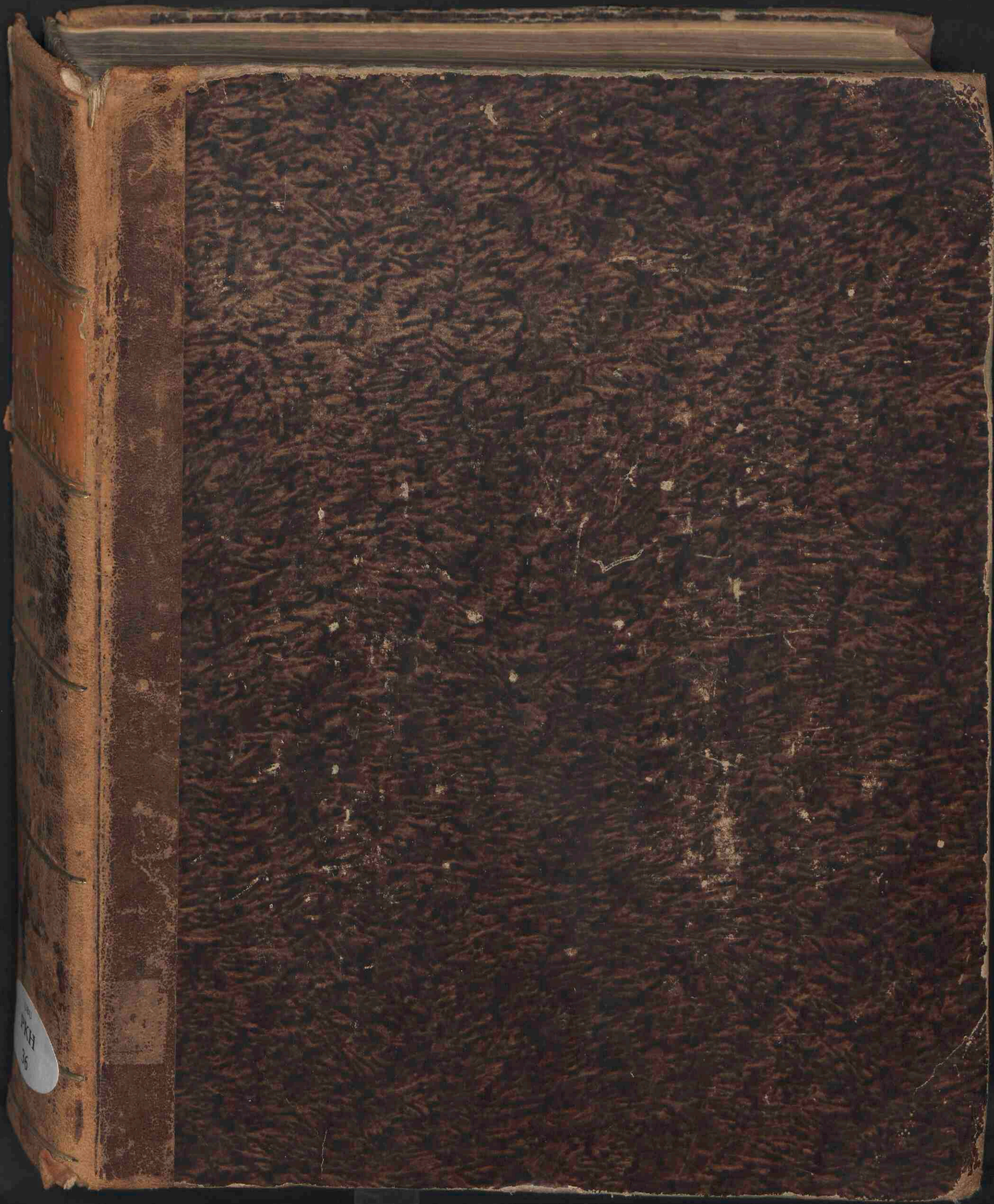




**A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson : compiled from journals of the officers and the missionaries; and illustrated with maps, charts, and views. With a preliminary discourse on the geography and history of the South Sea islands; and an appendix, including details ... of ... Otaheite**

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A  
MISSIONARY VOYAGE

TO THE

SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN,

PERFORMED

IN THE YEARS 1796, 1797, 1798,

IN THE

SHIP DUFF,

COMMANDED BY

CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON.

COMPILED FROM

JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE MISSIONARIES;

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

Maps, Charts, and Views,

Drawn by Mr. WILLIAM WILSON, and engraved by the most eminent Artists.

WITH A

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

ON THE

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS;

AND AN

APPENDIX,

INCLUDING DETAILS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED, OF THE

NATURAL AND CIVIL STATE OF OTAHEITE;

BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE BY THE DIRECTORS OF THE  
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

---

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SOCIETY.

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LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. GOSNELL,

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1799.



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# MISSIONARY VOYAGE

SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN

SHIP DIARY

CENTRAL PACIFIC

JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE MISSIONARIES

FROM 1854 TO 1855

BY THE REV. J. D. DIX

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS AND ISLANDERS

AT THE END

NATURAL AND CIVIL STATE OF THE ISLANDS

BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED FOR THE PURPOSE BY THE BOARD OF MISSIONS

PRINTED BY THE AMERICAN BOOK CONCERN

NEW YORK

1856

FOR THE AMERICAN BOOK CONCERN



TO THE  
**K I N G.**

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SIRE,

**T**O whom can the Missionary Society so properly dedicate these first-fruits of their labours as to YOUR MAJESTY, by whose order the voyages of discovery were first undertaken, which have brought into view the numerous islands dispersed over the Pacific Ocean? The reports made concerning them attracted the general attention of European nations; and YOUR MAJESTY's subjects felt themselves peculiarly interested, whether their views led them to consider these discoveries as tending to enlarge the bounds of science, or as opening a field of commercial speculation. A nobler object, Sire, has engaged the attention of the Missionary Society, who, believing **CHRISTIANITY** to be the greatest blessing ever imparted to mankind, desired to communicate that inestimable gift, with all its happy effects, to these unenlightened regions.



## DEDICATION.

On landing among these islanders, our compassions were more powerfully excited to find their population greatly diminished, and, through the prevalence of vice, tending to utter extinction. On this account we conceive it to be our duty to make the most vigorous efforts, in dependence on the blessing of Almighty God, for the amelioration of their wretched estate.

Perfused of YOUR MAJESTY's gracious approbation of our labours, and encouraged by the most auspicious commencements, we have determined on renewed exertions. Whatever beneficial consequences may result from the attempt, we shall be happy to ascribe them, under GOD, to YOUR MAJESTY's government as their origin; and we embrace this public occasion of offering the dutiful homage of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most respectful and loyal subjects,

THE DIRECTORS OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

THE impatience of our brethren to gratify the curiosity of the public, must plead our excuse that the following papers are arranged in a less lucid order than we could have wished. In collecting from the public and private journals, we have desired to preserve the language of the relator, which, if not the most polished, may notwithstanding be the most affecting. The body of the journal is the composition of Mr. William Wilson, from the Captain's papers, his own, and the Missionaries' reports. As there was a necessity of filling up some chapters from the journals of the Missionaries themselves, there will sometimes be observed a change of persons, according as individuals, or the body, are introduced speaking. It is hoped that our readers will pardon this defect, and that whatever perplexity it may occasion will be removed by referring to the list of *Errata*. It was deemed improper to alter customary maritime phrases for the sake of grammatical accuracy. We shall be truly happy, if the information here detailed shall produce some powerful impression on the minds of our countrymen; interest them more tenderly in behalf of the wretched heathen; and excite suitable efforts to repair the miseries which Europeans have in part occasioned, as well as to rescue from destruction of body and soul a gentle race of fellow-men, who have, toward our own nation especially, expressed the most affectionate attachment.





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# ERRATA.

Page.	Line from bottom.		Page.	Line from bottom.	
iv,	33,	omit , on the 10th of the same month.	181,	28.	(and elsewhere), for Pytovah, read, Whydooa.
xii,	12,	for is, read, are.	196,	11,	} for Sinnet, read, Skinner.
ib.	1,	for Oamm, read, Oammo.	198,	14,	
xiii,	13,	for thirteen, read, many.	213,	15,	for throughout, read, throughout.
xxii,	22,	for 16th, read, 14th.	230,	7,	for 18th, read, 15th.
xxiii,	29,	omit the rest, consisting of.	245,	27,	for Fynogge, } read, Foonogge,
li,	2,	for substitute, read, substitute.	255,	25,	for Fenogge, }
lx,	15,	omit end.	251,	13,	after Dooatonga, add, (as Futtasaihe is entitled).
lxx,	22,	for these, read, the Fejē.	ib.	7,	after the, add, south-
xcviii,	4,	for transcendant, read, transcendent.	259,	29,	after July 1st, add, (at Aheefo).
22,	22,	after thus, add, , says a missionary.	260,	20,	for Mooe, read, Mooree.
23,	8,	after shore, add, , says Mr. Wilson.	ib.	2,	after 12th, add, (at Ardeo).
29,	21,	for f, read, of.	261,	20,	after 14th, add, (at Aheefo).
52,	13, 19,	for Ohaitapēha, read, Matavai.	262,	24,	for third, read, fourth.
54,	20,	after Gaulton, add, (a probationer).	265,	28,	after 26th, add, (at Ardeo).
58,	5,	for tile, read, title.	ib.	18,	after 30th, add, (at Aheefo).
72,	12,	for i h, read, with.	270,	30,	omit others.
108,	20,	for we, read, the brethren.	ib.	16,	after say, add, any.
ib.	17,	for in the, read, this.	288,	32,	for 180° 30', read, 181° 13'.
113,	7,	for communicate, read, communicate.	ib.	12,	for Maitland, read, Direction.
125,	15,	for eut, read, hut.	298,	2,	for everal, read, several.
151,	9,	for Lock, read, Cock.	304,	6,	for Warto, read, Warro.
160,	8,	for assembed, read, assembled.	ib.	5,	for Shievo, read, Heevo.
170,	10,	for Whyooa, read, Whydooa.	343,	23,	for Morris, read, Maurice.
171,	29,	after pilser, add, from.	387,	28,	for wrinkles, read, winkles.
175,	24,	after life, add, , says W. Puckey.			

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# PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE;

CONTAINING A

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

ISLANDS WHERE MISSIONARIES HAVE SETTLED,

AND OF OTHERS WITH WHICH THEY ARE CONNECTED.

---

THE relation which geographical knowledge bears to missionary exertion is as obvious as it is important. If sincere and enlightened Christians had been attentive to the magnitude, the population, and the moral and religious state of the countries which are still destitute of the gospel, it seems impossible that they should ever have remitted their labours for the conversion of the heathen. A deficiency of information upon these interesting subjects is not merely to be lamented as an occasion of fatal negligence; it is also to be guarded against as a cause of error, and of failure, in the conduct of missionary efforts. If these are excited only by casual discoveries of the wretched condition in which some detached parts of the heathen world exist, other nations are liable to be disregarded, which, in a variety of respects, might be preferable objects of evangelical missions.

For the reasons which determined the Missionary Society at London to commence its operations with a voyage to the Pacific Ocean, we refer the reader to a well-known Memoir, which was publicly delivered when the Society was formed in September 1795, and is annexed to an impression of the Sermons that were preached on the occasion. That decision having been made, the utmost diligence was used to collect into a distinct and comprehensive view, the information that was scattered through numerous printed volumes, or



was attainable by means of manuscript and verbal communications, respecting those islands which it appeared practicable to visit in the projected voyage. An extensive compilation of this nature was put into the hands of the missionaries; and several maps were constructed, to illustrate the geographical details, as well as to assist the intended navigation; the materials from which these were formed having till then remained unconnected, or been exhibited only upon a minute general scale.

By an abridgment of the accounts thus compiled, it is attempted, in this preliminary discourse, to gratify persons who may wish for a compendium of the principal information to be derived from former voyages respecting the three islands to which our missionaries have happily gained access. These places are described in the same order in which they were visited by Captain Wilson; and to the account of each is subjoined a brief description of other islands with which a habitual intercourse is maintained from thence; and to which we may therefore hope the usefulness of our brethren will gradually be extended\*. A few general remarks upon the Pacific Ocean, and the countries situated within its limits, appear necessary both to introduce and to conclude the whole.

This ocean, which covers almost half the globe, was unknown to Europeans at the commencement of the sixteenth century, having been first seen from the isthmus that connects the continents called North and South America, on the 25th of September 1513, by a Spaniard named Basco Nunez de Balboa. Its western boundary had been approached by the Portuguese only two years earlier, Francisco Serrano having discovered the Molucca islands immediately after the conquest of Malacca by the celebrated Albuquerque. To

\* The general chart of Captain Wilson's track is necessarily upon too small a scale to afford a suitable representation of these islands; but they are all delineated, an inch to a degree, in one of the above-mentioned maps, which has been published for the benefit of the Missionary Society, and is sold by Mr. Faden, Charing Cross, and Mr. Chapman, Fleet Street, price 10s. 6d. plain, or 15s. coloured.



stimulate exertion, and to preclude contention in the rival discoverers from Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander the Sixth consigned to the dominion of these two nations all heathen countries that should be discovered by them; and allotted to each one half of the globe, commencing from the western limits of Brazil in South America, of which province the Portuguese had previously obtained possession. The imperfection of geographical science at that time left it doubtful to *which* of these hemispheres the Moluccas belonged; and the precious spices peculiar to those small islands rendered the decision important. To ascertain this was the purpose of the first voyage across the Pacific Ocean. It was planned and executed by Hernando de Magalhães, who had served under Albuquerque at Malacca; but having been ill rewarded by the court of Portugal, he withdrew to Spain, from whence he sailed with five ships under his command on the 21st of September 1519. He wintered in South America, and, in the October following, discovered the strait which has since borne his name. He entered the great South Sea on the 28th of November 1520; and having advanced northward to the tropic of Capricorn, proceeded in a north-west course with such ease and rapidity, that he judged the vast ocean he was traversing worthy to be called the PACIFIC. It is well known, that the prevailing winds between the tropics follow the path of the sun, where they are not diverted from it by heights of land; and the incomparable breadth of this ocean affords an uninterrupted passage to those easterly currents of air, which, on account of the advantages that navigators derive from their regularity, are called the trade winds. Magalhães having crossed the equator too soon to meet with the fertile islands of the southern tropic, found no place of refreshment till the 6th of March 1521, when he discovered a range of small islands in the longitude of 146 degrees east from Greenwich, and extending from 13 to 20½ degrees of north latitude. He named them Ladrones, on account of the thievish disposition of the natives, which has since been found universal in the Pacific Ocean. Proceeding westward



he discovered, on the 10th of the same month, one of the islands which have since been called the Philippines. They form the northernmost part of the grand archipelago which borders the coast of Asia, extending from 19 degrees north latitude and 122 degrees east longitude, south-westward to Malacca, and south-eastward to New Guinea. At a small island of this group Magalhães finished his course, being killed in an encounter with the natives on the 27th of April. Some of his ships afterward reached the Moluccas, the objects of their pursuit; which are situated amidst more extensive islands, in the 1st degree of north latitude, and in 127½ degrees east longitude. One ship only of the squadron, named the Victory, with a crew of no more than thirty persons, under the command of Sebastian Cano, returned by the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, having accomplished the first circumnavigation of the world within a period of three years.

Having, by a sketch of this voyage, paid a tribute to the memory of Magalhães, who conducted an unequalled enterprise with the utmost fortitude and skill, we can only notice succeeding navigators in connexion with the islands to be described. In pointing out the situations of these, their latitude must be understood to be southward from the equator, if not otherwise expressed; and their longitude is reckoned eastward and westward from the observatory at Greenwich toward its anti-meridian.

The want of a proper guide for the pronunciation of names used by the South-Sea islanders, and the diversity of modes in which they have been spelled by writers and compilers of voyages, have long been subjects of complaint. The remedy has become difficult in proportion to the extent of the evil. The variety of journals from which extracts are given in the narrative of Captain Wilson's voyage, has frustrated, in a great measure, the endeavours that were used to adopt an uniform and distinct orthography throughout the volume. Whether the attempt made for that purpose, in compiling the present introductory discourse, is more successful, must be left to the



## PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

decision of the reader. His attention is requested to the following rules of pronunciation, in which the genius of the language that is common to the places described, and the established orthography of those names which have become most familiar, have been reciprocally consulted.

1st. When a single vowel forms or closes a syllable,

*a* is sounded as in *father* ;

*e* as in *equal* ;

*o* as in *open* ;

*u* as in *duty*.

2dly. When two vowels come together,

*ae* has the same sound with the adverb *ay* ;

*ai* is sounded as in *fail* ;

*au* as in *autumn* ;

*ei* has the sound of *i* long ; for which this improper diphthong has, from the first, been substituted in names that are now become too familiar to be altered, as in *Otabeite*, *Eimeo*, *Huabeine*, &c.

*oo* is sounded as in the adverb *too*, for a similar reason ;

*ou* as in *our* ; and

*oe* has the same sound with *oy* in English words, as *joy*, &c.

All other combinations of vowels are to be pronounced, according to the preceding rules, in distinct syllables.

3dly. When any single vowel is followed, in the same syllable, by a consonant, it has its shortest sound ; as in *matter*, *gift*, *otter*, *upward*.

4thly. Every consonant, single vowel, or diphthong, uniformly retains a distinct and appropriate sound, subject to the preceding rules. The letters *w* and *y* are therefore used only as consonants ; *g* is always hard ; and *th* is always sounded as in *think*. The *e* is never mute. Thus *Otabeite* is to be pronounced so as to rhyme with the adjective *mighty*.



5thly. That syllable on which the strongest emphasis is to be placed is marked as a long syllable (so *Tongatabōo*, *Obittaboo*) when the words first occur; but this distinction, agreeably to Rule 4th, indicates no other change in the sound of the vowels over which it is placed.

It appears necessary farther to remark, that, as the dissertations which form the Appendix of this volume, contain a copious description of the natural and civil state of Otaheite, nothing relative to that island is requisite here, but a history of transactions that occurred previous to the voyage of the Duff. A prior perusal of the dissertations will therefore be useful to those of our readers who desire to have in view the circumstances and established customs of the natives, while they pursue the history. It may also assist to understand the brief descriptions here given of the other islands, in which, to avoid tautology, the points wherein they vary from Otaheite are principally insisted on. The conciseness that was indispensable, precluded observations which naturally result from the various facts that are mentioned in the following account; but we hope that this deficiency will be supplied by the reflections of our serious readers. From a comparison between the several parts of this volume, it will probably be acknowledged, in general, that additional demonstration is afforded to some very important truths: such are—the insufficiency of every natural enjoyment to establish the real welfare of mankind; the tendency of an unrestrained gratification of appetites and passions to produce horrid and destructive crimes; the advantages for which the most civilized nations are in reality indebted to the gospel; and the far greater blessings that are derived from the same source by them who enter into the spirit and power of christianity.



*Historical Account of Otaheite.*

FREQUENT as the intercourse of Europeans with the natives of this island has been for the last thirty years, it is uncertain whether any interview between them had occurred at an earlier period. While the identity of various islands visited by modern navigators, with the early discoveries of the Spaniards, has been indubitably proved, it is barely probable that Otaheite was seen by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1606. He had sailed with two ships from Lima in Peru, to search for a continent, which he supposed to exist in the neighbourhood of several islands that had been discovered by him in a voyage performed eleven years before. For this purpose he proceeded southward to the 27th degree of latitude; but meeting only with a few low islands, he returned into the latitude of his former discoveries, and on his way fell in with an island, 11th February, which, on account of the curve described by its shores, he named Sagittaria. His smaller vessel anchored in a bay on the south coast; but the boats were prevented landing by the surf which beat upon the reefs. A young man, named Francisco Ponce, swam with much hazard to a rock, where the islanders met and caressed him; others of the Spaniards, imitating the spirited example of Ponce, were equally well received. When they swam back to the boats, they were accompanied by several of the natives, who, after having some presents made to them, returned, well pleased, to their comrades on shore. The next day the Spaniards, having hauled their boats over the reef, landed, without seeing any of the inhabitants; they proceeded through a thick wood (in which they found a moræ, and erected a crucifix) toward a bay upon the opposite side of the island. They could obtain no fresh water in a plain which they searched for it; but refreshed themselves with the milk of cocoa-nuts, which grew there abundantly. Loaded with this fruit, they returned to the landing-place, in water up to their



knees, along the meadow, over which the tide had flowed; they re-embarked however without difficulty, a passage through the reef having been found for the boats; and a very aged woman, whom they had met in the woods, willingly accompanied them to the ships, where she was clothed and fed. When she was sent back to shore, she directed the Spaniards to some of her countrymen, who were occupied with their canoes. The islanders behaved amicably; and some of them, with their chief, ventured to go off with several Spaniards in the boat; but being suddenly alarmed, they leaped into the sea, except the chief, who was detained by force till they reached Quiros's ship. They could not persuade him to go on board; and therefore, having made him some presents, sent back the boat with him. The few Spaniards who remained on shore had been surrounded, and threatened, by more than a hundred of the natives, armed with spears and clubs. Upon the safe return of the chief, a perfect reconciliation took place; and they parted very amicably, the natives proceeding toward a small islet. They are described as of a mulatto colour, well made, and destitute of clothing, except the women, who were covered from the waist downward with cloth made of bark.

Quiros coasted this island to the north-west the following day, and at noon observed the latitude to be  $17^{\circ} 40'$ . This coincides with the western side of Otaheite; but the silence of Quiros respecting the island of Eimēo, which would have been in sight from thence, is perfectly unaccountable, and involves the identity of Otaheite with the Sagittaria of Quiros in much doubt. On the other hand, the place where the Spaniards landed, agrees very well with the isthmus by which the two peninsulas of Otaheite are connected. The preceding account will enable our readers to form their own sentiments upon a subject of which different judgments have been adopted by respectable geographers.

Captain Wallis, in his Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, discovered Otaheite on the 19th of June 1767. The vessel being close to the south-east end of the island, was surrounded by a great number of canoes, with



more than eight hundred people on board: they, in general, behaved amicably, excepting that they stole every thing they could seize. These practices brought on a slight skirmish, but peace was soon apparently established. Captain Wallis succeeded in getting to windward of the island during the night, and the next day sailed along the eastern coast. On the following he anchored near the north-eastern shore; and his boats being employed in sounding, were attacked by the islanders, one of whom was killed, and another wounded in the contest. Traffic was notwithstanding speedily restored. The native women used the most shameless enticements to induce the sailors to land, but they had the precaution not to quit their boats; and some small casks, which they entrusted to the islanders to procure fresh water, were stolen by them.

Captain Wallis having weighed anchor on the 23d, discovered the bay which is formed by the coast of Mattavæ, the northernmost district of the island. Having doubled its north-eastern cape, since called Point Venus, the Dolphin struck upon a coral rock which is detached from the reef that borders the coast. The ship remained immovable almost an hour, and was then unexpectedly relieved by a breeze which sprung up from the shore. The natives, in many hundred canoes, waited around to see the event, which was likely to have been attended with the entire destruction of the crew. They anchored, however, soon afterward in the bay, and the vessel was found to have received little damage. The following day, while warping nearer to the shore, they were attacked by a multitude of large canoes, and showers of heavy stones were poured in every direction upon the ship. The islanders renewed the assault, even when they had been repulsed by the great guns; but after repeated experience of their destructive effects, they dispersed, and fled to the mountains.

The ship having been moored abreast of the river of Mattavæ, Lieutenant Furneaux landed, and without opposition erected a British pendant on the shore, and formally took possession of the island in the name of his own sovereign. This is a ceremony which has



been continued from the period when it was supposed that the pope had a right to dispose of all countries inhabited by heathens. Whatever idea the islanders formed of this transaction, they did not suffer the flag to remain till the following day. Oāmmo, who at that time governed the larger peninsula of Otaheite in behalf of his son Temārre, caused it to be taken away during the night; and it was used long after as a kind of dress which constitutes the badge of royalty. The next morning a party of sailors were compelled by the natives to retire from the river, to which they had been sent for fresh water; but the crowd being dispersed by the ship's guns, and many of their canoes being demolished by way of punishment, they gave up their attempts at resistance, and from that time became peaceable and docile. Oāmmo retired from the scene, probably lest the English should revenge upon his person the assaults they had sustained. His consort Oberēa (or Poorēa) had been separated from him after the birth of Temārre, apparently on account of her reluctance to destroy the child. Her authority was not diminished by their separation, and she exercised it in affording the most hospitable reception to Captain Wallis and his people, many of whom were much reduced by illness. These were stationed on shore, and a regular traffic was established for fresh provisions. It was, however, soon interrupted, and great inconvenience produced, by the licentious intercourse of the crew with the female islanders. This was unlikely to be checked by Oberēa, whose character for sensuality exceeded even the usual standard at Otaheite. At this time she cohabited with Toopāea, who had fled from his native place, Ulietēa, and had been appointed chief priest at this island. He excelled all the South-Sea islanders that have been known, for information and sagacity; and distinguished himself very early by his inquisitive disposition, and his aptness to imitate the manners of the English. An elderly man, of inferior rank, named Owhāu, likewise rendered himself remarkable and useful, by his friendly attention to the navigators, and the prudence with which he negotiated between them and his countrymen. Under his guidance



Mr. Gore made some progress into the interior of the island; and when provisions became scarce at Mattavae, Owahāu procured them from other districts. Ample supplies having been obtained, and the health of the ship's company being re-established, Captain Wallis sailed on the 27th of July. He requited the hospitality of Oberea with a variety of presents; among which were turkies, a gander and goose, and a cat; with many iron utensils, which the natives were eager to obtain, having learned the use of them from a neighbouring low island, named Tappooohōe, where a Dutch ship, belonging to Roggewein's squadron, had been wrecked forty-five years before.

Early in April 1768, Otaheite was again visited by Europeans. M. de Bougainville, in the *Boudeuse* frigate, accompanied by a store-ship, coasted this island to the eastward, as Wallis had done; but was deterred from doubling Point Venus, by the appearance of the reef which encloses it. A timid caution, which most of the French navigators have betrayed when at sea, exposed M. de Bougainville to the inconvenience of anchoring within a reef on the windward side of the island. He was amicably received by Orēte, chief of Hedēa, the district where the ships were moored. This person's brother, Outōroo, attached himself to the commander immediately upon his arrival, and afterward accompanied him to France. The father of these young men, Owahōu, and some other principal people of the district, objected, however, to the sick persons being landed from the ships, till an assurance was given that they would not remain many days.

M. de Bougainville was soon visited by Tootahā, youngest brother of Oāmmo, who presided over the westernmost districts of the island. He was accompanied by several others of the royal family, whose superior stature distinguished them from the rest of the company. It does not appear that Oāmmo, or Oberea, whose usual residence was at the southernmost part of the larger peninsula, visited Hedēa during the stay of the French, which lasted only eight days. It was apparently rendered the more pacific, in consequence of the experience the islanders had derived from Captain Wallis's visit, whom they sup-



posed to have come from the same country as M. de Bougainville. They supplied abundance of provisions, and willingly assisted the working parties from the ships, but availed themselves of every opportunity to pilfer. Sensuality seems to have been practised with still greater indecency than before, and several murders were privately committed by the French sailors, notwithstanding the hospitality with which they were entertained. A woman who had sailed from France with the crew, disguised in man's apparel, was detected by the natives upon her landing. Accustomed to see the sexes clothed alike, they immediately perceived the difference of her shape; but they conceived mean ideas of European beauty from her countenance.

The French vessels sailed 14th April, after the loss of several anchors, their cables having been cut asunder by the coral rock. Within a few weeks afterwards M. de Bougainville found that several people on board, and Outōroo himself, were infected with the venereal disease. Captain Wallis seems to have been peculiarly attentive to the state of his ship's company, and positively asserts that they were entirely free from every symptom of this disorder six months before, and still longer after their visit at Otaheite. The accounts of the islanders respecting their previous knowledge of the complaint are confused and contradictory. The present existence, and the general prevalence of the evil, is but too obvious; and it concurs with other dreadful effects of sensuality, to threaten the entire depopulation of this beautiful island, if it be not seasonably averted by the happy influence of the gospel.

Subsequent to M. de Bougainville's departure, a revolution occurred in the government of Otaheite, the effects of which proved to be permanent and important. The whole island at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of Temārre. The smaller peninsula, called Teiarrabōo, was governed by an elderly man named Waheadōoa, distantly related to the king. The larger peninsula has usually been distributed into three principal governments, each of which included several subordinate districts: they were then subject to three brothers, Oammo,



Tootahā, and Hāppae; the latter presiding over the northern and eastern districts, which are collectively named Tepirreonōo. Tootahā, who possessed considerable talents, and was actuated by a restless ambition, conspired with Waheadōoa to wrest the government of the island from Oammo and Oberea; and to transfer the royal dignity from their son to Otōo, the son of Hāppae, during whose minority the conduct of public affairs was to be committed to Tootahā. This plot could not elude the penetration of Toopāea; and he used all his interest with Oberea to frustrate it in time, by putting Tootaha to death. He did not, however, prevail with her to consent to so violent a measure; and when he found the explosion ready to burst, he fled to the interior mountains for his personal safety. Waheadōoa, stimulated by the desire of becoming wholly independent of the larger peninsula, passed the isthmus with his army, and defeated that which Oammo had collected to oppose him. Tootaha, at the same time, with the forces of Attahōoroo and Tettahā, attacked from the westward the district of Papparā, Oammo's residence; and carried off, from the great morae at that place to another in Attahooroo, the peculiar ensigns of the regal and sacerdotal offices. The grand ceremonies which are attended with human sacrifices, were therefore performed at the morae of Attahooroo for thirteen years after that event. This district being one of the largest and most fertile in the island, and constantly gaining strength by affording protection to fugitives from other quarters, was too powerful to be speedily dispossessed of its acquisitions. Tootaha had established himself in the regency, and resided at Opārre, the hereditary district of the new sovereign Otoo, when Lieutenant Cook, in the Endeavour, anchored in the adjacent bay of Mattavae, 12th April 1769. His objects were to observe the approaching transit of the planet Venus over the disk of the sun, and to renew the search which Quiros had set on foot in the last century, for a continent supposed to exist in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean.

The Endeavour was immediately visited by crowds of the natives, among whom Ow hau was recognised by Mr. Gore and others who had



failed with Wallis. His assistance was again found useful in the traffic which commenced, under proper regulations, with his countrymen; and in appeasing their resentment, when it was excited by the death of one of them, too hastily inflicted in consequence of their thefts. A small fort was erected near the northernmost point of the island, which now received the name of Point Venus, on account of the observations that were made upon that planet the 3d of June. At the same time a party was sent to the neighbouring island of Eimëo, to observe the transit from thence. Lieutenant Cook afterwards made a survey of Otaheite, in which he was accompanied by Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Banks, who had sailed in the Endeavour with a view to the advancement of natural history. They met with Waheadooa and his son, then about thirteen years of age, at Teiarraboo, and found that peninsula in a flourishing condition. Its inhabitants boasted of their military prowess and success; of which they possessed many trophies, and among others, the turkey-cock and the goose which Captain Wallis had given to Oberea. The English were every where hospitably treated, excepting the depredations which they suffered from the thievish genius of the natives. The same lewdness was perpetrated as on former occasions; and, to avoid loathsome repetitions, we shall generally omit to mention it in future. These practices at times interrupted the harmony which usually subsisted between the navigators and the islanders; but it was almost wholly destroyed previous to their separation. Two marines having deserted from the ship, Cook ventured to confine Tootaha and several other principal persons till the deserters should be brought back. The natives by way of retaliation seized upon some Englishmen; but being ordered by Tootaha to surrender them and the deserters to the commander, he in return released his royal captives, and their friendship was apparently renewed. Among the principal acquaintance formed by the English in this voyage, beside those already mentioned, were Potatto, a chief of Attahooroo, and Tooboorae Tamæde of Mattavae; both of whom were detected in thefts, although among the most respectable



persons in the island. Toopāea, having lost his influence by the revolution, and being deserted by Oberea for a younger gallant, left Otaheite in the Endeavour, 12th July, and died at Batavia, on the passage of the ship to Europe.

Tootaha had obtained a great quantity of curious and useful articles from his European guests, and he availed himself of these acquisitions to increase his influence over the chiefs of the larger peninsula. He succeeded in persuading them to unite their forces against Teiarraboo, which he wished to reduce to its former state of subjection. Waheadooa, who sought only to enjoy peaceably the independence he had established, pleaded the services he had rendered to Tootaha, as an argument to divert him from his hostile designs, which Waheadooa had learned, and was prepared to resist. The military pride and ambition of the regent urged him to persist in his attempt; and, having equipped a fleet of war canoes, he sailed toward the smaller peninsula, and engaged the naval force of Waheadooa, with nearly equal loss on each side. Tootaha retired, with a determination to try his success by land. His brother Hāppae disapproved of this measure, and remained at Opārre; but Tootaha obliged Otoo, who always disliked fighting, to accompany the army. It engaged that of Waheadooa at the isthmus, and was totally routed: Tootaha and Tooboorae Tamaede were killed on the spot; Orette and many others severely wounded; and Otoo escaped, with a few of his friends, to the summits of the mountains, where his father and family had taken refuge upon being informed of the defeat. Waheadooa marched directly to Mattavae and Oparre, laying waste all the country, as is usual in their wars; but he sent reasonable proposals of peace to Hāppae and Otoo, who readily accepted them. The latter, having then arrived at maturity, assumed the administration of the government, with the assistance of his father's advice. He had two sisters, one of whom remained unmarried, and being older than he, might have put in a prior claim to the sovereignty, but she waved her right in his favour. Of three brothers, the eldest was ten years younger than Otoo; he was then a very



active and intelligent boy, and has since become well known under the name of Orapēia: the next brother, Weidōoa, was six years younger than he: the youngest, Teppahōo, then an infant, has ever since remained in obscurity, on account of his deficiency of intellect.

Waheadōoa did not long survive his triumphs; and his name and government devolved without opposition upon his son. A Spanish vessel, said to have been commanded by Don Juan de Langara, visited Teiarraboo about March 1773. She remained ten days at anchor in a harbour formed by reefs, at the south-east end of the island, and called by the natives Owhae-oorōoa. Four of the ship's company were publicly executed there; and a fifth escaped the same fate by flight. He was the first European who became a resident at Otaheite, and was kindly treated by the natives, to whose manners he entirely conformed. Young Waheadōoa made him one of his principal companions and counsellors.

Captain Cook visited this island the following August, in the Resolution, accompanied by Captain Furneaux in the Adventure. These vessels were in much danger near the place where the Spaniards had anchored, the Resolution striking repeatedly on the adjacent reef. On the 17th of August they anchored in a bay on the northern coast of Teiarraboo, called Oweitapēha. The English were disappointed of obtaining provisions, as was said, by the influence of the young chief's Spanish adviser, who carefully avoided intercourse with them. They gained intelligence from an islander named Tooahōu, who had attended Cook in part of his survey during the former visit. The map of Otaheite, which had then been engraved, being shewn to this man, he readily comprehended it, and pointed out by name the districts that were marked upon it. It may be proper here to observe, that the number and the names of these divisions vary at different periods; a district being sometimes subdivided into several by the chiefs, in order to distribute the land among their friends.

Waheadōoa did not visit his acquaintance, Captain Cook, till the 23d, and the latter sailed the following day from Oweitapeha; but



left behind Lieutenant Pickersgill to purchase hogs, which the natives were permitted to bring when almost too late. The young chief discovered some ingenuity mingled with boyish weakness, and presided at the market with great propriety. Mr. Pickersgill proceeded from thence in a boat to Hedēa, where he was kindly entertained by Orette, and his brother Tarōore. Neither of them made any inquiry after Outōoroo, although they supposed him to have gone with M. de Bougainville to the same country from whence Cook came. Toopāea also seemed to be nearly forgotten; but Sir Joseph Banks, and others of the English, who had been most conversant with the islanders, were every where inquired after. The boat rejoined the ships at Hedea, and they proceeded to Mattavae, where they anchored 25th August.

Otoo, who was on the shore surrounded by a multitude gazing at the ships, did not wait to receive the English, but hurried in terror over the hill which divides Mattavae from Opārre, where he resided. Cook visited him there the next day, and with difficulty prevailed upon him to venture on board the ships on the following. These districts had not recovered from the effects of the war with Teiarraboo, and provisions were scarce. Potatto in some measure supplied the deficiency from Attahooroo. Otoo expressed much regret at the departure of the vessels, which occurred 1st September.

Captain Cook revisited Mattavae 22d April 1774, having in the mean time repeatedly entered the antarctic circle in the fruitless search after a southern continent, which was the principal object of this voyage. On his last departure from Otaheite, he had been accompanied from the Society Islands, by a young man of rank and some abilities, named Hēte-hēte. By his advice, red feathers had been procured at the Friendly Islands; and they were found to be the most valuable article of trade at Otaheite. The northern districts had also recovered their usual prosperity since the former visit of the Resolution, and at this time supplied abundantly the wants of the navigators. They found much relief from bilious complaints by the



use of the evē fruit, which, from its external appearance, has been always called an apple, although it has a stone resembling that of a peach. During the stay of Captain Cook, which was prolonged in order to repair his ship, a fleet of large war canoes assembled in the bay, for the purpose of attacking the neighbouring island of Eimēo. The chief of that country, Motooāro, had married a sister of Otoo, and being expelled by his uncle Mahēine, he had taken refuge with his brother-in-law. The western districts having united with those of Tepirreonoo to maintain the cause of Motooaro, Towhā, who was then chief of Tettahā, was appointed to the command of the combined fleet. He possessed great courage and talents, was advanced in years, and was highly respected. His district furnished forty-four large canoes toward the fleet; that of Attahooroo one hundred and sixty; and Mattavae, probably in consequence of its late devastation, only ten. Teiarraboo also was expected to send a quota for this expedition; yet both Otoo and Towha, although jealous of each other, entreated Cook to assist them in attacking that peninsula. The number of small canoes employed to transport provisions, and designed to bring back the bodies of those who might be killed, equalled that of the larger canoes employed in fighting. From the multitude of people embarked in this fleet, Captain Cook computed that the whole island might contain more than two hundred thousand inhabitants. Subsequent navigators have even exceeded this calculation; but it appears that at present there is not a tenth part of that number of people in Otaheite. Unlimited sensuality, with the general contamination, and infant murders, attendant upon it, have, without doubt, dreadfully diminished the population.

