagined that the dead body was deposited in the hut, but we were afterwards informed that it remained in the house where



the tricks were playing at the door by the man in the red cap. The company, seated on the mat, sung a melancholy tune, accompanied with a gentle motion of the arms and body. This having continued some time, they put themselves in a posture between kneeling and sitting, and their arms and bodies into a most rapid motion, keeping pace at the same time with the music. These last exertions being too violent to continue, at intervals they had slower motions. An hour having passed in these ceremonies, more mats were spread upon the area, when the dead chief's widow, and three or four other elderly women, came out of the house with slow and solemn pace ; and seating themselves before the company, began to wail most bitterly, in which they were joined by the three rows of women behind them ; the two men appearing melancholy and pensive. They continued thus, with little variation, till late in the evening, when we left them ; and, at day-light in the morning, the people were dispersed, and every thing appeared perfectly quiet. We were then given to understand, that the body was removed ; but we could not learn how it was disposed of. While we were directing our inquiries to this object, we were approached by three women of rank, who signified to us, that our presence interrupted the performance of some necessary rites. Soon after we had left them, we heard their cries and lamentations ; and when we met them a few hours afterwards, the lower part of their faces were painted perfectly black.

We had also an opportunity of observing the ceremonies of the funeral of one of the ordinary class. Hearing some mournful cries issuing from a miser-

able hut, we entered it, and discovered two women, which we supposed to be the mother and daughter, weeping over the body of a man who had that moment expired. They first covered the body with a cloth; then, lying down by it, they spread the cloth over themselves, beginning a melancholy kind of song, often repeating *Aweh medoaab! Aweh tancee!* Oh my father! Oh my husband! In one corner of the house a younger daughter lay prostrate on the ground, having some black cloth spread over her, and repeating the same expressions. On our quitting this melancholy scene, we found many of their neighbours collected together at the door, who were all perfectly silent, and attentive to their lamentations. Mr King was willing to have embraced this opportunity of knowing in what manner the body would be disposed of; and, therefore, after being convinced that it was not removed when he went to bed, he ordered the sentries to walk before the house, and if there were any appearances of removing the body, to acquaint him with it. The sentries, however, were remiss in the performance of their duty, for, before the morning, the body was taken away. On asking how it had been disposed of, they pointed toward's the sea, perhaps thereby indicating, that it had been deposited in the deep, or that it had been conveyed to some burying-ground beyond the bay. The place of interment for the chiefs, is the *morai*, or *herre-grees*, and those who are sacrificed on the occasion are buried by the side of them. The *morai* in which the chief was interred, who, after making a spirited resistance, was killed in the cave, had a hanging of red cloth round it,

We weighed anchor on the 15th of March, at seven o'clock in the morning, and stood to the southwest, in expectation of falling in with the island of MODOOPAPAPPA; the natives having assured us that it lay in that direction, within five hours sail of Tahoorá. About four in the afternoon a large canoe overtook us, in which were ten persons, who were inhabitants of Oneeheow, and were proceeding to Tahoorá to catch birds; particularly tropic and man-of-war birds, which are said to be very numerous in that place. It has already been observed, that the feathers of these birds are held in great esteem, being principally used in the ornamental parts of their dress.

Not having seen the island at eight in the evening, we hauled to the northward till midnight, when we tacked and stood to the southeast till day-break the next morning; when Tahoorá bore east-northeast, distant about five or six leagues. We then steered west southwest, making a signal for the Discovery to spread four miles upon our starboard beam. We stood on till five, and then made a signal for the Discovery to come under our stern, having given over all hopes of seeing MODOOPAPAPPA. We supposed it might lie more southerly from Tahoorá than the direction which we had taken; though it is very possible that we might have passed it in the night; it having been described to us as a very small island, and almost even with the sea.

On the 17th, we steered west; Captain Clerke meaning to keep nearly in the same parallel of latitude till we made the longitude of Awatska Bay; and then to steer north for the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, which was also fixed on as our rendez-

vous, if we should happen to separate. This track was chosen, because we supposed it to be yet unexplored, and we might probably meet with some new islands in our passage.

From the time of our losing sight of Tahoorá, till the afternoon of the 18th, we had hardly seen a bird; we then saw several boobies, and man-of-war birds, which induced us to look out sharply for land. The wind lessened towards the evening; and the heavy swell, which made the ships labour exceedingly on the 16th and 17th, was considerably abated. No land appeared the next day; and at noon we steered west by south, in expectation of finding the trade winds (which generally blew from the east by north) fresher as we advanced. It is remarkable, that, though no birds appeared in the forenoon, we had a great number of boobies and man-of-war-birds about us in the evening. Whence we supposed that we had passed the land, not far distant from where the former flights appeared, and were approaching some other island.

We had fine weather and a moderate wind till the 23d, when it increased to a strong gale, and continued about twelve hours. Afterwards it became more moderate, and remained so till noon on the 25th, at which time we had only a very light air.

In the morning of the 26th, we imagined we saw land to the west-southwest; but we discovered our mistake, after sailing sixteen leagues in that direction; and night approaching, we again steered west. We pursued this course, without much alteration in the wind, till the 29th, when it shifted about, and was in the west for a few hours in the night; the



weather being cloudy, accompanied with a great deal of rain. For some days past we had met with several turtles, one of which was so remarkably small, as not to exceed three inches in length. We were again visited by man-of-war birds, and an uncommon kind of boobies. They were entirely white, except a black spot at the tip of each wing, and had a strong resemblance of gannets, at first sight.

The continuation of the light winds with the very unsettled state of the weather, and the little expectation we had of any change for the better, induced captain Clerke to give up his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes. In consequence of which we began, at six o'clock this evening, to steer northwest by north. The light winds almost constantly prevailed, after our departure from the Sandwich Islands; during which time the air was hot and sultry; the thermometer being generally from  $80^{\circ}$  to  $83^{\circ}$ . We had also a considerable swell from the northeast, in which the ships were strained exceedingly.

On the 1st of April in the morning, the wind changed to the northeast by east, and continued to blow a fresh breeze till the 4th, in the morning, when it altered two points. At noon it blew a strong gale, which continued till the 5th, in the afternoon. It then changed its direction to the southeast, and blew moderate, with much rain. We kept steering, all this time, to the northwest, against a slow current from that quarter. On the 4th, when our latitude was  $26^{\circ} 17'$ , and our longitude  $173^{\circ} 30'$  we saw great numbers of what are called (by the sailors) Portuguese men-of-war, *holothuria physalis*. Vast quantities of oceanic birds likewise

attended us, among which we discovered the sheer-water and albatross.

About noon on the 6th, we lost the trade wind. We were then in the latitude of  $29^{\circ} 50'$ , and the longitude of  $170^{\circ} 1'$ . Our old running ropes having been continually breaking in the late gales, we reefed all the new ones we had left, and made other necessary preparations for the different climate we were shortly to encounter. The fine weather which we experienced between the tropics had not been misemployed. The carpenters were sufficiently engaged in repairing the boats. Our best bower cable having received so much injury in Karakakooa Bay, and off Onecheow, as to occasion forty fathoms to be cut from it, we converted that, together with some other old cordage, into spun yarn, and applied it to various purposes. By which means many of our people were kept wholly employed by the boatswain. Besides, it was now become a troublesome, and laborious part of duty, to air the sails, &c. which were continually growing wet, from the leakiness of the sides and decks of the vessels.

There were other cares, which had the preservation of the health of the crews for their object; and these continually occupied a great number of our hands. Captain Cook's established orders of airing the beds, having fires between decks, smoking them with gun powder, and washing them with vinegar, were invariably observed. Even the mending of the sailors' old jackets, was now become a duty of importance. Those who are unacquainted with the habits and disposition of seamen, require to be informed, that they are so accustomed to be

directed by their officers, respecting the care of themselves, that they contract the thoughtlessness of infants. It is very certain, that had our people been suffered to act according to their own discretion, the whole crew would have been naked before half the completion of the voyage. It might naturally be supposed, from their having experienced a voyage to the north the last year, that they would be thoroughly sensible of the necessity of paying attention to these matters ; but these reflections never operated upon them ; for, as soon as we returned to the tropical climates, their fur jackets, and other articles calculated for cold climates, were kicked about the decks as useless and insignificant ; though every one of us knew we were to make another voyage towards the Pole. They were, however, taken up and put into casks by the officers, and, about this time, restored to their proper owners.

We perceived in the afternoon some of the sheathing floating by the ship : and discovered, upon examination, that about fourteen feet had been washed off under the larboard bow, where the leak was supposed to have been, which had kept the people employed at the pumps ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands ; making twelve inches water an hour. A number of small crabs, of a pale blue colour, we had this day a sight of ; and were again accompanied by sheer-waters and albatrosses. In the night-time the thermometer sunk eleven degrees ; and, though it was then as high as  $59^{\circ}$ , we endured much from the cold, our feelings not being yet reconciled to that degree of temperature.

We had a fresh wind from the north, till Thurs-

day the 8th, in the morning : it then became more inoderate, and was accompanied with fair weather. Afterwards it changed its direction to the east, and then to the south.

About noon, on the 9th, we were in the latitude of  $32^{\circ} 16'$ , and in the longitude of  $166^{\circ} 40'$ . On the 10th, we crossed the track by which the Spanish galleons pass from the Manillas to Acapulco, and expected to have seen the island of Rica de Plata ; which, according to De Lisle's chart, which points out the route of those ships, ought to have appeared. Its latitude is there mentioned to be  $33^{\circ} 30'$  north, and its longitude  $166^{\circ}$  east. Though so far advanced to the northward, we this day saw a tropic bird, and several other kinds of oceanic birds ; such as sheer-waters, albatrosses, puffins, and sea-parrots.

At noon, on the 11th, our latitude was  $35^{\circ} 30'$ , and our longitude  $165^{\circ} 45'$ . We this day saw plenty of sea-birds, and several bunches of sea-weed. The Discovery also passed a log of wood ; but no other signs of land appeared.

On the 12th, the wind veered to the east, and blew so strong a gale as to oblige us to strike our top-gallant yards. We happened, unfortunately, to be upon the most disadvantageous tack for our leak. But, having always kept it under with the hand-pumps, it gave us but little concern till Tuesday the 13th, at six in the afternoon, when a sudden inundation deluged the whole space between decks, and alarmed us much. The water, which had made its way into the coal-hole, not finding a passage into the well, had forced up the platforms over it, and instantaneously set every thing afloat. Our situation was the more distressing, as we could not



immediately discover any means off relieving ourselves. It could be of no service to place a pump through the upper-decks into the coal-hole ; and it was become impracticable to bale the water out with buckets. We had, therefore, no other expedient left than to cut a hole through the bulk-head, which separated the coal-hole from the fore-hold, and thus form a passage for the water into the well. Before this could be effected, however, the casks of dry provisions were to be got out of the fore-hold, which took us the remainder of the night ; the carpenters, therefore, could not get at the partition till the next morning. The passage being made, the principal part of the water ran into the well, when we were enabled to get out the rest with buckets. The leak was now greatly increased, insomuch that half our people were constantly employed in pumping and bailing till the 15th, at noon. Our men submitted chearfully to this excessive fatigue ; and to add to their sufferings, they had not a dry place to sleep in : but, in order to make them some amends, they were permitted to have their full allowance of grog.

As the weather grew more moderate, and the swell abated, we cleared away the rest of the casks from the fore-hold, and made a proper passage for the water to the pumps. We saw a piece of drift wood, of a greenish hue, and sounded, but found no bottom with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line. At noon, this day, we were in the latitude of  $41^{\circ} 52'$ , and in the longitude of  $161^{\circ} 15'$ .

At noon, on the 16th, our latitude was  $42^{\circ} 12'$ , and our longitude  $160^{\circ} 5'$ ; and, being near the situation where De Gama is said to have seen a great extent of land, we were glad of an opportuni-

ty of contributing to remove the doubts, if any yet remained, respecting this pretended discovery. It is somewhat remarkable that it cannot be discovered who this John De Gama was, when he lived, or at what time he made this discovery.

Müller relates, that the first account of it was in a chart published by Texeira, in 1649; who places it between the latitudes of  $44^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$ , and calls it a land seen by John De Gama, in a voyage from China to New Spain." Why the French geographers have removed it five degrees to the eastward, we cannot comprehend; unless we suppose it to have been to make room for another fresh discovery made by the Dutch, called Company's Land.

The wind was very unsettled the whole day, and blew in fresh gusts, which were succeeded by dead calms. Though these were not unpromising appearances, yet, after standing off and on the whole day, without perceiving land, we steered to the northward; not choosing to lose much time in search of an object, the existence of which was universally disbelieved. The whole of the 16th our people were employed in drying their wet things, and in airing the ships below.

The increasing inclemency of the northern climate was now severely felt. On the 18th, in the morning, we were in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 40'$ , and longitude of  $160^{\circ} 25'$ . We had snow, sleet, and strong gales from the southwest. Considering the season of the year, and the quarter from which the wind came, this is rather a remarkable circumstance. In the day-time of the 19th, the thermometer remained at the freezing point, and fell to  $29^{\circ}$  at four in the morning. On comparing the

degree of heat, during the sultry weather at the beginning of this month, with the extreme cold which we now endured, some idea may be formed of our sufferings upon so rapid a change.

The gale which we had on the 18th, had split most of the sails we had bent; and, as these were our second suit, we were obliged to have recourse to our last and best set. Captain Clerke's difficulties were augmented by the sea being generally so rough, and the ships so extremely leaky, that there was no place to repair the sails in, except his apartments, which was a serious inconvenience to him, in his declining state of health.

At noon on the 20th, our latitude was  $49^{\circ} 45'$  north, and our longitude  $161^{\circ} 15'$  east, and we earnestly expected to fall in with the coast of Asia; when the wind shifted to the north, where it continued the day following. Though our progress was thus retarded, we were considerably refreshed by the fair weather it produced. On the 21st, in the forenoon, we had the sight of a whale, and a land-bird; and, as the water appeared muddy we sounded in the afternoon, but could not find ground with an hundred and forty fathoms of line. In the course of the three preceding days, we saw a large quantity of wild-fowl, somewhat resembling ducks. This usually indicates the vicinity of land, but no other signs of it had been seen since the 16th, in which time we had sailed an hundred and fifty leagues and upwards.

The wind shifted to the northeast, on the 22d, and was attended with misty weather. The cold was so intense, and the ropes frozen to such a degree, that it was a business of great difficulty to force

them through the blocks. On comparing our present position with the southern parts of Kamtschatka, as given in the Russian charts, captain Clerke thought it might be dangerous to run on towards the land all night. We therefore tacked at ten, sounded, and had ground with seventy fathoms of line.

At six in the morning of the 23d, the fog clearing away, we saw mountains covered with snow, and a high conical rock, at the distance of about three or four leagues. Soon after we had taken this imperfect view, a thick fog again appeared. According to our maps, we were now but eight leagues from the entrance of Awatska Bay; therefore, when the weather cleared up, we stood in to take a nearer survey of the country; when a most dismal and dreary prospect presented itself. The coast is straight and uniform, without bays, or inlets; from the shore, the ground rises in moderate hills; and behind them are ranges of mountains, whose summits penetrate the clouds. The whole was covered with snow, except the sides of some cliffs, which rose too perpendicularly from the sea to permit the snow to lie upon them.

The wind blew strong from the northeast, with hazy weather and sleet, from the 24th to the 28th; the thermometer, during that time, being never higher than  $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The ship resembled a complete mass of ice; the shrouds being so incrustated with it as to double their dimensions; and, indeed, the oldest sea-man among us had never experienced such continued showers of sleet, and that extremity of cold which we had now to encounter. The inclemency of the weather, the difficulty of working



our ships, and the incessant duty required at the pumps, rendered the service intolerable to many of our crew ; some of whom were much frost-bitten, and others were confined with colds. We continued standing four hours on each tack, having soundings of sixty fathoms when within three leagues of the land ; but no sounding at double that distance.

We had on the 25th an imperfect glance of the entrance of Awatska Bay, but could not presume to venture into it, in the present condition of the weather. We again stood off, when we lost sight of the *Discovery*, which gave us little concern, being now almost arrived at the place of rendezvous.

In the morning of the 28th the weather cleared up, with a light breeze continuing from the same quarter. Having a fine warm day, we were in expectation of a thaw, and therefore the men were busied in taking the ice from the rigging, sails, &c. that it might not fall upon our heads. At noon, when our latitude was  $52^{\circ} 44'$ , and our longitude  $159^{\circ}$ , the entrance of Awatska bay bore north-west, at the distance of about three or four leagues, and, at three in the afternoon, we stood in with a fair wind from the southward, having soundings from twenty-two to seven fathoms.

The mouth of Awatska bay opens in the direction of north-northwest. On the south side, the land is moderately high : it rises, to the northward, into a bluff-head. Three remarkable rocks lie in the channel between them, not far from the northeast side ; and, on the opposite side, a single rock of a considerable size. There is a look-out house on the north head, which is used as a light-house

when any of the Russian ships are expected upon the coast. It had a flag-staff in it ; but there did not appear to be any person there.

Passing the mouth of the bay, which extends about four miles in length, a circular bason presents itself, of about twenty five miles in circumference ; in which, at about four o'clock, we anchored in six fathoms water ; fearing to run foul of a shoal mentioned by Muller to lie in the channel. Great quantities of loose ice drifted with the tide in the middle of the bay ; but the shores were wholly blocked up with it. Plenty of wild-fowl, of various kinds, were seen ; also large flights of Greenland pigeons ; together with ravens and eagles. We looked at every corner of the bay, to see if we could discern the town of St Peter and St Paul, which, from the accounts we had received at Oonalashka, we supposed to be a place of strength and consequence. At last we perceived, to the north-east, some miserable log-houses, and a few conical huts, amounting, in the whole, to about thirty ; which, from their situation, we concluded to be Petropaulowska. In justice, however, to the hospitable treatment we found here, it may not be amiss to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved in the end a matter of entertainment to us. In this wretched extremity of the earth, beyond conception barbarous and inhospitable, out of the reach of civilization, bound and barricadoed with ice, and covered with summer snow, we experienced the tenderest feelings of humanity, joined to a nobleness of mind, and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any clime or nation.