Amidst the confusion occasioned by so great a concourse of the natives, some daring thefts were committed; and the severity which was consequently exercised, alarmed the timidity of Otoo. One of his elder relations, named Te, became useful as a messenger and mediator between the young king and his formidable guests. Oammo and Oberea visited them from Papparā; and the latter, though greatly



declined in dignity, and advancing in years, discovered no abatement of lewdness. The islanders exhibited a mock sea-fight, and the English some fireworks, for their mutual entertainment; and they parted very amicably on the 14th of May. Hēte-hēte, who had connected himself with a family at Mattavae, took a passage in the ship to see his friends at Ulietā. Of various animals which had been left at Otaheite by the Resolution nine months before, the only species likely to multiply were goats and cats. The expedition to Eimēo proved successful in restoring Motooaro to a temporary possession of the sovereignty of that island.

Teiarraboo was shortly after revisited by the Spaniards, in two ships from Lima, which anchored in Oweitapēha bay. The commander died there, and was buried on shore, near a cross which they had erected, and inscribed with, "*Christus vincit*," and "*Carolus 3. imperat. 1774.*" They also constructed, of materials which they had brought for the purpose from Peru, a wooden house, consisting of two apartments, with loop-holes in the walls, which admitted air, and might be used for defence with musquetry. Two priests, with an attendant upon each, remained at this habitation when the ships departed, and were peacefully and respectfully treated by the natives; but it does not appear that they had much conversation with them. One of their attendants, however, frequently travelled in the island, and became familiar with the language of the inhabitants. He told them many slanderous stories of the English, and assured them that his countrymen had fallen in with Cook's vessel and destroyed it, with the whole crew.

Four of the islanders had sailed in the Spanish ships to Lima, and two of them died there. The survivors were brought back by the same vessels ten months afterward, and the priests and their attendants were taken away. A bull and a ram, with some goats, dogs, and Spanish swine, were landed; and the house and cross were left standing, and carefully preserved by the natives. Those who had visited Peru returned wholly to their former course of life: one of them



retained some common Spanish phrases; the other had the appearance of being deranged in mind.

Captain Cook once more revisited Otaheite in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Clerke in the *Discovery*, on their way to the north-west coast of America, in 1777. They anchored at Oweitapēha on the 13th of August, and found Teiarraboo at that time subject to a boy twelve years old, brother to the former Waheadooa, who had died almost two years before.

When the *Resolution* and *Adventure* left Otaheite in 1773, a native of the neighbouring island Huahēine, named Omāe, had accompanied Captain Furneaux from the latter place, and proceeded to England in the *Adventure*, after parting with the *Resolution*. He returned from thence with Captain Cook on his third voyage. This young man was not of the higher rank among his countrymen, nor were his talents of a superior cast. In England great attention was paid to him by some of the nobility, but it was chiefly directed to his amusement, and tended rather to augment than to diminish his habitual profligacy. One friend of human kind, Mr. Granville Sharp, took great pains to instruct him in reading and writing, and to impress his mind with ideas of morality and religion. Omāe was susceptible of conviction by familiar arguments on the latter subjects, and had made such progress by application to the former, that he wrote from the Cape of Good Hope a letter to Dr. Solander (who had accompanied Sir Joseph Banks in 1769) in Otaheitean words expressed by English characters. Having visited the Friendly Islands previously to his arrival at Otaheite, he had procured a garment richly adorned with red and yellow feathers, which he designed to present to Otoo. This he delivered to young Waheadooa, requesting him to transmit it to Otoo, in the hope of ingratiating himself at once with both of the sovereigns in the island where he intended to settle. The prize was, however, too valuable to pass through the hands of the young chief, who deemed a very small part of the feathers sufficient to be sent to the monarch of the larger peninsula.



The ships proceeded to Mattavae, and anchored there on the 24th of August; a friendly interview immediately took place with Otoo and his family, which remained in the same state as formerly. Captain Cook delivered into his charge an English bull, three cows, a horse, a mare, and some sheep, which had been conveyed from England with very great trouble, in the hope of rendering essential service to these hospitable islanders. The Spanish bull had been transported from Teiarraboo to Mattavae on the way to Bolabola; the sovereign of that island having sent an emissary, who pretended to inspiration, to procure the bull from Waheadooa. Captain Cook arriving in time to stop its progress, committed this animal also, which was of a capital breed, to the custody of Otoo. Various domestic fowls were likewise left with him, and garden-seeds planted in some ground cleared for the purpose. Otoo had besides in his possession the gander that had been given ten years before by Captain Wallis to Oberea. This lady had died since the former visits of the Resolution. The body of Te, the king's uncle, and minister of state, who had then been dead four months, was still preserved from putrefaction. Hēte-hēte had arrived at Mattavae but a short time before his English friends, to whom he shewed an unabated attachment; but he declined the use of some clothing which they had brought out as a present to him. Omae having acted as imprudently in the disposal of his property at this place as at Teiarraboo, the design of establishing him at Otaheite was relinquished.

Intelligence being received from Eimeo, that Mahēine had again revolted from Motooaro, and had obliged him to take refuge in the mountains, Otoo earnestly entreated Captain Cook to take an active part in the quarrel, but he prudently declined to interfere. Human sacrifices were offered at Attahooroo to insure success to the expedition, and Towha and Potatto again conducted the fleet belonging to their districts to attack Maheine. They found him, however, so well prepared to receive them, that, after repeatedly applying to Otoo for reinforcements, without procuring any, they concluded a peace on



terms which were advantageous to the revolters. There had been a great diversity of sentiments among the chiefs on the subject of this expedition, and the blame of its unfavourable issue was imputed by some to the hastiness of Towha, and by others to Otoo's delay in augmenting the fleet. The jealousy which had always subsisted between these great men was excited to such a degree, that Towha vowed revenge against Otoo, and was only prevented from executing it by the menaces of Captain Cook. The latter quitted Mattavæ on the 29th of September 1777, and for the first time visited Eimeo. Some thefts which the natives of that island committed, were punished by him with unprecedented severity. He returned no more, being killed at the Sandwich Islands on the 16th of February 1779.

Previous to that event Otoo espoused Iddæa, the elder sister of Motooaro, with whom he thus became doubly connected by marriage. The first child she bore to him was immediately suffocated, that they might preserve their rank in the *arree* society; but a second being born was preserved, and in consequence the title and sovereign dignity of Otoo immediately devolved upon his infant son. The father retained his former power as regent, and in the conduct of it he was greatly assisted by his intelligent and active consort. He has since been called by various names successively; but, to avoid confusion, we shall only use that of Pomarre, by which he has been known during the last six years.

Towha seems to have suppressed his resentment till the usual length of time between Captain Cook's visits at Otaheite had elapsed; he then united the forces of Tettaha and Attahooroo with Maheine against those of Oparre and the eastern districts. The contest was frequently renewed, and usually terminated to the advantage of Towha. Pomarre's war canoes being nearly destroyed, his adversaries pursued their success by land, and laid waste Oparre and Mattavæ. They at length suffered a severe check by the death of Maheine, who was killed in battle by the hand of Weidōoa, Pomarre's younger brother. This catastrophe appears to have prevented the renewal of hostilities



at Otaheite; but the party of Motooaro was not powerful enough to establish him as the successor of Maheine, whose adopted son, Tareamoodōa, obtained at his death the sovereignty of Eimeo. During these incursions most of the cattle that had been left at Oparre, and had increased there, were destroyed; the rest, consisting of several cows and a disabled bull, were carried in triumph to Eimeo, and preserved there.

Eleven years had nearly passed without any intercourse between Europe and Otaheite; every instrument of iron had been expended; and the loathsome disease, which, if not derived from Europeans, had certainly been increased by their licentious conduct, had made dreadful havock among the islanders of both sexes. At that late period an English vessel arrived at Otaheite, seemingly with as little of design on the one part, as of expectation on the other. A ship called the *Lady Penrhyn*, on board of which was Lieutenant Watts, who had sailed with Cook, was employed in transporting convicts to Port Jackson, at the first formation of the settlement in New South Wales. Being bound from thence to China for a cargo homeward, she took a course far to the eastward; and as the crew was extremely reduced by scurvy, it was determined to stop at Otaheite for refreshments. Upon anchoring at Mattavæ on the 10th of July 1788, Lieutenant Watts was immediately recognised by Moāna, an elderly chief of that district. Pomāre, who no longer resided in that neighbourhood, arrived four days afterward, probably from Teiarraboo, bringing with him a portrait of Captain Cook, which Mr. Webber had painted at his request during the last voyage. Veracity having been thought needless by Europeans in their transactions with the islanders, it was judged proper at that time to conceal the death of Captain Cook, and to make presents in his name to Pomāre. This idle deception proved afterward highly detrimental.

Iron utensils were sought by the islanders with the utmost avidity; while some red feathers, which had been brought from Port Jackson,



bore no price with them. The ring of an anchor, which M. de Bougainville had lost ten years before at Hedēa, was produced by Pomarre, who requested to have it forged into small adzes. The utmost abundance of animal and vegetable food was supplied in exchange for European articles; and besides the original productions of the island, pumpkins and capsicums, cats and goats, were offered for sale. It was observed, that the women of the higher class were more cautious than formerly of promiscuous intercourse, probably in consequence of what they had suffered from disease. Pomarre was importunate with Mr. Watts to assist him in punishing and subduing the people of Eimeo. He complained greatly of the long absence of the English, and of the shortness of their present stay, which was only for a fortnight. Hēte-hēte, who was at Mattavae, begged to be taken to Ulietēa; but Pomarre being unwilling to part with him, he was obliged to remain.

An event approached which issued in an important change of the condition of Otaheite. The information which had been received by the former voyages of the great utility of the bread-fruit, induced the merchants and planters of the British West Indian islands to request that means might be used to transplant it thither. For this benevolent purpose a ship was commissioned by his Majesty, which was named the *Bounty*; and Lieutenant Bligh, who had sailed as master with Captain Cook, was appointed to conduct her to Otaheite, where the plants might be most easily and abundantly procured. He arrived at Mattavae on the 26th of October 1788, hardly more than three months after Lieutenant Watts's departure. Happae and Orapeia were found there, and the latter was peculiarly anxious to prevent his countrymen from practising their usual thefts. The frame of Captain Cook's picture, which had suffered some damage by its removals, was brought to be mended; and on the 28th Pomarre arrived with Iddea from a district of Teiarraboo, where he had taken up his residence. Weidooa, who had gained great credit by his prowess in battle, but was excessively addicted to the intoxicating



liquor of the ava root, and a chief of Mattavae, named Poëno, were generally of the visiting parties. A garden was planted near the houses belonging to the latter and to Moanna. Potatto and Orette, and his kinsmen, renewed their friendship with the English. The young sovereign, who was about six years old, was only to be accosted from the opposite side of a river at Oparre. The English were required to make their shoulders bare when in his presence; but they compromised this ceremony by uncovering their heads. He was accompanied by a younger brother and a sister, beside whom Iddea had also a female infant by Pomarre; yet she cohabited openly at that time with one of his servants, and has done so ever since. Teppahōo, an uncle of Pomarre, had destroyed eight children, in order to preserve his rank as an arree. He resided at Tet-taha as chief of that district, Towha being dead. The wife of the latter, Wanno-ōora survived him, and was much respected.

Lieutenant Bligh having made very handsome presents from the king of Great-Britain to Pomarre, informed him that the most acceptable return would be a large quantity of the young bread-fruit plants, and that he would oblige him by carrying them in his cabin for King George; which was immediately consented to. Pomarre expressed little concern about the loss of the cattle, but much desire to be revenged upon the people of Eimeo; and he was gratified with two muskets, a pair of pistols, and a considerable stock of ammunition. He had not sufficient fortitude to use these articles himself: but Hete-hete, who remained with him, was a good marksman; and although it is not customary for the females of Otaheite to go to battle, Iddea, whose personal strength and courage were unusually great, had learned to use a musket with some dexterity.

Oberrerōa, the mother of Pomarre, came from the small islands of Tethurōa, and visited the Bounty with difficulty, being old and corpulent. She seems to have been a native of Ulietea, from whence some of her relations, who were chiefs in that island, came to Mattavae at this time. One of them brought an ewe, which Captain



Cook had left at Ulietea, and which was then almost destroyed by the mange. Another, who was at that time called Tootahā, seems to be the same person since known by the name of Manne-māne, the brother of Oberreroa, and heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ulietea and Otahā, but by office a priest. Beside the sheep, which shortly died, a bull was procured from Hedeā, and a cow from Tettaha; and both were committed to the charge of Pomarre, from whom the former had been obtained by a person pretending to be inspired.

On Christmas-day the Bounty was removed to a reef harbour on the coast of Oparre, the bay of Mattavae having become dangerous through the variable and violent winds which are common at that season. Nearly eight hundred pots of bread-fruit plants were then taken on board, and upwards of one thousand plants were afterward added, together with some of the evē, chēya, rāta, orāya, tou, and mātte trees; and the te, yāppe, and pēa roots. The length of time employed in collecting these, was attended with the desertion of several among the seamen, who were pursued to Tethuroa by Orapeia, and at length were seized at Tettaha. The ship's cable was cut nearly through, evidently with the design of letting the ship drive on shore in tempestuous weather. This is said to have been done by Weidooa, on account of an officer to whom he was attached, and who had been put in confinement on board. The thefts of the inhabitants likewise increased with the delay, but the chiefs exerted themselves to bring them to punishment. Some maize had been planted since the arrival of the Bounty, which ripened before she sailed. Captain Cook's picture, which had, by Pomarre's request, been kept on board the ship, was then delivered again to him, with the date of the ship's arrival and departure recorded upon the back of the picture, which has ever since been practised by commanders of English men of war. The Bounty was unmoored the 4th of April 1789, having remained at Otaheite more than five months.

The situation of Pomarre was evidently at that time neither comfortable nor secure. He earnestly desired Captain Bligh to take himself



and Iddea to Britain. Hete-hete equally wished to go in the ship. A coolness then subsisted between Pomarre and Orapeia, which was supposed to have arisen from a disagreement of their wives. Shortly after the departure of the ship a revolution took place at Eimeo, by which Motooaro's authority was established. Tareamoodōa took refuge in Attahooroo, and was afterward entertained by Temarre at Papparā, where he remained in a private station.

The Bounty returned to Mattavac on the 6th of June, having in the mean time been seized by twenty-five of the crew, who had mutinied, and turned adrift Lieutenant Bligh, and eighteen officers and seamen, in the launch belonging to the ship. Fletcher Christian, the master's mate, a young man of respectable connexions and good talents, was chosen to command the mutineers. He had persuaded them to go to Toobōuae, a small island ninety leagues to the southward of Otaheite; preferring it to the latter, as being less exposed to visits from Europeans. Having found Toobouae destitute of animal provisions, he brought the ship again to Otaheite, to procure some stock for the settlement which he intended to make. He availed himself, for this purpose, of the fiction which had been hitherto supported respecting Captain Cook; asserting that they had met with him, and that he had sent the ship back for all the live stock that could be spared, in order to form a settlement at a place which Captain Bligh had discovered in his course toward the Friendly Islands. The inhabitants gave credit to his story, and vied with each other *who* should furnish most for the service of Captain Cook; so that by the 16th of June, four hundred and sixty hogs, fifty goats, and great quantities of fowls, dogs, and cats were collected. The bull and cow, which had been committed to the charge of Pomarre by Captain Bligh, were also taken away; but the former died on the passage, from the falls he received. Eleven female Otaheiteans sailed with the mutineers; and it was soon found that thirteen male natives, among whom was Hete-hete, had concealed themselves in the ship. When informed of the real destination



of the vessel, and of the great improbability there was that they would ever return to their own country, they discovered no dissatisfaction; but adhered cheerfully and faithfully to the mutineers during their fruitless attempts to establish themselves at Toobouae.

Subsequent to the second departure of the *Bounty* from Otaheite, a Swedish armed vessel, commanded by J. H. Cox, arrived there. Captain Cox was received by Pomarre and Iddea with their usual hospitality; and in return made them presents, among which were some more fire-arms and ammunition, a hand-saw, and an union jack. The latter became a substitute for Captain Wallis's pendant, as the ensign of royalty. A shrewd and active fellow, named Brown, a native of England or North America, was left by Captain Cox upon the island, in consequence of a quarrel between him and his shipmates, in which he had maimed one of them. This man attached himself to Pomarre, with whom he went to reside at a district of Teiarraboo, where the latter had some private property. He had taken up his abode there, apparently with a view to increase his political influence, in hope that the smaller peninsula might at length be brought under the dominion of his son.

A majority of the mutineers having determined, contrary to Fletcher Christian's inclination, upon returning from Toobouae to Otaheite, the *Bounty* was anchored a third time at Mattavae, on the 22d of September 1789. Sixteen of the ship's company then landed, with their proportion of the property and arms that were on board. The rest sailed suddenly in the night with Christian, and have never since been heard of. Thirty-five of the islanders, including men, women, and children, accompanied them. His professed design was to settle in some uninhabited island, out of the usual tracks of European ships. Among the people who remained at Otaheite, were several who had not been active in the mutiny; and some who had wished to accompany Captain Bligh in the boat, but were detained by the rest, as they could not conveniently be spared. They were hospitably received by their old friends at Mattavae and Oparre, and lands were



assigned for their use in these districts, which they preferred to others where they were less acquainted.

The more ingenious and industrious among them employed themselves in the construction of a schooner, about the size of the passage-boats between London and Gravesend. It was difficult to find, and to convey from the mountains, timber suited to their purpose; and still more so, to substitute such articles as were to be obtained in the country, for the necessary iron-work, pitch, and rigging. The natives, although they pilfered other things, never stole their tools, but assisted them occasionally in the laborious parts of their work; and were less surprised at their skill, than at their perseverance in such an undertaking. It was hardly to be expected, that the whole of the party who had engaged in it, would adhere to each other till it was completed. One of them, named Churchill, who had been master at arms in the ship, and was very active in the mutiny, accepted an invitation to live with Waheadooa, who was sovereign of Teiarraboo at the time that Cook last visited that peninsula. Another, named Thompson, one of the most ignorant and brutal of the crew, accompanied him; but they very shortly disagreed. Waheadooa died soon afterward, without children; and Churchill, having been his tayo, succeeded to his property and dignity, according to the established custom of the country. Thompson was excited by envy of Churchill's preferment, and by revenge for some tricks he had played him, to take an opportunity of shooting him. The natives rose to punish the murder of their new sovereign, and stoned Thompson to death. A boy of four years old, who was nephew of the late Waheadooa, and son of the chief of Weioorōo, was acknowledged as the successor of his uncle, whose name devolved upon him, as it had before done upon Churchill.

Pomarre was anxious that the rest of the English should remain unconnected with Teiarraboo; but consented that some of them should take up their residence at Pappara with Temarre, who continued to be on terms of friendship with him. They had all been constantly



and plentifully supplied with provisions by Pomarre's orders, and he at length requested in return their assistance to attack Eimeo, where another insurrection was formed against Motooaro. They declined to go thither, but cleaned for him the arms which Captain Bligh and Captain Cox had given him. Hete-hete, who remained at Otaheite when the *Bounty* failed, and a few other natives who had learned to use them, easily turned the scale of victory against the insurgents, and confirmed Motooaro in the peaceable possession of his rights.

A few months afterwards the western districts of Attahooroo and Tettaha (where Teppahoo had died, and his successor Tetowha was inimical to Otoo) invaded both Oparre and Pappara, through jealousy of the growing power of the royal family. On this occasion the mutineers thought it necessary, for their own safety, to arm on the side of their friends. Their schooner having at length been launched, rigged, and provided with every thing necessary, they sailed with a fleet of war canoes from the north-eastern districts against Attahooroo; which was likewise attacked from the quarter of Pappara by Temarre and the English people residing with him. Potatto, Tetowha, and their adherents, took refuge in the mountains, and in a short time obtained peace by submitting to Otoo's authority. They also surrendered to him the royal maro, which was carried in triumph to the morae at Oparre, after having remained at Attahooroo twenty-one years. Tetowha, who was a young man of remarkable comeliness, died soon afterwards, and an uncle of Pomarre's was appointed in his stead. Potatto, through the intercession of the English, was allowed to retain his authority in Attahooroo. After paying a visit to Motooaro, with whom some of them resided from that time, they laid up the schooner at Mattavae during the tempestuous season, which usually prevails between November and March.

Early in 1791 the ceremony took place of investing Otoo with the royal garment, on which occasion Captain Cox's flag was sent entirely round the island in token of the young chief's supremacy. It was



admitted to pass through Teiarraboo, from fear of Pomarre's English allies, rather than from willingness to submit to him. He therefore proposed to them to assist his own and Temarre's people, in compelling the inhabitants of that peninsula to absolute submission. The chief part of the mutineers having agreed to the proposal, they again launched and provided their schooner, sailed from Mattavae 21st March, leaving only four of their number there, and reached Pappara on the 24th. In the mean time the Pandora frigate, commanded by Captain Edwards, which had been sent from England on hearing of the mutiny in the Bounty, arrived at Otaheite, and anchored at Mattavae on the 23d. The Englishmen who had remained there, went on board the same day, and were immediately put into confinement. Lieutenants Corner and Hayward, the latter of whom had sailed in the Bounty, and accompanied Captain Bligh in the launch, were dispatched with two of the Pandora's boats, to pursue the schooner. The mutineers had hardly anchored at Pappara, when a messenger, whom Hete-hete had sent by land, informed them of what had befallen their comrades; upon which they immediately sailed again, with three others who lived at Pappara, leaving behind only one of their party, and Brown whom they had met there. The former walked all night toward Mattavae, and surrendered himself on board the ship the next day; when also the boats returned thither, not having been able to overtake the schooner, which had steered for the south-easternmost point of the island. She, however, returned to Pappara on the 27th, and six of the mutineers went up to the hills within the country; the other three were kept in confinement that night and the next day by the orders of Temarre, who likewise seized the schooner. In the night of the 28th they escaped, by Brown's assistance, to the western coast, and reached, by daybreak, a boat with which Lieutenant Corner had come from the ship the preceding day in pursuit of them. He left them, with the boat, in the charge of a petty officer, and ascended the heights, guided by Orapeia, to discover the retreat of



the rest. Lieutenant Hayward having proceeded by water to Pappara, and searched for them in vain, was informed the next forenoon, that they were coming down to surrender themselves, which they did, laying down their arms as they approached his party; and Mr. Hayward sent information to Lieutenant Corner, who was descending after them into the valley.

During the whole time of the mutineers' continuance at Otaheite, Pomarre had remained at Teiarraboo, but upon the arrival of the Pandora he repaired with his family to Oparre. He had then, in addition to Iddea, taken to wife her younger sister, Weirēde; but was still equally influenced by the advice of the former. He readily co-operated with the British officers in their measures for securing the mutineers, and was anxious to prevent bad consequences from the resentment of families with which they had formed connexions. Few of these appear to have been highly respectable; but one instance occurred of a very affecting nature. A midshipman, who had been active in the mutiny, had lived with the daughter of a person of property at Mattavae, and she had borne a child to him. His imprisonment and removal afflicted her to such a degree as to bring on a decline that terminated in her death. Her infant was left to the care of a sister, who cherished it with the utmost tenderness. Three daughters and a son were left by others of the mutineers.

Notwithstanding the mournful interviews that daily took place on board, between the Englishmen, who were kept in irons, and the native women with whom they had lived, the usual course of festivity, amusements, and debaucheries, was uninterrupted during the continuance of the ship at Otaheite. She sailed on the 8th of May, accompanied by the schooner which the mutineers had built, under the command of a petty officer from the Pandora. Brown, who had never been on friendly terms with the mutineers, came away in the ship; and Hete-hete went in her to Bolabola, his native island. Pomarre and his wives were also still desirous of quitting the island, but their departure was strongly



opposed by Orapeia and other chiefs, whose persuasions prevailed.

Of the fourteen people who were seized at Otaheite, and taken away in the Pandora, four were drowned when the ship was cast away on her return; the rest were preserved in boats, and brought to trial in England. Four of them were acquitted, as having had no concern in the mutiny; and were mostly provided for in Greenwich Hospital. Another was discharged, his conviction not having been legally conducted. Two were pardoned, and have since been employed in the navy. The remaining three were executed at Spithead.

At the close of the same year Captain Vancouver, in a ship named the Discovery, and Lieutenant Broughton in the Chatham brig, arrived at Otaheite. The vessels having been separated on their passage, the Chatham first reached that island, which was appointed for their rendezvous. She anchored at Mattavae on the 27th of December 1791, and the Discovery joined her three days later. Pomarre was then at Eimeo, but returned the following week with Motooaro, who was much reduced in health, and died a fortnight afterward. Another chief of the same name, who was sovereign of Huaheine, but acknowledged the supremacy of Otoo, was at Mattavae when the ships arrived, and remained there while they staid. Mannemanne, then named Mourē, although he had succeeded Opōone in the sovereignty of Ulietea and Otaha, resided chiefly at Otaheite. The expedition which had been meditated against Teiaraboo had been carried into effect, and the younger brother of Otoo had been appointed chief of that peninsula. Orapeia resided there as regent for his nephew, and Weidooa at Oparre. Pomarre had fixed his abode at Eimeo, and the inhabitants of that island became reconciled and attached to his government, as regent for the daughter of the deceased Motooaro. Potatto remained likewise in amity and subjection. Happae was still capable of activity, and was then treated with reverence by his three sons, who were also cordially attached to each other. They all behaved with their usual



hospitality toward the English; but they could not dissuade Pomarre from the most immoderate use of spirituous liquors, till his sufferings convinced him of the necessity of temperance. Some thefts, which were evidently encouraged by the chiefs, interrupted the friendship that had prevailed; and prevented the repetition of a display of fireworks, with which they had been greatly delighted. The vessels sailed on the 24th of January 1792.

Shortly afterward a private ship, named the *Matilda*, Captain Weatherhead, touched at Otaheite for refreshments, having sailed from Port Jackson upon the southern whale fishery. After a fortnight's stay they departed, and on the 25th of February, the ship was wrecked upon an extensive reef in  $22^{\circ}$  south latitude,  $138^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$  west longitude. The captain and crew escaped in their boats to Otaheite; but upon landing again at that island, the inhabitants plundered them of the articles they had saved from the wreck. This event became an occasion of contention among the islanders, and a part of the country was in consequence laid waste by Pomarre. The ship's company were, in other respects, well treated. A small vessel, called the *Prince William Henry*, touching at Otaheite on the 26th of March, stayed only three days. Some of the *Matilda*'s people embarked in her, and proceeded to the north-west coast of America.

Captain Bligh having been again sent out, to accomplish the purposes of his former voyage which had been frustrated by the mutiny, arrived at Otaheite on the 7th of April 1792, in a ship named the *Providence*, attended by a small vessel called the *Assistance*, commanded by Lieutenant Portlock. Pomarre resided at Oparre whilst the vessels remained. Peace was restored between the contending districts by Captain Bligh's interference, and human sacrifices were offered on the occasion. A second collection of bread-fruit plants, &c. was made, with which he sailed after a stay of three months. Hetehe, and one of Pomarre's domestics, accompanied him to the West Indies, where the former remained to take care of the plants; the other came to England, but did not long survive his arrival.



Several of the Matilda's people who chose to continue upon the island, attached themselves to different families, and lived in indolence and plenty.

The Dædalus storeship, Captain New, had followed Captain Vancouver from England to Nootka Sound, and was dispatched from thence, with Lieutenant Hanson on board, to Port Jackson. In her way thither she stopped a fortnight at Otaheite, in February 1793. The ship's company were treated with the utmost friendship; and two of the crew deserted, in order to settle among the natives. One of them was recovered by the contrivance of Orapeia, who advised the captain to detain him on board till the man should be sent back; and having acted his part so well as to accomplish the purpose, he then diverted himself at the expense of his friends. The other deserter, who was a Swede, was suffered to remain at Otaheite, where he was found by Captain Wilson. Only one of the Matilda's crew chose to depart with the Dædalus.

No information respecting this island having transpired between the voyages of the Dædalus and the Duff, we refer to the narrative of the latter for the intervening occurrences. Two private ships, named the Jenny and the Britannia, were at different periods at Otaheite, but neither the events nor the dates of their visits are accurately known. It is reported that several of the Matilda's crew left the island in one of these vessels; and that some of them ventured across the Pacific Ocean in their boats, one of which is understood to have reached Timor.

The numerous detached accounts, from which the preceding narrative has been with difficulty compiled, cannot but excite painful sensations in a serious mind. While, in some respects, the prudence and humanity of our navigators are conspicuous, how much is it to be lamented, that, in various important views, they appear to have derived from the knowledge of christianity no advantage over the heathen world! More damage than benefit certainly has resulted from their intercourse. The manners of the natives had become more



depraved by means of the frequent visits which occurred during the first ten years: and they had, in some degree, evidently ameliorated during an equal space of time, in which the island was wholly deserted by Europeans. For ten years past, nominal Christians have almost constantly resided there; and the result appears from the state in which the inhabitants were found by Captain Wilson. It is consolatory to close this historical view of Otaheite with the arrival and settlement of several real Christians in that island, who have devoted their lives to the purposes of instructing the natives by their doctrine and example in the purity of the gospel; and of imparting to them the most essential benefits of civilization, without the vices too often attendant upon it.

*Islands connected with Otaheite.*

MOST of the islands which maintain an intercourse with Otaheite, have been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding narrative. That which more immediately depends upon it, is

TETHURŌA, consisting of several small low islets, enclosed in a reef about ten leagues in circuit; and situated a little to the westward of north from Point Venus, at the distance of eight leagues. It is the property of the sovereign of Otaheite, who allows no bread-fruit to be planted upon these spots; that the people who inhabit them, may be obliged to bring the fish which abound there, to Oparre, to be exchanged for bread-fruit. The reef is inaccessible to large canoes, and Pomarre has therefore made use of this place as a magazine for his most valuable articles of property, not being exposed to the depredations of a hostile fleet. The islets also abound with cocoa-nuts, which flourish most upon the lowest places. They are resorted to by the wandering society of the arrees, especially the women, and by the effeminate class, with the purpose of increasing the delicacy of their appearance. The passage is often difficult and dangerous. The stated inhabitants have been represented as few; but the occasional concourse



of people is such, that in the most variable and tempestuous season of the year, one hundred canoes have been seen together upon this spot.

The only island, beside Tethuroa, that is in absolute subjection to Otaheite is MAITĒA, which belongs to the chief of Teiarraboo. It is situated to the east of that peninsula, at the distance of more than twenty leagues; and being, though small, very lofty, is always observed by persons who approach Otaheite from the eastward. It is not above three miles in circuit, and the north side is too steep for habitations; but the southern side descends more gradually, and has a border of low land next the sea. This little island is very populous, but less civilized than Otaheite, from whence it is visited by a large war canoe during the variable winds, and pearls are procured in exchange for the iron work that can be spared. To the eastward it is enclosed by a coral reef. It is in latitude  $17^{\circ} 53'$ , west longitude  $148^{\circ} 12'$ . It is the only high island adjacent to the eastward of Otaheite, and maintains intercourse with some of the low islands toward the north-east.

The island nearest to Otaheite is that called, by Captain Cook, EIMĒO, but more usually named Morēa by the natives. Its distance from the western coast of Otaheite is about four leagues. Its extent has been variously represented, but is probably about ten miles from north to south, and half as much in breadth. It differs from Otaheite in having land-locked harbours in several parts of its coast, and in being intersected by spacious valleys. It has a very narrow border of low land next the sea, from whence the hills rise in sudden acclivities; but from the harbours on the northern shore they ascend gradually, and the lower hills appear to be the most fertile parts. Its history has been interwoven with that of Otaheite, with which it appears to be at present amicably and firmly connected. The natives are strongly addicted to theft; and the females have been thought inferior in beauty to those of any neighbouring island. The harbour of Taloo, on the north coast, which is thought most eligible for vessels, is situated in  $17^{\circ} 30'$  latitude,  $150^{\circ}$  west longitude. Eimeo was



unavoidably seen by every navigator who has visited Otaheite. Captain Wallis named it the Duke of York's island.

The island nearest to the westward from Eimeo is *TAPOOA-MĀNOO*, which was discovered on the 28th of July 1767 by Captain Wallis, and called by him, Sir Charles Saunders's island. It is situated in latitude  $17^{\circ} 28'$ , west longitude  $150^{\circ} 40'$ . Its greatest extent is from east to west, about six miles. Its centre rises in a mountain with a double peak; but the greater part had a fertile appearance, and the lower grounds abounded with cocoa-nut trees. The habitations seemed to be small, and not very numerous. Its government has usually depended upon that of Huaheine, from whence it is distant about fourteen leagues, south by east. It is not known that Europeans ever landed upon it.

*HUAHEINE* (or *Ahēine*, which signifies woman) is the easternmost island of the group called the Society Islands by Captain Cook, who discovered them in July 1769; and it is twenty-eight leagues to the north-west of Otaheite, being situated in latitude  $16^{\circ} 43'$ ,  $151^{\circ} 7'$  west longitude. It has about seven leagues of circuit, and is divided into two peninsulas by an isthmus overflowed at high water: in other parts of the island there are also salt lakes near the sea. It has a very narrow stripe of fertile low land next the shore; and the hills, which are not nearly so high as those of Otaheite, but more strongly marked by volcanic fire, are in some parts entirely cultivated. The productions are similar to those of Otaheite, but earlier in their season. The men are generally larger and more robust: both sexes are less timid and less curious. They were more daring in their thefts from the English, having never felt the force of their weapons of destruction in the manner that the Otaheiteans had done.

Huaheine was always visited by Captain Cook on departing from Otaheite. During his first two voyages, the sovereign power over Huaheine was vested in a friendly old man named *Orē*, who acted as regent for a boy named *Tairetarēa*. He was not more than ten years old in 1777, but *Ore* had then been obliged to resign the government,



and no one seeming to succeed him as regent, there was consequently very little authority maintained. It has since that time been visited by Lieutenant Watts, Captain Bligh, and Captain Edwards; but no farther information is afforded by their voyages respecting the government of the country. In the close of 1791, it appears that the chiefs of Huaheine, and of Tapooamanoo, acknowledged the supremacy of Otoo. The wars of Huaheine have always had a relation to the island next to be mentioned.

ULIETĒA, or, more properly, Reiadēa, is situated seven leagues W.S.W. from Huaheine. It is wholly surrounded by reefs, interspersed with small islands, and forming several harbours. One of these, upon the north-western coast, is in latitude  $16^{\circ} 45' \frac{1}{2}$ , west longitude  $151^{\circ} 34' \frac{1}{2}$ . It is less populous and fertile than Huaheine, although above twice its extent, and more resembling Otaheite in its appearance; but, like the former, it has several salt marshes or lagoons. The inhabitants are in general smaller and darker than those of the preceding islands. Its importance in the cluster to which it belongs, is not now proportionate to its relative magnitude. A few years before Captain Wallis's visit to Otaheite, it was the most eminent of the group, and in strict alliance with the adjacent island of Otahā, as well as with Huaheine. Its decline appears to have originated in the secession of Otaha from this league. The fleets of Huaheine and Ulietea were attacked by the single force of Bolabola. The combat was likely to issue in favour of the united fleets, when that of Otaha came up to assist Bolabola, and decided the victory by a great slaughter of their opponents, who were already exhausted. They pursued their advantage with such alacrity and success, that they conquered Huaheine, in an attack upon that island two days after their former engagement. Many inhabitants of both the subjugated islands took refuge at Otaheite; and having obtained from thence a reinforcement of ten war canoes, they landed at Huaheine in the night, and surprised their conquerors; whom they partly destroyed, and completely drove from



that island. They could not, however, regain the ground that had been lost at Ulietea. Its former sovereign, Oorōo, was permitted to return to his hereditary district, Oopōa, at the south-eastern point of the island; but Toopaea and Omae, with many others, were deprived of their possessions, and compelled to seek support in other islands, their property being seized by the victorious chiefs. The latter soon quarrelled among themselves. The people of Otaha claiming an equal share of the spoil, were attacked, and subdued, by their formidable allies of Bolabola; and a chief from that island, named Orēo, was appointed governor of Ulietea by the new sovereign, Opoone. Both these persons were at Ulietea when Captain Cook visited the island in 1769; and Oreo kept the same power during his latter voyages also; but in that of 1777, Ooroo, the former sovereign, had removed to Huaheine; and Orē, who had been regent of that island, then resided at Ulietea.

At the death of Opoone his dominions were divided, and both Ulietea and Otaha fell to the possession of a brother of Iddea, now known at Otaheite by the name of Mannemanne, who designed that at his own decease the sovereignty of these islands should revert to his nephew Otoo. His authority does not, however, appear to have been sufficient to secure the reversion, nor even the possession of this dignity; of which he has since been deprived; either by his temporary subjects, or by their neighbours of Bolabola.

The people of Ulietea behaved very submissively to Cook upon his first visit, apparently in the hope excited by Toopaea, that he would rescue them from the yoke of Bolabola. He was also treated with much friendship by Oreo; but the thefts which are customary at these islands could not be prevented by the authority of the latter. The mythology adopted by these poor heathens seems to be better understood here than in the other islands, and even to be regularly taught in its several districts. Both Toopaea and Mannemanne, after being expelled from Ulietea, acted as chief priests at Otaheite.

ОТАНĀ is not more than two miles distant from the northernmost



point of the preceding island; and no passage for shipping has been found through the reef which connects them. It is about half the size of Ulietea, which it resembles in its aspect, but is still less fertile or populous. Captain Cook visited it in 1769 with his boats, in company with Opoone, who then principally resided here. In 1773, Lieutenant Pickersgill went likewise in a boat entirely round the island to procure provisions; but he was obliged to make reprisals, in order to recover his stock in trade which had been stolen. The English were treated here with the same tokens of respect that the natives shew to their own principal chiefs, in consequence of the account which the latter had received from Toopaea. The close vicinity of Ulietea has rendered it unnecessary for any ship to anchor at Otaha. Captain Edwards examined both these islands on the 10th of May 1791, in his search after Fletcher Christian and his companions.