In the morning of the 29th, at day-light, Mr King was sent with two boats to examine the bay, and to present the letters to the Russian commander, which we had brought from Oonalashka. We proceeded towards the village just mentioned, and, having advanced as far as we could with the boats, we got upon the ice, which reached about half a mile from the shore. Mr King was attended by Mr Webber, and two of the seamen, whilst the master went to finish the survey; the jolly-boat being left to carry us back.

Probably the inhabitants had not, by this time, seen either the ships or the boats; for, even on the ice, no appearance of a living creature could be seen in the town. When further advanced on the ice, a few men were seen hurrying backwards and forwards; and afterwards a sledge, with one person in it, and drawn by dogs, approached us.

Struck with this unusual sight, and admiring the civility of this stranger who we supposed was coming to our assistance, we were astonished to see him turn short round, and direct his course towards the *ostrog*. We were equally chagreened and disappointed at his abrupt departure; especially as our journey over the ice began to be both difficult and dangerous. At every step we took we sunk almost knee-deep in the snow; and, though there was tolerable footing at the bottom, the weak parts of the ice were not discoverable, and we were continually exposed to the risk of breaking through it. Indeed this accident actually happened to Mr King; but, by the assistance of a boat-hook, he was enabled to get upon firm ice again.

The nearer we approached the shore, we found

the ice still more broken. The sight of another sledge advancing towards us, however, afforded us some comfort. But, instead of coming to relieve us, the driver stopt short, and called out to us. Mr King immediately held up Ismyloff's letters. In consequence of which, he turned about, and went full speed back again; followed with the execrations of some of our party. Unable to draw any conclusion from this unaccountable behaviour, we still proceeded towards the *ostrog*, with the greatest circumspection; and, when at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from it, we observed a body of armed men advancing towards us. To avoid giving them any alarm, and to preserve a peaceable appearance, Mr King and Mr Webber marched in front, and the men, who had boat-hooks in their hands, were ordered in the rear. The armed party consisted of about thirty soldiers, preceded by a person with a cane in his hand. Within a few paces of us he halted, and drew up his men in a martial order. Mr King presented Isymloff's letters to him, and vainly endeavoured to make him understand that we were English, and had brought these dispatches from Oonalashka.

Having attentively examined us, he conducted us towards the village in solemn silence, frequently halting his men, and making them perform different parts of their manual exercise; in order to show us, perhaps, that, if we should presume to offer any violence, we should have to deal with those who knew what they were about.

During the whole of this time, Mr King was in his wet clothes, shivering with cold; yet he could not avoid being diverted with this military parade.



though it was attended by an unseasonable delay. Arriving, at length, at the habitation of the commanding officer of the party, we were ushered in; and, after giving orders to the military without doors, our host appeared, accompanied by the secretary of the port. One of the letters from Ismyloff was now opened; and the other sent express to Bolcheretsk; a town on the west side of Kamtschatka, and the place of residence of the Russian commander of this province.

It appears extraordinary, that the natives had not seen the Resolution the preceding day, when we anchored in the bay; nor this morning till our boats approached the ice. The first sight of the ship, we understood, had struck them with a considerable panic. The garrison was instantly put under arms; two field-pieces were placed before the commander's house; and powder, shot, and lighted matches were all in readiness.

The officer, who had conducted us to his house, was a serjeant; and also the commander of the *ostrog*. After he had recovered from the alarm which our arrival had produced, the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour was astonishing. His house, indeed, was intolerably hot, but remarkably neat and clean. After Mr King had changed his clothes, by putting on a complete suit of the serjeant's, at his earnest request; we were requested to partake of a dinner, which was doubtless the best he could procure; and, considering our visit was unexpected, was ingeniously conducted. To have prepared soup and *bouilli* would have required some time; instead of which, we had some cold beef sliced, with boiling water poured over it. After that we were re-

galed with a large roasted bird, the taste of which was most delicious, though we were unacquainted with its species. Having eaten a part of this, it was removed, and fish were served up, dressed in two different methods. Soon after which the bird appeared again in savoury and sweet *pates*. Our liquor was such as the Russians distinguish by the name of *quass*, and was the most indifferent part of our entertainment. The serjeant's wife served up several of the dishes, and was not permitted to sit down at table with us.

Our repast being finished, during which our conversation was limited to a few bows, and other personal tokens of mutual respect, we strove to explain to our host the occasion of our visit to this port. Probably Ismyloff had written to them on this subject, in the letters we had delivered, as we made him readily conceive our meaning; but as there was not a person in the place who knew any other language than Russian or Kamtschadale, we found it extremely difficult to comprehend what he endeavoured to communicate to us. After much time spent in our attempts to understand each other, the sum of the intelligence we had received appeared to be, that though we could not be supplied with provisions or stores at this place, yet those articles were to be procured, in great plenty, at Bolchereetsk. That he doubted not but the commander would readily supply us with what we wanted; but that, till he had received his orders, neither he, nor any of the natives, could even venture on board the vessel.

It being now time for us to depart, and as Mr King's clothes were not yet dry, he again had re-

course to the serjeant's benevolence for his leave to carry those on board which we had borrowed of him. This request was cheerfully complied with; and a sledge, with five dogs, and a driver, was instantly provided for each of our party. This mode of conveyance afforded high entertainment for the sailors; and they were delighted still more, when they found that the two boat-hooks had a sledge appropriated solely to themselves. These sledges are so light, and so admirably constructed for the purposes they are intended, that they went safely and expeditiously over the ice, which we should have found extremely difficult to have passed on foot.

The boats, on our return, were towing the Resolution towards the village; and, at seven, we moored close to the ice; the entrance of the bay bearing south by east, and the *ostrog* north, at the distance of one mile and a half.

On the morning of the 30th, the casks and cables were taken to the quarter-deck to lighten the vessel forward; and the carpenters proceeded to stop the leak, which had occasioned us so much trouble. It appeared to have been occasioned by some sheathing falling off from the larboard bow, and the oakum having been washed out from between the planks. We had such warm weather in the middle of the day, that the ice began to break away very fast, and almost choaked up the entrance of the bay. Several of our officers waited upon the serjeant, who received them with great civility; and captain Clerke made him a present of two bottles of rum, thinking he could not send him any thing more acceptable. In return, he received twenty fine

trouts, and some excellent fowls of the grouse kind. Though the bay swarmed with ducks, and Greenland pigeons, our sportsmen had no success, for they were so exceedingly shy as not to come within shot.

On the 1st of May, in the morning, we saw the *Discovery* standing into the bay; a boat was dispatched to her assistance, and she was moored, in the afternoon, close by the *Resolution*. We were then informed, that, after the weather became clear on the 28th, (the day she parted company) they were to leeward of the bay; and the day following when they got abreast of it, seeing the entrance choaked up with ice, they fired guns and stood off, supposing we could not be here; but afterwards, perceiving it was only drift ice, they ventured to come in.

On Sunday the 2d, we had heavy showers of snow, and the weather was so exceedingly unsettled, that the carpenters could not proceed in their business. In the evening the thermometer stood at  $38^{\circ}$ , and the frost in the night was remarkably severe.

Two sledges being observed to drive into the village on the morning of the 3d, Mr King was ordered on shore, to learn whether any answer was arrived from the commander of Kamtschatka, which the serjeant informed us might be reasonably expected about this time. The distance from Bolcheretsk to St Peter and St Paul's is one hundred and thirty-five English miles. The dogs were sent off with our dispatches, on the 29th at noon, and returned with an answer, as we were afterwards informed, early this morning: so that they performed



a journey of two hundred and seventy miles, in a little more than three days and a half.

For the present, however, the return of the commander's answer was concealed from us; and, on Mr King's arrival at the serjeant's, he was informed that he should hear from him the next day. While Mr King was on shore, the boat in which he came, and another belonging to the *Discovery*, were bound fast by the ice. In this situation, the *Discovery's* launch was sent to their assistance, which soon partook of the same fate; and, shortly after, they were surrounded with ice to a great extent. Thus situated we were obliged to continue on shore till the evening; when giving over the thoughts of getting the boats off at that time, some of us were conveyed in sledges to the edge of the ice, where the boats from the ship took us off, and the rest continued all night on shore.

It froze extremely hard during the night; but, in the morning of the 4th, the floating ice was drifted away by a change of wind; and the boats were set at liberty without sustaining the smallest damage.

At ten in the forenoon, several sledges arriving at the edge of the ice, a boat was sent from the ship to conduct those who were in them on board. One of them proved to be a Russian merchant from Bolcheretsk, whose name was Fedositch; and the other a German named Port, with dispatches from Major Behm, commander of Kamtschatka, to captain Clerke.

Arriving at the edge of the ice, and seeing distinctly the magnitude of the ships, which were then within two hundred yards of them, they were ex-

ceedingly alarmed ; and, before they ventured to embark, stipulated that two of our boat's crew should remain on shore, as hostages for their safety. It afterwards appeared, that Ismyloff, in the epistle he had written to the commander, (for reasons which we cannot comprehend) had mentioned our vessels as two small trading boats ; and that the serjeant, having seen the ships but at a distance, had not rectified that mistake.

After they were come on board, we perceived, by their timorous and cautious behaviour, that they entertained some very extraordinary apprehensions. They were greatly elated, however, when the German found a person among us, with whom he could enter into conversation. Mr Webber spoke that language fluently, and convinced them, though not without difficulty, that we were Englishmen and friends. Mr Port was introduced to captain Clerke, to whom he delivered the commander's letter. It was written in the German language, and merely complimentary, giving him and his officers an invitation to Bolcheretsk. Mr Port also told captain Clerke, that the Major had been misinformed respecting the size of the ships, and the service in which we were engaged ; Ismyloff having called our two vessels English packet-boats, and warned him to be cautious ; intimating, as he supposed, that he suspected we were pirates. This letter, he said, had given birth to various conjectures about us at Bolcheretsk : that the Major apprehended we might be on a trading plan, and therefore had sent a merchant to us ; but that the officer, next in command, imagined we were French, arrived with some hostile intentions, and that measures ought to be pursued

accordingly. He added, that the Major had been obliged to exert all his authority to prevent the inhabitants from quitting the town ; so much were they alarmed, from their apprehension of our being French.

These alarms were principally occasioned by some circumstances in an insurrection which had happened at Bolcheretsk, not many years ago, in which the commander was killed. We were told, that Beniowski, an exiled Polish officer, seeing the town in great confusion, took that opportunity of seizing upon a galliot, lying at the entrance of the Bolschoireeka, and forced a sufficient number of Russian sailors on board to navigate her ; that part of the crew were put on shore at the Kurile Islands, and Ismyloff among the rest ; who, as we have already observed, puzzled us exceedingly with a narrative of this transaction at Oonalashka ; though we then found it difficult to understand all the circumstances attending it : that he had a view of Japan ; made Luconia, where he was instructed how to steer to Canton ; that arriving there, he got a passage to France in one of the French India ships ; most of the Russians having also returned to Europe in French ships ; and afterwards proceeded to Petersburg. We gathered the circumstances of the above story, from three of Beniowski's crew, whom we met with in the harbour of St Peter and St Paul.

We received a further corroboration of these facts, on our arrival at Canton, from the gentlemen belonging to the English factory there ; who informed us, that a person in a Russian galliot had arrived there, who told them he came from Kamtschatka.

ka, and that the French factory had furnished him with a passage to Europe.

We were much diverted with the fears and apprehensions of these people ; and especially with an account, given by Mr Port, of the sergeant's extreme caution the day before. On seeing Mr King and some other gentlemen come on shore, he concealed him and the Russian merchant in the kitchen, to give them an opportunity of listening to our conversation with each other, in order to discover whether we were Englishmen or not.

Imagining, from the appearance of Mr Port, that he might probably be the commander's secretary, he was considered in that light, and was invited, with the Russian merchant, to dine with captain Clerke. Soon, however, we began to suspect, from the behaviour of the merchant, that Mr Port was no more than a common servant ; but not choosing to sacrifice our little comforts to our pride, we avoided an explanation, by not permitting such a question to be proposed to him ; he therefore continued upon a footing of equality with us, and we, in return, reaped the advantage of his abilities as a linguist.

By the assistance of our interpreter, we were now enabled to converse with the Russians, with some degree of facility ; and the first objects of our inquiries, were the means of procuring fresh provisions and naval stores ; particularly the latter, for the want of which we had been long in great distress. It appeared, upon inquiry, the whole country about the bay, could furnish no other live cattle than two heifers ; and these the serjeant engaged to procure for us. Our next applications were made to the



merchant, whose terms for serving us were so exorbitant, that captain Clerke thought it expedient to send an officer to the commander at Bolcheretsk, to learn the price of stores at that place. This determination being communicated to Mr Port, he sent an express to the commander to acquaint him with our intentions, and to remove the suspicions that were entertained respecting the purposes of our voyage.

Captain Clerke fixed upon Mr King for this service, and ordered him to prepare for setting out the next day, together with Mr Webber, who was to accompany him as interpreter. That day, and the next, however, proved too stormy for beginning a journey through so desolate and wild a country; but, on the 7th of May, the weather became more favourable, and we set out in the ship's boats, early in the morning, in order to arrive at the entrance of the Awatska at high-water, on account of the shoals at the mouth of that river. The country boats were to meet us here, to conduct us up the stream. Captain Gore was also added to our party; and we were accompanied by Mr Port and the Russian merchant, with two Cossacks, having been previously furnished with warm furred clothing; a very necessary precaution, as it began to snow briskly immediately after our setting out. About eight o'clock we were stopped by shoal water, within a mile of the mouth of the river; when some Kamtschadales took us and our baggage, in some small canoes, and conveyed us over a bank of sand, which the rapidity of the river had thrown up, and which we were informed was continually shifting. Having passed this shoal, the water again deepened, and we were fur-

nished with a commodious boat, resembling a Norway yawl, to convey us up the river; together with canoes for the reception of our baggage.

The breadth of the mouth of the Awatska is about a quarter of a mile, but it gradually narrowed as we advanced. Having proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches; many of which we were told, emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those, on the left, ran into the Paratounca river. For the first ten miles, the general direction of the river, from the bay, is to the north; and afterwards it turns to the westward. Except this bend, it chiefly preserves a strait course; and flows through a low flat country, to the distance of thirty miles from the sea, which is subject to frequent inundations. Six men were employed in pushing us on with long poles, three of them being at each end of the boat; and proceeded against the stream, at the rate of about three miles an hour. Our conductors endured this severe labour for ten hours, stopping only once, and that for a short space of time, to take a little refreshment.

Being told, at our first setting out, that we could easily reach Karatchin that night, we were greatly disappointed to find ourselves fifteen miles from that place at sun-set. This was attributed to the delay in passing the shoals, both at the entrance of the river, and in many other places.

Our men being exceedingly fatigued, and as the difficulty of navigating the river would have increased by the darkness of the night, we declined all thoughts of proceeding on our journey that evening; we therefore fixed upon a place that was tolerably well sheltered, and, clearing it of the snow, erected

a small marquee, which we had providentially taken with us : and, with the assistance of a good fire, and some excellent punch, passed the night agreeably. Our principal inconvenience was, the being obliged to keep at a considerable distance from the fire ; for, as soon as it was lighted, it thawed every part round it into an absolute puddle. The Kamtschadales were extremely alert and expeditious in erecting our marquee, and cooking our provisions ; but we were much surprised at finding they had brought with them their utensils for making tea, considering it as a most intolerable hardship if they cannot, two or three times a day, regale themselves with drinking tea.

As soon as it was light, in the morning, we proceeded on our journey, and, before we had made much progress, were met by the *Toion*, or chief of Karatchia, who being apprized of our coming, had provided canoes that were better accommodated for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, (made by lashing two canoes together) furnished with fur cloaks, and lined with bear-skins, was also procured for us. We now proceeded rapidly ; the *Toion*'s people being remarkably expert in this kind of business. At ten we arrived at the *ostrog*, named Karatchin, and the seat of his command ; where we were received by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to the merchant Fedositch. They were all attired in their best habiliments ; those of the women being gay, and pleasing, and consisting of a loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a silk collar. A short jacket, without sleeves, was worn

over this, consisting of different coloured nankeens; and they had petticoats made of a slight Chinese silk. Their shifts, which were also made of silk, had sleeves extending to the wrists; and their heads were bound with coloured silk handkerchiefs, which entirely concealed the hair of the married women; but the unmarried ones placed the handkerchief under the hair, permitting it to flow loosely down the shoulders.

Karatchin was pleasantly situate on the side of the river, and was composed of three log-houses, nineteen *balagans*, or summer habitations, and three *jourts*, which are houses under ground. The *Toion*, to whose dwelling we were then conducted, was a plain decent man, sprung from a Russian mother, and a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all others in this country, consisted only of two apartments. All the furniture in the outer room was a long narrow table, with a bench round it; and the inner apartment, which was the kitchen, was also very scantily furnished. But the hearty welcome and kind attention of our host amply compensated for the poverty of his habitation.

The wife of the *Toion* was an excellent cook, and served us with various sorts of fish and game, and different kinds of heath-berries, which had been preserved since the last year. Whilst we were dining in this miserable hut, the guests of absolute strangers, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary half-worn pewter spoon attracted our attention. Its form was familiar to us, and the word *London* was stamped upon the back of it. It is impossible to express the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances this circumstance excited in us. Those who have been long absent from their native coun-



try, will readily conceive what inexpressible pleasure such trifling incidents can give.