BOLABŌLA (more usually pronounced Borabora) is situated four leagues N. W. of Otaha, to which it is inferior in extent; but the reef with which it is surrounded is nearly full of islets, much larger than those which are scattered among the rocks that enclose Otaha and Ulietea. It differs from those islands, and from Huaheine, in having but one harbour on its coast; whereas the shores of the others being strongly indented, form like the coasts of Eimeo, numerous places of shelter for shipping. It is also distinguished by a very lofty double-peaked mountain in its centre, and is more rude and craggy than the rest of the Society isles. Its eastern side has a barren appearance; the western is more fertile: a low border which surrounds the whole, together with the islands on the reef, are productive and populous. Its earliest inhabitants are said to have been malefactors banished from the neighbouring islands. Their numbers rapidly increasing, and their military prowess rising to great credit, they established their authority in both the islands last mentioned, as well as in the two which are next to be described. Their conquests acquired them so much respect, that the supposed tutelary divinity of



Bolabola, named Oorā, or Orāa, had been adopted by the people of Teiarraboo, in preference to two imaginary deities whom they formerly worshipped. The Bolabolan warriors are punctured in a different manner from those of the more eastern islands.

Captain Cook did not land at Bolabola upon his first or second voyage. In 1777 he was prevented by contrary winds from anchoring in the harbour, which is very spacious; and he landed in his boat, to purchase an anchor which had been lost by M. de Bougainville at Hedeā, and had been conveyed from thence to Bolabola for the gratification of Opoone. That chief, although then very old and feeble, was still universally esteemed and feared. The ram which the Spaniards had left at Oweitapeha, had also been sent to this distant place: Captain Cook therefore presented Opoone with an ewe to accompany it. That chief having died, probably during the long interval which elapsed between the voyages of Cook and those of later navigators, was succeeded in his government of this and the following islands by his daughter. She was about twelve years old in 1774, and had then been betrothed to a chief named Boba, who governed Otaha, under Opoone, and was designed to succeed him in the sovereignty. In 1791, when Captain Edwards visited Bolabola to inquire after the mutineers, a man, said to be named Tatahoo, had the chief authority. The identity of this person with Boba is not rendered unlikely by the difference of names, one title being seldom borne so long a time by the same person. These four islands were named by Captain Cook the SOCIETY Islands, on account of the short distances by which they are separated from each other. The licentious society called Arreōe, extends both to this group and to Otaheite. The members of it wander perpetually in great numbers from one island to another, performing dances and plays, and indulging in every kind of profligacy.

The small island of *Maurōoa* lies about four leagues west of the northern part of Bolabola, to which it is subject. It is wholly surrounded by a reef, and its centre rises in a high round hill. Its



productions and inhabitants are similar to those of the neighbouring countries; but it has not any harbour for shipping. It is said that pearls are procured from this island by the people of Otaheite.

*Toobāe*, consisting of some very small low islets, connected by a reef, lies four or five leagues north of Bolabola; to which it is subservient, in a similar manner as Tethuroa, which it resembles, is to Otaheite. The stated inhabitants are only a few families; but as the coast abounds with turtle, it is much resorted to, not only by the Society islanders, but by the natives of a low island to the eastward, called *Papāa*, which has not yet been seen by Europeans. It is asserted that their language is unintelligible to the natives of the Society isles; which leads to the supposition that some colony has been formed there of a different race from all the neighbouring islanders. Two other similar assemblages of islets and reefs, which lie from thirty to forty leagues more westward, are known to the Society islanders by the names *Mopēha* and *Whennooa-ōora*. They were discovered by Captain Wallis in 1767, who called them Lord Howe's and Scilly islands. The latter are inhabited, the former are only occasionally frequented. Both of them abound with cocoa-nut trees, turtle, the pearl-oyster, and all kinds of fish common to the climate.

To the eastward of Otaheite are scattered numerous other islands, chiefly of the description of those last mentioned, and commonly full of people. Many of them were discovered by Quiros, Schouten and Le Maire, Roggewein, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Bougainville, Cook, Edwards, Bligh, Vancouver and Broughton: and some are now added by Captain Wilson. The intricacy and difficulty of the navigation has procured them the titles of the Labyrinth, and the Dangerous Archipelago. They have been found dispersed from 14° to 27° of latitude, and as far as 25° eastward from Otaheite. All the inhabitants appear to be of the same race with the Society islanders, but are somewhat darker in their complexions, and more ferocious in their manners. Many other islands, beside those discovered by



Europeans, have been described by the natives of the Society isles, as lying to the eastward, southward, and westward of their group; and several of them are represented as lofty, fertile, and extensive. An island, called *Oheterōa*, situated in latitude  $22^{\circ} 27'$ ,  $150^{\circ} 47'$  west longitude, was discovered by Captain Cook 13th August 1769, and recognised by Toopaea, who was then on board the Endeavour. The same person laid down the positions of seventy-seven islands, which were known to him either by observation or report. Not far from Oheteroa is *Toobōuai*, already mentioned as the island where Fletcher Christian attempted to form a settlement. It lies in latitude  $23^{\circ} 25'$ , and  $149^{\circ} 23'$  west longitude. Both these islands are populous, although neither of them is twenty miles in circuit. The former differs from the Society Islands only in having no surrounding reef of coral. The latter entirely resembles them in appearance; but the natives are more sedate and less hospitable. It was first inhabited within a few past generations, by some people who had attempted to go with a canoe from an island far to the westward, toward another with which they had customary intercourse, but were driven by tempestuous weather upon Toobouai. Another canoe, in which was a chief of Ulietea, an ancestor of Iddea, passing from thence to Otaheite, was likewise driven upon this island some years later. He was admitted by those who had preceded him, to the chief authority at Toobouai; and he divided the country into three districts, which retain the names of Reiadea, Waheine, and Taha, three of the Society isles. A third canoe also drifted hither, with the skeleton of a man in it, which was recognised by one of the Otaheiteans who accompanied the mutineers of the Bounty to Toobouai. He had killed this man in one of the sea-fights between Pomarre and Maheine, and was afterward obliged to escape by swimming, leaving his canoe, with the corpse in it, to the direction of the winds and waves. Accidents similar to these are known to have occurred in several other parts of this ocean. An instance is given by Captain Cook, of a canoe which, likewise in attempting the passage between Otaheite and Ulietea, was



driven to an island called *Watēoo*, two hundred leagues distant. Of twenty persons, only four survived the famine and fatigue which they endured before they reached that place, where they were kindly received. Three of them were found there, and recognised by Omae, in 1777, when Captain Cook discovered the island, at least twelve years after their arrival. It is situated in latitude  $20^{\circ} 1'$ ,  $158^{\circ} 15'$  west longitude. It is small, high, and populous. There are several islands in its neighbourhood, some of which are subject to *Wateoo*. All the inhabitants are of the same race and language with those already described.

We may hope that the gospel will be spread from Otaheite, by means of its usual intercourse with other islands, to those of Maitea, Tethuroa, and Eimeo, the four Society isles, and the smaller islands dependent upon them. All these have sometimes been called the Society isles; but the reason for which some of them were so named by Cook does not apply to the rest. There is at the same time so strong a common resemblance, and so intimate a connexion among the whole of this group, that it requires to be distinguished by some collective title. The name of his present Majesty was given to Otaheite by Captain Wallis; but it has been superseded, as all foreign denominations should be, by that which the natives themselves give to their country. They are not however known to give *collective* titles to the groups of islands inhabited by them. All those which have been described were brought to notice, revisited, enriched with European articles of food and commerce, and at length have received instruction in christianity, during the reign of his present Majesty: whom may God preserve! Other assemblages of islands in the Pacific Ocean have, for much less important causes, been named after Spanish monarchs; as the Philippine and Caroline islands. We shall, therefore, use the liberty, when speaking of the whole group, to denominate them the GEORGIAN islands. The direction wherein they lie renders the passage to windward difficult and precarious; and the distinct governments by which they are mutually divided and opposed, must



be expected to retard, in some measure, the progress of the gospel through this cluster; but we trust, through the divine blessing, that these obstacles will be surmounted by the peculiar advantages attending our numerous mission at the principal island, the influence of which over the others has been already greatly increased by its frequent intercourse with the English.

*Geographical and historical Account of Tongataboo, and the Islands which are connected with it.*

TONGATABOO presents an aspect very different from that of Otaheite; to the westward of which it is situated, at a distance of four hundred and eighty leagues, and of more than three hundred leagues from Watēoo, the westernmost of the islands before mentioned. It is about twenty leagues in circuit, and nearly triangular in its form. Its northern side is indented by a bay, which communicates with an extensive lagoon within the island. The western point of this inlet was ascertained by Captain Cook to be in latitude  $21^{\circ} 8' 19''$ , and  $175^{\circ} 4' 42''$  west longitude. On this side also an extensive harbour is formed by reefs and islands which cover its whole length. The shore is in this part low and sandy; but ascends on the other sides of the island, in a perpendicular coral rock, from seven to ten feet above the sea at flood-tide, which rises from three feet and a half to four feet and three quarters. A reef that lies two miles N.W. by W. from the northernmost point of the island forms a road for shipping; but it is far from being secure, the coral bank, which is the only anchoring-ground, being very steep, and extending only three cables' length from the shore. The greater part of the coast round the island is guarded by flat rocks about two hundred yards wide, and of greater extent toward the south-eastern point, near which is the most elevated part of the island, about one hundred feet high above the sea. The interior is diversified by many gently rising grounds. The soil is loose and



black to a considerable depth, but intermixed with strata of reddish clay: it is chiefly very fertile, and in many parts highly cultivated; the plantations, in the midst of which the principal houses are placed, being also very neatly enclosed. The vegetable productions are mostly similar to those of the places already described, the cocoa-nut being in greater perfection, the bread-fruit in less, than they are at the more lofty islands. There are several plants at Tongataboo that were not known at Otaheite; especially shaddocks, and a new species of the Jesuits' bark, likely to equal that of Peru in medicinal virtue. It is well furnished with trees, which grow very luxuriantly. Water is somewhat scarce, and mostly brackish. There were no dogs before they were supplied by Europeans. Of other animals there are the same kinds as at Otaheite, and several species of birds not common to that island, particularly green parroquets with red feathers on their heads. Some kinds of birds are usually tamed and fed by the inhabitants. There are also bats in great numbers, and some of such magnitude, that the tips of their wings, when extended, are from three to four feet apart.

This island was discovered 27th January 1643, by Abel Jansz Tasman, a Dutch navigator. The inhabitants came unarmed on board his ships, without the least apparent design or apprehension of mischief. They exchanged hogs, fowls, and fruits, for European articles, which they also pilfered as they found opportunity; but in other respects they behaved in the most courteous and friendly manner. Tasman anchored in the roadstead; and sent his boats, to search for fresh water, into the bay already described. To the former he gave the name of Van Diemen, and to the latter that of Maria, in honour of the person then governor of the Dutch East Indies and his lady. An elderly chief, who seems at that time to have had the sovereign authority, came repeatedly on board, shewed the most profound respect to his visitors, and was highly gratified by the presents which they made to him. Among these was a wooden bowl, probably the same that long afterwards was used by the sovereigns of Tongataboo as a di-



vining-cup, to convict persons accused of crimes; and the same homage which is rendered to the sovereign when present, was paid during his absence to the bowl, as his representative.

No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

Captain Cook, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, visited this place in 1773, having previously spent some days at the neighbouring island of Eōoa. They anchored in Van Diemen road, October 3d; and the inhabitants, who had met them half way between the islands, behaved with the same confidence and kindness, that they had shewn, one hundred and thirty years before, to Tasman. They fell also to the same practices of pilfering; for which some of them who were peculiarly daring were punished, without betraying appearances of resentment. Hēte-hēte and Omae, who were on board the ships, were at first perplexed by a difference of dialect; as these islanders make use of the consonants f, k, and hard g, which are unknown at the Georgian islands: but they soon perceived the identity of the radical language, and became able to converse fluently with the natives.

A man, named Attago, who had some authority among his countrymen, attached himself to Captain Cook, and rendered him essential services. He introduced the English to an elderly chief of superior rank, named Toobōu, who likewise acted in a friendly manner, although with a degree of reserve. A person of much higher dignity was also met with, named Latōo Libōoloo, to whom homage was paid by all ranks, although he appeared very defective of intellect. He bore the title of Arēekē, which was applied to no other person except Pōulaho, then the sovereign chief, and fifth in descent from the person who reigned at the period of Tasman's visit. The mother of Libooloo, who lived at a distant island of the same group, was



elder sister of Poulaho's father; and had this son, and two daughters, by a man who came from the extensive neighbouring islands named Fejē. The members of this family were called Tammahā, and ranked above Poulaho himself, notwithstanding his possession of the supreme power, either on account of their mother's seniority, or of some pre-eminent dignity of their foreign parent. One of the daughters resided with their mother, the other at Tongataboo. Libooloo had also an infant son at Eooa, to whom extreme attention was paid. Poulaho was then absent from Tongataboo.

It became necessary to prohibit the purchase of curiosities from the islanders, in order to obtain adequate supplies of food: these were afterwards abundantly furnished. Weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner, and their clubs very curiously carved. Some of their canoes were executed in a style far superior to those of Otaheite, the planks being feather-edged, and lapped over, which prevented the water entering, as it continually does into the others. They had less cloth, but more matting than the Georgian islanders: it was more neatly and beautifully made, and was used to cover their floors, as well as for dress. Their basket-work also discovered much ingenuity, and their cloth was glazed so as to resist wet. The women were far less immodest; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kāva. The submission paid to the chiefs, and the distinction of private property, were much greater here than at Otaheite. An old drunken man, then thought to be a priest, was respected as a person of rank; but some images, found in the house where their dead were interred, were evidently objects of contempt rather than of worship; and no article of food was deposited in those places. Many of the people were observed to have lost their little fingers. Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Otaheiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. They were then little



acquainted with the value of iron, of which the only article found among them was an awl, made from a nail. This had been brought from a distant island, where Captain Wallis had left it; the articles which Tasman gave them having been expended, and forgotten since his voyage: the tradition of his visit had nevertheless been preserved, and even its period was ascertained by them.

Captain Cook revisited Tongataboo in company with Captain Clerke in 1777; and anchored on the 10th of June in Maria bay, the access to which through the reef was found difficult. They had spent a considerable time among the more northern islands that are subject to Tongataboo; and were accompanied from thence by Poulaho, whose family name was found to be Futtafaihe, by which title his brother, and his son then under twelve years old, were usually called. Poulaho was short, and extremely corpulent, about forty years old, and in his behaviour sensible and sedate. His consort was daughter of an elderly chief named Marewage. Her brother Fenou, who was then thirty years of age, filled the office of commander in chief; the most frequent duties of which appeared to consist in the punishment of criminals. His authority, it was said, extended to the conduct of the sovereign himself. Both the father and son were thin and tall. Marewage had also another son, named Tooboueitōa; and a brother named Toobou, much older than the chief of that name before mentioned. All these persons were highly revered by their countrymen; and they vied with each other in the profusion of entertainments which they provided for their English guests, to whom a house was assigned at the western point of the creek leading into the lagoon. In the neighbourhood was observed a curious causeway, built of coral stone, across a morass, with a kind of circus in its centre, apparently of very ancient construction. The country immediately around was uncultivated; and the vast concourse of people who came either to perform in the entertainments exhibited to the English, or to be spectators of them, was productive of various inconveniences. Several thefts were committed; but no act of violence, except on a



goat that Captain Cook had intended to leave there. He presented a bull and cow, a horse and mare, a ram and two ewes, with some goats, to Poulaho and Fenou, who were the persons most likely to take care of them. A couple of rabbits, which had been given to the latter, had already bred; and some Otaheitean dogs, which had been left in 1773 with Attago, had multiplied. Some of the animals having previously been stolen from Captain Cook, he had ventured to put the king and several chiefs into confinement, till restitution was made. The natives assembled in arms to release them, but by Poulaho's order they desisted; and the animals being brought back, he and his nobles were set at liberty, without any diminution of their friendship, or even interruption of their entertainments. At the close of these, some officers, wandering over the island, were plundered, both of the articles they had taken for trade, and of their arms. On receiving this intelligence, Poulaho and the other chiefs prudently removed from the neighbourhood, to avoid a second captivity; but they returned upon being assured that no violence would be used, and they caused the things which had been stolen to be restored. Captain Cook then visited Mōoa, a village situated a league from the bay, upon the banks of the inlet, where the chiefs have places of abode and elegant plantations. The boat and its contents were left unguarded on the bank, by the direction of Poulaho, who engaged that nothing would be stolen. The ships were found, upon their return, to have been likewise exempt from depredation, through the vigilance and authority of Fenou: but a quarrel took place the following day between a working party and some of the natives, three of whom were confined and flogged, and a fourth shot through the neck with a ball by the centry. The poor man narrowly escaped death, and no measures were taken for revenge, either by the chiefs or the common people. The king dining on board seemed highly pleased with the pewter plates; and being presented with one, said that he would substitute it for the bowl which had before sustained the offices of chief justice and viceroy. At another dinner, which was



given on shore by Captain Cook, he invited, at Poulaho's desire, Mongōula Kāipa, the sister of Latoo Libooloo. The king had been accustomed to abstain from eating in her brother's presence, without shewing him any other mark of reverence: but to her he paid the same homage that he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands.

Captain Cook prolonged his stay till July 5, to observe an eclipse of the sun; and he was delayed several days later for want of a favourable wind to carry the ships out of the harbour by a channel that he had discovered to the eastward, which was safer than the northern passage whereby they had entered the bay. During this time he revisited Mooa, and was present at a curious ceremony called the *natche*. On the 11th of July they, with some difficulty, cleared the reefs by which the harbour is formed, and proceeded to Eōoa.

It is not known that any other navigator visited Tongataboo before the last day of 1787, when M. de la Pérouse passed it to the westward without anchoring. He laid to, off the southern shore; and seven or eight canoes having approached within twenty yards of the French ships, the natives leaped out of them, and swam alongside with cocoa-nuts in each hand, which they exchanged very honestly for bits of iron, nails, and small hatchets. They soon after went on board with confidence and cheerfulness; and a young man, who asserted that he was the son of Fenou, received several presents with cries of joy. He pressed them to land, and promised abundance of provisions, which their canoes were not capable of bringing off. The islanders were noisy, but had no appearance of ferocity, although they brought some clubs in their boats. They had all lost two joints of their little fingers. La Pérouse bore away, the evening of the following day, seeing no prospect of obtaining provisions without coming to an anchor.

Captain Edwards, in the Pandora, paid a visit almost equally transient to this island in the latter end of July 1791, in search after the mutineers of the Bounty. He obtained provisions, but could



get no water that was not brackish. It was understood that Fenou had then lately died.

Messrs. D'Entrecasteaux and Huon, in the French sloops *La Recherche* and *L'Esperance*, anchored at Tongataboo on the 3d of March 1793, and were very hospitably entertained. They staid a week, but the detail of their visit has not transpired.

No other European vessel is known to have touched at this island; for the account given by the Europeans who were found here by the *Duff*, cannot be depended upon. It is not improbable, that Tongataboo might be visited by the Spanish navigators *Malespini* and *Bastemente*, who are said to have discovered in this neighbourhood a group of islands, called the *Babacos*, about the same time that the French sloops passed by.

The intercourse of Europeans at Tongataboo having been so much less frequent than at Otaheite, it was with somewhat less confidence that a mission was attempted at the former than at the latter place. The result will appear from the relation of the voyage, which also throws light upon several circumstances, for which preceding navigators could not account. The nature of the government of this island is not yet wholly developed. Captain Cook was much at a loss respecting it, and had supposed Fenou to be the sovereign, till he became acquainted with Poulaho. When these two personages met, the mistake was immediately corrected: but the dignity and power of the commander in chief, which seem, like the sovereignty, to be hereditary, are so great, that the apparent superiority of one above the other must depend in a considerable degree upon the personal qualities of those who fill these stations. Poulaho being dead, his son *Futtafaihe* succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenou *Toogahōue*, the present commander in chief, who is said to be nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and as a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war.



which Toogahoue had waged with success. The government here, as at Otaheite, is evidently in a great measure aristocratical; but the power of the chiefs is more despotic at Tongataboo, although exercised with less outrage to private property. The officers of state here likewise maintain a kind of general jurisdiction: while at Otaheite every thing seems to be decided either by superior force, or by arbitration in the separate districts; and criminal punishment is there unknown, except in the selection of obnoxious characters for occasional sacrifices. The latter seem to be offered at Tongataboo much less frequently, and only upon funereal occasions. Infant murders are here unknown; as well as infant succession, and the society of arceoes, which appear to be principal causes of that horrid custom in the Georgian islands. The lascivious practices which are almost universal there, seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. The necessity of cultivation, and the regard paid to private property, have rendered the people of Tongataboo more ingenious and industrious: and being seldom at war, they appear to be remarkably free, in general, from habits of suspicion or revenge. Their muscular strength and activity are great; although in size they are much exceeded by the chiefs of Otaheite, and of some other islands. Intrepidity and dexterity are striking features of their general character; and these qualities naturally render those individuals who are the most depraved, peculiarly mischievous.

Tongataboo, considered in itself, is evidently desirable as the seat of a mission; but its principal importance arises from the extensive and intimate connexion that it has with other islands. While most of those which are dispersed over the Pacific Ocean are independent of each other, Tongataboo is the centre of government to a surprising number. The natives named more than one hundred and fifty of these when Captain Cook was last there; but several are uninhabited, many of them very small, and some were at that time independent of their government, and even hostile to it. Only fifteen



of these are lofty, and few are so large as Tongataboo. Captain Cook explored more than sixty of the whole number, and other navigators have discovered many of the remaining islands of this group. The direction in which it chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign or the commander in chief.

It remains to give some account of other remarkable islands, which have been discovered in this neighbourhood; and first of such as are immediately subject to Tongataboo.

The island of Eōo A lies south-east of Tongataboo, from whence it is distant nearly four leagues. Its form approaches to an oval, with its longest diameter from north to south. Its eastern side is placed by Captain Cook in  $174^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude, and its southern extremity in latitude  $21^{\circ} 29'$ . It is about ten leagues in circuit, and almost as high as the Isle of Wight, being perceptible from a distance of twelve leagues at sea. The south-eastern coast rises immediately from the sea with great inequalities; but on the north-west part are valleys, meadows, and plains, of considerable extent. From that quarter the ground ascends gradually to the highest part, which then continues nearly level. The soil on the heights is chiefly composed of a soft sandy stone, but in other parts is usually a reddish clay, of a great depth. A deep valley, which is two hundred feet above the level of the sea, consists almost wholly of coral rock, but is covered with trees. The cultivated plantations chiefly border upon the coasts. There are springs of fine water in various parts of the island, but none of them are conveniently accessible to shipping. The best anchorage was found upon the north-west side, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 20' 30''$ , on a gravelly bank extending two miles from the land, with depths from twenty to thirty fathom. Abreast of it is a creek, which affords convenient landing for boats at all times of the tide. In its produce and inhabitants this island resembles Ton-



gataboo, except that it is not the usual residence of any of the superior chiefs, although several of them have property at Eooa. It has, notwithstanding, greatly the advantage of Tongataboo, for pleasantness of situation, as well as for goodness of fresh water; and apparently must exceed it in salubrity.

The island was discovered by Tasman, who did not land there; nor does it appear certain that any navigator beside Cook has been upon it. He visited Eooa in 1773, before he came to Tongataboo; and in 1777, after he left that place. At both times he met with the most cordial reception, although he could not obtain the same profusion of supplies that was lavished upon the English by the court of Tongataboo. A person named Taōofa, who exercised the principal authority, entertained them with a public spectacle of dancing, boxing, wrestling, &c. which, though upon a smaller scale than at the seat of government, collected together a concourse of people, and was productive, as usual, of some disorderly conduct. The peaceable and affectionate behaviour of the people, in general, was such as to induce him to name these islands, and the others which he visited in the same group, The FRIENDLY Islands. To the anchorage at Eooa he gave the name of English road. He left a ram and two ewes upon this island.

The third island of this group which requires our notice is ANA-MŌOKA. It is situated in latitude  $20^{\circ} 15'$ ,  $174^{\circ} 31'$  west longitude, about eighteen leagues distant from Tongataboo, which it resembles in its aspect. Its form is triangular, and none of its sides exceeds the length of four miles. Its extent is also diminished by a large salt lagoon, which almost cuts off its south-eastern angle from the rest. Its coasts are surrounded by small islets, sand-banks, and reefs. A harbour is formed by these on the south-western side of the island, with anchorage in ten and twelve fathom, the bottom coral sand. It is well sheltered, but no fresh water is to be obtained near the shore. On the north-west side are two coves, to which



there are narrow passages for boats through the reef. Just to the southward of these is a bank, free from rocks, with twenty and twenty-five fathom depth, one or two miles from shore. The coast rises nearly perpendicular fifteen or twenty feet from the sea, and the interior appears level, excepting some small hillocks, and a more considerable one toward the centre of the island. It is similar to Tongataboo in soil and productions, but is less cultivated, even in proportion to its size. It is however better furnished with water, there being a pond about three quarters of a mile from the landing-place on the north-west side, of half a mile in circuit. The water is a little brackish, but having in part answered the purposes of navigators, their visits to this island have been more frequent than to those already mentioned; although the distance from their ships has rendered watering hazardous as well as difficult.

Tasman anchored here on the 25th of January 1643, and was treated very kindly by the natives in general, and by a chief, whose presence and authority probably rendered this visit the more tranquil. He gave to the island the name of Rotterdam, having called the former two Amsterdam and Middleburg. Captain Cook first arrived at Anamooka on the 20th of June 1774 in the Resolution, having lost the company of Captain Furneaux in the Adventure, subsequent to their visit to Tongataboo the preceding year. He approached Anamooka from the south-eastward, after having doubled the low islands and shoals lying in that direction, to the latitude of  $20^{\circ} 25'$ . Thefts were more frequently committed here than at the southernmost islands of the group; the character of the women appeared also to be much more licentious, and that of the men more daring. No farther mischief than plunder was attempted, and this was severely punished by their European guests. None of the principal people were present to restrain the unruly; but some of the natives distinguished themselves by the goodness of their conduct, and most of them behaved well, except when peculiar temptation inflamed their cupidity for the novelties of which their visitors were



possessed. The chastisement inflicted upon the offenders effectually improved their behaviour before the departure of the ship, which took place on the 29th of June.

Captain Cook returned to this island in 1777, in company with Captain Clerke; and anchored in the road on the 1st of May. A person called Toobou then resided as chief, and another, named Taipa, who also acted as principal officer in Poulaho's family, became very serviceable. He introduced to them Fenou, who resorted hither from Tongataboo on being informed of their arrival. This great man prevailed upon Captain Cook to sail to the islands called Hapae, in preference to the former, which he meant to have immediately revisited. They accordingly proceeded to Hapae on the 14th of the same month, by which time the two ships' companies seemed nearly to have drained Anamooka of provisions; but on returning early in June, the stock was found surprisingly recruited. Thefts had been practised during their former stay, in a private manner, even by some of the chiefs, till they were compelled to make restitution; and on the return of the vessels, when all the people of rank were absent, very little order was observed. Poulaho and Fenou arrived soon afterward, and within three days accompanied the navigators toward Tongataboo.

Lieutenant Bligh, in the *Bounty*, anchored at Anamooka on the 23d of April 1789. The natives, who immediately came alongside with yams and cocoa-nuts in their canoes, did not offer to come on board till they had asked permission. The next day he was visited by Taipa, who was then old and lame, but retained the impression of his intercourse with the English twelve years before, in such a degree that he perfectly understood their pronunciation of South-Sea words, which no other person there was able to do. He informed them that their old principal friends were then living at Tongataboo, and he offered a large house for the use of the English, supposing they would, as formerly, have had a party on shore. Several things that were stolen were restored by his influence. Some



more daring robberies being committed, and the natives crowding in large canoes from the neighbouring islands, Mr. Bligh thought it necessary, on the 26th, when the ship was under sail, to confine several of the chiefs, in order to recover what had been lost. This measure producing no other effect than extreme distress in his prisoners, he dismissed them with presents, and departed. Pine-apples, which had been planted in the islands visited by Captain Cook, were found here at that time in a flourishing state.

Captain Edwards twice visited Anamooka in 1791, having appointed this island for a place of rendezvous with the schooner that had attended him from Otaheite, but afterward lost company of the Pandora. He first anchored here on the 29th of June, and immediately dispatched Lieutenant Hayward to inquire at the islands of Hapae and Fejē after Fletcher Christian and his party, but without success, excepting in their traffic for provisions. The licentiousness of the women at Anamooka seems to have been greatly promoted by European profligacy during this visit; and instances of ferocity were manifested by the native men, which had till then been unknown; especially in one case, where Lieutenant Corner narrowly escaped being murdered. They were, notwithstanding, very attentive to the instructions which the officers gave them on the cultivation of the exotic plants, and transplanted the pine-apples immediately on receiving directions. Poulaho and one of the Toobous, who had met Captain Edwards at Anamooka, sailed with him early in July to the neighbouring island of Toofoa, whither they were going to collect tribute. On the 29th of that month he again anchored here, and being still disappointed of intelligence about the schooner, departed the 3d of August.

No subsequent visit to this island has been made known. The detail already given is more than proportionate to the importance of the place. It is ranked by the natives among the smaller islands of their archipelago, which contains thirty-five larger than this. A disease of the leprous kind, which seems to be common to all the



islands of this ocean, is said to prevail more at Anamooka than in any other part of this group. The venereal disease, which was certainly introduced here by the English, has also probably made a dreadful progress, in consequence of the unrestrained debauchery practised by its last visitors, who are acknowledged to have been greatly infected when they arrived at this place from Otaheite. Wood being an article procured here by all the ships, it is necessary to mention the damage that has been incurred in cutting a tree, called *fāttanoo* by the natives, which is a species of pepper, and yields a milky juice that injures the eyes and skin of the workmen.

The island mentioned above, named *Tōōfōā*, is situated N.N.W. from Anamooka, at a distance of ten leagues: it is observable from thence by means of its height, and of a volcano at its summit, which almost constantly emitted smoke, and sometimes threw up stones. Its shores are steep, and covered with black sand. The rocks are hollow, and in some places of a columnar form. The mountain, except in spots that appear to have been recently burned, is covered with verdure, shrubs, and trees. The coast is about five leagues in circuit. To the north-east end of this island, and only two miles distant, is another of much less extent, but of thrice its height, which is called *Kāō*: it is a mountainous rock, of a conical form. Both these were discovered by Tasman, and have been seen by every subsequent navigator of this group. Captain Cook passed between them, and had no soundings in the channel by which they are separated. Each island was understood to be inhabited, but no European had landed upon either, at the time when the mutiny suddenly occurred in the *Bounty*, two days after the departure of that vessel from Anamooka. Lieutenant Bligh was forced into a boat, with eighteen of his people, when ten leagues south-west from *Toōfoa*. He attempted, therefore, to get an immediate supply of bread-fruit and water at that island, which, as he understood, afforded those articles. The next morning, 28th April 1789, they landed in a cove on the north-west coast, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 41'$ . They climbed the heights,



but obtained only some cocoa-nuts and plantains, and a few gallons of water from holes in the rocks. The weather being too boisterous to proceed, they sheltered themselves by night in an adjacent cave. On the 1st of May several of the inhabitants brought them a small supply, and retired peaceably in the evening. The next day their number greatly increased. Some principal persons also came round the north side of the island in canoes, and among them one of the chiefs whom Lieutenant Bligh had threatened to carry from Anamooka, upon an occasion which has already been mentioned. They offered to accompany him to Tongataboo when the weather should moderate; but some symptoms appearing of a design to obtain by force the articles that he could not afford to barter with them, he determined to depart that evening, as they were not inclined to retire. They had previously sold him some of their weapons, and they now allowed his people to carry their property into the boat; but they would not suffer him to embark, and a contest ensued, in which most of the English were wounded by stones, and one of them was killed. The rest escaped, and bore away toward New Holland; from whence they reached the East Indies in their boat, enduring extreme hardship, but no farther loss of lives.

This unhappy event furnishes the only instance of an European being killed at any island of this group, notwithstanding the severity, and even the cruelty, which has frequently been exercised toward the natives, on account of the thefts committed by them. That their eagerness to obtain our property is such as to endanger a small party landing at any of the less civilized islands, is evident, not only from Captain Bligh's experience, but also from that of a few people on board the schooner which had accompanied the Pandora from Otaheite. After parting company, as before mentioned, she unfortunately came to Toofoa instead of Anamooka, where Captain Edwards probably was at the very time. They obtained some water and provisions from the natives; but the latter attempted to seize the vessel, in which there were only nine people. These, however, being



amply provided with fire-arms, successfully resisted the assault of numbers vastly superior. Few days could apparently have elapsed after this occurrence, when the Pandora arrived at Tofoa with Poulaho on board. Lieutenant Hayward, who had been there with Bligh, recollected some of their former assailants. They shunned his notice, and had perhaps more reason for doing so than he knew, as at that time he received no intelligence of the schooner.

HAPAE (sometimes pronounced Habēi) has been mentioned as the place to which Captain Cook accompanied Fenou and Taipa at the desire of the former, from Anamooka in May 1777. It is reckoned by the natives as one of the more extensive islands of their group, but it consists of four or more low islets, six or seven miles each in length, which are joined together by a reef. They are not more than two or three miles broad. That islet which is most cultivated is called Lefooga, or Lefooka; and this alone exceeds Anamooka in the number and extent of its plantations. At its south-western end is an artificial mount fifty feet in diameter at the summit, which is raised to the height of forty feet above the rest of the ground. The Resolution and Discovery anchored abreast of the reef that connects this island with another to the north-east which is called Fōa, in twenty-four fathom, with a bottom of coral sand. A creek in the shore of Lefooga, three quarters of a mile from the ships, afforded convenient landing at all times. Proper measures having been taken by Fenou and Taipa, an abundant supply of provisions was obtained, and public diversions were splendidly exhibited; but these chiefs were less careful to prevent the theft of European articles. They left Captain Cook on the 22d of the same month, requesting him to wait till they returned from Vavōu, which they represented to be two days sail in their canoes to the northward of Hapae. Finding it difficult to obtain supplies in their absence, he removed on the 26th, southward of Lefooga, and searched in vain for a channel between the low islands. That which lies next to Lefooga, in this direction, is called Hoolāeva, and is destitute of cultivation, being used only for



fishing and catching turtle; but an artificial mount, similar to that in Lefooga, was observed upon it. Poulaho met the ships before their departure, and accompanied them on the 29th, in their passage among the small islands and reefs, which obstruct the navigation between Hapae and Anamooka.

Fran. Ant. Maurelle, a Spanish discoverer, was entangled in the same navigation in March 1781, after having been very hospitably entertained at some islands immediately to the northward of Hapae. He found a passage with a depth of five fathom, between the latter and the islands to the westward of it, which had been missed by Captain Cook. Meeting with fresh obstacles among those islands which lie directly north of Anamooka, he bore away toward Kao and Toofoa. While amidst the islands, he trafficked with the natives, who came off to the ship in their canoes. A person who was said to be the chief over forty-eight islands, also came on board after sending presents. He promised the same public diversions and contributions with which the English had been entertained, to induce Maurelle to land. The most southern point of the island, where this man is said to have resided, is placed in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 39'$ . The longitudes assigned by Maurelle are several degrees too far to the westward. He did not suspect the islands which he named Galvez, Gran Montana, and San Christoval, to be those called by the natives Hapae, Kao, and Toofoa; and he left Anamooka and Tongataboo out of sight to the eastward, but saw the two small rocky islands, Hōonga Tōnga and Hōonga Hapāe, in latitude  $20^{\circ} 32'$ , and named them Las Culebras. He discovered a dangerous reef, extending two leagues, and leaving to the southward a channel, three leagues wide, between the reef and those islands. He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 22'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 59'$  west longitude. This he called La Sola.

An island, lying in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 57'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 16' 54''$  west longitude, was the first that Maurelle discovered in approaching the Friendly Islands. He fell in with it 26th February 1781, and named



it AMARGURA (Bitterness), on account of his *severe* disappointment of obtaining refreshments from it, no landing-place being found even for boats, and the island itself having a singular appearance of barrenness. Upon a considerable mountain within it, not a tree was to be seen. In July 1791 Captain Edwards coasted the north-west side of this island, and observed the appearance of a tolerable landing-place in that quarter. That part of the coast was flat table land, without eminence or indentation, and from the edge of the surface smoke issued along its whole extent. He called it Gardner's island.

An island called by the natives LĀTTAI, in latitude  $18^{\circ} 47' 20''$ ,  $174^{\circ} 48'$  west longitude, was discovered by Maurelle the day after he had passed the former. It consists chiefly of a vast conical mountain, the summit of which appeared to be burnt, but the sides were covered with trees; and it is surrounded with a lower border, which is very fertile, and affords fresh water. Many canoes came off, and the people in them, among whom was the chief of the island, behaved with much confidence and kindness, and sold cocoa-nuts and bananas to the Spaniards. Captain Edwards gave this place the name of Bickerton's island.

Maurelle proceeded toward some islands fifteen leagues distant, and lying east-north-east from the preceding; the appearance of which promised better anchorage, as well as more abundant refreshments. He was prevented by the wind from reaching them till the 4th of March, when, after passing between some smaller elevated islands on the north-west of the principal land, he anchored in a creek bordered with houses and plantations. In approaching this station, the ship had every day been surrounded by numerous canoes, laden with all kinds of provisions, in exchange for which the islanders wanted to have tools, but obtained only clothing, Maurelle having strangely prohibited the sale of iron. The natives were in general tall and robust. The chief, named Toobou, to whom they paid the most profound respect, was advanced in age, and very corpulent.