Having now quitted the river, the next part of our journey was to be performed on sledges; but the thaw had been so great in the day-time as not to permit us to set out till the snow was become hard and firm by the coldness of the evening. This furnished us with an opportunity of walking about the village, which was the only place in this country that we had seen free from snow. It was situate on a flat, of about a mile and a half in circuit. The leaves of the trees were just budding, and the verdure was strongly contrasted with the surrounding hills, which remained covered with snow. The soil appearing to be capable of producing common vegetables, we were surprised to find that not a spot of it was cultivated. Neither were the inhabitants possessed of cattle of any sort. In short their situation, during the winter months, must be wretched beyond conception. They were now removing from their *jourts* to their *balagans*, which gave us an opportunity of observing both these sorts of habitations. The people invited us, very civilly, into their houses; chearfulness and content were visible in every countenance, to which the approaching change of season might perhaps contribute.

On returning to our host's, supper was prepared for us, consisting of the same articles which composed our former repast. When we had finished our meal, we entertained the *Toion* and his wife with punch made of some of our spirits; and captain Gore, with his wonted generosity, made them some valuable presents; after which, they retired to the kitchen leaving us in the other room; on the benches of

which we spread our bear-skins, and sought a little repose ; having first settled with our conductors to proceed on our journey when the ground was judged to be in a suitable condition.

The melancholy howlings of the dogs awakened us about nine the same evening. During the whole time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges, their horrid noise continued ; but when they were yoked, and prepared for travelling, a chearful yelping succeeded, which ceased the instant they marched of.

The annexed engraving will show the figure of the sledges : it was taken from one brought over by Mr King, and now in the possession of Sir Ashton Lever. The length of the body is about four feet and a half, and the breadth one foot. It is made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, fastened together with wicker work ; and, among the principal people, is elegantly stained with red and blue ; the seat being covered with furs of bear-skins. It has four legs, about two feet in height, resting on two long flat pieces of wood, of the breadth of five or six inches, extending a foot beyond the body of the sledge, at each end. These turn up before, somewhat like a skait, and are shod with the bone of some sea-animal. The carriage is ornamented at the fore-part with tassels of coloured cloth, and, leather thongs. It has a cross bar, to which the harness is joined ; and links of iron, or small bells, are hanging to it, which, by the jingling is supposed to encourage the dogs. They seldom carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, with his feet on the lower part of the sledge, having his baggage and provisions behind him. The usual

number of dogs employed in drawing this carriage is five, four of them yoked two and two, and the other acting as leader. The reins being fastened to the collar, instead of the head, have no great command; and are, therefore, usually hung upon the sledge; the driver depending principally on their obedience to his voice. Great care and attention are consequently used in training up the leader, which frequently becomes very valuable on account of his steadiness and docility; the sum of forty roubles (or ten pounds) being no unusual price for one of them. The rider has also a crooked stick, answering the purpose of both whip and reins, with which, by striking in the snow, he can regulate the speed of the dogs, or even stop them at his pleasure. When they are inattentive to their duty, he often chastises them by throwing it at them. The dexterity of the riders, in picking this stick up again, is very remarkable, and is the most difficult manœuvre in the exercise of their profession: nor is it, indeed, surprising that they should be skilful in a practice in which they are so materially interested; for, they assured us, that if a driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs immediately discover it; and, unless their leader is both steady and resolute, they will instantly set off full speed, and never stop till their strength is exhausted; or till the carriage is overturned and dashed to pieces, or hurried down a precipice, when all are buried in the snow. The accounts of the speed of these animals, and of the hardships and fatigues they suffer, would have appeared incredible, had they not been supported by the greatest authority. We ourselves were witnesses of the extraordinary expedition with which the

messenger returned, who had been dispatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival at St. Peter and St. Paul's, though the snow was exceedingly soft. The Governor of Kamtschatka assured us, that this journey was usually performed in two days and an half; and that he had once received an express from that harbour in twenty-three hours.

During the winter the dogs are fed on the offals of dried and stinking fish; and even this miserable food is with-held from them a day before they set out on a journey; and they are not permitted to eat a morsel of any thing till they arrive at the end of it. They are frequently kept fasting for two entire days, in which time they will perform a journey of great extent. The shape of these dogs resembles that of the Pomeranian breed, but they are considerably larger.

Not choosing to rely upon our own skill, we had each of us a man to conduct the sledge, which, in the condition the roads then were, proved a very laborious business; for, as the thaw had been prevalent in the valleys, through which was our regular road, we were obliged to travel along the sides of the hills; our guides being under the necessity of supporting the sledges, on the lower sides, with their shoulders, for many miles together. Mr King was attended by a good-natured Cossack, who was so imperfect in his business, that he was continually overturned, which afforded entertainment to his companions. The party consisted of ten sledges in the whole. That which conducted captain Gore was formed of two lashed together, and was plentifully furnished with furs and bear-skins. It was drawn by ten dogs, yoked four abreast; and those



which were laden with heavy baggage, were drawn by the same number.

We had proceeded about four miles on our journey when it began to rain, which, together with the darkness of the night, threw us into some confusion. It was, after some little consultation, agreed that we should continue where we were till daylight; we therefore secured our sledges, wrapped ourselves up in furs, and waited patiently for the morning. At three o'clock we were summoned to proceed; our guides expressing their apprehensions, that if we waited any longer, the thaw would perhaps stop us, and prevent our advancing or returning. Though we had many difficulties to encounter, owing principally to the bad condition of the road, we got safe to an *ostrog* about two in the afternoon. It is called Natcheequin, and is situate on a small stream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, at some distance below the town. It is twenty-five miles from Karatchin; which, by their account, we could have compassed in four hours, had the frost continued; but the snow was so soft that the poor animals sunk up to their bellies at almost every step; and it was indeed surprising that they should be able to support themselves under so fatiguing a journey.

This inconsiderable *ostrog* consists of one log-house, the residence of the *Toion*, one *jourt*, and five *balagans*. We were received here with the same civility and hospitality as at Karatchin; and, in the afternoon, were conducted to a remarkable hot spring, at a small distance from this village. Before we came very near it, we saw a stream rising from it, as from a boiling caldron; when we

approached it, we perceived a strong sulphureous effluvia. A bason of about three feet in diameter is formed by the main spring : besides which there are several lesser springs, of equal heat, in the adjacent ground ; by which means the whole spot, consisting of about an acre, was so very hot that we could not remain two minutes in the same place. The water issuing from these springs supplies a small bathing pond, and afterwards a little rivulet, which conducts it into the river, at the distance of about an hundred and fifty yards. Great cures, they informed us, had been effected by this bath, in rheumatisms, scorbutic ulcers, swelled and contracted joints, and many other disorders. Where these springs flow the ground is on a gentle ascent ; having a green hill of a moderate size behind it. Some plants seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance, among which we observed the wild garlic.

On the morning of the 10th we embarked on the Bolchoireka ; and, going with the stream, expected to arrive at our journey's end the following day. Though Bolcheretsk is eighty miles from Natchekin, we were informed, that, in the summer, when the melting of the snow on the mountains has rendered the river full and rapid, the canoes have often gone there in a single day : but now they told us we should be much longer, the ice having broke up only three days before our arrival, and ours being the first boat that had attempted to pass. There was but too much truth in this intelligence ; for we were greatly impeded by the shallows, and, though the stream was rapid in many places, we frequently had rippings and showers,

and were under the necessity of hauling the boats over them. On each side of the river the country was romantic, but not diversified: the course of it being between craggy mountains, of a most dreary and barren aspect, with nothing to vary the scene, except now and then the sight of a bear, or a flock of wild fowl. This, and the following night, we slept under our marquee, on the banks of the river, and suffered greatly from the severity of the weather.

On the 12th, at day-light, we had passed the mountains, and were proceeding through a low extensive plain, on which were a number of shrubby trees. At nine in the morning we reached an *ostrog*, called Opatchin, of about the same magnitude as Karatchin, and supposed to be fifty miles from Natchee kin. A serjeant and four Russian soldiers had been here two days waiting for our arrival; who instantly dispatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk to give intelligence of our approach. A magnificent canoe, plentifully furnished with skins and furs, was prepared for our reception, and we were very commodiously equipped; but our fellow-travellers were excluded. It gave us some concern to be separated from our old companion Mr Port, who daily grew more shy and distant as we drew nearer to the completion of our journey. He acknowledged, indeed, before we set out, that he was not entitled to the respect we had shown him; but finding him discreet, and not presuming, we had insisted on his faring as we did, throughout the journey. We performed the remainder of our passage with the utmost ease and expedition; for as we descend-

ed, the river grew more rapid, and had very few obstructions.

On our approaching Kamtschatka, we judged, from an appearance of great stir and bustle, that our reception was to be in form. This circumstance was disagreeable to us, as decent clothing had long been scarce among us; and our travelling habits, formed a strong assemblage of the modes of India, Europe, and Kamtschatka. To make a parade through the metropolis in this motely trim we thought would appear ridiculous; and as we observed a crowd of people collected on the banks of the river, and were informed that the commander would receive us at the water-side, we stopped at the house of a soldier, about a quarter of a mile before we came to the town. Here we dispatched Mr Port with a message to his Excellency, acquainting him, that as soon as we had put off our travelling dresses, we would attend him at his own house, to pay our respects to him; and entreated him not to think of waiting to conduct us. He persisted, however, in his resolution of paying us this compliment, and we immediately proceeded to join him at the entrance of the capital. We were all remarkably awkward and defective in making our first salutations, not having been accustomed to bowing and scraping, for at least two years and an half. The commander received us in a most engaging manner; but we had the mortification to discover, that we had almost wholly forgot the French language; so that only Mr Webber had the satisfaction of conversing with him, as he spoke the German, which was his native tongue.

Major Behm was accompanied by captain Shina-



left, the next in command, and another officer; the whole body of merchants attended also. We were conducted to the commander's house, where we were politely and respectfully received by his lady, who had prepared tea and other refreshments for us. The first compliments being over, captain Gore desired Mr Webber to acquaint the Major, that we were distressed for want of naval stores, fresh provisions, flour, and other necessaries; and that we were convinced we could not receive much assistance from him, in the country about Awatska Bay, from what we had already seen and heard; that the impossibility of conveying heavy stores over the peninsula, at that season, we were but too sensible of, from the difficulties we had encountered in our journey: and that we could not delay the prosecution of our voyage to wait for any material change. Here the Major interrupted Mr Webber, by observing, that we knew not what they were capable of doing; that he should not bestow a thought upon the difficulties of supplying our wants; he only wished to know what articles we stood in need of, and the time he could be allowed for providing them. After expressing our acknowledgments for his obliging condescension, we presented him an account of the naval stores, cattle, and flour, we were directed to purchase; and informed him, that we intended to prosecute our voyage about the 5th of June.

After this, the conversation became more general; and it might naturally be supposed, that we were anxious to obtain some information respecting our native country. Having been three years absent, we entertained the most flattering expectations of

receiving some interesting intelligence from Major Behm; but we were greatly disappointed, when he assured us, that he could not communicate any intelligence of a much later date than that of our quitting England. The commander, supposing we might be fatigued, and desirous of repose, begged leave to conduct us to our lodgings, at about seven o'clock. It was useless to protest against a compliment to which we had no other title than that of being strangers. That alone, with this generous Livonian, was sufficient to counterbalance every other consideration. In going along we passed two guard-houses, where the men were under arms, in compliment to captain Gore, and were conducted to a neat decent house, which the Major had appointed for our residence while we continued at Kamtschatka. We had two sentinels posted at our door, and a serjeant's guard in an adjoining house. Having disposed of us in our apartments, the Major took his leave, promising to visit us the next day. We were now at leisure to discover the conveniencies which he had amply provided for us. Our fellow-traveller, Mr Port, and a soldier, of a rank between that of a serjeant and a corporal, (called a *pulproversckack*) were fixed upon to be our male domestics. We had also a house-keeper and a cook, who were ordered to obey Mr Port's directions in dressing us a supper after the English mode of cookery. In the course of the evening we were favoured with a number of civil messages from the principal inhabitants of the town, politely observing, that their attending to pay their respects to us at that time would add to our fatigues, but they would do themselves that honour the next

morning. Such attention and politeness, in so uncultivated and desolate a country, formed a contrast highly in favour of its inhabitants; and, in addition to their civility, at sun-set, the serjeant brought the report of his guard to captain Gore.

In the morning of the 13th compliments were sent us by the Major, captain Shmaleff, and the most respectable people of the town, from all whom we were honoured with visits soon after. The two former having, after we had retired to rest, inquired of Mr Port, what articles we stood in the greatest need of on board the ships; they insisted on our sharing with their garrison, in the small stock of provisions they had then remaining; lamenting, at the same time, that our arrival should happen to be in that season of the year when scarcity reigned universally among them; the sloops from Okotsk not being yet arrived with their annual supply.

We thankfully accepted the liberal offer of these hospitable strangers; on condition, however, that we should be made acquainted with the price of the articles we received from them, that captain Clerke might draw upon the Victualling Office in London for the amount. This was refused, in the most positive terms; and, though repeatedly urged, the Major always stopped us short, by saying, that his mistress would be highly gratified at his rendering every assistance in his power to the English, who are her good friends and allies; and that it would give her a peculiar satisfaction to find, that, in such remote regions, her dominions had afforded any relief to vessels engaged in such important services. He added, that he could not, therefore, act so contrary to the principles of his Empress, as to

think of receiving any bills ; but, if we insisted on it, we might give him a bare certificate of the articles he might supply us with, which he would transmit to the court of Russia, as evidence of having performed his duty. All further acknowledgments, continued he, must be submitted to the two courts, but you must excuse me from acceding to your proposal.

This matter being adjusted, he requested to be informed respecting our private wants, saying he should consider it as offering him an affront if we applied to any of the merchants, or had dealings with any other person except himself.

Not being able to make an adequate return for such singular generosity, he had only our thanks and admiration. At this moment Mr King recollected that captain Clerke had sent by him a set of the engravings to captain Cook's second voyage, desiring him to present it, in his name, to the commander. Nothing could have been more acceptable to him than this present, the Major being an enthusiast in all matters relative to discoveries. Captain Clerke had also given Mr King a discretionary power of permitting the commander to see a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage ; and, judging from his situation and disposition of mind, that he would be highly gratified by such a communication ; though, from motives of delicacy, he had only asked a few general questions on the subject, Mr King reposed in him that confidence, which his whole conduct so justly merited.

He felt this compliment as it was intended he should, and was struck at beholding, in one view, the whole of that coast on the side of Asia and



America, which his countrymen had been so long employed in acquiring an imperfect knowledge of.

Except this mark of confidence and the set of copper-plates already mentioned, we had nothing with us deserving of his acceptance ; for it was hardly worth noticing, that Mr King prevailed on his son (who was quite a youth) to accept of a silver watch ; and contributed to his little daughter's happiness, by presenting her with two pair of ear-rings of French paste. He also gave captain Shmaleff the thermometer which he had used on his journey, when he engaged to keep a register of the temperature of the air for one whole year, and to transmit it to Mr Muller, with whom he was acquainted.

This day we dined at the commander's, who, ever studious to gratify our curiosity, had prepared variety of dishes dressed after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner, besides a number of others in the English style. In the afternoon we took a survey of the town, and the adjacent country. The situation of Bolcheretsk is in a low swampy plain, extending to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles in length, and of a considerable breadth. It lies north of the Bolchoireka, (or great river) and on a peninsula, which has been separated from the continent by a large canal, under the directions of the present commander ; which has added strength to it as a fortress, and rendered it much less subject to inundations. The depth of the river, below the town, is from six to eight feet, and the breadth about a quarter of a mile. At the distance of twenty-two miles it empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, where it is capable of admitting pretty large vessels. No corn, of any kind, is cultivated

in this part of the country ; and the Major assured us, that his was the only garden that had been planted. In general, the earth was covered with snow: the parts which were free from it, were full of black turfy hillocks. We saw about twenty or thirty cows ; and the commander had six good horses. These, and their dogs, are their only tame animals: being obliged to keep a great number of the latter, they can rear only such cattle as are a match for them in strength and size. For, during the whole of the summer season, the dogs are turned loose, to provide entirely for themselves ; and are sometimes so ravenous, that they will even venture to attack the bullocks.

The buildings in Bolcheretsk are all in the same style ; they consist of logs of wood, and are thatched. The Major's house is considerably larger than the rest, and has three capacious rooms, neatly papered ; but the *talc*, which covered the windows, gave them a disagreeable and mean appearance. The town consists of low buildings, in rows of five or six habitations each, connected together by a passage extending the whole length of them ; having the kitchen and store-houses on one side, and the dwelling apartments on the other. There are also barracks for the Russian soldiers and Cossacks ; a tolerable church ; a court-room ; and, at the end of the town, a number of *Balagans*. The number of the inhabitants is between five and six hundred. A handsome entertainment was given by the Major, in the evening, to which were invited all the respectable inhabitants of both sexes.

We made a private application, the next day, to Fedositch, the merchant, in order to purchase some

tobacco; the sailors having been without that favourite commodity for upwards of a year. This, however, like other similar transactions, came immediately to the knowledge of the commander; and, in a very short time after, we were surprised to find four bags of tobacco in our house, each containing upwards of a hundred pounds; which the Major requested might be presented to our sailors, in his name, and that of the garrison under his command. By the same conveyance we received twenty loaves of sugar, and as many pounds of tea, which they requested the officers to accept of, as they understood that we were almost destitute of those articles. A present was also sent by Madame Behm, for captain Clerkè, which consisted of honey, butter, figs, rice, and other articles; accompanied with her best wishes, that, in his infirm state, they might prove serviceable to him. We strenuously endeavoured to oppose this profusion of bounty, and were extremely anxious to restrain it; fully convinced that they were giving us almost the whole stock of their garrison. But the answer we received from the Major, on these occasions, generally was, That he had been in distress himself, and he was sensible that we must now be in that situation. The length of time, indeed, since we had touched at any known port, appeared to them almost incredible, and seemed to require the evidence of our maps, and other concurrent circumstances, to obtain their credit. Among the latter, we shall mention a curious fact, which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which he said he should not have known how to account for, but for our arrival.