He treated Maurelle with the same profuse hospitality that Cook had experienced at the more southern islands. Water was not, however, to be obtained sufficiently nigh at hand, and that which oozed into a pit dug by the Spaniards proved too brackish to be used. Maurelle therefore removed to a bay two leagues from the former, and in doing so lost two anchors. Here the ship was perfectly sheltered, and good water was obtained close to the shore. The Spaniards were entertained with the usual public diversions, and being always on their guard, the intercourse on shore was not interrupted by any contest; but the islanders who came on board stole every thing they could seize. They tore away the chain of the rudder; and after another had been substituted, one of the natives was shot dead in attempting to take that also. Maurelle sailed 19th March, through a channel to the south-west, which, as well as that by which he entered, was found to be perfectly commodious. He places his anchorage in latitude  $18^{\circ} 36'$ , and he called it *El Refugio*, or the Refuge.

The largest of these islands is nearly equal in extent to Tongataboo, and considerably higher, although not mountainous. It is highly fertile, and well cultivated, producing the same fruits and roots as elsewhere in these latitudes, and abounding more with the cloth-plant than any of the Friendly Islands. Maurelle named this group after Don Martin de MAYORGA, then viceroy of Mexico; and gives no intimation of the names used by the inhabitants.

Pérouse, who, in 1787, approached all the islands last described, but had no intercourse with the natives, takes it for granted that they constitute the country called by Cook Vavaoo, but pronounced Vavōu by the Friendly islanders, and already spoken of as lying at the distance of two days sail from Hapae. But this space, according to Captain Cook's calculation, must exceed two hundred miles, which is more than double the distance between Hapae and the islands of Mayorga. Captain Edwards also explored this cluster in July 1791, naming it Howe's islands, and the anchorage Curtis's found. The ship was visited by two persons, called Futtasaihe and Toobou.



Captain Bligh, in the *Providence*, accompanied by Captain Portlock, in the *Assistance*, when returning with the bread-fruit from Otaheite, laid to during the night, 3d August 1792, off these islands, and obtained provisions, but did not land. Two ships, which Maurelle understood to have been here prior to his voyage, might be those of Cook and Clerke, which the natives had probably seen at Hapae. By whatever name these islands ought to be distinguished, they present a favourable and a considerable object for the attention of our missionaries. The longitude assigned to them by Captain Edwards is  $173^{\circ} 53'$  west.

NEOOTABŌOTABOO and KOOTAHE are separated by a channel only three miles broad, in which is a small island; and are situated in latitude  $15^{\circ} 55'$ ,  $173^{\circ} 48'$  west longitude. The former is the more extensive, and is reckoned among the larger of the Friendly Islands. It is chiefly low, but has a considerable hill in its centre. It is divided into two unequal parts by a channel, which, at the mouth, is three hundred yards wide. Kootahe is very lofty, of a conical form, between two and three miles in diameter, and lies north-east from the former. Both are populous, fertile, and possessed of the same animals and vegetables as the islands before described. They were discovered by Schouten and Lemaire, 10th May 1616. Their ship anchored on the north-west side of Kootahe, half a mile from the shore, in sandy ground, with twenty-five fathom; but they sent a boat to the larger island to search for a better station. The natives swam around the ship, and bartered cocoa-nuts in abundance for nails and beads; but they endeavoured to seize the boat, and one of them was shot before they desisted from the attempt. The chief of Neootabootaboo, who had the title of Latoo, came on board; and having invited the Dutch to that island, they were proceeding thither, when a thousand of the natives suddenly attacked the ship from their canoes, but were repulsed with much havoc by the cannon loaded with musket-balls. Schouten departed on the 13th of the same month. He gave the names of 'Traitors' and Cocoa islands to these discoveries, in consequence of the reception he met with. Captain Wallis fell in with them



13th August 1767, and called them Keppel's and Boscawen's islands. His boat's crew examined Neootabootaboo, and found a place for anchoring and landing, with fresh water, but inconveniently situated. Captain Wallis exchanged some nails for fowls, fruits, and one of their clubs, and proceeded the next day to the westward. The nails were in Poulaho's possession at Tongataboo, when Cook was there with him. Pérouse saw Kootahe 20th December 1787, and having the next day examined both the islands, laid to on the following, in a sandy bay upon the west coast of the larger division of Neootabootaboo. The natives brought off the finest cocoa-nuts he had ever seen, with other vegetables, as well as some fowls and a hog: they discovered no apprehension, and traded very freely. They resembled the more southern islanders in every thing, except that their looks indicated a ferocity, like that which characterizes their northern neighbours. The French did not suffer them to come on board, but punished the most trifling thefts with severity; having been recently exasperated by the murder of Captain de L'Angle and eleven more persons, at one of the Navigators' islands, which lie to the northward of these. A rocky bank, two or three leagues north of Kootahe, was found in 1616, with fourteen fathom water upon it.

An island was discovered by Schouten and Lemaire the day after they left the preceding, which they reckoned to be thirty Dutch leagues more to the westward. They judged it to be nearly of circular form, and about two leagues from north to south; but they express some uncertainty as to its extent. It is hilly, and covered with verdure, abounding with cocoa-nut trees, and populous. A large village laid close to the shore. They called it Hope island, from the prospect it afforded them of obtaining refreshments. Of these they were nevertheless disappointed, not being able to land for the surf, which every where broke upon the coast. Sending a boat to sound, they found from twenty to forty fathoms, two or three hundred yards from shore, with rocky bottom; but there were no soundings a little further out. The natives acted as at Kootahe, and



several of them were killed for attempting to seize the boat. They brought off vegetables only. The Dutch proceeded the same day to the westward.

Captain Edwards fell in with this island 5th August 1791, when he apparently meant to have visited the former two, but was carried too much to leeward. He places it in latitude  $15^{\circ} 53'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 51'$  west longitude. In the account of his voyage, it is spoken of as having considerable extent, and the houses as being of much larger construction than at other islands of this archipelago. He named it Proby's island, but understood that the natives called it Onoo-afou.

This name, and the distance of this island from Hapae, accord with the description given to Cook, of the VAVOU of the Friendly islanders; to which their term for an inhabited country, Wanoo, may have been prefixed by the natives, as it is to the names of several islands in this ocean. Computing the extent of the island by its proportionate distance from Kootahe, it must be nine or ten English miles in diameter, according to Lemaire's statement. Poulaho asserted that it affords as good anchorage as Tongataboo, and that it is larger, and has several streams of fresh water. Vavou is in high estimation among the Friendly islanders; and was, in 1777, the residence of Latoo-libooloo's mother and sister. A solemn mourning was also then celebrated at Tongataboo for a chief who had lately died at Vavou.

Two more islands were discovered by Schouten and Lemaire, the fifth day after leaving that last described. They destroyed some of the natives at their first interview, but were afterward hospitably entertained by them, and procured every kind of refreshment in great abundance. They were visited by a person bearing the title of Latoo, and by another styled Areekee, who was therefore probably the sovereign of all the Friendly Islands. He was treated by the other natives with the utmost deference. They are represented like those of the more southern islands in most circumstances, except in being destitute of clothing, and the females being deformed, and



peculiarly immodest. The islands are hilly, fertile, and populous. The extent of them is not described. The ship anchored in a narrow roadstead, on the southern side of the principal island, two or three hundred yards from a stream of fresh water, in a depth of ten fathoms, with sandy bottom. Close on the outside of the ship was a bank, dry at low water. They place this anchorage in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 56'$  south. The islands were named Hoorn, after the Dutch port, where the vessel had been equipped; and the road was called Concord, after the ship's name.

If the Hope island of Schouten be Vavou, there seems little room to doubt that Hoorn islands are the country called HAMŌA by the Friendly islanders, who describe it as being two days sail from Vavou, to the northward of west, and agreeing in other respects with Schouten's Hoorn islands. They do not appear to have been visited by any other navigator, except we may conceive them to be the two islands where Maurelle obtained refreshments the 21st and 22d of April 1781; which, therefore, he named Consolation Islands. The figure and aspect of those described by him, and by Schouten and Lemaire, perfectly accord. Maurelle does not give the latitude in his narrative. That upon his chart differs from Schouten's by more than half a degree; but an error of that amount is not unlikely to have occurred in Maurelle's reckoning. No other discovery corresponds with his, any more than with Schouten's islands.

Hamoā is represented by the natives of Tongataboo as the largest island of their archipelago; and Poulaho, who had frequently resided upon it, said that it furnished good water and abundant refreshments, and afforded harbour for ships.

The preceding account includes all the islands hitherto discovered which have usually been united under the same government. There are two more groups, containing countries of greater extent than any yet described, with which the Friendly islanders are known to have communication. To these, also, our missionaries may therefore be



able, through the Lord's blessing, to extend their labours from Tongataboo.

The very considerable cluster, of which either the whole, or some part, is called by the natives, *Fējē*, lies within three days sail in a canoe from that island. The more northern part of this numerous group was discovered by Tasman 6th February 1643. These islands and reefs are evidently the same that were explored by the *Duff*, and amidst which she met with the greatest danger that attended her voyage. They were named by Tasman Prince William's Isles, and Heemskirk's shoals. They reach northward to the latitude of  $15^{\circ} 33'$ . Captain Bligh fell in with the easternmost of these islands, in  $178^{\circ}$  west longitude, the third day after his escape from *Toofoa* in the *Bounty's* launch; and he passed through the midst of them in a north-western course, which he could not have made in a ship, there being only four feet depth of water on one of the reefs which he crossed. In this direction, he found the group to extend four degrees westward from the first islands; and he saw several that had from thirty to forty leagues of coast, and appeared fertile, being pleasingly variegated with hills and valleys. His defenceless situation obliged him to avoid intercourse with the inhabitants. On his return from Otaheite in the *Providence*, 5th August 1792, he passed to the north of the first islands he had discovered in 1789, and coasted, upon the south side, some of those which had been discovered by Tasman. After having crossed his former track, he doubled the southernmost island of the group, in latitude  $19^{\circ} 15'$ ,  $178^{\circ}$  *east* longitude, and proceeded, 11th August, on his voyage, in a course to the northward of west. He landed nowhere, and the islanders in vain attempted to overtake the ship with their canoes, apparently with hostile designs.

The most western part of this group was discovered by Captain Barber, in the *snaw Arthur*, 26th April 1794, on his passage from Port Jackson to the north-west coast of America. He saw six of the islands, the largest of which he places in latitude  $17^{\circ} 30'$ ,  $175^{\circ} 15'$



east longitude. He anchored in a bay on its western side, and some natives who came off in a canoe were reluctant to come on board, and seemed to be unaccustomed to trade. The next day a number of canoes attacked the ship, and two of the crew were wounded by them with arrows. The savages attempted to board, but were repulsed with the ship's swivels and small arms. The navigation on this, as on every other side of the group, was found to be intricate and dangerous.

It is uncertain whether these numerous and extensive islands are connected together under a distinct government, or whether they are independent of each other, or mostly subject to Tongataboo. It is certain that at least some of the principal islands have been independent of its government, and occasionally hostile to it. They are also of a distinct race, speak a different language, and, beside spears and clubs, make use of bows and arrows in battle. In this they resemble most of the islanders who inhabit the larger countries to the westward; and differ from all who have yet been discovered to the eastward of this group. Many of the latter have bows and arrows, but they use them, as we do, only in sport; their missile weapons in war being no other than spears and stones. The intercourse of Feje with Tongataboo does not seem to have lasted many generations, but during the present century it has been frequent. The Friendly islanders regarded the people of Feje as superior to themselves, both in military prowess, and in mechanical ingenuity; their weapons and clothing being wrought in a more masterly style, and some manufactures, especially that of earthen vessels, being carried on at Feje, which are not attempted at Tongataboo. There also were dogs at Feje when there were none at the Friendly Islands, but they have been imported from thence since the latter group became known to the English. The stature of the Fejeans is superior, their complexions are darker, and their hair approaches to wool. They, moreover, retain the practice of eating the bodies of enemies whom they have killed, which is now abhorred by all of the lighter race, except the inhabitants of New Zealand.



It is probable that the Fejeans are of the same race that occupies the most extensive islands in this ocean. Their prevailing ferocity renders the more western countries very dangerous of access; but it may be hoped, that the superior civilization of Feje, and its intercourse with Tongataboo, to which it appears that at least some part of this group has lately been subjected, may afford a favourable introduction of our missionaries among a nation of great extent, and in the utmost need of evangelical instruction. The only Europeans who are known to have landed at Feje, are Lieutenant Hayward, and a man who attended him thither, in a large canoe hired at Anamooka, for the purpose of searching after Fletcher Christian. Their inquiry was fruitless, but seems to have been conducted without danger.

The other group which has intercourse with the Friendly Islands, is that which was named by M. de Bougainville the NAVIGATORS' Islands. These are only ten in number, but some of them are remarkable for their extent, fertility, and population. They are situated between  $169^{\circ}$  and  $172^{\circ} 30'$  west longitude, and from latitude  $13^{\circ} 25'$ , to an uncertain extent southward. They are all lofty, like the Society Islands, but are neither surrounded with a low border, nor enclosed by reefs. The easternmost islands of the cluster seem to have been first discovered by Roggewein and Bauman in 1722. Another, of superior magnitude, was added by Bougainville in 1768; and the two westernmost islands, which are the most considerable, were discovered by Pérouse in 1787. Each of the latter is more than forty miles in length. All these were visited by Captain Edwards in 1791. Pérouse was informed of three more to the southward, named Shēka, Ossamo, and Ooera, which he could not fall in with. The native names assigned to the principal islands by the two navigators, Pérouse and Edwards, totally differ in every instance. PŌLA and OTĒWHEI are those which they respectively give to the most western island of the group; OYOLĀVA and OHA-



TŌŌA to the next considerable island; MA-ŌŌNA and OTUTUĒLA, to that which Bougainville discovered; OPŌON and TOOMANŪA, to the easternmost island. The name of Tootooēla, which is assigned by the people of Tongataboo to one of the larger islands known to them, agrees with the information received by Captain Edwards. It is notwithstanding difficult to conceive, how Pérouse mistook the name of the very island, where the assassination of the French navigators, already mentioned, was perpetrated in December 1787. Some remains of their clothing were seen there by the Pandora's people in July 1791. At Otēwhei the latter met with a person related to Fenou, commander in chief of the Friendly Islands. He had lately had a finger cut off on account of the illness which issued in the death of that chief. This circumstance demonstrates that some intercourse subsists between these two groups. The inhabitants of both have the same language, and the same general customs, that are common to all the eastern islands of this ocean. The natives of the Navigators' Islands greatly exceed the Friendly islanders in stature and strength, and are marked by a ferocity of aspect and manners unknown at Tongataboo. In some particular customs they appear also to differ considerably. It is improbable that they should be subject to Tongataboo; but the acquaintance they have with its inhabitants may render this important group accessible with safety to our brethren, in company with some of the Friendly Island chiefs, by whom they are already highly esteemed.

*Obittaboo, and other Islands of the Group called the Marquēsas.*

THIS group is known to extend from  $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude, and from  $138\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  to  $140\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of west longitude. The inhabited islands, which have been discovered in it, are eight in number. They resemble the Navigators' Islands in their aspect and their coasts. In most, if not in all of them, there are bays or coves which afford harbour for shipping; but access to them is often made difficult by sudden squalls



of wind which break over the mountains and precipices. The natives exceed, in general beauty, those of the groups already described; especially the females, who are not disfigured by punctures, although the men are almost entirely covered with those marks. The women appear to be in greater and more general subjection at the Marquesas than elsewhere. Both sexes are inferior in personal cleanliness to the natives of Otaheite and Tongataboo, having less convenience for bathing. They use less clothing; and the chiefs are less distinguished from their subjects, except by the profusion of ornaments with which they are sometimes covered. The soil of these islands, for the greater part, is not so fertile as in any of the preceding groups; but the inhabitants are, probably in consequence of this deficiency, more active and vigorous than those of Otaheite. The bread-fruit attains here to the highest perfection; but when it is out of season the want of it is severely felt, at least at Ohittahoo, where articles of food to be substituted for it are scarce. The Marquesans resemble the Friendly islanders in paying a greater deference to age than the Otaheiteans, and in being exempt from the practice of infant murders, and other evils produced by the *arree* society.

OHITTAAHOO, which was selected out of the group to be a missionary station because it was best known to Europeans, is much inferior in extent to some of the neighbouring islands, being only nine miles long from north to south, and about seven leagues in circuit. A narrow ridge of lofty hills runs through its whole length, and is joined by other ridges, which gradually rise from the cliffs upon the coasts. They are divided by deep, narrow, and fertile valleys, adorned with trees, and watered by brooks and cascades. On the western side are several coves. That in which Europeans have usually anchored, is situated under the highest land in the country, in latitude  $9^{\circ} 55' 30''$ ,  $139^{\circ} 8' 40''$  west longitude. It bears south  $15^{\circ}$  east from the west end of a larger adjacent island, called Ohevahōa. The points that form the harbour (of which that to the southward is the highest) are about a mile asunder, and their distance from the head of the harbour not much less. The depth of water is from thirty-



four to twelve fathoms, and the bottom clean sand. Two sandy coves within the bay are separated by a rocky point; and each has a rivulet and habitations in it. That on the northern beach bears the same name with the island; the other, which is nearly concealed among the trees, is called Innamei.

Alvaro Mendana de Neyra discovered this island and the three which lie nearest to it, in July 1595. He named them Las MARQUESAS de Mendoça, in honour of Mendoça, Marquis of Canete, then viceroy of Peru, who had dispatched Mendana from thence, with four ships, for the purpose of occupying the islands of Solomon, which had been discovered by the same navigator twenty-eight years before. Being very uncertain of the distance of those islands from Peru, he was proceeding in their latitude to search for them, when he discovered the southernmost island of the Marquesas. On the 25th July he sent a boat to examine Ohittahoo, which he called Santa Christina, and having found the harbour already described, he named it Port Madre de Dios. Manriquez, who commanded the boat, landed, and marched with twenty soldiers, by beat of drum, round the northern village; but the inhabitants did not stir from their houses till the party halted, and called to them; when about three hundred men and women peaceably advanced. At the request of the Spaniards they brought several kinds of fruit, and some water contained in cocoa-nut shells. The women, upon invitation, sat down among the soldiers; but the men were ordered to keep at a distance, and to fetch more water in some jars which had been brought in the boat. They seemed disposed to keep the jars; upon which Manriquez brutally fired amongst them, and broke off their communication for that time. On the 28th, Mendana brought his squadron to anchor in the harbour; and mass being performed on shore, the natives silently attended to the ceremony. After taking formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, he endeavoured to establish a friendly intercourse with the people, and sowed Indian corn in their presence. When he returned on board, he left the command of the party on



shore to Manriquez, and a quarrel again soon took place; one of the soldiers was wounded by a spear, and many of the natives were killed by the fire-arms, with which they were pursued while retreating with their women and children to the woods. From thence they vainly attempted to annoy the invaders with lances and stones, and after some days they made overtures of submission, and brought presents of fruit to the guards which had been placed at the principal avenues. A familiar intercourse being renewed, some of the islanders and Spaniards formed particular friendships; and a man who became intimate with Mendana's chaplain, went on board with him, discovered great docility, and seemed distressed when they departed. Having refitted one of his vessels, and erected some crosses on the shore, Mendana sailed 5th July; but terminated his voyage without accomplishing its object, and died at an island which he discovered 55° to the westward of Ohittahoo.

It does not appear that the Marquesas were again visited by Europeans till 1774, when Captain Cook went in search of these islands, in order to ascertain their longitude. After meeting with some danger, in attempting to turn into the harbour of Madre de Dios, he anchored there 6th April. Several canoes had followed the ship as she passed the small harbours on the same coast to the northward, and others came off from shore as soon as she was anchored. A heap of stones was provided in each canoe; but the islanders finding their visitors peaceable, bartered with them in an amicable manner. This intercourse was renewed more abundantly the following day, but they betrayed the same propensity to theft which every where prevails in the Pacific Ocean; and one of them having seized and got off with an iron stanchion, was hastily shot through the head by an officer on board the Resolution. Hete-hete, who was then in the ship, shed tears at seeing this act of barbarity; and Captain Cook took much pains to restore the familiarity which had been interrupted by it. The islanders assembled on shore, armed with spears and clubs, and drew up under some rocks on the north side of the harbour.



Cook went to meet them with a party under arms; and Hete-hete having explained to them the wishes of the English, the natives appeared satisfied, and conducted them to a brook, where water was obtained for the ship. A brisk trade for vegetables was carried on, and some hogs were purchased. The presence of Cook was, however, found necessary to preserve the confidence of the natives, who acted precisely as if the conduct of the Spaniards, almost two centuries before, had been fresh in their remembrance. The women had been removed from this harbour, but several were met with at one to the southward of it, who discovered no reluctance to the licentious familiarities of the sailors. Hete-hete was soon able to converse fluently with the natives, whose dialect differs from that of Otaheite chiefly in not admitting the sound of *r*, and in having, like the Friendly islanders, the hard consonants unknown at the other group. They paid great attention to the information which he gave them of customs in which his countrymen differed from them, and especially of the mode of producing fire by the friction of dry wood.

A chief, named Hōnoo, and distinguished by the title of Heka-ae, came with many attendants to the landing-place, and exchanged presents with Captain Cook; but could not be persuaded to accompany him on board. He was decorated with a great variety of ornaments, and wore a cloak, while the rest of the men had only the māro round their loins. His looks and manner indicated much good-nature and intelligence. The supplies of provisions seemed to increase in consequence of his visit, and no farther contest occurred; some thefts, which were committed, being suffered by Captain Cook to pass unnoticed, as his stay was designed to be short. He sailed on the 11th April.

A French navigator, named Le Marchand, visited the Marquesas about the year 1789. Several vessels, chiefly American, engaged in the fur trade, have also since touched here for provisions; and the commander of one of them, named Roberts, built a small vessel at Port Madre de Dios, with which he proceeded to the north-west



coast of America. It is reported that the people of Ohittahoo had persevered in the prudent measure of keeping their women at a distance from European visitors; and that, at this season, a contest was excited on the account, in which the respectable chief, Hōnoo, was killed by his brutal guests. This circumstance, which there is but too much reason to believe, may account for the very different conduct observed relative to the females of Ohittahoo, in subsequent visits at this place.

The Dædalus storeship touched at this island on her way from England to join Captain Vancouver, and anchored in Port Madre de Dios, 22d March 1792, in twenty-four fathom. Not being sufficiently sheltered from the land wind, her cable parted early the next morning; and while driving out of the bay, the ship was found to be on fire. In extinguishing it, many pieces of rotten bedding were thrown overboard, and the natives crowded round the ship to pick them up. When the Dædalus regained her station, and had been anchored closer in shore, it was observed that the buoy of the anchor from which they had been driven, had been purloined; but a piece of wood having been left by the natives in its stead, tied to the buoy-rope, directed them to recover the anchor. Lieutenant Hergest, who sailed as agent in the Dædalus, went in the afternoon to the place for obtaining fresh water, which was at the distance of a mile from the ship; and finding the surf violent, he landed with only four men, in order to fill two water-casks. The buckets used for this purpose were soon stolen by the islanders, who crowded round, without any person of authority to restrain them. They even snatched Mr. Hergest's fowling-piece out of his hand; and there being but one musket left among the party, it was judged better to make good their retreat with this, than to employ it vindictively. On retiring to the long-boat, they found that some of the natives had, by diving, cut away the grapnel, with which it had been secured. When they regained the boat, they rowed close to the shore, and fired a volley of musketoons and small arms over the heads of the crowd. All



immediately fled to the woods, except one man, who stood his ground, and threw stones at the boat's crew. This bravado was suffered to pass unpunished, but four cannon shot were fired from the ship over the southern village, which was not above a quarter of a mile distant. This happily produced no worse effect than to terrify the natives, who fled in every direction to the mountains; and about sun-set one of them swam off with a green bough wrapped in white cloth, which he threw into the ship. Having thus discharged his embassy of peace, he immediately returned on shore.

The next day, Mr. Hergest repairing to the watering-place with an armed party, was cheerfully assisted by the islanders to fill and roll the casks, with which they also swam to the boats, and were suitably rewarded for their labour. They could not still be restrained from pilfering on board, and a theodolite belonging to Mr. Gooch, an astronomer, was carried off, but seasonably recovered.

A chief named Too-ou, who had visited the ship when she first anchored, returned on the 24th with a present of provisions; and two others, some days afterward, brought the grapnel which had been cut from the boat. They promised also to procure the fowling-piece, but came on board when the ship was ready to sail, without fulfilling their engagement. Mr. Hergest having well rewarded them for their former trouble, and being confident that they could have recovered his gun, informed one of them that he should carry him away if it was not speedily restored; and accordingly placed a sentinel over him in the cabin. The rest of the natives fled in alarm; but the fowling-piece was obtained in half an hour. The prisoner was then liberated, greatly to his joy; and presents were made to him, and to another principal person who had brought the gun on board.

The crowd of islanders having incommoded the ship's company in their business, the colours were hoisted, to signify that they must not come on board. The men submitted to this prohibition; but many of the women persisted in swimming to the ship, till muskets



were repeatedly fired over their heads, to deter them. Thefts were frequent and daring, and the chiefs seemed to want either authority or inclination to repress them. One man, who had made off from the ship with a bucket, was shot unintentionally through the calf of his leg, but no other damage was occasioned.

A good supply of vegetables was obtained; but few hogs could be purchased, and those at a rate unusually dear in the South-Sea islands. The harbour was accurately surveyed before the ship sailed, but the sketch given by Captain Cook was found to be sufficiently correct.

The Prince William Henry left Otaheite on the 29th March, the same day that the *Dædalus* sailed from Ohittahoo. She made a direct north-east passage to this island, which is therefore demonstrated to be practicable, although not known to have been performed by any other vessel. Her stay was very transient, and her voyage from Britain to the Sandwich islands was so rapid as to be accomplished in four months.

Captain Brown, in the *Butterworth*, accompanied by two smaller private vessels, anchored in Port Madre de Dios 1st June 1792, and staid only two days, to take in fresh water.

The degree in which the manners of the people at Ohittahoo had been corrupted, subsequent to Cook's voyage, was not known when the *Duff* left England; and the disappointment, occasioned by this change, appears to have produced the only instance that occurred among our missionaries, of shrinking from the work in which they were engaged. If the solitary condition of a very promising young man, who had the fortitude to remain singly on his post, should tend to delay the progress of the gospel at the Marquesas, it is hoped that this deficiency will soon be amply supplied. Obstacles, that are to be apprehended from long-established customs in the other groups, are here apparently not liable to oppose the truth; and we trust that a foundation has already been laid, on which others may build with great advantage.



To the northward of this island, and separated by a channel hardly above a league in breadth, is OHEVAHŌA, which extends six leagues north-eastward, and has a circuit of fifteen or sixteen leagues. It is more steep and craggy, especially toward the eastern point, than Ohittahoo; but its deep valleys, and the sides of the hills, are, like those of the former island, clothed with trees and verdure. Mendana, who discovered it on the Lord's day, named it on that account La Dominica. He sailed along the southern coast, as Cook did afterward, without discovering any harbour. This deficiency has prevented any farther knowledge of the interior country. It appeared in a much more advantageous light to the former navigator than it did to the latter. The natives have always attended at Port Madre de Dios, when European vessels have lain there; and they resemble the inhabitants of that place, with whom they maintain friendly intercourse.

ONATĒYA, which was named San Pedro by Mendana, lies about five leagues eastward of Ohittahoo, and as much to the south of Ohevahoa. It is about three leagues in circuit, moderately high, and pretty level; with extensive woods, and pleasant plains.

The most southern island of the group, ten leagues distant from Onateya, was the first that Mendana discovered; and he named it La Magdelana, in allusion to the Romish festival on which he fell in with it, July 21, 1595. He coasted the southern shore the following day, and four hundred of the natives came off, some in canoes, some floating and swimming, to the ships. They offered cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, to the Spaniards, and invited them to land. Forty of the islanders, with little persuasion, went on board Mendana's vessel, and were presented with clothing; but they attempted to steal almost every thing they saw, which soon produced a contest. One of the Spaniards was wounded by them with a stone, and they suffered severely from the fire-arms. The squadron continuing under sail, they sent after it a canoe, with symbols of peace and friendship. This island was judged to be six leagues in circuit, and appeared populous



and fertile. Captain Cook, who saw it after leaving Ohittahoo, reckoned it to be nearly in latitude  $10^{\circ} 25'$ ,  $138^{\circ} 50'$  west longitude. Captain Brown, in the Butterworth, 27th May 1792, discovered a rock resembling a ship, north-eastward from the south-east point of this island, at the distance of five leagues. He did not anchor, but laid to off the southern coast till the 31st, and procured cocoa-nuts, plantains, and bread-fruit, for nails, from the canoes which came alongside, and by his boats from the inhabitants on shore. One of his people spent a night upon the island, and swam off the next morning. The natives are understood to call this island OHITTATŌA.

The only addition to the discoveries of Mendana, which was made by Captain Cook's visit to the Marquesas, is an island called by the inhabitants TEBŌŌA, and by Cook, Hood's island. It is situated in the latitude of  $9^{\circ} 26'$ , and at the distance of five leagues from the easternmost point of Ohevahoa, nearly in the direction of N. N. W. It has a bluff appearance, and is of inferior extent to most others of the group.

The ships, which, at a later period, have proceeded to the northward, after taking refreshments at Ohittahoo, have made much more important discoveries in this cluster. It is said that Captain Le Marchand, in 1789, was the first who saw several islands at no great distance to the north-west of those which had so long before been discovered. An American named Ingraham next observed them, and supposed them to have been till then unknown, but did not land upon them. The only information respecting these islands, that has hitherto been published, was obtained during the voyage of the *Dædalus* storeship, in which they were particularly explored. The positions of the newly-discovered islands having been very incorrectly laid down by our countrymen who preceded Captain Wilson, we refer to his account and chart for their situations, forms, and extent; limiting our present notice to the circumstances which appear in the visits that were previously made to these islands.

The southernmost of the new Marquesas, ROŌAPŌA, was called



Trevennen's island by Lieutenant Hergest, who examined it 31st March 1792. In its centre are two rocky eminences of vast height, and of singular figure, with several smaller peaks adjacent. Near the south-eastern point of the coast is a rock resembling a church with a spire. Several small bays are formed in the southern side, the best of which is terminated by the south-western point of the island. It was named Friendly bay, from the conduct of the inhabitants, of whom more than a hundred peaceably surrounded the ship with their canoes, and bartered fruits for beads and other trifles. They seemed to be very numerous on shore, and the eastern and southern sides of the island to be very fertile. The natives exactly resembled in appearance those of the preceding isles.

Due north from thence, and eight leagues distant, is NOOAHĒVA, called by Mr. Hergest, Sir Henry Martin's island, which is the most considerable of the whole group, both for extent and fertility. The south-eastern cape, which he named Point Martin, forms, with the coast to the westward of it, a deep bay, well sheltered, and bordered by sandy beaches. At the head of the bay was observed, either a deep cove, or the mouth of a considerable stream. Two leagues farther westward is a fine harbour, with a sandy bottom, shoaling from twenty-four fathoms to seven, within a quarter of a mile of the shore. A stream of excellent water runs into it, and it is well sheltered from all winds. A beautiful plain extends for a mile and a half from the beach. The country is populous, and well cultivated. The people appeared to be lighter than those of Ohittahoo, and varied considerably from them in other respects. More than one thousand five hundred were assembled on the shores of this harbour, which was named Port Anna Maria. They received some people who landed from the *Dædalus* very hospitably, and sent off all kinds of provisions to the ship. The western side of the island was less populous.

Captain Brown, in the *Butterworth*, landed at Nooaheva 3d June 1792, about two months after the *Dædalus* had been there;



and examined the north-western part of the island, upon which side likewise very good harbours were found. The natives also behaved friendly and respectfully, but being strangers to white people, they were earnest to see whether their skin was of the same colour under their clothing as in their faces. Some peculiar ceremonies seem to prevail here: a woman, who, at the request of one of the English, brought him some fresh water to drink, would not deliver it to him till she had pronounced a long oration.

Early in February 1793, the *Dædalus* revisited this island on her way from the north-west coast of America to New South Wales, and anchored in Port Anna Maria. A friendly intercourse was renewed, but it was suddenly broken off by a quarrel between one of the sailors and an islander who had come on board. The latter having struck the Englishman, was shot by him after having leaped overboard. Upon this, a great number of war canoes were assembled, and the ship was attacked with stones. Lieutenant Hanson, who had succeeded Mr. Hergeft in the *Dædalus*, was obliged to quit the harbour, after remaining there two nights, and proceeded to obtain needful refreshments at Otaheite.

Eastward from Nooaheva, at the distance of six or seven leagues, is ROOAHŌOGA, which was called by Lieutenant Hergeft Riou's island. It is high and craggy, especially at the west end, but appears more fertile than the southern islands of the group. At this end is a shelf of rocks, extending about a quarter of a mile from the shore, which was named after Captain New of the *Dædalus*. This part of the island is destitute of any harbour for shipping, but on the southern coast there are appearances of convenient anchorage in two bays. Above one hundred natives assembled in canoes round the *Dædalus* upon her first approach to the coast, and bartered their provisions in a very friendly manner.

It is probable that this group extends farther, both to the north-west and south-east, than has yet been explored. Four uninhabited islands are all that have been discovered beside those already described.



Of these, two, which are very small, are situated west by north from Nooaheva, ten or twelve leagues distant, the other two farther off to the north-west, in  $7^{\circ} 53'$  south latitude. The largest of these latter is eight miles long and two broad. Upon its north-western side is a bay, affording good anchorage, fresh water, and cocoa-nuts. That side of the island has in general a fertile appearance, but the eastern coast is barren. The smaller island lies near the other toward the north-east, and some rocky islets are between them. Both the islands are high, and, though not inhabited, are occasionally visited. They were called *Roberts's isles*, and the two small ones before mentioned were named after Lieutenant *Hergeft*.

Mendana understood from the natives of Ohittahoo, that they sometimes visited, in a hostile manner, a country toward the south, the inhabitants of which were black, and used bows and arrows in battle. From Captain Wilson's particular inquiry on this subject, it appears, that if they had at that time any knowledge of such a people, it has since been wholly lost. It is more probable that the Spaniards misapprehended what was said; as that nation of the South-Sea islanders which corresponds to this description, is not known to extend farther eastward than Feje, which is two thousand four hundred miles from the Marquesas.

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THE account that has been given of the numerous islands connected with those already occupied as missionary stations, suffices to illustrate the extent to which, under the blessing of our Lord, the gospel may probably be diffused, from the three central places to which it has been introduced. Were it possible here to insert similar accounts of all the countries which are situated between these groups and the coasts of Asia and New South Wales, the apparent importance of our efforts would be enhanced beyond what can be conceived from the specimen that is now furnished. It must not, however, be omitted,

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that people of the same race with the natives of the groups we have described, are dispersed over the *Ladrone* and *Caroline* islands, which lie north of the equator, and extend from the 130th to the 175th degree of east longitude; and they have reached from the latter group, or from some intermediate places not yet discovered, to the Sandwich islands, which are situated between 155° and 160° west longitude, and 19° and 22° north latitude. Crossing the equator, probably from the more eastern of the Caroline islands, they have spread over the clusters of which we have given an account, and from the Friendly Islands have reached the large country of *New Zealand*, between 34° and 48° south latitude, and 166° and 180° east longitude; while from Otaheite, or some of the islands south-east of it, they have made a surprising stretch to the solitary spot called *Easter Island*, in 27° south latitude, and 110° west longitude. The language and customs of this widely scattered nation have been traced to the coasts of the great Asiatic islands, Luzon and Borneo, and from thence to the peninsula of Malacca, the Aurea Chersonesus, beyond which the geographical knowledge of the ancients can hardly be said to have extended. The astonishing migrations of this race seem to have originated, like those of the northern Europeans, from designs of conquest. These they carried into effect on the coasts of the grand Asiatic archipelago, driving the black natives of those very extensive islands to the interior mountains, which they still occupy as a distinct and independent people. But the migrations of the fairer race from the *Philippine* islands to the Carolines, and farther eastward, have almost to a certainty been occasioned by stress of weather, which drove their canoes from island to island, and from one group to another, that had not before been peopled. Frequent incidents of this nature have been ascertained, and some of them have been specified in our account of the islands connected with Otaheite. The population of islands so widely scattered, cannot, for the greater part, be otherwise explained, either upon the ground of established fact, or upon that of probable conjecture.



The original inhabitants of the great Asiatic islands seem, likewise, before they were driven back from their coasts, to have made very considerable emigrations, although not to distances so remote as those to which their supplanters have been dispersed. The darker race has spread over the vast countries of *New Holland* and *New Guinea*, with the adjacent islands of *New Britain*, *New Ireland*, and *Louisiade*, as well as those of *Solomon*, *Santa Cruz*\*, *New Caledonia*, the chief part of the *New Hebrides*, and the group called *Fejē*. Like the natives of Africa, whom in person they generally resemble, they are divided into numerous tribes, and are distinguished by various languages; yet there is a striking sameness in the customs even of those most remotely separated; and they all differ essentially from the nation that occupies the numerous smaller islands of this ocean. The former are usually more savage, and of inferior stature; but some of their tribes may, in these respects, be compared, or even preferred, to the least civilized colonies of their rivals. A New Zealander can boast little or no advantage over his neighbour of New Caledonia; and a Sandwich islander must apparently yield the palm to an inhabitant of *Fejē*. The superior hospitality of the *Otaheiteans*, the *Friendly* islanders, and the *Marquesans*, invited our endeavours to promote their best interests; and our election of that nation, and of those groups, has, through the blessing of God, been justified by the trial which we have been enabled to make.