Among the people of the north of Asia, it is well

known, that the Tschutski only have maintained their independence, and resisted all the efforts of the Russians to reduce them. The last attempt was in 1750, and, after variety of temporary advantages on each side, the Russian forces retreated, after having lost their commanding officer. The Russians afterwards removed their frontier fortress from the Anadyr to the Ingiga, a river which runs into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulph, west of that of Penshinsk. On the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk the Major had received dispatches from this fort, acquainting him, that a party of the Tschutski had arrived there with voluntary offers of friendship and a tribute. That on asking the cause of so unexpected an alteration in their sentiments, they had acquainted his people, that two large Russian boats had visited them towards the end of the preceding summer; that they had been shown the greatest kindness by the people who were in them, and had entered into a league of amity with them; and that in consequence of this they came to the Russian fort, in order to settle a treaty upon terms agreeable to both nations. This remarkable tale had given rise to much speculation, both at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk, and must have remained utterly unintelligible, had it not been elucidated by us. It was no small satisfaction to us to have thus shown the Russians, even by accident, the best method of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; in hopes that the good understanding, which this event has produced, may rescue a brave people from such powerful invaders.

We were this day engaged to dine with Captain Shmaleff, who, in order to vary our amusements, en-



tertained us with an exhibition of dancing, in the Russian and Kamtschadale stile. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of this uncouth exhibition. The figure of the Russian dance resembled those of our hornpipes, and consisted of one, two, or four performers at a time. Their steps were exceedingly short and quick, their feet being raised but a very little way from the ground ; their arms were hung down close to the sides, the body being kept, the whole time, erect and immoveable, except when the performers passed each other, when the hand was suddenly raised with an awkward motion. But, if the Russian dance was unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale was infinitely more so. The principal aim, in their performances, is to represent the clumsy gestures of the bear, which the inhabitants of this country have frequent opportunities of observing in various situations. To describe the awkward postures exhibited on these occasions, would appear tedious and uninteresting. In general, however, the body was bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were employed in imitating the motions of that awkward animal.

Having spent much time in our journey to Bolcheretsk, and being informed that our return might, perhaps, be more difficult and tedious, we were obliged to acquaint the Major, this evening, with our intention of departing the next day. We could not think of leaving our new acquaintance without regret ; and were agreeably surprised, when the Major promised to accompany us if we would stay but one day longer. He told us, that he had made up his dispatches, and resigned the command of Kamtscharka to captain Shmaleff ; having made the ne-

cessary preparations for his departure to Okotsk, which was shortly to take place; but that he should be happy in postponing his journey, and attending us to St Peter and St Paul's, in order to be satisfied that nothing which could be done to serve us should be omitted.

For the articles which Mr King had given to the Major's children, he received, the next morning, a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, such as the principal *Toiens* wear on the most solemn occasions. This habit, as we were informed by Fedositch, must have cost, at least, one hundred and twenty roubles. He also, at the same time, was presented with a handsome sable muff, as a present from his daughter.

We dined this day (the 15th) with the commander, who, willing to give us an opportunity of seeing as much as we could of the manners and customs of the country, invited all the principal inhabitants of the town to his house this evening. The dresses of the women were splendid, after the Kamtschadale manner. Captain Shma'eff's lady, and the wives of the other officers of the garrison, were dressed in a pretty taste, partly in the Siberian and partly in the European mode. Madame Behm, in particular, appeared in a grand European dress. The richness and variety of the silks worn by the women, as well as the singularity of their dress, was very striking: and the whole had the air of some enchanted scene in the midst of the most desert and dreary country in the universe. The entertainments of this night were dancing and singing.

As we had fixed upon the next morning for our departure, we retired early to our apartments, where

three travelling dresses presented themselves to our view, made after the Kamtschadale mode, which had been provided for us by the commander. He came to us himself soon after, to see that proper care was taken in packing up our things. We had, indeed, no inconsiderable load of baggage; for, exclusive of his liberal presents, captain Shmaleff, and several other individuals, showed us many instances of kindness and generosity.

On Sunday, the 16th, early in the morning, we were preparing for our departure, when we were invited to take our leave of Madame Behm, in our passage to the boats. Already impressed with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, for the benevolent and generous treatment we had received at Bolcheretsk, they were much heightened by the affecting scene which followed. On quitting our apartments, we saw all the soldiers and Cossacks of the garrison drawn up on one side, and, on the other, were all the male inhabitants of the town, in their best clothing; the whole body of the people joining in a melancholy song, which, we were informed, it was usual to sing on the departure of friends. Thus we marched till we arrived at the commander's house, preceded by the drums and music belonging to the garrison. Here we were received by Madame Behm, accompanied by several ladies, habited in long silk cloaks, lined with furs of various colours; forming a most splendid appearance. Having partook of some refreshment, which had been provided for us, we proceeded to the water side, attended by the ladies, who joined with the rest of the people in the song; and having taken leave of Madame Behm, after assuring her that the sense of the hospitality of

Bolcheretsk, would be indelible in our hearts, we were too much affected not to hasten into the boats. At putting off we received three cheers, which we immediately returned; and, on doubling a point, where we last beheld our friendly entertainers, they still added to our feelings by a farewell cheer.

On our return, the stream was so exceedingly rapid, that, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of our conductors, we did not arrive at the first village, Opatchin, till the 17th in the evening, which did not exceed the rate of twenty miles a day. On the 19th we reached Natcheechin, and crossed the plain to Karatchin on the 20th. The road was in much better order than when we passed it before, as it froze smartly in the night of the 19th. We proceeded down the Awatska river on the 21st, and passed over the shoals, at the entrance of the bay, before it was dark. During the whole of our journey we were highly pleased with the willingness and alacrity with which the *Toions* and their *Kamt-schadales* assisted us at the different *ostrogs*. On seeing the Major, joy appeared in every countenance; and they were much affected upon being informed that he would shortly leave them.

A messenger had been dispatched from Bolcheretsk to captain Clerke, acquainting him with the nature of our reception: and that the Major intended to accompany us on our return; apprizing him, at the same time, of the day he might expect us. We observed, with pleasure, as we approached the harbour, all our boats coming towards us. The men were all clean, and the officers as well arrayed as their wardrobes would then permit them to be. The Major was struck at the healthy appearance of



our sailors, and was surprised to see that many of them had no other covering than a shirt and trousers, though it actually snowed at that very instant.

Major Behm had expressed an inclination to visit the ships before he landed; but, being informed that captain Clerke was extremely ill, he thought it would be improper to disturb him at so late an hour; it being then after nine o'clock. Mr King therefore attended him to the serjeant's house, and afterwards went on board to communicate to captain Clerke what had happened at Bolcheretsk. He was much concerned to find, that, during his absence, that officer's health was considerably impaired, instead of growing better, as we flattered ourselves it might, from undisturbed repose in the harbour, and a milk and vegetable diet.

The next morning Mr King conducted the Major to the ships; where he was received with every possible mark of distinction, and saluted with thirteen guns. He was attended by the commander of a Russian galliot, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, a master of a sloop, and the priest of the village of Paratounca.

Having visited the captain, and taken a view of the two ships, he returned to dine on board the Resolution. In the course of the afternoon the curiosities which we had collected were shown him, and an assortment of each article presented to him by captain Clerke. Here we cannot suppress an instance of great generosity and gratitude in our sailors; who, being informed of the handsome present which had been made them by the Major, voluntarily requested that their grog might be withheld, and their allowance of spirits presented to the

garrison of Bolcheretsk ; saying they knew that brandy was extremely scarce in that country, the soldiers on shore having offered four roubles a bottle for it. We could not but admire this extraordinary sacrifice, knowing how much the sailors felt, when abridged or deprived of their grog. Indeed, they never had that article withheld from them but in warm weather, that they might enjoy a greater proportion when it was most necessary ; but this generous proposal would deprive them of it, even in the inclement season we had naturally to expect in our northern expedition. The officers, however, would not permit them to suffer by their generosity, and substituted in the room of the small quantity of brandy, which the Major consented to accept, an equal quantity of rum. A dozen or two of Cape wine for Madame Behm, and some other trifling presents which we were enabled to make, were accepted with great politeness. The tobacco was distributed the next morning among the crews of both vessels ; every man that chewed or smoked tobacco being allowed three pounds, and the others only one.

It has been observed that the Major had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and was speedily to repair to Petersburg ; and he now expressed his willingness to convey any dispatches we might choose to commit to his care. Such an opportunity was not to be neglected ; and captain Clerke requested him to take the charge of some papers relative to our voyage, to the British Ambassador at the Russian court. At first we intended to transmit only a concise journal of our proceedings ; but, after mature consideration, captain Clerke was of opinion,

that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be committed to the care of a man who had given the strongest proofs of probity and virtue. Considering also, that a very hazardous part of the voyage was still to be performed, he resolved to send, by him, the whole of captain Cook's journal, together with his own, from the death of that commander, till our arrival at Kamtschatka; and also a chart of our discoveries. Mr Bailey and Mr King also determined to send an account of our proceedings to the Board of Longitude. From these precautions, had any accident befallen us, the Admiralty would have become possessed of the principal facts of our voyage. It was further resolved, that a smaller packet should be dispatched from Okotsk, which the Major supposed would reach Petersburg by December; and that he expected to arrive there himself in February or March.

The Major was entertained alternately in the two ships, as well as we were able, the three following days. He departed on the 25th, and was saluted with thirteen guns; the sailors, at their own request, expressing their regard for him by three cheers. Mr King and Mr Webber attended him, the next morning, some few miles up the Awatska river, where the Russian priest and his family were waiting to bid a last adieu to their commander.

On taking our leave of the Major, it is difficult to say, whether the worthy priest and his family or ourselves were most affected. Though our acquaintance had been of short duration, his behaviour had inspired us with the highest esteem for him; and we could not part (perhaps for ever) with one, to whom we were under such infinite obliga-

tions, without indulging the most tender feelings. Exclusive of the stores which might probably be carried to a public account, the value of the presents he bestowed on us must have amounted upwards of two hundred pounds. But, by his extraordinary this generosity may appear, it was exceeded by his delicacy in conferring favours on his ingenious endeavours to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations which he knew we were unable to requite. In supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of his sovereign, he was still more entitled to our admiration, as he was actuated by sentiments most noble and enlarged. In the service in which we were engaged, he told us that for the general benefit of mankind; and entered into the offices of humanity, and the privileges of citizens, in whatever country we might be. That, by affording us such relief as was in his power, he was certain that he was acting agreeably to the wishes of his empress; and that he could not entirely forget her character, or his own honour, to barter for the performance of a duty. In other things, he said, he made a particular point of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who were just emerging from a state of barbarism, and they considered the Russians as their pattern in every respect; and that he hoped they would in the future, think it a duty incumbent on them to afford to strangers every assistance in their power, and believe it to be the universal practice of all polished and civilized nations.

The Major having, so far as he was capable, relieved our present distresses, he was not unmindful of our future wants; and, imagining we should not



be able to discover the passage we were in search of, and that we should return to Kamtschatka, he procured from captain Clerke the particulars of what flour and cordage he should want, promising to send them from Okotsk, to wait our arrival. He also presented the captain with a written paper, enjoining every Russian subject to assist us to the utmost of their abilities.

We shall now recount the transactions which passed at Petropaulowska during the absence of Major Behm and his party.

On the 7th of May, not long after they had quitted the bay of Awatska, a great piece of ice drove against the Resolution, and brought home the small bower anchor; in consequence of which the other anchor was weighed, and the ship was moored again. The carpenters, who were occupied in stopping the leak, were under the necessity of taking off great part of the sheathing from the bows; and many of the trunnels were found to be so loose and rotten, that they were drawn out easily with the fingers. On Tuesday the 11th, heavy gales blew from the northeast, which obliged both our vessels to strike their yards and top-masts; but the weather becoming more moderate in the afternoon, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of Petropaulowska we, warped close to shore, for the greater convenience of procuring wood and water, and again moored, as before; the mouth of the bay shut in by the most southerly point of Rakowina harbour, bearing south, and the town north half west, at the distance of half a mile.

On the 12th party was detached on shore to

cut wood, but made little progress in that service, on account of the snow which still covered the ground. A convenient spot, abreast of the ships, was cleared, where there was a good run of water; and a tent being pitched for the cooper, our empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent ashore.

On Saturday the 15th, as the beach was then clear of ice, a party was sent to haul the seine, and caught a plentiful supply of fine flat-fish for the companies of both ships. From this time, indeed, till we quitted the harbour, we were even overpowered with the great quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The *Tolons*, both of this town and of Paratounca, a neighbouring village, had received orders from Major Behm, to employ in our service all the Kamtschadales; so that it frequently happened that we could not take into the ships the presents which were sent us. They generally consisted of herrings, trout, flat-fish, and cod. The former, which were in their highest perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were in extreme plenty in this bay. The people of the *Discovery*, at one time, surrounded such an amazing quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw out a very considerable number, lest the net should be broken to pieces; and the cargo they landed was still so abundant, that, besides having a sufficient stock for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could conveniently spare for salting; and, after sending on board the *Resolution* a tolerable quantity for the same purpose, they left behind several bushels upon the beach.

The ice and snow now began rapidly to disappear, and plenty of nettle-tops, celery, and wild garlic,

were gathered for the use of the crews; which being boiled with portable soup and wheat, furnished them with an excellent and salutary breakfast; and with this they were every morning supplied. The birch-trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, of which they produce great quantities, was constantly mixed with the brandy allowed to the men.

On the 16th a small bullock was killed, which the serjeant had procured for the ships' companies. Its weight was two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both the crews for their Sunday's dinner, and was the first fresh beef which they had tasted since the departure of our vessels from the Cape of Good Hope, in December 1776; a period of almost two years and a half.

John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate, expired this evening, after having been afflicted with a dysentery ever since we had left the Sandwich Isles. He was a peaceable and industrious man, and greatly regretted by his mess-mates. Though he was the fourth person that we had lost by sickness during our voyage, he was the first who, from his age and constitution, could be said to have had, on our setting out, an equal chance of life with the rest of his companions. Watman was supposed by us to be about sixty years old; and Roberts, and Mr Anderson, from the decline which had manifestly commenced before our departure from England, most probably could not, under any circumstances, have lived to a later period than they did.

Captain Clerke's health continuing daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which Kamtschatka afforded him, the priest of Paratoune, as soon as he was informed of the weak state

he was in, supplied him every day with milk, bread, fowls, and fresh butter, though his habitation was sixteen miles from the harbour where our ships were stationed.

The Russian hospital, near the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, was, at our first arrival, in a very deplorable state. All the soldiers were in a greater or less degree afflicted with the scurvy, many being in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were likewise in a similar condition; and we observed, that our friend the serjeant, by drinking too freely of the spirits he had received from us, had brought on himself, in the course of a few days, several of the most alarming symptoms of that disease. Captain Clerke, desirous of relieving them from this lamentable state, put them all under the care of our surgeons, and gave orders, that a supply of sour krout, and malt, for wort, should be furnished for their use. A surprising alteration soon took place in the figures of most of them; and their speedy recovery was chiefly attributed to the effects of the sweet wort.

On Tuesday the 1st of June, two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pounds weight of rye flour, were brought on board the Resolution; and the Discovery received a proportional quantity. We were supplied with this flour from the stores of Petropaulowska. The men were now put on their full allowance of bread, which, from the time of our leaving the Cape of Good Hope, they had not been indulged in. The same day we completed our stock of water, sixty-five tons having been conveyed on board.

We had fresh breezes, and heavy rains, on the



4th of June, so that we were disappointed in our design of dressing the ships, and obliged to content ourselves with firing one and twenty guns, in honour of his Majesty's birth-day, and celebrating it, in other respects, in the best manner we could. Port, who, on account of his skill in languages, was left with us, partook, as well as the serjeant, (in the capacity of commandant of the place) of the entertainment of the day. The worthy priest of Paratounca, having been informed that it was the anniversary of our sovereign's birth, gave likewise a sumptuous feast, at which several of our gentlemen were present, who were highly pleased with their entertainment, of which dancing formed a part.

On Sunday the 6th twenty head of cattle arrived, having been sent us, by the directions of the commander, from the *Verchnei ostrog*, which stands on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of almost a hundred miles from this place. These cattle were of a moderate size; and though the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, were in good condition when they arrived. The four succeeding days were employed in making preparations for putting to sea; and, on Friday the 11th, about two o'clock in the morning, we began to unmoor. Before, however, we had got up one anchor, so violent a gale sprung up from the northeast, that we thought proper to moor again, supposing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would, in all probability, set up the channel. The pinnacle was dispatched to examine the passage, and returned with intelligence, that the wind blew violently from the southeast, with a great swell setting into

the bay ; so that any attempt to get out to sea would have been attended with considerable risk.

Port now took leave of us, carrying with him the box containing the journals of our voyage, which Major Behm was to take charge of, and the packet that was to be forwarded by express. On the 12th, the gale having abated, we began unmooring again ; but, after having broken the messenger, and reefed a running purchase with a six inch hawser, which likewise broke three times, we were, at last, under the necessity of heaving a strain at low-water, and waiting for the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This measure succeeded, though not without damaging the cable. About three o'clock in the afternoon the best bower was weighed, and we set sail ; but at eight, the tide making against us, and the wind being inconsiderable, we anchored again in ten fathoms water off the mouth of Rakowina harbour : the *ostrog* being at the distance of between two and three miles, bearing north by east half east ; the elevated rock, on the western side of the passage, bearing south ; and the needle rocks, on the eastern side of the passage, south-southeast half east.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.