All the islands of this ocean presented fresh ground for missionary labour, excepting the *Philippines*, the *Ladrones*, and a few of the *Carolines*, to which the Spaniards had gained prior access; *Japan*, once filled with converts to popery, but now without the shadow of christianity; and the northern *Kurile* islands, which are statedly

\* The groups named by Mendana the Isles of Solomon and Santa Cruz, are the same that, in pages 297, 298, of the following narrative, are called Egmont Island, &c. and New Georgia; those names having been given to them by Captain Carteret and Lieutenant Shortland, who imagined that they were new discoveries.



visited by a Russian clergyman from *Kamtschatka*. That peninsula contains the only glimmering ray of christianity that enlightens the *Asiatic coast* of the Pacific Ocean, with the sole exception of the Roman Catholics secreted in the Chinese empire. The coast of *North America*, from Behring's straits to *California*, is involved in more than Egyptian darkness. Upon the last-mentioned peninsula Spain has several missionary stations, where benevolent and laborious efforts are made, at least to civilize the miserable inhabitants. From thence to the island of Chiloe, in *South America*, it is to be feared that the Spanish conquests have led the natives rather to detest the name of christianity than to comprehend its nature. Crossing this immense ocean to *New South Wales*, at a distance of 135 degrees of longitude, we find the gospel preached with purity and zeal to a herd of our own countrymen, whose vices reduce them below the most abject class of the heathen world around. May the doctrine of the cross triumph there over the unparalleled obstacles it has to surmount; and may it advance from shore to shore, till it covers the hemisphere that is washed by the Pacific Ocean! Let him who reads say, "Amen, Lord Jesus! Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven!"

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P. S. On the general chart that describes Captain Wilson's track, those countries of the Pacific Ocean, which lie within, or southward of the tropics, are comprehended under the general name of AUSTRALIA, after the example of foreign geographers. As they appear to be divided between two distinct races of inhabitants, one of which almost wholly possesses the more extensive countries situated in the south-western part of the ocean, these are distinguished from the rest by the title of the *Greater Australia*: the numerous small islands inhabited by the fairer race being included under that of *Lesser Australia*. To the whole group, of which a part was discovered by Cook, and called by him the Friendly Isles, the title of *United Archipelago* is assigned upon the chart. The propriety of these innovations is submitted to the judgment of such among our readers as are accustomed to geographical researches.



# LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS

TO

CAPTAIN WILSON,

FROM

THE DIRECTORS.

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*Aug. 5, 1796.*

THE constant protection with which it has pleased the Divine Being to favour the concerns of the Missionary Society, renders it incumbent on us, before we enter on the immediate subject of our address to you, to make a humble and undissembled acknowledgment of the gratitude which is due to Him, and to recognise with thankfulness the frequent and manifest interpositions of his hand in favour of this institution.

Among many other occurrences which have appeared to us of a nature peculiarly providential, and which we have considered as the proofs of the condescending care with which it has pleased the great Head of the church to regard this undertaking, there has been none that excited more thankfulness to his name, or occasioned more universal satisfaction among ourselves, than the circumstance of your having been inclined to consecrate yourself to the service of God on this interesting occasion. We trust that the same Being, from whom the disposition has proceeded, will impart the grace which is requisite to accomplish the arduous service, and inspire the wisdom which is needful for the execution of its important duties.

Connected with us in the direction of the affairs of the Society, you are fully apprised of the nature and design of the expedition you have undertaken to conduct.



You are aware, that it is not only in its nature singular, and almost without a precedent, but that it is also one of the most honourable and most important services which can be confided to a human being. The attention of the Christian world is very generally excited to the object, and devout intercessions are continually ascending like incense to heaven for its success. Should it be favoured with the blessing of God, it may be the direct means of imparting divine light and eternal life to great multitudes of immortal beings, and may form an æra of distinguished importance in the history of human redemption. In this view of the interesting nature of the business we are engaged in, it is with peculiar satisfaction and sincere affection, that we, the Directors of the institution, not only invest you with the command of the ship, and with full and complete authority for the management of its concerns in relation to the voyage; but also commit to your care and superintendence, during the same period, the more important charge of the mission itself, and especially of those faithful brethren who accompany you therein. Dear to our Saviour, in whose name they go forth, these apostolic men will have a strong interest in your affections also. Having forsaken their friends and their country for the love of Christ, and with the desire of spreading the honours of his name among the heathen, they will seek in your kind attention an equivalent for the endearing connexions they have relinquished; and you will be desirous of extending towards them the wise superintendence of a parent, and the affectionate sympathy of a brother. You will cheer the spirit that is liable to droop under the pressure of its anxieties, or administer the word of admonition to the disciple that is in danger of erring. You will be among them the centre of union, to reconcile their divisions, and confirm their love; the universal friend, in whose bosom they will deposit their diversified cares.

As it is needful that you should be furnished with instructions, both with respect to the voyage itself, and also with relation to the establishment of the mission, it is our duty to desire, that after having

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## INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILSON.

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received your cargo on board an invoice whereof you will be furnished with, and also the missionaries who are to accompany you whose names and occupations you will have an account of, you will please to proceed with all possible dispatch to Portsmouth, in order to join the East India convoy now lying there, to which you are to attach yourself, and to use every exertion in your power to keep company with it, as far as its course and yours are designed to coincide.

In case the convoy should stop at Teneriffe, you will procure four pipes of the best wine in hogsheds, for which you will apply to the house of Mess. Paisley and Little, and reimburse them for the amount by your draft on the treasurer to the institution. You will endeavour to procure from thence two or three bunches of dried grapes of the best kind, in order that the seeds may be planted when you arrive at the place of your destination; also a few pecks, or even quarts, of the best seed wheat, together with the seeds of such tropical fruits as you may think it would be advantageous to take with you. You will also endeavour to procure one ram sheep and two ewes, to be preserved for the purpose of breeding; also a male and female ass, for the same purpose. You will also at this place probably have an opportunity of giving your ship's company and the passengers several meals of fresh meat and vegetables; which, as it will promote their health and comfort, we are well persuaded will not escape your attention. On taking your departure from Teneriffe, we wish you to consider the port of Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brazil as your next object. At that place you will be able to lay in a stock of sugar very cheap, for the use of the ship's company and missionaries on the voyage, as well as for the latter after they are put on shore; as also tobacco, chocolate, cochineal-plant, and many other vegetable productions useful for consumption and cultivation at the settlement. Here you will also embrace the opportunity to procure a supply of fresh meat, and other desirable articles, for the refreshment of the ship's company, at a reasonable rate.



From this port we wish you to proceed by the way of Cape Horn to the island of Otaheite, there to put in execution the directions which will be hereafter suggested, so far as they may appear to you eligible on your arrival. In the mean time, we think it material to provide against the probability of your meeting with a foul wind in your attempt to double Cape Horn; in which case, after having made the first attempt as close in with the land as you think consistent with the safety of the ship, we recommend you to stand to the southward to the distance of at least four or five degrees; when, if you still find the wind blowing steadily against you, rather than lose much time in attempting to beat against it, we advise you to bear up and run for the Cape of Good Hope, where you will find those refreshments which by that time you will stand in need of.

On your arrival in the South Seas, the destined scene of your benevolent exertions, the immediate prospect of the important service before you will impress your mind with peculiar weight, and you will be anxious to fulfil, to the utmost of your power, the engagement you have undertaken. You will then recollect, that the sphere of your activity is widely extended, and includes a considerable number of different islands remotely situated from each other; you will be reminded of the resolution of the general meeting, which was thus expressed:

“ That a mission be undertaken to Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew Islands, in a ship belonging to the Society, to be commanded by Captain Wilson, as far as may be practicable and expedient.”

This resolution embraces a plan of great extent and importance, and proceeds from the laudable and benevolent desire of introducing the knowledge of Christ into as many different islands as possible; you will therefore consider this resolution as the rule of your conduct, and keep it in your remembrance in all your proceedings. It is not to be departed from, without solid and important reasons; for, as the gospel of Christ is a blessing beyond the power of calculation



to estimate, the desirableness of sending it to as many islands as possible is in proportion to its inestimable value. We do not mean, however, to encourage you to adopt a system of missionary enterprise beyond the boundaries of discretion; we do not urge you to depart from the principles of prudence and caution, which so important an occasion requires; nor by attempting to introduce the advantages of Christianity in many places, so to divide your numbers as to weaken your efforts too much in each, and endanger your success in all. The resolution is not intended to prevent a wise and discreet circumspection. It is indeed desirable to introduce the gospel into several islands; but it is necessary, if possible, to establish it in one; for if you concentrate your exertions, and gain a solid establishment in one place, it may become the germ of other missionary efforts, and be a sacred leaven which may gradually spread its beneficial influence through numerous and distant islands of the South Seas. Thus you will perceive, that although the resolution by which you are to endeavour to regulate your operations is of great extent, and highly desirable to be accomplished, yet that it is limited by the considerations of practicability and expedience; and of these you will of necessity be the best qualified to judge.

The question respecting the practicability of visiting so many distant islands must be decided by circumstances which it is impossible for us to anticipate; and even to you, when in the South Seas, a mission may appear to be practicable, which you may nevertheless not think it expedient to attempt. For instance, the Pelew islands are the last which, in the order of your voyage, you will have occasion to visit. The character of the natives furnishes a strong inducement to establish a mission among them, and the attempt may also appear to be practicable: but would you think it expedient to take a few missionaries from the islands at a great distance to windward, at an uncertainty of the reception which a missionary plan might meet with in the former? Suppose that, by a new chief having arisen with less favourable dispositions,



than the father of Lee Boo, or through any other cause, you should be prevented from leaving our brethren there, with perfect satisfaction to yourself and them, what would be the effect? You could not admit of the waste of time and expenditure of money which it would require to convey them to the islands where your other missions may have been established, even if your return thither against the trade wind was practicable; and you would probably have no alternative but that of bringing them with you to their native land. The same reasoning may apply with respect to the Sandwich islands. It is extremely desirable that the blessings of the Christian religion should be extended to those populous regions; but the indubitable accounts which we have lately received of the actual state of those islands, do not permit us to recommend the establishment of a mission among them at present. A variety of other considerations will occur to your mind when you are to decide on what is practicable and expedient. If you look over the inventory of the different articles which make up your cargo, supplied by the liberality of our friends, or furnished from the funds of the institution, you will probably conclude that they are much more adapted for the co-operation of a number of individuals in one or two societies, than for a distribution among more. When you consider the qualifications of the missionaries, you will perhaps be inclined to think, that remaining in one or two bodies, they may form models of civilized society, small indeed, but tolerably complete. There are some among them who are adapted to be useful by the improved state of their minds, and their fitness for taking the lead in religious services; there are others who are necessary on account of the skilfulness of their hands, and their knowledge of the useful arts: thus there would be among them that mutual dependence and usefulness which is the cement of the social order. If you should separate them into several parties for various missions, it would occur to you that this order and connexion would be very much broken; and as every mission should



contain within itself a competent fund both of divine and human knowledge, you might perhaps find it impracticable to arrange our missionaries into several parties, and yet preserve among them these indispensable requisites. Among our brethren who accompany you, we trust you will find some who possess a considerable acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity in their foundation and mutual dependence, and are qualified for the defence and confirmation of the gospel; but others of them have not perhaps a view of the subject sufficiently accurate and enlarged to fit them for the office of teachers. They understand indeed the doctrines of grace in the most precious sense, by experimental conviction; and having a general idea of them, may be very useful to the heathen by means of their conversation as well as their exemplary lives. But in every mission, however small, it is essential that there should be some whose minds have acquired a maturity in divine things, and who are scribes well instructed in the kingdom of heaven. This it might be difficult for you to accomplish, on the plan of establishing a number of different settlements.

If from these reasons, or others which may arise in your mind when you are amidst the scene of action, you judge that the cause of Christ among the heathen will be best promoted by the establishment of fewer missions, we shall receive great satisfaction in finding that you are able to visit more islands, with a view to the introduction of the gospel among them at a future period. By means of some of the Europeans now probably residing at Otaheite, who may be disposed to accompany you, your access to the understandings of the islanders will be facilitated; you will easily communicate to them the beneficial plan you are projecting in their favour; and you may ascertain how far a mission to any of them may be advisable. This mode of procedure is highly desirable, as it may throw a considerable light upon our future path, and assist our judgment respecting the designs of Providence



toward these islands. It is the more to be recommended, on account of the great degree of probability there is of our revisiting them, soon after the safe return of our vessel from her present expedition; as it is evident, that, with the assistance of a freight homeward, the navigation to those seas may be hereafter undertaken at little comparative expense, and thus opportunities be afforded of frequent intercourse with them. Submitting these considerations to your attention, we now think it necessary to offer you a few more observations, derived from the best information we can obtain, and the best judgment we can at present form on the subject: you will adhere to them or not, as you may find it expedient when you arrive.

It is well known that Otaheite is the island on which the general expectation has been fixed, as the place where our first mission is to be attempted; and we have no reason to alter the opinion we at first entertained of the eligibility of this spot: but as our object is to introduce the gospel of Christ among the heathen, all partialities or predilections to particular places must be made subservient to that end. We conceive you will visit that island before any other, and you will doubtless have an early interview with the chiefs. It must be left to your own discretion how far you will then unfold to them the occasion of your voyage. You will also probably soon be visited by some Europeans, and will most likely find means to conciliate their confidence, without committing yourself to them any further than you may deem prudent. All your discrimination may be requisite to fix on those among them who are best suited to become your instruments; from them you will learn the present state of this island, and perhaps of those adjacent, as to produce, population, disposition of the natives, and political relations. You will however be on your guard against misrepresentation, and by comparing different reports find out the truth. You will also guard against treachery and surprise. You will be cautious whom you admit on board; especially you will not allow the



females, except the wives of the chiefs, and only a few at a time. Neither would it be prudent to permit too many of the English, if remaining at Otaheite, to be on board at once. You will take an early opportunity of visiting the smaller peninsula, as it has been represented by some voyagers to be the most fertile, well cultivated, and abounding with cotton and sugar-cane. Let the ship run down to the adjacent island of Eimeo, examine the harbours of Taloo and Avoitai, converse with the chiefs, learn the present state of that island, and the disposition of the inhabitants toward a settlement of some of our brethren among them.

After you have ascertained to your satisfaction the kind of treatment which the missionaries are likely to experience at Otaheite, you will be more capable of judging how to improve the remainder of your voyage, than we are at present. To assist you in the direction of your farther attempts, we recommend to your attentive perusal the papers which have been committed to you, containing a description and historical account of the islands that are connected with Otaheite, or included in the groups called the Friendly Islands and the Marquesas. You will compare them on the grounds of immediate advantage and future prospects. To this subject belongs the consideration of the safety of our women, probability of introducing our improvements, supply of provisions, the products of the islands in sugar, cotton, sandal-wood, &c. We are thus particular in suggesting these observations to you, because you are much better qualified than we can expect any of the missionaries to be, to decide on the most eligible spots for our settlement; and it is a circumstance of so much importance as to claim your utmost attention. You will doubtless on this subject hold very frequent communications with the missionaries, and especially with the committee, stating to them the grounds on which you may prefer one spot to another: as it would be peculiarly desirable to obtain, if possible, a perfect unanimity of the whole body as to the place of settlement; and the objections of those who may happen to think differently from your-



self, or from the majority of their brethren, should be attentively heard and maturely considered. It is, however, very difficult for so many persons perfectly to coincide on any subject; and we therefore place the power of decision in a majority of the committee, provided that you, the president, form one of that majority. As we conclude that you possess a superior judgment on this subject to any of them, it appears to us to be a regulation highly conducive to their good, that no settlement should be made without your approbation. For the sake of relieving you from some part of the responsibility, we lodge in the same committee, and subject to the same rule, the power of deciding whether there shall be more missions than one established, and where the subsequent ones shall be attempted. To this committee belongs also, under the same restriction, the control over the articles, implements, and utensils, which make up the cargo of the ship; and they, with your concurrence, are to decide, when, where, and in what proportions, those articles are to be landed. In case, however, of several missions being attempted, for the sake of strict and impartial justice we appoint, that two of the committee shall be taken from those who remain at the first settlement, and two others from those who are intended to be detached to any other: yourself, being the president, and perfectly disinterested, will have the power of administering justice toward both. It is however intended, that a quantity of articles, suitable for presents to the chiefs of islands which you may visit in your way to Canton, should remain on board, and you must have the power of deciding what articles, and what quantity of each, shall be reserved for that purpose.

To a number of serious Christians, who are, on all occasions, seeking divine direction, it will no doubt occur, that the determination of any question respecting attempts to extend the gospel is of such transcendent importance, as to require the most solemn invocation of Him who heareth prayer, for the interposition of his wisdom to guide you in judgment. An unanimity, or nearly so, of the whole body, on questions so interesting, and which are to be decided after a

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solemn season of devotion appointed for that special occasion, would afford considerable satisfaction to our minds, as a favourable intimation of the divine superintendence.

In negotiating with the chiefs, you will explain to them the advantages which will arise to them from our residence among them; that it may be the happy effect of their earnest desire, and not of our solicitation. As an inducement to us to prefer their island, they must give us a full title to the land we may have occasion for, guarantee to us the safety of our property from plunder, the enjoyment of our laws and customs, and the undisturbed exercise of our religion. Instead of exciting the jealousy of the chiefs by any importunity on our parts to continue with them, it would be more prudent to shew a readiness to leave the island, and fix upon some other, that it may be understood by them, that our inducements to visit them have not been to receive advantages, but to confer them. On this principle, as well as for other reasons, we recommend that the land should not be purchased, but required, as the condition of our remaining with them; and that the presents we make should not be considered as payments, but as gratuities, the expressions and pledges of our good will. If you should determine to make a settlement at several islands, you and the committee will decide what number, and which individuals, should reside at each. If this should be the occasion of disputes which you cannot amicably terminate, we recommend your appealing to the decision of Divine Providence by a solemn and religious use of the ancient institution of drawing lots.

We have now finished the instructions which appeared to us needful to communicate with respect to the mission. The changes which may have taken place in the state of the islands since the last accounts, may make it necessary for you to depart from the advice which we have now offered, and resort to expedients more congruous to the circumstances before you, and better fitted to secure the great object.

On your arrival at Canton, you will address yourself to the factory



## INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN WILSON.

of the India Company, and in all respects conform to the conditions of the charter, a copy of which you will take with you. You will in particular observe the necessity of your being there by the month of December, or at latest in the month of January 1798, that you may receive your cargo on board, and sail for Europe in the early part of the spring. Thus we shall cherish the hope of your safe return soon after the succeeding midsummer. In the mean time you will doubtless embrace whatever opportunities occur of writing to us either from Rio de Janeiro, or by the first ship which sails from Canton; and let your dispatches be addressed to Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, of London.

We have now only to commend you to the all-sufficient care and protection of Him who holds the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand. The throne of mercy will be addressed with unceasing supplications in behalf of your safety, and the success of your embassy. You are accompanied by the affectionate esteem of the excellent of the earth; and ministering spirits, we trust, will receive the welcome charge to convoy you in safety to the place of your destination. May they be glad spectators of the formation of a Christian temple in these heathen lands, and thus be furnished with the subject of a new song to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb!

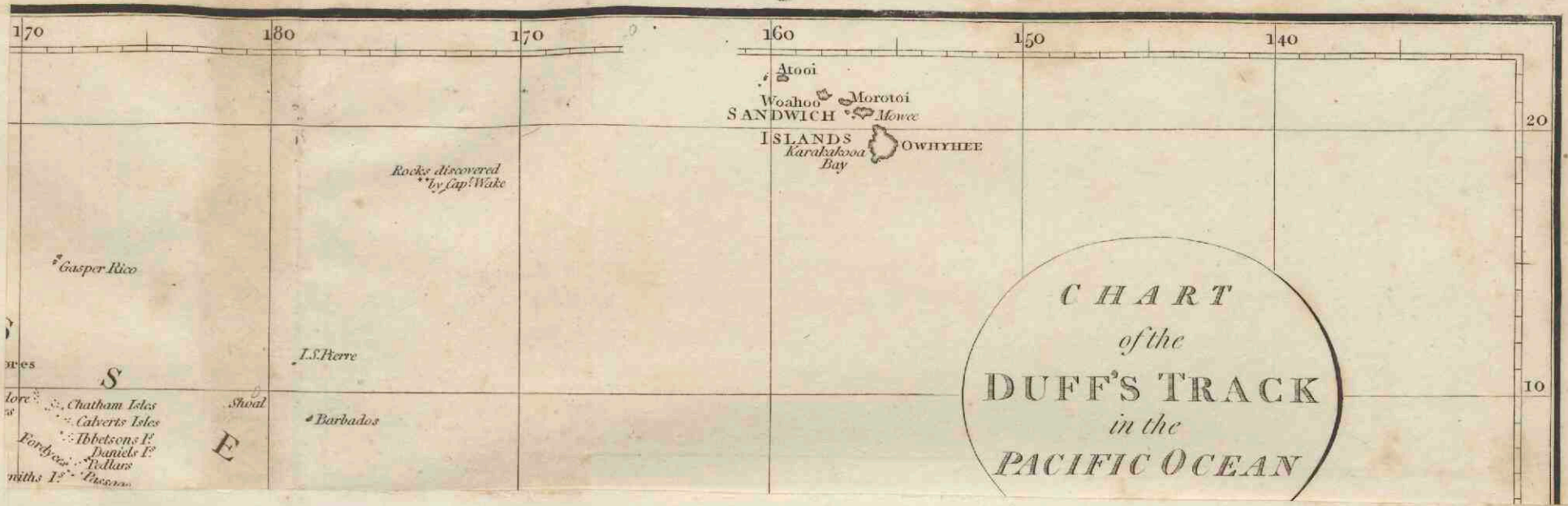
Signed by order of the Directors,

JOHN LOVE, Secretary.

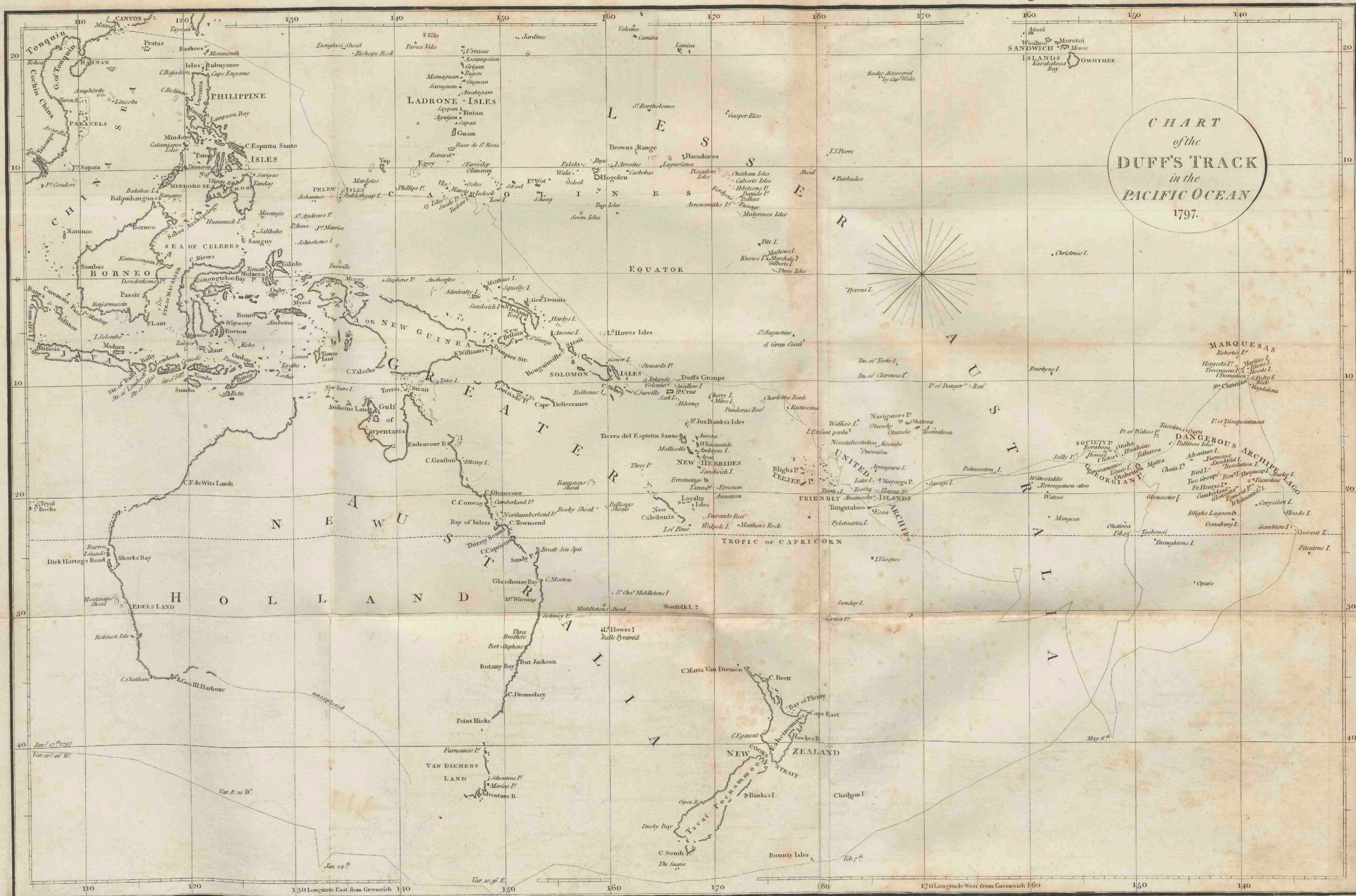


















FIRST  
MISSIONARY VOYAGE,

&c.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—*Appointment of Missionaries and Ship's Crew.*

THE discoveries made in the great southern sea by the voyages undertaken at the command of his present majesty, George the Third, excited wonderful attention, and brought, as it were, into light a world till then almost unknown. Islands, it may be said, innumerable, were found to cover the bosom of the Pacific Ocean in different groups; some of them extensive, and many full of inhabitants, who discovered, by the similitude of their language and religion, the same original race; though how they became dispersed over three or four thousand square miles, with no other vessel than a canoe, is truly marvellous. The preliminary account affords a clear and concise view of former voyages. This intercourse with Europeans communicated some advantages, but withal entailed upon them misery and diseases, to which before they had been utter strangers. The perusal of the accounts of these repeated voyages could not but awaken, in such countries as our own, various speculations, according as men were differently affected. The merchant considered



if they would afford any object of commerce; the naturalist eagerly explored the peculiar subject of his researches; and the astronomer sought a station, from whence he might observe the transit of Venus over the sun, and deduce from thence useful improvement in that celestial science. But when, as Mr. King observes, these islands were found to produce little which would excite the cupidity of ambition, or answer the speculations of the interested, they were ready to be abandoned to their primitive oblivion, unless occasionally visited by a straggling ship; and after proving the superior advantages of our iron tools, and led to the total neglect of their own, their situation would have become still more deplorable than their original state. The iron we bartered with them could not be replenished, nor repaired by them, and must soon become useless; they would have lost the habit of using and making their former tools of bone and stone; whilst the ravages of the diseases which Europeans had probably communicated, threatened to sweep them from the earth with the besom of destruction. Reflections on their unhappy situation had dropped from the pen of the humane, and pity had often swelled the bosom of the compassionate: a few felt for them, not only as men, but as Christians, and wished some mode could be devised of communicating to them the knowledge of that inestimable book, compared with which all beside is pompous ignorance, and all the treasures of the earth lighter on the balance than vanity itself. The object had lain on many a heart, and prayer had gone up on their behalf; a feeble effort was disappointed by the unfaithfulness of those designed for the work.

Yet the idea was not wholly abandoned, though the prospect of its accomplishment was almost despaired of: a few of the faithful ministers of Christ, associated on another occasion, seemed, at the same time, to express a faint wish that something could be done for the heathen. On communicating their thoughts to others of their brethren, they found a cordial disposition to co-operate; and the attempt at Sierra Leone, though instituted with a particular view,



brought forth some letters on missions, suggesting their practicability, and calling to the attempt. This coincidence of a rising spirit of missionary pursuits, though in its lowest embryo form, led to converse on the subject, and to consider how the work might be begun: two or three individuals offered to open a subscription for the purpose; and the active ministers who directed the Evangelical Magazine resolved to hazard an advertisement of their design, and to invite the concurrence of their brethren. From these small beginnings arose the great increase; and the cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, diffused itself over this land, and poured down its copious showers of blessings on the isles of the southern ocean. A missionary society was in consequence formed in England, and zealously seconded by our brethren in North Britain.

Their object was simple and noble; "to deliver mankind from the  
" greatest possible portion of misery which besets them, and to confer  
" upon them the most abundant measure of felicity which our nature  
" is capable of enjoying." They were conscious this could only be effected by the gospel of the grace of God preached among all nations, as far as their opportunities or abilities might extend. For this end their meetings became frequent, and their plans matured for execution.

After a long and serious consideration of the subject, they determined to commence with the islands of the southern ocean, as these, for a long time past, had excited peculiar attention. Their situation of mental ignorance and moral depravity strongly impressed on our minds the obligation we lay under to endeavour to call them from darkness into marvellous light. The miseries and diseases which their intercourse with Europeans had occasioned, seemed to upbraid our neglect of repairing, if possible, these injuries; but above all, we longed to send to them the everlasting gospel, the first and most distinguished of blessings which Jehovah has bestowed on the children of men.



We were sensible some could not understand our motives, and others would suspect or misinterpret them; but conscious of the simplicity and godly sincerity which prompted us to the undertaking, we persevered undismayed with difficulties, and, through the good hand of our God over us for good, have succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations.

The various steps in which we have proceeded are now before the public, and submitted to the attention of those who would meditate on the wondrous maze of Providence, and contemplate the great events that spring from means apparently the most inconsiderable.

On notifying our intentions to the public, we met a spirit of zeal and liberality highly encouraging; applications manifold were poured in of candidates for the mission, with subscriptions adequate to the undertaking. None but men the most select for piety were to be admitted. We were desirous to obtain some possessed of literary attainments, but especially to procure adepts in such useful arts and occupations as would make us most acceptable to the heathen in that state of inferior civilization to which they were advanced. A select committee of ministers, approved for evangelical principles and ability, was appointed to examine the candidates, as to their views, capacity, and knowledge in the mysteries of godliness. Many were rejected, and only those received, who, after repeated and careful attention to the subject, by inquiries into their conduct and character, had the strongest recommendations from the ministers and congregations with whom they had been joined in communion, and of whose intelligence and devotedness to the work we had the fullest evidence. Thirty men, six women, and three children, were approved, and presented to the directors for the commencement of the mission.



# TO THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS.

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LIST of the MISSIONARIES who embarked on board the *Duff*,  
at Blackwall.

NO.	NAMES.	AGE.	OCCUPATIONS.
1	Rev. James Fleet Cover	34	Ordained minister.
2	— John Eyre	28	Do.
3	— John Jefferson	36	Do.
4	— Thomas Lewis	31	Do. and has attended the hospitals and dispensaries, and understands printing.
5	Mr. Henry Bicknell	29½	House carpenter, sawyer, and wheelwright.
6	— Daniel Howell	22	Shopkeeper.
7	— Benj. Broomhall	20	Buckle and harness maker.
8	— John Buchanan	31	Taylor.
9	— James Cooper	28	Shoemaker.
10	— John Cock	23	Carpenter.
11	— William Crook	21	Gentleman's servant, and since tinworker.
12	— Samuel Clode	35	White Smith and gardener.
13	— John A. Gillham	22	Surgeon.
14	— Peter Hodges	29	Smith and brazier.
15	— William Henry	23	Carpenter and joiner.
16	— John Harris	39	Cooper.
17	— Hudden	—	Butcher.
18	— Samuel Harper	26	Cotton manufacturer.
19	— Rowland Hassell	27	Indian weaver.
20	— Seth Kelfo	48	Weaver.
21	— Edward Main	24	Taylor (late of the royal artillery).
22	— Isaac Nobbs	24	Hatter.
23	— Henry Nott	22	Bricklayer.
24	— Francis Oakes	25	Shoemaker.



## FIRST MISSIONARY VOYAGE

NO.	NAMES.	AGE.	OCCUPATIONS.
25	Mr. James Puckey	25	Carpenter.
26	— William Puckey	20	Carpenter.
27	— William Smith	21	Linen-draper.
28	— William Shelly	21	Cabinet-maker.
29	— George Veefon	24	Bricklayer.
30	— James Wilkinfon	27	Carpenter and joiner.

## WOMEN.

31	Mrs. Mary Cover	37	Wife of J. F. Cover.
32	— Elizabeth Eyre	64	Wife of John Eyre.
33	— Elizabeth Haffell	29	Wife of Rowland Haffell.
34	— Sarah Henry	23	Wife of Wm. Henry.
35	— Mary Hodges	25	Wife of P. Hodges.
36	— Hudden	—	Wife of — Hudden.

## CHILDREN.

37	James Cover	12	Son of J. F. Cover.
38	Thomas Haffell	2	Son of Rowland Haffell.
39	Samuel Otoo Haffell	16 weeks.	Do.

We wished our selection of mariners should be equally choice, and laboured to procure such, and were not a little successful in this behalf. Captain Wilson and the first mate, his nephew, were persons in every view equal to the undertaking, and as hearty in the work as the missionaries themselves. Many of the sailors were men of a like mind; about half were communicants; and every man was eager to beg admittance with us, under the profession of wishing to be instrumental in so blessed a service, and the hope that he should gain benefit and edification to his own soul.

During the first six weeks that they were detained in harbour, one of our body, who continued with them daily, and often ministered unto them, declares he never heard the name of God blasphemed, a



passionate word spoken, or saw an unbecoming action in any one of the mariners, many of whom joined in the exercises of prayer and praise with the most cordial devotion, and none who were not on duty ever absented themselves from the stated hours of worship. Surrounded as we were by king's ships in the harbour, and often increased on the quarter-deck by numerous visitants, this excited no small measure of surprise and wonder at its novelty. The songs of Zion were daily heard over the deep.—The real Christian in every situation of life possesses peculiar excellence: his religion will never interrupt the discharge of his duties in society; none will be found so conscientiously diligent; divine principle will do more than the most rigid discipline. We appeal to facts that must carry conviction to every candid and unprejudiced mind.

The preparations being completed, and all the stores on board, a solemn designation of the missionaries to their office was made, and the evening preceding the embarkation the directors met the missionaries, and celebrated their last happy communion together, in the fullest confidence of shortly meeting again in the presence of God and of the Lamb, and enjoying eternal fellowship with Jesus the mediator, and the spirits of all just men made perfect.

The prosecution of our voyage for the accomplishment of the benevolent and evangelical purposes of our society will be found to contain a variety of events, interesting to the navigator, the naturalist, and the politician; but above all, will engage the peculiar attention of those who glory in the name of Christian, and long to see, what they fully expect, the coming of the kingdom of the Lord, and of his Christ, when “the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and the nations shall flow unto it.”—The cry of the universal church is, that “the Lord would hasten it in his time!”



## CHAPTER II.

*Embarkation.—Departure from the River.—Stay at Portsmouth.*

THE preparations being completed, and the missionaries ready for embarkation, the directors of the society were very anxious for the Duff's sailing with the East India convoy, which, at this time, lay at Spithead, waiting for a fair wind. They embarked in sight of many spectators, and accompanied by relations, acquaintances, and several of the directors, to whom, as residing in London, had been committed the care of the outfit of the mission. August the 10th, 1796, at six in the morning, we weighed anchor, and hoisted our missionary flag at the mizen top-gallant-mast head: three doves argent, on a purple field, bearing olive-branches in their bills. The morning was serene, and a gentle breeze blew from the W. N. W.; few vessels were stirring on the river; all was still and quiet; and it seemed a favourable season for pleasing contemplation to those whose hearts, warmed with benevolence to their fellow men, and ardour for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, had long earnestly desired to see a prospect so promising as this their first attempt now afforded. With satisfaction they beheld those, who at a future period were to act alone in the cause, not dispirited at leaving their native country and friends, nor with the thought of what lay before them, but, on the contrary, resigning themselves into the hands of Him whom they firmly believed able to carry all his purposes into effect. The hymn, "Jesus, at thy command—we launch into the deep," &c. was sung by upwards of an hundred voices, producing a pleasing and solemn sensation. The sailors in the ships we passed heard with silent astonishment, and our friends, who lined the banks of the river, waved their hands, and bid us a last adieu.



The spirit which animated the brethren for this undertaking will be best felt by a short extract or two from their journals, all which speak the same language.

One says, "When taking a prospective view of the great work before us, my soul was constrained to cry out, Who is sufficient for these things? But I was enabled to derive comfort and encouragement from the confidence, that He who holdeth the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand, can preserve from every evil. To his providential care I was enabled to surrender myself; determined, through his Divine assistance, to be devoted to the work of preaching the gospel of Christ to the poor benighted inhabitants of the islands of our destination."

Another writes, "I felt deeply when leaving my native country and dear friends, whom I loved as my life; but loving the Giver of life, I trust, more than all, I went with tears of joy."

At Woolwich a vast concourse of people had collected on the shore to salute us as we passed. The breeze freshening, we arrived at Gravesend before noon, and employed the remainder of the day in clearing the decks, which were in a very lumbered condition, from the eagerness of a multitude of kind individuals from the neighbouring towns, who, wishing to contribute to the comfort of the missionaries, came on board, bringing various articles of refreshment, and entreating they might be received, till every part of the ship was crowded to a very great degree. The missionaries' chests and hammocks were also to be arranged and slung, to prepare for passing the first night of their novel situation between the decks with as little inconvenience as possible. The Rev. Dr. Haweis, the Rev. Mr. Wilks, and the Rev. Mr. Brooksbank, directors of the society, had come on board at Blackwall; the two latter designing to go down the Channel with their brethren to Portsmouth, and the former to remain with them till they should leave England. Captain Wilson, Mr. Hardcastle, and Mr. Fenn, came on board from London, and settled with the crew for their river pay and their bounty. The articles



were agreed to and signed, and the ship cleared at the custom-house.

*The LIST of the DUFF'S CREW.*

JAMES WILSON, Commander.	
1 William Wilson,	Chief officer.
2 Thomas Godsell,	Second ditto.
3 James Falconer,	Third ditto.
4 Thomas Robson,	Gunner.
5 ——— Stanton,	Carpenter.
6 John Micklewright,	Steward.
7 John Orange,	Sailmaker.
8 Benjamin Bond,	Cook.
9 Robert Lawfon,	Seaman.
10 William Wells,	Ditto.
11 Mark Yates,	Ditto.
12 Francis Dadson,	Ditto.
13 James Wilson,	Ordinary seaman.
14 James Lucas,	Ditto.
15 John Wells,	Ditto.
16 Robert Green,	Ditto.
17 John Stephens,	Ditto.
18 Benjamin Bar,	Ditto.
19 William Tucker,	Ditto.
20 Samuel Templeman,	Ditto.
21 William Brown,	Apprentice.
22 Samuel Hurst,	Boy.

11th. A fresh gale springing up from the S. E. we justly apprehended the East-India fleet would fail; but as they are often by various causes detained, we still resolved to push on with all possible expedition, and after a day of great activity in settling all matters, as conveniently as the time would afford, for our proceeding to sea, at seven in the evening we weighed anchor, and turned down into the



lower Hope. Mr. Henry Cox now took an affectionate leave, and left us to pursue our voyage. To this gentleman's ability and unwearied diligence we must ever acknowledge ourselves indebted, both in forwarding our departure, by removing many great difficulties, and by his care to provide all things comfortable for those who had to perform so long a voyage.

12th. At eight A.M. we weighed from the Hope Point with a fresh gale at E.S.E. In plying down we were met by some kind friends from Sheerness, bringing with them three sheep, one hog, and some fowls for sea stock. At two P.M. anchored on Leigh flat; at nine got under weigh, and at midnight came to a little below the Nore. This day the directors on board, the Rev. Dr. Haweis, Mr. Wilks, and Mr. Brooksbank, assembled the missionaries, and directed them to elect by ballot four persons, to constitute a committee, agreeably to the printed instructions of the body of directors. They returned, as the result of their proceedings, the following names, viz. Rev. James Cover, John Eyre, John Jefferson, and Thomas Lewis, who were consequently admitted to that office by the directors.

Mr. Wilfon, as chief mate, being considered as president in the absence of Captain Wilfon, who was to join us at Portsmouth, the committee proceeded to establish the following regulations, viz.

Resolved, That the Rev. John Jefferson should be considered as the missionaries' secretary, and William Smith his assistant.

Resolved, That the Rev. Thomas Lewis should take upon him the office of librarian, and William Smith be his assistant.

Resolved, That John A. Gillham, surgeon, should be responsible for the medical books and instruments; but every missionary may equally claim to read them under the library regulations.

Resolved, That John Harris should take upon him the office of missionaries' steward, and distribute the provisions, as delivered to him by the ship's steward, to the different messes.



Resolved, That each mess shall receive the articles and quantities as under :

Tea, one pound per month each mess for the men, one pound and a quarter for the women.

Sugar, two pounds per week each mess.

Butter, one pound and a half per week each mess.

Cheese, four pounds per week each mess.

13th. Wind N.E. a light breeze. At four A.M. weighed, and ran through the Five Fathom channel. Passing through the Downs we received the unpleasant information that the fleet had sailed from St. Helen's. At one P.M. we rounded the South Foreland, and during the rest of the day had little wind.

14th. Calms and breezes from the westward alternately, so that we made but little way. It being sabbath-day, the Rev. Dr. Haweis preached in the morning, the Rev. Mr. Brooksbank in the afternoon, and the Rev. Mr. Wilks in the evening, on the quarter-deck.

15th. Calm until six in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at N.E. Beachy Head bearing N.W. by W. About nine P.M. one of his Majesty's sloops of war hailed and informed us that a French lugger was cruising somewhere near; bid us keep a good look-out, and hoist a light if we discovered her, whilst they ran in nearer the shore. Happily we escaped all attack of the enemy.

16th. At eight A.M. anchored at Spithead. The East-India fleet had sailed five days before our arrival. In passing St. Helen's a squadron under the command of Admiral Gardner was just putting to sea, and in company with them we probably might have gone safe from the enemy; but in a matter so important we could not hastily form the resolution: for, uncertain how far they would go in our track, if obliged to separate from them too soon we should run the risk of being captured; and not to hazard so favourable a beginning, was thought a sufficient reason for us to wait a better opportunity of convoy.



At Spithead we were visited immediately by the Rev. Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, and other friends of the mission, who showed us all the most fraternal affection, and furnished us during our stay with the most generous supplies. The Rev. Mr. Eyre, of Homerton, and others from town, came also on board. Captain Wilson arrived and took the command.

17th. Mrs. Hudden being affected by the sea, as most of us had been at first, fell into such a dejection of mind as engaged us to send her on shore at her request: her husband went with her, though reluctantly; a man of a meek and quiet spirit, and might have been a useful member of our community; but the directors thought it by no means right to separate man and wife.

Our anxious inquiries after the next convoy led us to the port-admiral; and Dr. Haweis, with Mr. William Wilson, by his direction, went on board the Adamant, Captain Warre, who received us with politeness, and informed us he should shortly sail with a convoy for Lisbon and Gibraltar, and would readily take us under his protection. With this the directors were acquainted, and ordered us to wait the opportunity.

But the delay began to weary our patience: we all longed for the day of our departure; and though entertained with the most cordial welcome by the brethren at Portsmouth and Gosport, we waited the signal from the Adamant with eager desire.

Yet the stay was not unprofitable; the same gracious Hand which conducted us thither gave us cause to acknowledge his loving-kindness; some good, we hope, resulted from the preaching of many of the directors and other brethren who visited the ship, and from the missionaries at Portsea, Gosport, and its vicinity. A space was given to those who, if they had felt any change of mind, might have departed from the work; but all became more confirmed and united.

An ingenious clergyman of Portsmouth kindly furnished Dr. Haweis and Mr. Greatheed with a manuscript vocabulary of the



Otaheitean language, and an account of the country, which providentially he had preserved from the mutineers who were seized by the Pandora, and brought to Portsmouth for their trial, which was of unspeakable service to the missionaries, both for the help which it afforded them to learn before their arrival much of this unknown tongue, and also as giving the most inviting and encouraging description of the natives, and the cordial reception which they might expect.

Here also were deposited in peace the remains of Mr. Cover's little boy, who, in the last stage of a consumption, earnestly wished to accompany his parents, though it was evident to every intelligent medical man that he could have but a few days to live, and was happily released before their departure.

A multitude of friends also had this opportunity of testifying their regard for the mission, and furnished us with many things that, in our haste to depart, had been forgotten, or, during our stay here, been thought of, for the comfort of the voyage.

The missionaries, during this delay, had, according to the regulations established, constantly exercised themselves on board in rotation, in preaching, prayer, and praise, which many attended; they employed themselves in reading and writing, especially respecting the objects of their mission; and in one of their assemblies agreed to transmit to the body of the directors the following address:

“ BRETHREN,

“ WE, the missionaries, whom you, under the influences of our  
“ common Saviour, Lord, and Master, Jesus Christ, the only be-  
“ gotten Son of the eternal Jehovah, have been instrumental in  
“ bringing together, uniting in one body, and every way fur-  
“ nishing with all temporal necessities for the arduous undertaking  
“ we have in hand, cannot bid adieu to our native country, and  
“ dear brethren in Christ, without laying before the directors  
“ of the society (with the desire the same may be communicated to



“ all whom it may concern) our views and feelings upon our present situation and future prospects.

“ Having, through grace, overcome the disagreeableness which we at first experienced on our embarkation, arising from our little acquaintance with each other, change in our habitation, and manner of living, we find our minds composed and resigned, and our hearts more closely united to each other in the bonds of love.

“ On looking forward to the length of our voyage, and deliberating on all the dangers and difficulties which those who traverse the bosom of the mighty deep are exposed to, and frequently meet with, we are by no means discouraged; but can cheerfully give ourselves up unto Him, who holdeth the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand.

“ When we extend our view across the great Atlantic ocean, and contemplate the more extensive Southern sea; when, in our imagination, we conceive ourselves landed on our destined islands, surrounded by multitudes of the inhabitants, earnestly inquiring, ‘ From whence do you come? and what is your errand?’ we answer, ‘ From a distant shore: the friends of God and human kind; touched with compassion at your unhappy state, as represented by our countrymen who formerly have visited you; moved by the Spirit of our God, we have forsaken relatives and friends, braved storms and tempests, to teach you the knowledge of Jesus, whom to know is eternal life.’ Though Satan and all the host of hell should be stung with indignation and resentment at our boldness in the Lord, and fire the hearts of their deluded votaries with all the fury and madness which brutal ignorance and savage cruelty are capable of; though our God, in whose name we go—our Saviour, by whose rich grace we are redeemed, should deliver us up to their rage, and permit our bodies to be afflicted, yea, persecuted unto death; yet, trusting in the faithfulness of the Most High, the goodness of our cause, the uprightness of our intentions, the fervency of our affection for



“ Christ our head, and the elect of God, our hearts remain un-  
 “ daunted; and being, by Divine mercy, enlisted under the banner  
 “ of the great Captain of salvation, we are desirous to be ‘ ac-  
 “ counted worthy to suffer for his sake,’ and to endure hardship  
 “ as becometh good soldiers of Christ.

“ Such, honoured brethren, and fathers in Christ, are our present  
 “ feelings; which we hope, through your united prayers, and the  
 “ supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, our Lord and your Lord, our  
 “ God and your God, we shall never, never lose.

“ To you, and all who have contributed towards our going forth,  
 “ we render unfeigned thanks; and our prayers are, that the Most  
 “ High God may grant you occasion to rejoice in Jesus Christ on  
 “ our behalf; to whose grace we humbly and heartily commend  
 “ you, most respectfully and affectionately bidding you—Farewell!

“ By order of the missionaries,

“ JOHN JEFFERSON, Secretary.

“ On board the DUFF, at Spithead,  
 “ the 29th of August 1796.”

After waiting with some impatience for our departure, the  
 convoy having been detained by delays unknown to us, and,  
 when assembled, by contrary winds, at last the welcome signal  
 was made September 10th: at nine A. M. the commodore and  
 fleet began to weigh, and by ten were all under sail; we alone were  
 still at anchor, detained by one of our missionaries. Early in the  
 morning a boat had been dispatched on shore for the time-keeper, and  
 to bring off Mr. John Harris, the absent person; but after waiting  
 a considerable time in vain, the officer was obliged to return without  
 him. We then immediately proceeded after the fleet, which was  
 steering for the Needles; but by the time we had reached Cowes  
 the fine S. E. gale failed us, and veering to the westward, the signal  
 was made to return; when we came to in our former situation,  
 Monkton fort bearing N. by E. Mr. Harris now came on board;  
 he had been on a visit to Southampton, and having heard the fleet



were failing, hired a boat and followed us; but it is probable, had the breeze continued, that he would have been left behind.

We had now anchored, as it proved, for thirteen days more; in which time, and during the whole of our detention, we received the most obliging and unremitting kindnesses from the inhabitants of Portsea, Gosport, Southampton, and other places; nor were we neglected by our friends in London, many of whom came purposely to visit us, and thought themselves amply repaid by witnessing the universal harmony which prevailed in the ship: for, though the missionaries were mostly strangers to each other, their behaviour was such as gave reason to hope they would enjoy that peace and cordial good-will among themselves, so essentially necessary to promote success in the great work in which they were jointly engaged. At last the wished-for hour of departure arrived; the signal was made by the *Adamant* to drop down to St. Helen's. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the scene; the day was remarkably fine; the convoy moving on different tacks with their canvases spread, and passing the various ships of war at anchor in the harbour. This being a state holiday, the forts and men of war began their usual salutes whilst the convoy was under sail, which tended greatly to heighten the grandeur of the scene. On the turn of the tide they all cast anchor, and waited for their final departure in the morning.

The Rev. Dr. Haweis had been daily on board, had often preached to us, and lately celebrated a sweet and blessed communion with the missionaries and mariners; he now took his sorrowful, though joyful leave of us, with an address from Hebrews, iii. 1.: his heart appeared to be full, yea overflowing with love; while we parted with many tears, probably to meet no more till we should be re-assembled around the throne of God and of the Lamb.



## CHAPTER III.

*Voyage from Portsmouth to St. Jago, and Occurrences there.*

WE now took our final departure from Portsmouth, and launched forth on the great deep. The signal for sailing being given, the missionaries came on deck, and every countenance seemed elated with joy at the thought of soon being employed in the great work.

At five A.M. the commodore and the fleet, consisting of fifty-seven sail of transports and Portugal traders, were under way, the Fly sloop of war bringing up the rear. At noon we were all in a fair way without the Isle of Wight; wind easterly, thermometer 57, the air cold.

25th. Proceeding with a fine gale, by eight o'clock on Sunday morning we were off Falmouth, when the commodore made the signal for the fleet to lie by. A boat from St. Maw's coming alongside, we dispatched letters to our friends of our safety and health. About noon a frigate came out of the harbour and joined us; the Fly sloop at the same time hauled her wind to the eastward: the commodore then made sail, and at six P.M. the Land's End bore north, distant five leagues. This was the last sight of Old England that many on board were ever to have, and they, no doubt, felt much on the occasion, though sensible it was not for those who had parted with country and friends, and taken up the cross, to look behind: indeed, every man seemed fully satisfied with his destination.

26th. Fresh gales from the N.E. quarter, accompanied with rain, and a large easterly swell, which causing the ship to roll, most of the brethren experienced the sea-sickness severely; but remained, notwithstanding, unshaken in their desire to go on, bearing with Chris-



tian fortitude what they knew to be the general attendant on all new travellers by sea. At noon we fell in with an English frigate and a two-decker cruising, one of which spoke our commodore. In crossing the Bay of Biscay we had favourable winds, and being with the fleet, it afforded us an opportunity of seeing, by comparison with the convoy, how fine a ship we had got to perform our long voyage; for while others were crowding all sail, we could go a-head under our topsails, the men of war carrying the same sail. This encouraged a hope also, that in case of being chased by an enemy, there might be a probability of effecting our escape by means of sailing.

On the 29th our sea-sick missionaries who were recovering, devoted part of the day to learning the Otaheitean language and other useful studies. A hawk, this day, rested on our rigging, and was caught: a missionary remarked, "So might my poor soul, wandering from its true home, be lost, if not graciously prevented by Divine mercy."

On the 30th, being in latitude  $44^{\circ} 50'$  N. long.  $111^{\circ} 17'$  W. the commodore made the signal for the headmost ships to lie by; the wind at the time blowing fair for us, the captain thought we might venture to make the best of our way, especially as the greatest danger was now over, and we could go but little farther without deviating widely from our course: hoisting our ensign, therefore, to signify our intention, we were answered by the commodore, and making all sail, were followed by a South-Sea whaler and two other vessels.

The fleet soon disappeared, and the missionaries held a particular meeting of prayer and thanksgiving: praising God for past mercies, and considering themselves now deprived of human protection, they gave themselves up into the hands of the Lord, and committed themselves to his keeping and care, who hath promised, "when ye pass through the waters I will be with you."

October 1st. The wind continued at N.E. and we sailed before it with a pleasant breeze, about six knots an hour.—How gracious is



God in favouring us with such wind and weather! we want nothing but more gratitude and love.

2d. This being the Lord's day, Mr. Jefferson preached in the morning, and with his other brethren administered the communion to the captain, missionaries, and seamen. Surrounded now only with sea and sky, we seemed to have taken our departure from the abodes of the living, to be nearer the presence of our heavenly Father; and drinking out of the ever-flowing springs of his love, spent the day in prayer and praise.

3d. The missionaries in turn kept up the evening and morning devotions, and through the day employed themselves in study, or those occupations they could pursue. The women and children bore the voyage amazingly well; except a little sea-sickness, all was perfectly pleasing, and not a complaint to be heard. We saw a large ship, and took care to pass to windward of her, lest she should prove an enemy; but the display of the American flag freed us from that apprehension.

On the 6th a beautiful sun-rising: we saw the island of Madeira, which shows high, and may be seen in clear weather when distant seventeen or eighteen leagues. This island, lying in the neighbourhood of Europe, and famous all over the world for its wines, is largely described by different authors; therefore, had we even opportunity of making observations of our own, to insert them here would be unnecessary.

Mr. Cover and Mrs. Eyre were still affected with sea-sickness; all the rest were in perfect health. We passed Madeira, intending to touch at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd islands, there to replenish our water, and procure what refreshments the place could speedily supply.

The night of the 6th and the following day we had unsettled, squally weather, the wind veering from N.E. to S.E. and frequent heavy showers of rain, with which we filled some of our water-casks. On the 8th we came in sight of Palma, one of the Canary



islands. On the 10th, in lat.  $23^{\circ}$  N. we saw a strange sail in the S. E. quarter; she fired a gun to leeward, to signify she was a friend; we did the same: but as we drew nearer to her they took the alarm, and crowding what sail they could, steered from us. Distance run this last twenty-four hours one hundred and eighty-five miles.—11th, crossed the tropic of Cancer, and had several flying-fish about us; these were a novel sight to many on board, and excited much surprise and admiration.

12th. This day had been previously appointed for solemn humiliation and fasting, begging God to prepare us for our work, and forgive whatever his pure eyes had beheld amiss among us. Mr. Lewis preached in the morning, Mr. Eyre in the evening; the whole day was spent in devotion by the missionaries, and proved a season of mercy and refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Proceeding fast to the southward, on the 13th, about nine A. M. we saw Sal, which is the northernmost of the Cape de Verd isles; it has a sun-burnt appearance, insomuch that, as we sailed along to the eastward, about three miles off shore, there was not a tree or green spot to be seen. At four P. M. Bona Vista came in sight; it is hilly, and might be seen seven or eight leagues off, but for a thin white haze which is common to all these islands, and has the effect, that when you think the weather clear, you cannot see the land till within two or three leagues of it. This island has a good harbour on its west side, where, as we sailed along, we saw some vessels at anchor. At eight in the evening we took a departure from the S. W. end of Bona Vista, bearing at that time E. S. E. six miles: then, after running S. S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. thirty-five miles, just as the day dawned we saw the isle of Mayo, and right a-head, distant a mile or two, the dangerous rocks which lie off its north end.

14th. The sea broke upon them with great violence; had we kept running on, we should just have hit them; but a course S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from the west side of Bona Vista, will take a ship near to the east side of Mayo, and lead clear of this last danger. Two ships, one



brig, and a schooner, were lying in Mayo road, probably for cargoes of salt, abundance of which is yearly shipped from these islands.

With pleasant weather, all sails set, and a fine fair wind, by eleven A.M. we lost sight of Mayo, owing to the before-mentioned hazy atmosphere, for we were at no great distance from it; at the same time we could discern St. Jago off the deck. At one P.M. passed the S.E. point, and half an hour after tacked close to Green island; then made two short tacks, and came to with the small bower in eight fathoms, the south end of Green island bearing W.S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. and the peaked mountain open about two sails breadth to the eastward of the flag-staff on the fort.

Thus have we safely reached the first port for refreshment, after a voyage perfectly pleasant, and just three weeks since we left St. Helen's. The Lord has shewn us great favour indeed; the wind hath been so fair, and the weather so good, that divine service hath been regularly and daily conducted without the least interruption.—How great are his mercies! Such poor fresh-water sailors as we were, needed these gracious commencements, to prepare us for the vast space which yet remained.

As soon as the sails were furled the captain sent the first mate with his respects to the governor, to request leave of him to water and purchase refreshments, which he very politely and readily granted. The chief governor resides at St. Jago town inland, and the gentleman at Port Praya was his deputy. Respecting live stock, vegetables, &c. he said that none could be purchased this evening; but as the news would quickly spread that a ship had arrived in the port, to-morrow early the natives would resort within the walls of the fort, where the market is usually held; and as each brings a part of what he possesses, there is generally collected whatever the island affords. This being the case, we could only go on with our watering, which is here attended with much trouble, having to roll the casks a quarter of a mile over a hot soft sand, and take them off through a heavy surf: besides, the water, after it is got, is brackish.



That for the use of the fort is brought on asses or camels from a distance of three or four miles.

The deputy-governor had long laboured under a dangerous complaint, and though for some time past in a way of recovering, yet for want of advice and medicines was apprehensive of a relapse. Dr. Gillham being on shore, the case was made known, and his opinion and advice agreeing with what had been told the governor before by a surgeon of an Indiaman, gained confidence, and the doctor's services were gladly accepted, who prescribed for the governor and his lady, who was also indisposed; and he visited some poor sick natives. Their diseases he chiefly found to be intermittents, diseases of the liver, and anasarca. He reports the place as very unhealthy, yet was informed of a person one hundred and ten years old.

15th. At daylight the pinnace was detached for another turn of water, some of the missionaries voluntarily lending their assistance. On her return the ship's steward was sent to trade for live stock, &c.; a few of the missionaries accompanied him to procure what things they wanted for their own use: old clothes they found to be a staple article: however, we were in a measure disappointed, for the market was not as well furnished as we expected, owing, as the fort alleged, to but few of the country people being yet apprised of our arrival; therefore all we got for the cabin was, one turkey, five fowls, five pigs, a quantity of oranges, and a quarter of a cask of Madeira wine for the use of the missionaries, which we procured from the captain of an American brig that lay in the port. While we were on shore the governor treated us with the greatest respect and kindness, and had Dr. Gillham, myself, and two of the brethren, to dine with him. In return for his civility, Captain Wilson sent him a cheese and some tea and sugar, articles which he stood in need of, the regular supplies from Lisbon having not arrived, though past the usual time. Our water being completed, at five P. M. a gun was fired from the ship, a signal for those who were on shore to repair on board; hoisted the boats in, got under way, and by seven o'clock



were clear of the harbour: thermometer  $77^{\circ}$ , very sultry. St. Jago is the most fruitful and the best inhabited of all the Cape de Verd islands, notwithstanding it is very mountainous, and has in it a great deal of barren land. The principal town is named after the island, and is situated in  $15^{\circ}$  N. lat.; it stands against the side of two mountains, between which there is a deep valley two hundred yards wide, that runs within a small space of the sea. In that part of the valley next the sea is a straggling street with houses on each side, and a rivulet of water in the bottom, emptying itself into a fine cove, or sandy bay, where the sea is generally very smooth, so that ships ride there with great safety. A small fort is erected near the landing-place of this bay, where a guard is constantly kept, and near it is a battery mounted with a few small cannon, but incapable of resisting an enemy.

Port Praya is a small bay, situated about the middle of the south side of the island, in lat.  $14^{\circ} 53'$  N. long.  $23^{\circ} 30'$  W.; it may be known by the southernmost hill on the island lying inland in the direction of west from the port; the hill is round and peaked at the top. Green island may also be taken as a mark by which to know the harbour; it lies on the west side of the bay, is not very high, and has steep rocky sides. From this island to the west point of the bay lie funken rocks, upon which the sea continually breaks: the two points which form the entrance lie in the direction of W. S. W. and E. N. E. half a league from each other. It is usual for East-Indiamen, Guinea traders, and others bound to the southward, to touch here for refreshments: "Bullocks," says Captain Cook, "must be purchased with money; the price is twelve Spanish dollars a-head, weighing between two hundred and fifty and three hundred pounds. Other articles may be got from the natives in exchange for old clothes, &c.; but the sale of bullocks is granted to a company of merchants as their peculiar privilege, and they constantly keep an agent residing on the spot." This may in general be true, but we could find neither merchants nor agents, consequently got no bul-



locks; however, had our stay been longer, it is probable some of them would have come to the fort.

Though our stay was very short, our brethren on shore were not inattentive to their first object; we shall just mention, in the simplicity of the language of the reporter, what passed on one occasion:

“ I was meditating on the great goodness of God to me an unworthy creature, and that ‘ whosoever is afraid or ashamed of his word before men, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed,’ when I met a native black man, who invited me to his house. My mind was greatly impressed with the ignorance and superstition I saw; so I went with him, and found him very friendly: he spoke the English language sufficiently to be understood; I inquired what religion he was of; he told me he was a Roman Catholic. After speaking a little of their mode and manner of worship, I told him freely I feared he was wrong; that God could not be worshipped through the medium of images, pointing out the several passages of God’s word which forbid such worship; and, blessed be God, he appeared very much to give way to what I said to him; and I hope the Lord will convince him by his Spirit. Before parting from him, I desired him to read over all the passages I had pointed out to him, for he had an old Bible, and could read a little: I begged him to compare the word of God with the sentiments he had been taught, and to pray to God without images set before him, as they are an abomination to the Lord; and there can be but one true way of worshipping him through Jesus Christ, and him alone. Thus, after a few more words, we parted, and I hope the labour will not be in vain in the Lord.”



## CHAPTER IV.

*Run to Rio Janeiro.—Reception and Observations.*

18th. **H**AVING completed the purpose of our landing at Port Praya, and afresh taken our departure, at a little distance off the island a fine breeze sprang up, and continued from E.S.E. to E.N.E. with hazy weather; then gradually declined to calms and light airs alternately. Lat.  $9^{\circ} 30'$  N. long.  $23^{\circ}$  W. at one P.M. we saw a sail to the westward, and by five o'clock in the evening, the variable light winds being most favourable to her, she had got within a mile of us; then hoisting English colours, fired a gun to bring us to: we likewise fired and shewed our colours; and observing that she had the advantage of sailing we bore down to speak with her; but there being hardly any wind, it was dark before we came within hail: their gun-ports, fore and aft, were up, the between decks lighted, and the crew at their quarters. This formidable appearance damped the spirits of our peaceable passengers, who were now in suspense whether they should go to France or Otaheite; for as she was much our superior in force, we must inevitably have fallen into their hands had they been enemies: but on hailing her our apprehensions vanished; her name was the Jack Park, of Liverpool, bound to Africa; she was a letter of marque, and out of twenty-two vessels she had examined we only were English.

The observations of the missionaries, on this occasion, are well worth remarking: “Many fears began to arise in our minds; but  
“thanks be to God, we were enabled to cast our care upon Him,  
“and resign ourselves to his blessed will; knowing that whatever  
“the Lord in his providence should send us, we trust shall be for his  
“own glory—the Lord is better to us than all our fears.”



19th. "This morning at sun-rising I was upon deck," says W. P. "and struck with the scene presented to my view. The sea was quite calm and serene, the sky was most beautiful, and the sun discovering his disk out of variegated clouds: I never before saw any thing so delightful. At a distance were some water-spouts extending from the clouds to the sea, which formed a most wonderful object: I thought of the beautiful words of the Psalmist, 'They who go down to the sea in ships, &c. they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep'."

21st. A heavy squall came on when the missionaries were engaged between decks in evening prayer; and the ship heeling on a sudden, the lee scuttle being open, the water rushed in like a torrent, and rather alarmed them. "I caught up," says W. H. "a gown of my wife's, the first thing in the way, and held it in the scuttle-hole till the carpenter went over the ship's side and closed it tight. The squall did not continue long, and we were enabled to sing the praises of our Lord with enlarged hearts."

22d. A number of sharks were playing round the ship; we caught two, each about five feet long; after being cut into pieces, and the entrails taken out, the heads jumped about the deck for a considerable time.

27th. The weather became now very unsettled, the winds variable and squally, attended with much thunder and lightning; here we also felt the power of a vertical sun, and, apprehensive of its sickening effects, put in practice those methods which eminent voyagers have used so successfully: we first washed between decks quite clean, and when dry fumigated with tobacco and sulphur; at six every morning the hammocks were brought upon deck; and thus the berths, kept as clean as possible, received the benefit of the fresh air. From the 18th to the 22d of the month we sailed through a part of the sea which in the night exhibits a brilliant appearance; all round the ship, in her wake, and where the squalls ruffle the surface, being grandly illuminated. Some assert this to be occasioned



by animalcules which thus glow in the dark, their shining parts being turned upwards by the turbulence of the waters. On the 27th, in lat.  $3^{\circ}$  N. and long.  $28^{\circ}$  W. we got the fresh S.E. trade wind, the salutary effects of which were gratefully received; for, sensible whence our blessing comes, we had reason to be thankful, that, after the late weather, so pernicious to European constitutions, we were all preserved in good health.

29th. We saw a very remarkable shoal of porpoises; they rose as if disciplined in a straight line extending about half a mile, making so sudden a noise and ruffle in the sea, that at first sight we took them to be breakers. About midnight we crossed the equator in long.  $30^{\circ}$  W.; the variation by five sets of azimuths  $5^{\circ} 25'$  W.

In these latitudes we naturally expected to meet calms and burning suns, instead of which we have a delightful breeze, which carries us along about nine knots an hour; and the sun-beams being broken by clouds and a haze, the heat hath not exceeded what we have often felt in England.—How great is his mercy!

31st. At six A.M. saw the island of Fernando de Noronha, bearing W.N.W. nine leagues; then run S.S.W. forty-two miles, and observed in lat.  $4^{\circ} 31'$  S. long. by account  $32^{\circ} 19'$  W. This island, when it bore W.N.W. nine leagues, shewed in detached hills, the largest of which had the appearance of a church steeple.

“ This island,” says Antonio de Ulloa, “ hath two harbours, capable of receiving ships of the greatest burden; one is on the north side, the other on the north-west; the former is, in every respect, the principal, both for shelter, capacity, and the goodness of its bottom; but both are exposed to the north and west; but these winds, particularly the north, are periodical, and of no long continuance.”

November 1st. After passing this island the wind continued at S.E. till in lat.  $7^{\circ}$  S. it became variable, shifting almost every day from about S.S.E. to E. and back by the eastward to S. When there was nothing in the wind, the weather was most unsettled and



rainy; when in the southern quarter we had generally fair weather, though sometimes the south-easters were accompanied with a little rain.

The porter being exhausted, the captain proposed to issue half a pint of Madeira wine to the missionaries, which was thankfully accepted.

2d. Caught two Portuguese men of war in a bucket; they are beautiful pink-coloured bladders in the shape of a curious shell, and put out innumerable arms like worms about a foot long, which, on being touched, sting like nettles. They rise to the surface, and scud before the wind like little ships.

4th. We have to acknowledge the unspeakable goodness of God towards us; it is six weeks this day since we left St. Helen's, and we are all in health, strength, and activity; and have enjoyed an uninterrupted favourable wind ever since we quitted our native shore.

6th. Celebrated the communion on the quarter-deck, covered with an awning to keep us from the sun—a very comfortable time—enabled to rejoice in the Lord our strength and righteousness: Oh, may his kingdom spread far and wide!

7th. Met this evening to send up our united prayers with our brethren in England, for a blessing on this and all missionary labours throughout the world: we began at half past four, to correspond with our brethren at seven o'clock, such being the difference of time.

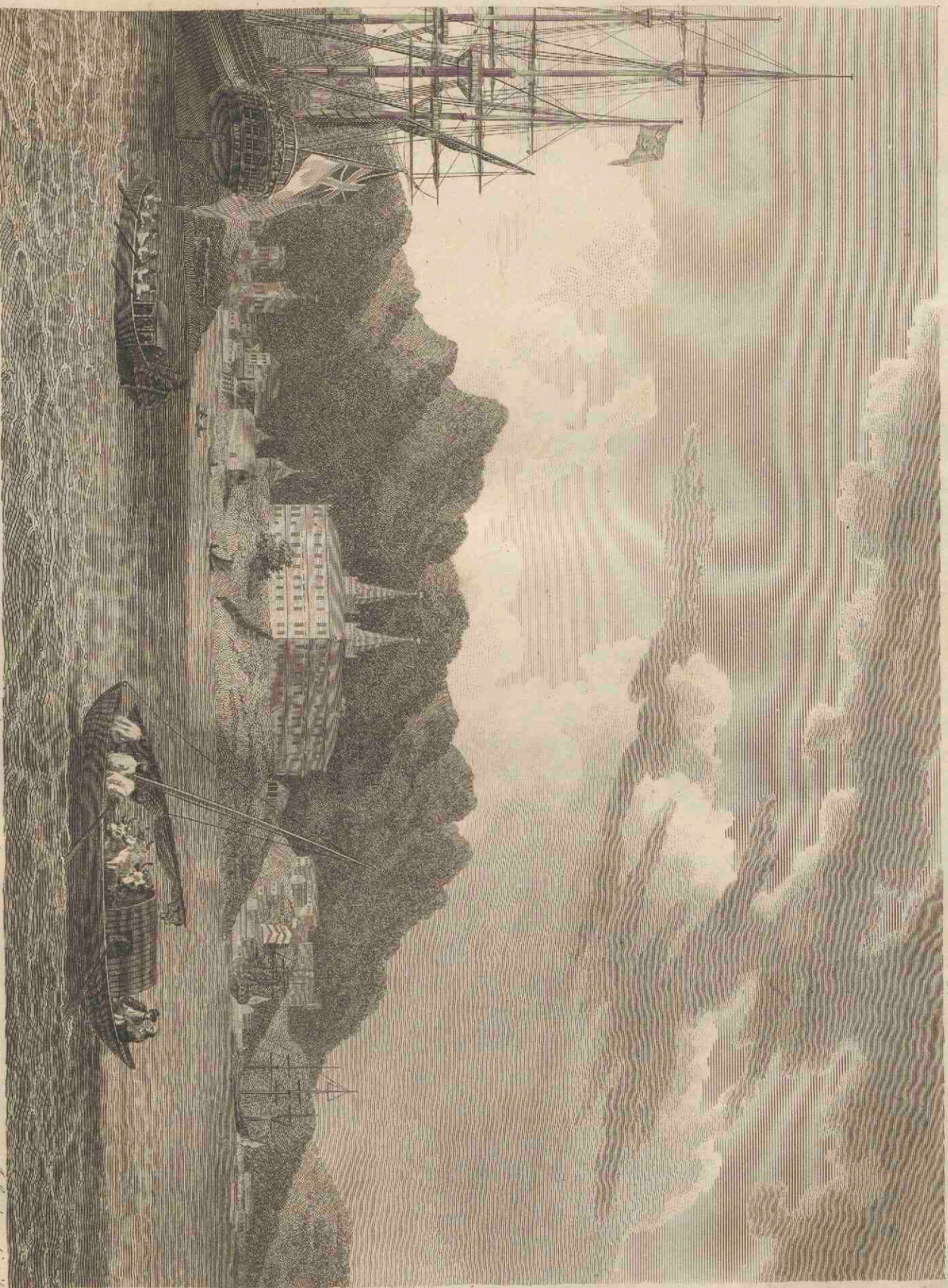
9th. In lat.  $18^{\circ} 39'$  S. long.  $37^{\circ} 46'$  W. we founded on the outer part of the Abrolhos banks in eighteen fathoms; and while we were running sixteen leagues on a S.W. course had irregular soundings, viz. 18, 20, 22, 27, 38, 19, 17, 30, 25, coarse sand with reddish stones. At noon we observed in lat.  $19^{\circ} 15'$  S.; our longitude by lunar observation of sun and moon  $38^{\circ} 30'$ , by account  $38^{\circ} 21'$  W. From noon, with irregular soundings of nearly the same depth, we ran S.S.W. fourteen leagues farther, and could then find no bottom with fifty fathom of line. Here we reckoned ourselves to be in lat.  $19^{\circ} 54'$  S.



long.  $38^{\circ} 40'$  W. and clear to the southward of the Abrolhos banks saw Espirito Santo. We then ran S. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. fifty-one miles, and observed in  $20^{\circ} 41'$  S. long.  $39^{\circ}$  W.; afterwards running fourteen hours upon a course, made good S.W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. one hundred and four miles, we founded in fifteen fathoms, upon a bank (as we suppose) which lies off Cape Thomé.

11th. At eight A.M. we saw the scattered islands which lie to the northward of Cape Frio. The weather being hazy we had no observation. At half past two Cape Frio bore N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. five miles. It now set in to rain very hard, with brisk gales from the N.E.; in consequence of which we put the ship under a snug sail, intending to spend the night betwixt the Cape and the entrance of Rio de Janeiro; standing in shore to thirty fathoms, and off to forty-eight; a sandy bottom. 12th. At daylight we made sail and ran for the harbour; but the breeze failing, and the tide against us, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before we reached the entrance. When nearly there, a pilot-boat came alongside, in which was the head harbour-master, who took charge of the ship. In running in we gave the fort of Santa Cruz a berth of half a cable's length; keeping the Isle de Cobras, which is strongly fortified, about two points upon the larboard bow, till the Benedictine monastery, which is large and white, appeared clear of its north side; then hauling up towards the shipping, we came to with our small bower in seven fathoms water, and moored with a kedge to the northward, the monastery bearing S.W. by S. and Isle de Enchados N. by W. As soon as we had anchored, a guard-boat, with the proper officers, came alongside, in order to prevent smuggling, and watch that no person went from the ship unaccompanied by a soldier. It is remarked, that the government in this colony acts towards strangers with the most jealous caution; the captain, obliged to land when we first entered the port, was attended with a military officer from fort Santa Cruz. This evening setting in with heavy rain, thunder,





*View of Rio Janeiro, del. from a sketch by H. Wilson.*

*HARBOUR of RIO JANEIRO, with the BENEDETTINE MONASTERY, part of the CITY and the SHIP DECK.*

*Published by T. Chapman, Fleet Street, 1801, 1809.*







and lightning, we ran our electric conductors to the mast-heads, a precaution necessary when within the tropics.

13th. Being now safely moored, after a passage of five thousand miles, through the most malignant climates, it is proper to pause, while we with grateful hearts adore the goodness of God, whose watchful providence has been conspicuously displayed in our favour; preserving us in health, and guiding us in safety to a port where we can procure whatever refreshments we want for the comfort of the rest of our passage. Besides these motives, an additional cause for thankfulness is, that the hearts of the missionaries seem as much as ever devoted to the Redeemer's service, and their minds as ardently intent as ever to promote his glory.

This day being the sabbath, the incumbent duties were observed in the same manner as at sea; the officer of the guard-boat attended, conducting himself with much propriety, and at the close of the worship expressed his approbation. His curiosity, however, was much excited, and he seemed quite at a loss to know what kind of people we were; but either through modesty, or a fear of offending, declined making any inquiries: afterwards, when more familiar, he said that he never before saw people behave so peaceably and soberly on the first day after their arrival; the reverse, swearing, noise, and drunkenness, being generally the practice.

14th. Since the captain was on shore on our first arrival, no individual was allowed to go from the ship till a further examination by the superior officers, whose visit we were obliged patiently to wait; and as the time of their coming was uncertain, we employed the day on the necessary duty of the ship till about four in the afternoon, when there came, in the master-attendant's boat, some military officers, the chief justice, a physician, the captain of a ship, and an interpreter. Their business seemed to be trifling, repeating only the questions which had been put to the captain at the first: however, though their scrivener was present, what they had now done was not sufficient; the captain, myself, and the second officer,



were ordered to attend at the viceroy's palace, there to answer to the same string of interrogations, viz. Whence we came? whither bound? the nature of our voyage? and what political news we had to communicate? When the whole was noted, duplicates written, and signed by us, we were informed that the papers would be sent to Lisbon, and that such scrutinies were the common practice of the colony.

This ceremony being over, we had leave to go on shore when we pleased, themselves taking care always to put a soldier in the boat before she put from alongside; and as soon as we landed, another picked us up and followed us through the town, abiding close by us till we returned again to the boat. From Monday till Saturday we were employed refitting our rigging, watering our ship, and procuring live stock, wine, &c. for sea store; several sorts of seeds and plants were also got on board, such as it was supposed might flourish and be useful at Otaheite.

On Saturday the 19th, at four in the morning, we unmoored, and with the master-attendant on board took the ship nearer to the harbour's mouth, that we might be in readiness to embrace the first leading breeze to sail.

About noon the sea wind set in with a thick fog; in the afternoon both boats were employed to bring from the shore a variety of things which were still unavoidably there.

20th. At seven in the morning we weighed with a light breeze in our favour; but by the time we got abreast of fort Santa Cruz it changed against us: however, we kept plying to windward, and after we had made a few tacks, the master-attendant took his leave. At three P.M. we passed between Razor island and Round island, when a fresh breeze springing up, we were very soon out of sight of land.

The city of Rio de Janeiro is at present the capital of Brazil, and, since the discovery of the diamond mines in its vicinity, has been the residence of the viceroy. It has for its defence cannon planted upon the tops of the eminences, which command its entrance;



besides three or four regular forts ; but none of these, taken singly, can be esteemed very strong, except Santa Cruz and Lozia, as they lie considerably distant from each other : therefore, though guns may be seen whatever way you turn your eyes, yet the place is not in reality so well fortified as it appears to be.

The inhabitants are a mixture of Portuguese, mulattoes, and negroes, and their number in the city and suburbs cannot exceed two hundred thousand. The churches, monasteries, convents, the viceroy's palace, the hospital, and a few private houses, have a good appearance. The streets are narrow, but straight and regular. Their windows and the upper part of their doors being latticed with rods laid across each other, and close shut all day, a stranger walking along, and seeing their women and children peep through these gratings, might suppose their dwellings so many prisons.

The government is so strictly cautious, that the inhabitants can have no intercourse whatever with strangers without leave first obtained from the viceroy : a letter of credit which Captain Wilson had, addressed to a respectable merchant, afforded one instance. On receipt of the letter he expressed his readiness to advance what sums the captain might have occasion for, and to assist him in any other way ; but before he could oblige him, he said, he must wait on the viceroy with the letter.

This capital appears to exceed all popish places in the parade of religion. At the corner of every street is a figure of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary placed in a niche, or kind of cupboard, with a curtain and glass window before it ; in the night, candles are lighted ; and here the people stop to address their devotions, and the whole night long the voice of their chanting to these images may be heard. Even the common beggar makes a trade of religion, by carrying a little crucifix at his breast, which I suppose he may buy for a penny ; at this the poorer sort cross themselves, and the beggar blessing them, must be paid for his benediction as well as the pope.

The established port charges paid by all merchant-ships are, on



entering 3*l.* 12*s.*, and 5*s.* 6*d.* a day while at anchor; besides this, foreign vessels must pay an interpreter commission for his business with government, and on what he purchases; however, provisions are very cheap. Rum, which they make in the colony, is of a tolerable quality; and their port wine, meliorated by passing through the tropical climates, is allowed to excel in goodness.

On entering this port, after a long passage across the Atlantic ocean, the vastness of the prospect fills the mind with the most pleasing sensations. Passing the narrow entrance between two lofty hills, the harbour suddenly widening shews like an extensive lake, where on different parts lie many scattered islands. On the left, the city, with the fortifications and whitewashed walls, presents itself in a striking manner, with shipping at anchor, and boats bringing supplies from every quarter. Beyond all, to the north-west, as far as the eye can reach, a range of lofty mountains erect their rugged tops: in their bosoms, perhaps, thousands of human beings are doomed, in search of gold and diamonds, to spend their days in misery.

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*The Observations of the Missionaries at their Entrance and Stay at  
Rio Janeiro.*

ON approaching the harbour the tops of the mountains were hid in clouds, but the hills near the shore covered with fruit-trees to their very tops. Several fortified islands were around us; and on the main we saw a magnificent aqueduct of about fifty arches, extending from one mountain to another. Here we began to observe marks of their superstition, for the cross was erected on the tops of the hills, and on their forts. On the Lord's day, the Portuguese and Indians, who were our attendants on board, looked on very attentively, and behaved very seriously, during our worship, though unacquainted with

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the language; whilst those who remained in the boat, though it was Sunday, amused themselves with cards.

A large party of us going on shore, we had leave to see the town, accompanied by two officers, who treated us with much civility. On landing we were shocked with the sight of a poor slave worn out with disease and labour, advancing with feeble crawl to the water's edge; and shortly after beheld a scene disgusting to humanity, a cargo of human beings exposed for sale, naked, in the market-place; whilst others, in companies of six or seven chained together, were traversing the streets with burdens: we have seen their masters flog them like horses or dogs, so that our eyes have been filled with tears at the sight. When shall this barbarous traffic come to an end?

The streets were full of shops of every kind; the druggists' and silversmiths' made the noblest appearance. We observed a large reservoir of water, with three fountains discharging into it, very sweet, and convenient for the shipping. Peruvian bark was 1*s.* 5*d.* per pound, cochineal 10*s.* We wished to procure some of the cochineal plants, but did not succeed; but we got various tropical seeds and plants at a hospitable cottager's, a little distance from the city.

The viceroy's garden was beautifully interspersed with oranges, lemons, limes, and a number of other trees. There we saw a crocodile spouting water, surrounded with curious shell-work; and in another part, a boy holding a tortoise, from whose mouth issued a copious stream. The view of the harbour from one of the terraces is magnificent. The summer-houses were adorned with beautiful paintings representing the working the diamond mines, and the making sugar, rum, and other produce of the country.

We next visited the palace. The colonel commandant and his lady shewed us the greatest politeness, and his lady was peculiarly attentive to our wives; and sorry we were that we could make no acknowledgments in return; especially when we saw their rooted superstitions, beads and crucifixes hung about their necks; and the crosses and their fountains were at the corner of every street, and before their



houses : to these they bow and cross themselves as they pass. Indeed they seem sunk in idolatry. The number of their priests is immense. The town seemed not bigger than Bristol, and can hardly contain more than two hundred thousand inhabitants.

Our attention was arrested by a grand procession of priests, nuns, mourners, &c. entering one of their cathedrals, which was hung with black, and blazing with lamps. The prayers were chanted, and chorusses sung, accompanied by a band of music. The sight afflicted us ; to behold such external pomp of worship, and to discover no trace of the pure undefiled religion of Jesus.

They are very jealous of strangers on account of their diamond mines, where so many miserable Africans are yearly sacrificed. We passed the military hospital, on a healthy spot about a mile from the city ; but I did not visit it, says the surgeon, lest I might carry some infection on board. Not far distant, in a beautiful valley, is the viceroy's magnificent chapel ; and they are now erecting a large cathedral near it, where a multitude of slaves were employed ; and to share in the merit of the work, they informed us several youths of opulent families assisted, raising a vast superstructure on a sandy foundation. I retired to my cabin in the evening, praying that the Lord would send hither his precious gospel with demonstration of his spirit and power.

Upon the whole, we had every reason to be satisfied with our reception, and embraced the opportunity of a ship sailing for Europe to convey intelligence to our friends.

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Though the following letter addressed by the missionaries to the directors has been published, it properly and deservedly claims a part in this narrative ; and with it we shall close the transactions at Rio Janeiro.



“ On board the *DUFF*, in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro,  
“ coast of Brazil, South America, Nov. 15, 1796.

“ Dear and honoured Brethren,

“ WE think it our duty to inform you, we arrived at this place  
“ on Saturday, 12th instant, after a passage of seven weeks and one  
“ day. We cannot sufficiently acknowledge the great goodness of  
“ Almighty God, in the signal blessings we have been favoured with,  
“ since our departure from our country and dear connexions therein.  
“ We have not experienced one day of real bad weather since we were  
“ launched upon the bosom of the great deep : winds and waves, in  
“ the hands of our God, have been propitious. The fiery heat of the  
“ sun, in passing beneath its directest rays, hath been kindly checked  
“ by intervening clouds or cooling gales ; so that we have crossed  
“ thus far through the burning zone, without feeling those inconven-  
“ niences that we were naturally led to expect. Our visitations of  
“ sickness have been partial and transient ; few having been afflicted,  
“ and those, through divine goodness, speedily recovered : Mrs.  
“ Eyre excepted, who, through weakness and infirmity incident on  
“ age, has enjoyed but little health since our departure from England ;  
“ however, from the time of our arrival in this harbour, she appears  
“ greatly revived. The abundant supply of every necessary, fur-  
“ nished by our liberal friends, hath not suffered us to feel the smallest  
“ want. Our attention has been chiefly directed to the reading of the  
“ accounts of the islands of the South Sea, and acquiring some know-  
“ ledge of the Otaheitean language, from the providential means put  
“ into our hands ; other studies of a scientific nature we have not  
“ been able to pay general application to. The worship of the Most  
“ High has been duly and constantly attended, without any omission  
“ but when necessity or prudence made it warrantable. Whatever  
“ spiritual trials we individually have suffered, moments of refresh-  
“ ment from God and our Saviour Jesus Christ have more than  
“ compensated. Harmony and concord continue among us as a body



“ engaged in one common cause. We look forward to what remains  
“ of our voyage and future operations with that concern our peculiar  
“ situation demands. Our insufficiency we feel, and where our  
“ strength lieth we know. We humbly hope and trust that the hand  
“ of God will continue with us, by his Spirit to direct us, and by  
“ his power to guard us. We give ourselves up to God, through  
“ Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire to lie placid in his arms.

“ Dear brethren, the whole body of missionaries, as the heart of  
“ one man, present their Christian love to the body of directors, the  
“ society, and all true lovers of Christ and his gospel. We pray the  
“ continuance of an interest in your fervent prayers for us, and for  
“ our undertaking; that we may acquit ourselves as men, faithful  
“ to the cause in which we are engaged, and be rendered mighty  
“ instruments in the hands of God for the conversion of the heathens  
“ of the South Sea: so shall iniquity stop its mouth, the wise and  
“ prudent in their own eyes be ashamed, and the mighty power of  
“ God be displayed in the eyes of the world, by his choosing the fool-  
“ ish things of the world to confound the wise, the weak things of  
“ the world to confound the things which are mighty; the base  
“ things of the world, and things which are despised, and things  
“ which are not, to bring to nought things that are.

“ We remain, dear and honoured brethren,

“ Your brethren in the gospel of Jesus Christ,

“ The whole body of missionaries,

“ JOHN JEFFERSON, Secretary.”



## CHAPTER V.

*Departure from Rio Janeiro, till our Arrival at Otaheite.*

WE now proceeded on our voyage, in hopes of effecting it by the way of Cape Horn, which was our original intention. The captain had laid in a fresh store of such provisions as this place afforded, with fugar, wine, and whatever might be necessary in the long run before us.

20th. Lord's day. Brothers Eyre and Jefferson preached. We had but little wind, and drifted out with the tide. In leaving this harbour, and again launching into the deep, we thought on all the mercies of our God, who had dealt so wonderfully with us, and protected us hitherto in safety through the pathless ocean: we could, with humble dependence, trust him for the future.

24th. We begin to find it colder as we run to the south; the atmosphere, day and night, is free from clouds; the breeze is moderate; we move as on a mill-pond, enjoying all the blessings of life. O may the goodness of the Lord lead us to repentance, watchfulness, and unfeigned love of the brethren! These favourable commencements, however, soon changed; he shall describe who felt them. "29th. We had a very pleasant day, and this evening I  
" was delighted to see the ship crowded down with sails, and going  
" swiftly before the wind with the starry heavens over us. About  
" eleven o'clock I was waked out of sleep, and much alarmed with  
" the noise on deck. I hurried on my clothes and ran up the ladder, and to my great surprise found the ship under her bare poles.  
" The sky, which had been so serene and bright, was covered  
" with black clouds; the lightning came in flashes so quick and



“ vivid, as took away my eye-sight for a time. Blessed be God !  
“ it did not last more than two hours, when the storm abated.  
“ See what the Lord can do ! ‘ Let all the earth fear the Lord ; let  
“ all the inhabitants thereof stand in awe of him. He gathereth  
“ the waters of the sea together as an heap, he layeth up the  
“ depths as in his treasure-house. Oh, how great is thy goodness,  
“ which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee !’

“ Amidst the roaring of the sea  
“ My soul still hangs her all on thee ;  
“ Thy constant love, thy faithful care,  
“ Is all that saves me from despair.”

After being two months from England, and running six thousand miles, this is the first time we have experienced a contrary wind.

But to return to Mr. Wilson's journal.

During the first eight days nothing remarkable occurred. On the 29th we observed in lat.  $34^{\circ} 56'$  S. long.  $49^{\circ} 30'$  W. ; had a fine breeze westerly and clear weather : towards the evening it veered to the north, a gentle gale and a smooth sea : but these favourable circumstances we foresaw would be of short continuance : to the southward black clouds were rising fast, and flying with great velocity over our heads in a direction quite contrary to the way the wind at present blew. This jarring of the elements we considered as a sure prognostic of an approaching storm ; therefore the captain ordered the small sails to be taken in, also a single reef in the top-sails. Still a gentle gale continued as before till near midnight, when we were attacked by a most violent squall, with a deluge of rain and smart thunder and lightning, the combined force of which obliged us to haul our foresail close up, and furl every other sail : happily it soon subsided, but continued not long moderate ; a strong gale set in at south, and the sea running high all the following day, most of the missionaries were again visited with the sea-sickness.



December 1st. The gale moderated, and the sea falling greatly, a few of the sick recovered; betwixt decks were cleared and dried, the ship put in order, and preparations made to encounter such storms as we might now expect. The cow had suffered much in the late gale from repeated falls; and as no hay had been got at Rio Janeiro, on account of the rainy season, the little we brought from home was now expended, therefore no alternative remained but to kill the poor lean animal: this was done accordingly, but with reluctance, as her milk had been very serviceable to the women and children; we found her big with calf, which made her more regretted. In the course of the night we experienced another smart gale, which, though not quite so violent as the last, was, like it, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning.

2d. At daylight we had better weather, and the sea was remarkably smooth, but very much discoloured, the cause of which phenomenon is generally ascribed to the outset of the tide from the great river of Rio de la Plata: we sounded, but found no bottom with one hundred fathom of line. At noon our latitude, by observation, was  $38^{\circ} 8'$  S. long.  $50^{\circ} 15'$  W. Towards the close of the day the sky again put on a gloomy aspect, and from a moderate breeze at S. by W. the wind veered to S.W. by W. the gale increasing, and the sea rising very fast.

3d. In the morning the sea ran exceeding high, and the wind blew a complete storm, which reduced us to a close-reefed main-top-sail and fore-sail. Several of our live stock died, either by the cold or the spray of the sea, so that we were in danger of losing the whole of this invaluable preservative of health. Not only the greater part of the missionaries were sea-sick, but some of our seamen also. Mrs. Eyre, already exhausted by continued illness, seemed unable long to sustain these greater trials; and respecting those who were not sick, they, and likewise the crew, felt the uncomfortable effects of such bad weather. Being thus situated, the captain was appre-



hensive that in persevering in our endeavours to double Cape Horn, our raw, unseasoned company of landmen, women, and children, might fall victims to the repeated storms and colder weather, which we might expect to meet with in the attempt: also, after doing our best, the certainty of getting round, in our circumstances, was doubtful, as in the case of Bligh and others, whose efforts, after long struggles, proved in vain.

Therefore the captain, after deliberately weighing these and the connected circumstances, relinquished a plan, which to execute required a ship's crew of hardy sailors, unaccompanied by tender women and children, and adopted the resolution of going the eastern passage; that is, to pass a few degrees south of the Cape of Good Hope, to sail to the southward of the south cape of New Holland and New Zealand, keeping in the track of the westerly winds till near the meridian of Otaheite, and then to steer to the northward for that island.

At noon we observed in lat.  $39^{\circ} 2' S.$  long.  $50^{\circ} W.$  Immediately afterwards we bore away, setting what sail the ship could bear; and this we certainly had good reason to do, considering that before we could reach Otaheite by the straightest course, we must run not less than fourteen thousand miles; whereas, from our present station, to go by way of Cape Horn, the distance did not exceed seven thousand miles; and I am persuaded, that to some on board the desire to sail round the world was more than a counterpoise to the difficulties which might attend our passage round that cape. But since it is proper, that in all cases self-gratification ought to give place to the best-devised means of obtaining the principal ends of our employment, so now all were fully satisfied that the late adopted measures were for the best.

The sea running tremendously high, we were apprehensive of being pooped by it, or otherwise receiving damage, therefore shaped our course right before it, steering N.E. by E. and E.N.E. till it



gradually became smoother. In the course of the first four days we ran six hundred and forty miles by our log, and were then detained for a while by easterly winds.

But to particularize the various occurrences of so long a passage, where the objects which present themselves have already been largely treated of by men of ability and skill in natural history, would afford but little entertainment, and tedious repetitions of winds and weather only tire the patience; therefore shall deem it sufficient to notice briefly the progress we made from time to time. Our missionary journals will fill the chasm.

December 5th. Our religious exercises have hitherto not been interrupted; we have maintained the regulated daily services between decks when we could not assemble on the quarter. This day we met our dear friends in England at their hour of prayer, and sent up our petitions in union with theirs to the throne of grace for the success of all missionary labours.

6th. Fresh breezes: ran eight or nine knots an hour. How great are his mercies!

8th. A great head sea; saw several whales playing around; sometimes they approached very near, close under the stern, when we could observe them distinctly, as they came to the surface to breathe, throwing up the water to a vast height with a tremendous noise. We were struck with awe and solemnity—How wonderful and manifold are thy works, O God! Heaven, earth, and sea, declare thy glory: "Let every thing which hath breath praise the Lord."

The climate here, though advancing to the midst of summer, appeared to us cold as in England in the midst of winter.

The gale still blew from the west with unabated violence: an awful sea running mountains high; the clouds hanging low, thick, and gloomy; the ship scudding before the wind with surprising ease and swiftness, and shipping very little water, considering the greatness of the sea. At those times we truly beheld the wonders of the Lord in the great deep. The ship sometimes seemed hid between two lofty mountains of



water, and then elevated to the immense summit. These sights of the marvellous works of our God exalted our ideas of his greatness and glory, and increased our joy and praise; assured that this awful God is our God, and all his divine perfections engaged in our behalf. We have sometimes sat on the deck with sacred pleasure and composure, viewing the towering billows on every side, some following us with their foaming tops, and seeming to threaten our destruction; but instead of doing us any harm, only pushing us on the faster to the haven where we would be. We were unable to celebrate the Lord's supper through the agitation of the vessel, and turned our usual service into a meeting of prayer between decks; there confined from the sight of the sun, and the sea making often a way over the ship, the Lord made up every want by vouchsafing his gracious presence—we could adopt the language of the poet:

Thy shining grace can cheer  
The dungeon where we dwell;  
'Tis paradise if thou art there,  
If thou depart 'tis hell.

Though by changing our course we shall lengthen our voyage seven thousand miles, and have two hundred and eleven degrees of longitude to run, yet the speed with which we advance is amazing; in the last two days, since Friday at midnight, we have run by the log near five hundred miles. The Lord is sending us about as he did his Israel of old, and no doubt for wise ends. Could we have gone round Cape Horn, we might probably have reached the place of our destination much sooner: but we are short-sighted creatures, and in the best hands; let his will be done, who knows how most safely to lead us through the deep as through a wilderness.

The immense shoals of fishes around us have often amused and astonished us; some larger marching in great pomp, followed by a train of smaller, and approaching close to the ship's sides; the



flying-fish rising like a flock of birds out of the water, and often falling on board; one fifteen inches long flew directly against our bell, and was taken: they were very good eating. Thousands of birds also, about the size of pigeons, flew around us.

20th. We re-crossed the meridian of London, and began counting our longitude eastward; and on the 24th that of the Cape of Good Hope, in the latitude or track of  $40^{\circ} 20'$  S. with a fine gale westerly driving us along at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour.

24th. Christmas eve: spent, says W. P. a comfortable evening with my messmates, brother Shelly, brother Hodges and his wife; had a good cake of our own making, and a very nice dish of chocolate. My mind was deeply impressed with the remembrance of dearest absent friends, whom I represented sitting round their fire-side, and saying, Ah, poor souls, where are they now!

25th. After a sermon from Isaiah, ix. 6. the Lord's supper was administered: blessed be God, I found it a very comfortable season.

26th. Fine weather and brisk gales; we sailed two hundred and forty miles the last twenty-four hours.

29th. Observed an eclipse of the sun of about three hours continuance; three parts being obscured, it produced a perceptible darkness.

The missionaries were now applying themselves to the Otaheitean language, the most diligent giving pleasing proofs of their desire and aptness to acquire it. A part of each day was also appropriated to reading the Rev. Mr. Greatheed's account of the South-Sea islands: this they styled Missionary Geography; from thence deriving considerable knowledge: their minds also became more exercised, and a difference of opinion gradually increased concerning the propriety of their separating, and which group appeared the most eligible and safe to settle in: some preferred the Friendly Isles, others Otaheite. John Harris alone was for the Marquesas; he had long ago made that choice, and still remained unshaken in his resolution, desiring only to have one or two to accompany him; and for that purpose



was now using his interest with the young men, few of whom as yet seemed inclined to settle at the Marquesas. In consequence of the probability of such a separation taking place, a meeting of the whole body of missionaries was held, when, after a long conversation, it was moved, "That eight persons and the chairman (the captain) be chosen to draw up a code of church government for the future conduct of their little society, together with certain religious principles, to be signed by every individual."—Agreed. The same day the following persons were chosen by ballot to compose the committee: viz. Bowell, Buchanan, Cover, Henry, Jefferson, Lewis, Main, and Shelly.

At another meeting it was moved, "That two days in the week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, an hour and half each, be appointed for the discussion of some doctrinal part of God's word. The text of scripture to be appointed by a moderator, chosen out of the body, who shall publicly declare the text at least two days before the time of discussion; the members to speak in rotation, and not to exceed a quarter of an hour each, and to divide the text under proper heads, which shall be committed unto paper, and a copy of the same to be delivered to the moderator."—Agreed. Mr. Lewis chosen first moderator. The design of this plan was to improve the young men in the method of arranging their thoughts, and to excite them to a more diligent search into the scriptures. It was moved also, at the same meeting, "That Messrs. Henry and Kelfo do, in conjunction with the ordained ministers, join in the regular dispensation of the word of God."—This was likewise agreed to.

Respecting the health of both missionaries and crew, we may all (two or three excepted) say that we have enjoyed that blessing abundantly. Mr. Clode was lately attacked with a severe fever, and for some time delirious, but now in a way of recovery; and Mr. Buchanan, having suffered continually by sea-sickness, was at present brought very low, and for some days confined to his bed, by a



painful costive complaint, which long resisted the power of medicine ; while his getting worse every day increased the concern all on board felt, through fear of losing this humble and devoted missionary. But to our great joy, December 29th, at the time when we thought him expiring, he obtained relief, and afterwards gradually recovered. His happy experience of God's love, and joy of hope through all his illness, was a singular comfort and encouragement to all the brethren.

January 1st, 1797. Little did we apprehend on this day last year what was the decree of the Lord concerning us. We have now sailed twelve thousand miles.

Come, my soul, a year is gone,  
And thyself may'st truly moan ;  
Small the fruit to God is found,  
Too much like the barren ground.

This new year may be my last,  
Former years are gone and past ;  
Come, my soul, arise and pray,  
Trim thy lamp this new-year's day.

2d. We were now making rapid advances towards the desired island ; but little remarkable occurred.—The aquatic birds, which had daily visited us in great numbers since we came into this sea, seemed now to have left us, so that for some days we hardly saw one of any kind. Whales were playing round the ship, and it is probable that, had they been objects of our voyage, we might have caught some of the many we saw. There were several of the brethren who took great delight in standing with harpoons in their hands, watching opportunities to strike the porpoises that were usually sporting under the bows, and one day Mr. Smith had the success to strike one, the blubber of which produced four gallons of good oil.

By the middle of January the committee of eight had nearly finished



the articles of faith and rules of church government. As yet no serious difference of sentiment had arisen among the missionaries : one now commenced regarding those points of doctrine which have too often, and with too great asperity, divided the church of the living God. It had been the great object with the directors to prevent as much as possible diversity of opinion among the brethren, being conscious on whichever side the truth might be found in the abstruser points of theological tenets, that all disputes among the teachers themselves should be guarded with the greatest precaution.

As the directors held the doctrinal articles of the church of England in the sense usually termed Calvinistic, and in correspondence with the opinion of their brethren in Scotland, contained in the Assembly's catechism ; it was an original decision, that none should be sent out as missionaries, who did not make a clear and explicit confession of their faith, agreeable to this rule. We had every reason to believe that all the missionaries were of one mind ; but it now appeared, on the discussion, that two of the thirty had entertained principles different from the rest, which occasioned some debate. The general sense of the body was, that it would be injurious to the work to continue those as fellow-helpers whose difference of sentiment from their brethren might produce unhappy effects among the heathen. However, after a variety of conferences on the subject, conducted with the greatest calmness, the two who had differed from the rest acknowledged that they had received conviction from the arguments of their brethren, admitted the impropriety of their conduct, and were accordingly restored to fellowship, and as much honoured and respected as ever. We remark this as a most happy trait of Christian confidence ; and none have shewn themselves more faithful to the cause, nor has the smallest difference since arisen between them on the subject.

29th. We passed the meridian of the south cape of New Holland ; and on the 14th of February were thirty-two leagues to the southward of the south cape of New Zealand. On the 15th we were nearly



antipodes to our friends in London. The day following a sea broke against our stern, dashed one of the windows to pieces, and spoiled several books in the cabin.

17th. We met with as heavy a storm from the eastward as any we had before experienced; the sea around us ran mountainously, and the rain poured heavily upon us for about eight hours. However, as we were all in good health, the effects of it were but little felt. This was in lat.  $31^{\circ} 30' S.$  and long.  $209^{\circ} 30' E.$

The sensations of the missionaries on this occasion their own journals will best tell. This was the most severe and awful storm we had yet experienced. The sea ran mountains high, but our little and incomparable bark, with which our God hath blessed us, lay to under her main-stay-sail, and mounted over the waves like a duck with feathers. We were blessed with a calm and serene state of mind, and enabled to cast our care upon God, which we did in a sweet prayer-meeting between decks. In the evening the wind died away, and the lovely stars shewed their faces. Appointed Tuesday next to sign the articles, and observe a day of public thanksgiving for the signal and wonderful mercies we had received.

It is remarkable, that through the voyage the Lord has usually sent us moderate weather on the sabbath days, so that our solemnities have been seldom interrupted.

21st. The articles of faith and rules of church government being completed and approved by the whole of the brethren, they, at a meeting this day, signed the same, and held a day of thanksgiving. A separation becoming now more and more probable, they began teaching each other the little handicraft arts they were masters of, supposing such might be serviceable when they parted. Dr. Gillham gave likewise lectures upon a prepared skeleton of the human body, and instructed them in the use of the medicines.

This afternoon we experienced a remarkable interference of Divine Providence in our favour. The pitch-kettle being placed on the fire by the carpenter whilst calking the decks, the man who was left



in care of it suffered it to boil over: immediately it blazed up with surprising fury; he had, however, the presence of mind to lift it off the fire, and prevent the dreaded conflagration. Though the cabouse was so dry, and the foresail hanging down over it, which must have instantly communicated the flames to the rigging, through the goodness of God no harm was done, and the fire put out in an instant. O, the wonders of his care, who hath said, "he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye."

Ninety-seven days had now passed since we left Rio Janeiro, and except one vessel which we met with a week after our departure, we had not in all this time seen either ship or shore, and had sailed, by our log, thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty miles, a greater distance probably than was ever before run without touching at any place for refreshment, or seeing land. But at length, tired with beholding only a vacant horizon, and the familiar objects the sea daily presented to our view, all began to look with eager expectation of descrying a South-Sea island; which, even in the minds of those whose reason and intelligence informed them better, fancy had figured as differing from all the lands or islands on which they had ever fixed their eyes before. However, the time was now arrived when this curiosity was to be in part gratified. About seven in the morning Toobouai was discovered from the fore-yard by one of the seamen, bearing S. E. by E. eight or nine leagues off, shewing at this distance like two separate islands, but on our near approach the low land which connects the hills appeared. The wind at N. E. being unfavourable, we stood towards the island, but the sun set before we got sufficiently near to discern the natives; neither did we see any canoes. The wind at this time shifting to E. by S. we laid our course upon the starboard tack, and sailing along the western side pretty near the shore, though in the dusk of the evening, saw that a border of low land ran from the skirts of the hills, and upon it abundance of coconut and other trees. The sea was breaking violently on the reefs, especially to the N. E. where they extend a long way off.



It is now fourteen weeks since we last saw the land, which was Rio Janeiro, and it must be confessed, it is very delightful to behold; though we were not in any want of it, neither has our voyage been attended with any inconvenience. The Lord, in providence, has supplied our necessities in a most wonderful manner. Blessed be God, we have not found the want of a drop of good water to quench our thirst, nor bread, &c. to satisfy our hunger, and here we are all the living monuments of his mercy to praise him.

The wind blew fresh from Toobouai, and the intention of our captain was not to go near this island; but, for the sake of some who were desirous of seeing it, we tacked to windward, and towards evening got within a few miles of it: he thought it not prudent to land on account of the natives being prejudiced against the English through the mutineers of the ship *Bounty*, who had destroyed near a hundred of them. But we trust to visit them at some future time, to remove their prejudice with the glad tidings of the gospel of peace.

A fine breeze continuing all the night, we saw no more of Toobouai.

This island was discovered by Captain Cook in the year 1777; and upon it the unhappy Fletcher Christian, with his companions, the mutineers of the *Bounty*, attempted a settlement in 1789. They had with them some of the natives of Otaheite, and live stock of different sorts. Notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the natives on their first arrival, they warped the ship through the only opening in the reef; then landing, chose a spot of ground, built a fort thereon, and taking their live stock on shore, they intended, had the natives proved friendly to their stay, to have destroyed the *Bounty* and fixed themselves there: but their own unruly conduct alienated the natives from them, who withheld their women, which they were ready to seize by violence: they excited the jealousy of the chiefs by a friendship formed with one of them in preference to the rest; they were disunited among themselves, and many longed for Otaheite: they resolved to leave Toobouai, and carry with them all the live stock which they had brought, the benefit of



which the Toobouaians began to understand, and were unwilling to see them again all collected and removed. This caused the first brawl between the Otaheitean servants, who were driving in the hogs, and the natives. Insolence and want of gentleness and conciliation, led to all the bloody consequences which ensued. The natives were numerous, and fought with great courage, forcing the mutineers to avail themselves of a rising ground, where, with their superior skill, the advantage of fire-arms, and the aid of the Otaheiteans, who fought bravely on this occasion, they at last came off victorious, with only one or two of themselves wounded, whilst the dead bodies of the Toobouaians covered the spot, and were afterwards thrown up in three or four heaps. Thus finding that no peaceable settlement was now to be obtained in this place, they re-shipped the live stock, abandoned their fort, and taking their friendly chief on board with them, weighed anchor and steered towards Ohaitapēha bay in the island of Otaheite. On their passage thither, it is said, Christian became very melancholy, confining himself to the cabin, and would hardly speak a word to any person; lamenting, most probably, that the resolutions he had formed without deliberation, and executed with rash haste, had now involved his own life and those of his adherents in misery. As soon as they anchored in Ohaitapēha bay at Otaheite, those who wished to stay there went on shore; but nine of the mutineers, and also some of the native men and women, remained on board. With these, Christian cutting the cable in the night, put to sea, and steering to the N.W. has never been heard of since.

Here it may be proper, before we approach the destined island, to notice the steps which the brethren were taking, and what new regulations were made previous to their arrival. Near seven months were elapsed since they embarked at Blackwall, during which time it is reasonable to suppose, that, being closely penned together in a ship, they were now become well acquainted with each other's tempers and dispositions, and that a similarity in these would naturally attract



peculiar regard and friendship. Several of the brethren having hinted to the captain which group of islands they preferred, the seniors, who had always declared for Otaheite, requested that each one should be obliged, on a day appointed, to signify in writing the place to which he wished to go, and sign the same with his name. To this the captain replied, that they might do so if they pleased; but that he himself would act as closely agreeable to the discretionary instructions given by the directors as future circumstances would allow.

By our progress to the east, the monthly prayer-meeting had been held on Tuesday morning, a quarter before seven, to correspond with our brethren at home, who met on Monday evening. A spirit of prayer and supplication seemed evidently poured out upon us in behalf of the poor heathen; every heart expanded with love, and glowed with ardent desires to proclaim salvation to them through the blood of the Lamb.

Having frequently discussed the subject of the separation of the brethren among the three groups of islands, the Marquesas, the Society, and Friendly Islands; February 27th, being the day appointed, the society met, and the business of the day was opened in the usual manner, when there appeared for each group as in the following list:

## OTAHEITE.

NO.		NO.	
1	Rev. J. F. Cover	10	Mr. Wm. Henry
2	— John Eyre	11	— P. Hodges
3	— John Jefferson	12	— R. Hassell
4	— Thomas Lewis	13	— E. Main
5	Mr. H. Bicknell	14	— H. Nott
6	— B. Broomhall	15	— F. Oakes
7	— J. Cock	16	— J. Puckey
8	— S. Clode	17	— Wm. Puckey
9	— J. A. Gillham	18	— Wm. Smith;

which, with five women and two children, make in all twenty-five for Otaheite.



## TONGA TABOO.

## NO.

- 1 Mr. B. Bowell
- 2 — J. Buchanan
- 3 — James Cooper
- 4 — S. Harper
- 5 — S. Kelfo
- 6 — J. Nobbs
- 7 — W. Shelly
- 8 — G. Veefon
- 9 — J. Wilkinfon
- 10 — — Gaulton

## SANTA CHRISTINA.

## NO.

- 1 Mr. J. Harris
- 2 — Wm. Crook

The above businefs being fettled, the captain intimated to those intended for Otaheite, that, as we were drawing near that ifland, it would be proper for them to choofe their committee and prefident. This they accordingly proceeded to do; Mr. Jefferfon was elected prefident by a great majority, and Meff. Cover, Lewis, Henry, and Broomhall, to compofe the committee. Mr. Cover was appointed fecretary and ftore-keeper, and Lewis librarian. It was then agreed, that the prefident, fecretary, &c. fhould hold their office for fix months, and that the committee fhould go out by rotation, one every three months. Matters being thus fettled, they began to encourage each other to enter without fear upon their work, and by a zealous and fteady perfeverance therein to manifeft themfelves worthy of the high characters of miffionaries.

Our paffage from Toobouai was much longer than we expected, owing to variable winds from the N.W quarter and very unfettled weather.

March 1ft. From two o'clock in the afternoon till four it rained exceffively hard; more than a tun of water was caught, which gave the miffionaries afterwards an opportunity of wafhing their linen,



and putting it in order previous to their landing. From four until seven was an interval of fair weather; but now the clouds gathering thick, and wearing a gloomy aspect, a most alarming night commenced: orders were given to furl every sail except the foresail, and, hauling it close, we lay to. The rain began heavier than before, accompanied, from nine till midnight, with sharp vivid lightning and awful claps of thunder, which, on account of its nearness, shook the Duff at every clap. The rain, attended with squalls, continued till three in the morning; then abated. The sea was not high, neither was the wind very violent; nevertheless the darkness and conflict of the elements formed a night so truly dismal, that all on board confessed they had never witnessed the like before. We therefore, say the missionaries, took to the wings of faith, and fled to the God of our mercies; and when we had sung an hymn, committing ourselves to the protection of the Most High, we retired to rest. The next morning we returned our solemn and grateful thanks for the protection of that night.

After the storm nothing material occurred till Saturday morning, March 4th, when we beheld the long-wished-for island of Otaheite, but at a great distance. At noon the extremity of the lesser peninsula bore from N. by W. to N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. twelve or fourteen leagues off: with the wind at N.E. we stood towards it until ten at night, then tacked three or four miles south of the reefs off Atahoorōo, and standing off and on till daylight, steered to go between the west end of the island and Eimēo.

The captain has mentioned in conversation what we cannot wish should be omitted, that the conflicts he endured upon this near approach to the place of his destination are not to be described; he felt something of that travelling in birth which St. Paul mentions; and his anxiety respecting his brethren and their reception was a burden almost too heavy for him to bear—happily a gracious God quickly delivered him out of all his fears.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Occurrences on landing at Otakeite, and during the first Visit to that Island.*

[Sunday, March 5, 1797.]

THE morning was pleasant, and with a gentle breeze we had by seven o'clock got abreast of the district of Atahoorōo, whence we saw several canoes putting off and paddling towards us with great speed; at the same time it fell calm, which being in their favour, we soon counted seventy-four canoes around us, many of them double ones, containing about twenty persons each. Being so numerous, we endeavoured to keep them from crowding on board; but in spite of all our efforts to prevent it, there were soon not less than one hundred of them dancing and capering like frantic persons about our decks, crying, "Tayo! tayo!" and a few broken sentences of English were often repeated. They had no weapons of any kind among them; however, to keep them in awe, some of the great guns were ordered to be hoisted out of the hold, whilst they, as free from the apprehension as the intention of mischief, cheerfully assisted to put them on their carriages. When the first ceremonies were over, we began to view our new friends with an eye of inquiry: their wild disorderly behaviour, strong smell of the coconut oil, together with the tricks of the arreoies, lessened the favourable opinion we had formed of them; neither could we see aught of that elegance and beauty in their women for which they have been so greatly celebrated. This at first seemed to depreciate them in the estimation of our brethren; but the cheerfulness, good-nature, and generosity of these kind people soon removed the momentary preju-



dices. One very old man, Māne Manne, who called himself a priest of the Eatooa, was very importunate to be tayo with the captain; others, pretending to be chiefs, singled out such as had the appearance of officers for their tayos; but as they neither exercised authority over the unruly, nor bore the smallest mark of distinction, we thought proper to decline their proposals till we knew them and the nature of the engagement better. At this they seemed astonished, but still more when they saw our indifference about the hogs, fowls, and fruit, which they had brought in abundance. We endeavoured to make them understand, but I think in vain, that this was the day of the Eatooa, and that in it we durst not trade: but their women repulsed, occasioned greater wonder. They continued to go about the decks till the transports of their joy gradually subsided, when many of them left us of their own accord, and others were driven away by the old man, and one named Maurōa, who now exercised a little authority. Those who remained were chiefly arreoies from Ulietēa, in number about forty; and being brought to order, the brethren proposed having divine service upon the quarter-deck. Mr. Cover officiated; he perhaps was the first that ever mentioned with reverence the Saviour's name to these poor heathens. Such hymns were selected as had the most harmonious tunes; first, "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness;" then, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow;" and at the conclusion, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." The text was from the first epistle general of John, chap. iii. ver. 23. "God is love." The whole service lasted about an hour and a quarter. During sermon and prayer the natives were quiet and thoughtful; but when the singing struck up, they seemed charmed and filled with amazement; sometimes they would talk and laugh, but a nod of the head brought them to order. Upon the whole, their unweariedness and quietness were astonishing; and, indeed, all who heard observed a peculiar solemnity and excellence in Mr. Cover's address on that day.



We had hitherto received very unsatisfactory answers to our inquiries after the Matilda's crew; but at last saw two of them coming in a canoe: these were Swedes, dressed in the teboōta and māro as the natives, and tattooed also about the legs and arms: having got on board they were called into the cabin, and gave the following account of themselves:—The youngest, named Andrew Cornelius Lind, about thirty years of age, a native of Stockholm, said, that after the loss of the Matilda they took to the boats, and bearing down towards Otaheite, landed on the 6th of March 1792, on the south side of the island; they were immediately plundered of all they had, but afterwards treated kindly by the natives. Since that, the captain and most of the crew had gone homeward by different methods: six of them decked one of their boats, and set off towards New Holland; but it was improbable they would ever reach thither. The other, whose name is Peter Haggerstein, aged forty, a native of Elfsfors in Swedish Finland, was left here by Captain New of the Dædalus. They both spoke tolerably good English, and being well acquainted with the Otaheitean tongue, we entertained a hope that they would prove of great service.

From them we learnt, that the old man who was so solicitous to have the captain for a tayo, had formerly been king of Ulietēa, was a near relation of the royal family, and of considerable consequence in the islands, being chief priest over Otaheite and Eimēo. Upon this, Mānne Manne was invited into the cabin and treated kindly. He now redoubled his importunities to gain the captain for his friend, who desired him to wait till to-morrow, when he would consider of it. The Swedes further informed us, that the former Otoo had transferred his name and title of Eāree rāhie (or king) to his son, and had now assumed the name of Pomārre: that in a contest about twenty months ago with Temārre, the chief of all the south side of the greater peninsula, Pomārre's party prevailed, and subjected his adversary to a state of dependance, and soon after Tiarabōo was con-



quered; and thus the whole island became subject to him, or rather to his son Otoo, and has remained so ever since. Motuāra, the chief of Eimēo, being dead, Pomārre laid claim to the government of that island; and having only the widow of the deceased to contend with, was, after a few skirmishes, acknowledged as chief, or king. Thus was the power of Pomārre and his son Otoo so greatly increased, that none dared any longer to dispute their authority.

6th. About thirty of the natives, chiefly arreoies, intending to go to Matavāi, remained on board all the night, and part of the following day, till we anchored in the bay; as did the two Swedes; and slept on the deck. The missionaries watched; all perfectly quiet. At daybreak the old priest awoke, and being impatient to secure the tayoship with the captain, awoke him also. There was now no refusing him any longer, as even good policy was on his side; therefore they exchanged names, and Mānne Manne, wrapping a long piece of cloth around the captain, and putting a tebōota over his head, requested for himself a musket, some shot and gunpowder: but being told that none of these were to spare, and that he should be amply repaid for what friendly offices he might do us, he seemed satisfied. All the forenoon was employed in working up without the reefs of Opārre; but gaining little ground, at one P. M. we came to anchor in Matavāi bay, Point Venus bearing N.E. by E. and One Tree hill S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant from the beach about three quarters of a mile. We had not been long at anchor, when all the arreoies, both men and women, sprung into the water and swam to the shore; their place, however, was soon supplied by others, who surrounded the ship with hogs, fruit, and other articles: of these we took a little for present use; but the old priest having promised to supply all our wants by next morning, consequently little was done in the trading way.

Almost the whole afternoon it rained hard till near four o'clock, when we had some intervals of fair weather; then the captain, Mānne Manne, the two Swedes, with brother Cover, Henry, and



a few more of the missionaries, went on shore in order to examine a large house standing on the extremity of Point Venus. They called it E Fwhārre no Prītane (the British House), and said it had been built by Pomārre for Captain Bligh, who had said he should come back and reside there. It is a large and spacious building of an oblong figure, one hundred and eight feet long and forty-eight wide. In the middle are four large wooden pillars about eighteen feet high, on which the ridge-tree is supported. About three feet within the sides stand pillars all round, about nine feet long, and six feet distant from each other. On the top of these a plank is let down, which runs round the whole house; from thence to the ridge large poles are set up, and handsomely bound round with fine matting about eighteen inches asunder: on this the thatch is laid, of palm-tree leaves most beautifully worked. About one foot from these pillars, on the outside, runs a skreen of bamboo all round, except about twenty feet in the middle on both sides.—Thus hath the Lord appeared to set before us an open door, which we trust none shall henceforth be able to shut.

The chief of the district (an old man named Pytēah) welcomed them to the island, said that the house was theirs, and should be cleared for their reception the next day. He then shewed them the picture of Captain Cook, upon the back of which were written the names of his Majesty's ships and their commanders who had visited Matavāi since that great navigator's time. The natives on shore seemed transported with the idea of men coming purposely from Prētane to settle among them: this set those missionaries off who were to fix here, in very high spirits.

7th. Mānne Manne was as good as his word, coming early alongside with three hogs, some fowls, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a quantity of their cloth; the whole intended as a present for his tayo, the captain. He made a long oration, descriptive of all the ships and captains which had touched at Otaheite, with the names of the gods of Ulietēa; but said, that Otaheite had none but from him,



acknowledging the British God to be the best, and that he should request Otoo to worship him, and to order the people to do the same.

Soon after Peter the Swede arrived from a distant part of the island with more fruit, and a remarkably large hog, the two sides of which, exclusive of the head and entrails, weighed three hundred and forty pounds; it had on each side of its mouth two large tusks; for use it was far too fat for us, and as many small pigs were brought in the course of the day, but little of it was eaten.

Māne Manne, the aged high-priest, had brought five of his wives with him on board, not one of which exceeded fifteen years old, and desired he might sleep in the cabin; and, according to the custom of the country, very cordially desired Captain Wilson, his tayo, to take his choice, and could hardly persuade himself he was serious in declining the offer; nor failed the next morning to inquire of them which he had chosen. This brought on a conversation on the nature of their customs; the captain explained to the old priest, how little such a state of polygamy was suited to happiness; that no woman could be either so attached, faithful, affectionate, or careful to promote domestic felicity, as where the heart was fixed on one object without a rival. The old priest did not at all relish this doctrine, and said, such was not the custom of Otaheite; but the ladies highly approved, and said the Pritāne custom was my ty, my ty, very good.

Māne Manne was now very desirous for us to go to Eimēo with the ship, and there land the missionaries under his protection, making use of all his rhetoric to persuade the captain, and bringing the two Swedes, whom he seems to have much under his command, to prove that Pomārre never acted honourably by the English, or any other, after he had done with their services; that themselves had assisted him in his wars, had been the principal instruments of his success; but, since his turn was served, he would hardly give them a small hog. This, and all they urged, might have gained credit with us, as all the late voyagers have related incidents which mark



this chief's character with selfishness; but, on the other side, it might be inferred, that these Swedes, after they had lent their assistance, might be unreasonable, and even insolent in their demands, and by such conduct render it necessary for Pomāre to treat them with bare civility only. Therefore, concluding them prejudiced, and the old priest only arguing from views of interest, it was resolved, that as Otaheite was the most eligible island, the settlement should first be made there; and the friendship and protection of Pomāre and his son Otoo be courted by kindness and attachment to his interest, to be expressed and shewn on every occasion; but never to take any part in their wars, except as mediators.—In the interval of fair weather, betwixt daybreak and eight o'clock, we purchased a few things from the canoes alongside, merely to please them; for the liberality of our friends had left us no other plea.

The rain beginning again as violent as before, prevented the missionaries landing till near eleven in the forenoon; when the captain, Mr. Jefferson (president), with a few more of the missionaries, went on shore, accompanied by Māne Māne and Peter. The natives had assembled upon the beach to the number of four or five hundred, and as the boat approached some ran into the water, and laying hold of her hauled her aground; then took the captain and missionaries on their backs, and carried them dry on shore. They were received by the young king (Otoo) and his wife Tētua, both carried on men's shoulders; each took the captain by the hand, and in dumb silence surveyed him attentively, looking in his face and minutely examining every part of his dress: they beheld the brethren also with much the same curiosity. The queen opened Mr. Cover's shirt at the breast and sleeves, and seemed astonished at so clear a sight of the blue veins. That this should be the case now, after so many visits from Europeans, may surprise some; but let such consider, that though the oldest and the middle-aged have been fully gratified in these respects, the young ones have as yet seen very little; for there could be but small difference between themselves and the



dark complexions of the naked shipwrecked sailors who had lately taken refuge amongst them.

The captain now informed the king, through Peter as interpreter, that our only inducement for leaving Prētane to come and visit them was to do them good, by instructing them in the best and most useful things; and for this end, some good men of our number intended to settle among them; requiring, on their part, the free gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden and admit of houses being built upon it; that this land should be their own; that they would not, on any account, intermeddle in their wars, nor employ their arms but for self-defence; and at all times should live free and unmolested among them: to which if he consented, they would stay on the island; if not, they would go elsewhere. Much pains were taken to make this plain; but as Otoo appears to be a vacant-looking person, I doubt whether he understood the half of it, though he signified the large house was our own, and we might take what land we pleased.

After this, Mānne Manne stood up in the middle of the ring, and made a long speech, passing many encomiums on Prētane. When all was over, the king, still holding the captain by the hand, led him to the house, thence to the beach, and so on; till, tired, he requested to return on board. When arrived at the boat, Otoo desired to hear the muskets fired, and, to gratify him, the four they had were discharged twice; with which compliment he seemed highly pleased.

After dinner Otoo and his wife came off, each in a small canoe, with only one man paddling: whilst they went several times round the ship, the queen was frequently baling her canoe with a cocoa-nut shell. This may help to form an idea of what a queen is in Otaheite. They would not venture on board, because wheresoever they come is deemed sacred, none daring to enter there afterwards except their proper domestics.



He appears tall and well made, about seventeen; his queen handsome and finely proportioned, about the same age, and always carried about, on shore, on men's shoulders. The king appears thoughtful, speaks little, but surveys things with attention. The missionaries supposed something majestic in his appearance, but the captain thought him stupid, and to discover little capacity. As he paddled round the ship he was offered the compliment of firing the great guns, but he begged us not, as he was afraid, and the noise would hurt his ears.

Knowing there were women and children on board, they expressed a wish to see them, and when they walked to the ship's side to shew themselves, they set up a cry of admiration and wonder. The sky darkening, they made towards shore. We had loosed our sails to dry, and before we could furl them there came on suddenly a smart squall from the N. E. attended with heavy rain, lightning, and thunder; while it lasted, the ship drove about a cable's length, from thirteen fathoms into ten.

At a meeting of the committee it was resolved, that, as the house was now clear, they should land this evening, in order to prepare for the reception of the women; but the rain continuing, prevented.

8th. It rained hard all the morning till about nine o'clock, when it cleared up, and the missionaries went on shore with their chests and beds, and took possession of their house. By the captain's desire, "I," says Mr. Wm. Wilson, "followed to assist them in planning their  
"separate apartments. A vast concourse of the natives had gathered  
"on the beach, watching who should land in the pinnace; among  
"them were Otoo and his wife, carried upon men's shoulders, as on  
"the preceding day. This, I understand, is always the custom  
"when they go beyond the precincts of their dwelling. The queen  
"used the same freedoms with me as she had done the day before  
"with Mr. Cover, and, when gratified, put my shirt neck and  
"sleeves again in order. With one holding each hand, I was led  
"about for a considerable time, and might perhaps have been so



“ most of the day, had I not intimated that I had business to do  
“ within the house. He immediately walked with me to the door,  
“ but would not enter, because the house would then become sacred  
“ to himself.

“ However, before he let me go, he introduced a woman named  
“ Whyeridde, the sister of Iddeah, and also wife of Pomarre: her  
“ Otoo wished me to take as a tayo. And considering that I was  
“ but a transient visitor, who knew not how far a refusal might  
“ disoblige him, I consented to exchange names, and was immediately wrapped in cloth; besides, in the course of the day, several  
“ hogs, both alive and ready dressed, were sent me as presents.”

The first thing we set about with the house was to close it quite round with the thicker sort of bamboo, fixing a door on each side, and by this means to keep the natives from crowding so much upon us. The several births or apartments were next planned, and partitions of smaller bamboo begun; but in consequence of the great distance the natives had to go up the valley for these bamboos, the work went but slowly on; though one man stripped his own house to supply us. In the arrangement, the married people had a part of one side to themselves, and the single men the other side: all these apartments were at one end, and chosen by lot. Next to them were marked out a store-room, library, and a place for the doctor and his medicines. To enclose the whole, a partition went from side to side, with two lock doors. The remaining space was left for a chapel, and into it the outer doors opened.

Several of the arreoies of Ulietēa having arrived here about the same time as we did with the ship, they with their hēivas made much the same stir in Matavāi as a company of strolling players often do in the small villages of our own country. Probably the hopes of pleasing the English strangers was also a spur to their exertion, for either in our sight or our hearing they were engaged the whole day in some sport or other. In the afternoon they collected in great numbers before the door of our house, and began a kind of box-fighting or



wrestling. First forming a ring, within it stood about a dozen of the stoutest fellows, with their backs to the crowd and faces towards each other. Then the game began with an act of defiance or challenge, made by beating heavy strokes with the flat hand upon the left arm above the elbow, where this part was quite black with the repeated strokes it had received. At last one steps forward to the centre of the circle; another, who thinks himself an equal match, advances to meet him; sometimes only a smart blow or two ensues before they fall back again into their places. At another time, after advancing and gazing at each other for a while, one will suddenly plump the top of his head into the face of his opponent, and this causing him to retire in the dumps, sets all the crowd a-laughing. The worst of the game is, when one gets an advantageous hold of his adversary: a severe wrestling then takes place, and it is only at the expense of strength, and blood, and hair, that they will submit to be parted.

Māne Manne sent us in three hogs ready dressed for dinner, with baked bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. He laid them on a large piece of cloth, and invited us to fall to, but not before we had called upon God to bless it. We found it very good, though we had yet neither dish, spoon, knife, fork, table, nor chair. Innumerable presents came in from the various chiefs who were courting our friendship; and we were all dressed in Otaheite cloth.

During the day the house was crowded with natives, which made it prudent to keep a guard over our property, though there appeared no design nor attempt at depredation. At the approach of evening we commanded silence; and, having sung an hymn, Mr. Jefferson offered up prayer to our Lord: during the service the natives behaved very orderly and attentive. At night we requested them to retire, and return in the morning, which they did in the most peaceable manner, and we received not the least disturbance from them. We then held our usual daily family worship; and, having supped on the plenty of provisions which remained, we retired to rest, admiring the wondrous providence of our God. Lord, thou hast been better



to us than all our fears : grant us firmer faith in thy care, that we may be able to trust thee more in a future day !

How graciously has the Lord displayed his arm for us since leaving our native shores, in traversing a trackless ocean, and opening a door in these heathen lands, we trust, to diffuse his everlasting gospel here. May the Lord make us burning and shining lights !

The king held all our hands, and shook them, as did the queen, examining our clothes very minutely, and took particular notice of Mr. Lewis's umbrella, which, on his expanding it to shew its use, they both made signs not to lift it over their heads, lest it should, according to their customs, become thereby sacred to their own use. Their attention to us is singularly engaging.

9th. This morning the natives came to our house before seven o'clock, made a fire, boiled our water, and prepared the bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts. The king and queen visited us several times in the course of the day.

This morning also Inna Madūa, the widow of Oreepiah (brother to Pomārre), lately deceased, paid us a visit, accompanied by two chief women. Oreepiah was much attached to the English ; and his widow, supposing us sorry for his loss, on entering the cabin burst into tears, and continued this expression of grief till we all sympathized with her. However, this did not last long ; for they soon became cheerful, breakfasted, and dined on board, as did Māne Manne, and towards evening they all went on shore ; but as no suitable presents were yet got out of the hold, they were desired to renew their visit the next day, when some things should be in readiness for them. These, with the tayos of the crew and missionaries, filled all parts of the ship with hogs, fruit, and cloth.

Otoo paddled round the ship in his canoe, as he had done the day before, and calling out for something to eat, the captain sent him, in one of our dishes, half of a roast pig, and some biscuit, with which he set off for the shore, seemingly much pleased.



The business of the house did not go on to-day with much alacrity, owing to the natives slackening in their officiousness, so that we got but few bamboos; however, in the afternoon some were dispatched, taking my word, as an *cāree* of the *pāhie* (an officer of the ship), that they should be rewarded for their trouble; accordingly in the evening we had as many brought to the house as would keep us employed all the following day. As on board, so at the house, numberless presents were brought, consisting of live hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and cloth, which are their staple articles; and besides these, more ready-dressed meat was brought than the brethren and the natives employed could consume. But in the midst of this profusion, some were apprehensive of its being followed with inconvenience and embarrassments, and therefore wholly disapproved of making *tayos* so soon.

Whilst the business was going on ashore, the crew were employed in weighing the anchor, warping farther up the bay, and mooring the ship with the two bowers. Peter, the Swede, also brought his canoe, and such things as the missionaries first wanted were dispatched on shore. Thermometer  $76\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

10th. The wind easterly, moderate and pleasant weather. The people employed hoisting out of the hold and sending fundries ashore on account of the mission.

To-day the captain landed for the purpose of presenting some shewy dresses to the young king and his wife. They met him at the beach as usual. Peter informed him of what was intended, and, shewing him the box which contained the treasure, desired Otoo to walk towards his house, a temporary shed they had erected for the purpose of being near our people. This was complied with; and when they came near, the captain, stopping under a tree, ordered them to form a ring, and placing the box in the midst, Otoo was requested to alight, that the brethren might dress him; he replied, By and by, and gazed full-ly for a considerable time, till the patience of the captain was pretty



well exhausted ; repeating the request and receiving no answer, they opened the box, and on taking out the dress for the queen, she instantly alighted from the man's shoulder, and Otoo followed her example. The fancy cap fitted her exceedingly well, and she seemed very proud of it, but it was only by unripping that the other articles could be put upon her or Otoo. The captain told him that the eārees of Prētane thought he was not yet so stout a man. Dressed complete in this gaudy attire, the surrounding crowd gazed upon them with admiration. She, true to the foibles of her sex, appeared delighted, but Otoo thought little of them, saying an ax, a musket, a knife, or pair of scissars were more valuable : which was saying more for himself than we expected, or that he had even sense to do.

Just as the ceremony was ended, Māne Manne appeared before the house, and calling the captain to him, clothed him in a 'Taheitean dress, putting an elegant breast-plate over all. They then walked towards the British house, where they found the work going on very well ; and it being past noon, the old priest accompanied the captain on board to dinner.

11th. The crew employed in sending fundries on shore on account of the mission. At the house they were very busy fitting up the apartments for the women, whom it was intended to land in the afternoon. The brethren had informed the natives, that next day being the day of the Eātooa, no work would be done, nor any thing received ; therefore, on this account, they brought what provisions might serve till Monday, but were in reality sufficient to last a week.

After dinner the pinnace was manned for the women and children, and by the captain's desire I accompanied them on shore. Vast numbers of the natives crowded to the beach to gratify their curiosity, all behaving with great respect and very peaceable. Otoo and his wife kept for a while at a little distance, seemingly in doubt whether he should approach the women ; but thinking it proper to salute him, he was a little encouraged : however, he still kept silence, and all the way as we walked to the house, gazed stupidly, like another Cymon.



The house was surrounded all the afternoon by the natives, who were much delighted with the two children, and sent often for them and the women to shew themselves at the door. In the dusk of the evening they all retired; and this, the brethren remark, they have uniformly done since they first landed. Orders being likewise given at the ship for none of their canoes to come near on the Sunday, they supplied us in the same plentiful manner as they had done the missionaries.

As Māne Manne had already distinguished himself as a very useful man, besides bringing several hogs, fruit, &c. the captain, to recompense him in part, made him a handsome present, leaving it to himself to enumerate the articles which he most needed; to do this he was at no loss, having great presence of mind on such occasions; therefore he run off a long list of things which he wanted for a small schooner which he was building at Eimēo; of these such as we had to spare were given to him.

As yet we have had no reason to complain of any improper behaviour in the Otaheiteans, men or women. Neither have we lost a single article to our knowledge, though many have unavoidably been much exposed.

The goodness and love of God to us should be graven on the tables of our hearts. After prayer the brethren retired to rest.

Before the Otaheiteans departed they were informed no work would be done the next day, and they asked if it would be more devoted to prayer than the other days, and were told it would.

The Sunday passed very quietly, not one canoe coming near the ship; and on shore no interruption was attempted, the natives, with the king and queen, attending, and conducting themselves in peace and good order. A discussion took place among the brethren concerning the propriety of speaking to the natives upon the important subject of their mission, when it was agreed that the president (Mr. Jefferson) should address them through the medium of Andrew the Swede as interpreter. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the af-



ternoon, they met for this purpose, several of the natives being present both within and without the house; and as soon as Andrew interpreted the first sentence, finding the discourse directed to them, they placed themselves in attentive postures. When they understood a little of what was said, they put very pertinent questions; among others, doubting whether we would bestow aught that could be esteemed a benefit equally on all. They asked, whether the message of the British God was to the *toūtous* as well as to the king and chiefs? They were answered in the affirmative; and further, Mr. Jefferson, pointing to his brethren, told them that they were the messengers of the only true God; and that though all men had offended him, he was, notwithstanding, a merciful God; conferring on those who believed his word great blessings in this life, and after death took them to a state of eternal happiness. Otoo was present, but, according to human judgment, his stubborn, unteachable nature seems to be the last that any impression can be made upon. We retired to rest, thankful for the occurrences of the day, and for the promising prospects before us through the providence of our God.

13th. Wind easterly, and pleasant weather. The crew employed in hoisting up goods, and sending various articles on shore on account of the mission; two of the brethren from each party dividing a large chest of books.

The natives had perfectly understood that the prohibition was but for yesterday, for early in the morning several canoes were alongside, and in one of them, with our constant friend *Māne Manne*, came several chiefs and their wives; but the principal person to be introduced at this time was the father of *Pomārre*, *Otēw*, formerly *Whāppai*, who is a very venerable looking man, aged about seventy, his head covered with gray hairs, and his chin with a remarkable white beard: his name had once been Otoo; but, on the birth of his son, in compliance with the general custom, he changed it to *Otēw*. As usual, he presented the captain with a piece of cloth and a pig, receiving in return, and on account of his rank, two



axes, four pair of scissars, and four knives, two looking-glasses and two old shirts, which was all he asked for; and it appears that their requests always include the utmost bounds of their expectation; so that to add aught more is quite superfluous and unnecessary. When breakfast was ready, most of our visitors went upon deck, seemingly through a sense of good manners and a fear of offending, which we may suppose them to have learnt from former visitors, who, for their own sakes, might have taught them thus much; for it certainly would be very uncomfortable to have them crowding at meals continually: but Māne Manne had no scruples, and, as if conscious of a right, placed himself next his tayo at table, and being exceedingly fond of the tea and our bread and butter, played rather an epicurean part. In the forenoon Otoo and the queen sent off to beg leave of the captain to send him their presents; to which ceremonial an answer was made in the affirmative; and in consequence thereof we had them presently alongside: the king's consisted of thirteen live hogs, and three ready dressed; the queen's was one dressed, six alive, and a bale of cloth; themselves followed in a large double canoe, accompanied by Otoo's younger brother, now prince of Tiarabōo. They would not come on board, but expressed a wish for a great gun to be fired; and, to gratify them, two were cast loose: Māne Manne took the match, and though almost blind with age, he boldly fired them off; with which act of his own courage he was highly transported. Their stay was short; for after they had paddled twice or thrice round the ship, they returned to the shore.

About four in the afternoon Pomāre and his wife Iddeah, having just arrived from Tiarabōo, paid their first visit at the ship; besides his usual attendants a number of others had put themselves in his train. When alongside he refused to come farther till the captain shewed himself; this being done, he immediately ascended the side, and coming on to the quarter-deck, wrapped four pieces of cloth round the captain as his own present; then taking that off, repeated the operation with the like quantity in the name of Iddeah. While



he was doing this, I thought joy evident in his countenance, and was glad to find in him a picture of good-nature very different from the morose figure which represents him in some editions of Cook's voyages; and could not help thinking that his presence, which we now enjoyed, would afford pleasure to thousands in refined Europe, who have heard so much of the hospitality and favour this prince of savages has always shewn to his visitors.

The first ceremonies over, he told the captain that he would send provisions and whatever we had occasion for while we staid at Otaheite. When seated in the cabin, he expressed his regard for the English, and called King George his friend. On this the interpreter was desired to inform him, that King George loved him, and that the *cârees* of Prêtane did the same; and that out of regard for him and his people, they had sent this ship with some of the best men, purposely to do them good; and then desired to know, whether he was pleased that part of our number should reside on his island. He immediately answered in the affirmative. A piece of land for their use was next mentioned to him; to which, after a few words with his privy counsellor Iddeah, he answered, that the whole district of Matavai should be given to the English, to do with it what they pleased; observing, that Pytēah, the present chief of the district, was a good old man; that it would be for the benefit of our people to permit him to hold his residence near to their dwelling-house; and that he, according to orders which should be given him, would enforce obedience from the natives, and oblige them to bring whatever the English wanted of the produce of the district.

These most important matters to us being settled, as far as they could be for the present, the chief thought it was time to inquire after entertainments; and first sky-rockets, next the violin and dancing, and lastly the bagpipe, which he humorously described by putting a bundle of cloth under his arm, and twisting his body like a Highland piper. When we told them that we had none of these, they seemed rather dejected; therefore, to revive them, a few tunes were played



upon the German flute by Mr. Bowell and one of the seamen, though it plainly appeared that more lively music would have pleased them better.

Pomārre intimating a wish to sleep on board, it was granted; he then asked leave for his wife and servant, which was also complied with. It may be proper to remark here, that Iddeah, though still considered as the wife of Pomārre, has not for a considerable time cohabited with him, but with one of her tōutous (or servants), by whom she has had one child, and is again pregnant; her younger sister, Why'reēde, next cohabited with the chief, but left him through dislike for one of far inferior rank; and his present wife is a very stout young woman, but of what condition we could not learn. However, it is evidently clear, that they hesitate little about mixing with the lower orders of the people; but if issue should be the consequence of these connexions, it is rarely the pride of rank suffers the poor infants to live an hour after they are born. At supper the chief devoured a whole fowl, with the addition of about two pounds of pork, and drank proportionally.

At the house all was peace and quietness with the natives, and nothing particular is noticed in the missionary journal, except a few expressions of dissatisfaction concerning their brethren leaving them to go to the Friendly Islands.

To-day received as presents twenty-two live hogs, and five ready dressed.

14th. This morning Māne Manne and several others came on board, all behaving respectfully to Pomārre. The captain, in order to cultivate his friendship, made him a present of an excellent single-cased metal watch, with which he was very much pleased; observing, that none before ever made him a present of the kind. As we knew him quite ignorant how to manage a watch, Peter (the Swede) was directed to wind it up for him every day. Thermometer 76°. Pomārre, his young wife, Iddeah, and the old priest, breakfasted and dined with us. The tea just suited their taste; and at dinner the two chiefs drank of the wine eagerly. The captain shewing some unwillingness to indulge Māne Manne to a greater degree, he answered to the



following purport :—that as he was going on shore to sacrifice a man to the Eatooa, he took it to raise his courage. Expressing our abhorrence of so cruel a design, he became silent ; and his friend Peter desired him never to mention any thing of the kind to us.

By a letter from Mr. Jefferson (the president), it appears that the apprehensions of those on shore, both for their persons and property, are much increased ; also their suspicions of the professed friendship of the natives, who, they hear, have formed the design of rushing upon them and taking all away ; in consequence of which they urge the necessity of the whole body settling at this place. But for such suspicions there does not appear the shadow of fear ; nothing can be more peaceful, kind, and submissive, than the natives, assisting them readily in all their preparations. Pomārre and Iddeah, in the afternoon, visited the house, and viewed the improvements made with wonder and delight. They partook of a dish of tea with us ; one of his attendants poured the tea from the cup to the saucer, and then held it to his mouth : this is the way at every meal ; his dignity will not permit him to feed himself. When he had finished, he requested the saucer might be kept for his future use, and that no woman might be permitted to touch it. We were surprised to see so stout a man, perhaps the largest in the whole island, fed like a cuckoo.

15th. Moderate breezes and pleasant weather ; employed on board hoisting up goods, and landing them on account of the mission. Received ten butts of water by swimming them off. Thermometer 76°.

On shore the brethren were busied making a saw-pit, and sitting up their apartments. Among the remarks of this day they say,  
“ Several Otaheiteans visited us as usual, continuing to bring hogs,  
“ fruit, &c. Pomārre and his attendants were with us at family  
“ worship, ; after which the president informed him of the nature  
“ of our mission, to teach them our God and Saviour ; to learn  
“ them to read the speaking book of wisdom, and to instruct them in  
“ all useful arts ; which he applauded, as he had already done at the



“ ship, and said it was my ty, my ty, *very good*; and added, that  
“ he would send his sons for instruction.”

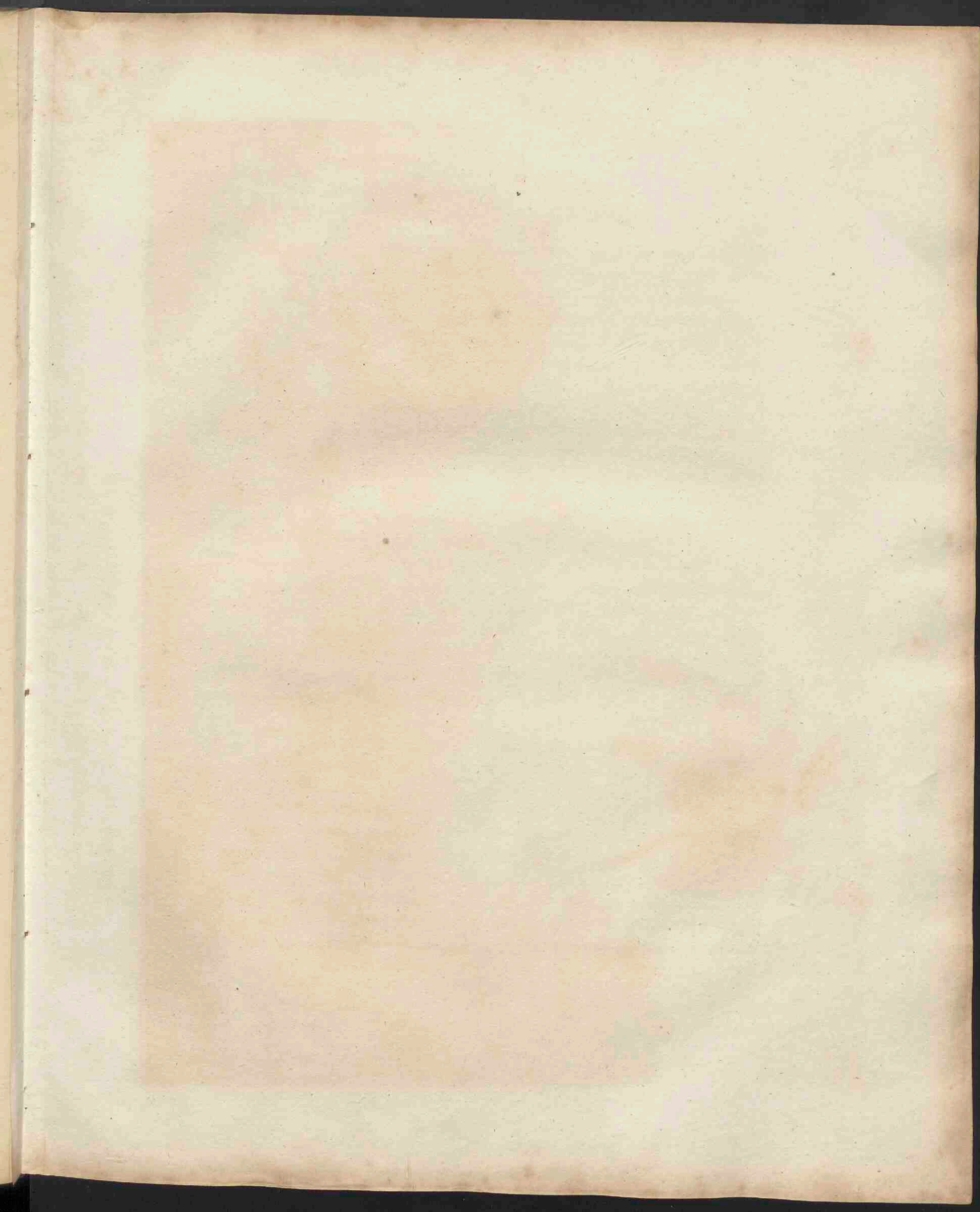
He came not near the ship to-day, but returned his watch very much damaged, which we suppose to be the reason why he absented himself: no doubt a hatchet would now have been esteemed a present of greater worth, though the glitter of a watch pleased him more at first.

By another letter from the president it appears that the brethren are still more afraid of the natives than before; and this in consequence of being told by the Swedes that an attack upon them is intended shortly to be made: they therefore request an addition of arms and ammunition, and farther urge the apparent necessity of the whole body remaining at Otaheite. The captain wrote a few lines in answer, which brought Mr. Jefferon on board; when, in a conference with the brethren intended for the Friendly Isles and Marquesas, he laid before them the grounds of their fears, and requested they would join them. To this they said that they could not give a direct reply, but desired to have till the following day to consider the matter. This seems a mere bugbear and artifice of the Swedes.

16th. The brethren on board having debated the subject of yesterday, and concluding the above-mentioned fears groundless, and by no means cause sufficient for them to confine the whole effort of the society to one island, and thereby disappoint the hopes of many of its valuable members at home; they therefore returned their ultimate answer in the negative.

This being the day appointed by Pomarre for ceding in form the district of Matavai to the English, the captain landed upon Point Venus; was there received by the chief, and conducted near to the missionary house. Most of the brethren from the ship, and all on shore, were present at this ceremony. Peter the Swede took, as usual, the office of interpreter. “ The scene,” says Mr. Bowell, “ was laid before the door of the missionary house, at some distance  
“ from which a rope was stretched to keep off the crowd. Pomarre,









*M. A. Buckles del. from a Sketch by W. Wilson.*

*J. B. Davis sculp.*

**MISSIONARY HOUSE and ENVIRONS in the ISLAND of OTAHETTE.**

*"For my brethren and companions sakes, I will now say, peace be within thee."*

*Published by T. Chapman, Fleet Street, Feb. 21, 1799.*



“ Iddeah, Otoo, his wife and brothers, went also without the  
“ rope. Mānne Manne, who alone acted the part of conveyancer,  
“ remained within with the captain and brethren. He then desired  
“ Peter to tell the captain all that he should say, and began by pre-  
“ facing his oration with *tōwā, tōwā, hear!* in order to attract  
“ general attention; then went on enumerating all the Eatooas of  
“ Otaheite, Eimēo, and the Society Isles; next the districts and their  
“ chiefs in regular order; and lastly the ships and their commanders,  
“ from Wallis, Bougainville, and Cook, down to the Duff and her  
“ captain: concluding with the formal surrender of the district of  
“ Matavāi: observing, that we might take what houses, trees, fruit,  
“ hogs, &c. we thought proper. This strange speech was delivered  
“ very deliberately by the old priest, who, while he spoke, sat in an  
“ odd posture, half bent upon his heels, holding with one hand the  
“ rope, and frequently scratching his head and rubbing his eyes with  
“ the other. These peculiarities were caught by his mimicking  
“ countrymen, who afterwards turned them into humorous panto-  
“ mime.”

A conversation now took place between the captain and Mānne Manne, concerning the going to war with his enemies. Mānne Manne importuned the captain to assist him against Ulietēa, of which he had been king, but was driven from it several years ago. Being told that we had no orders to fight, except in our own defence, and that other ships might come with different instructions, and who might have no objection to join him in such enterprises, he replied, that he might be dead before that might happen. “ Well, then,” says the captain, “ your son may act in your place, and be reinstated  
“ in your kingdom.” To this he answered smartly, “ I would  
“ rather see it done with my own eyes.” The brethren observing his reluctance to a positive denial upon this point, Mr. Cover said, that they would assist to finish the vessel which he was building; and when they had learnt the language, would go to Ulietēa and talk to the people on the subject. This for the present satisfied him, and



the business ended; Pomārre, Otoo, and the other chiefs, shaking hands with the captain and brethren. Thus a door seems opening for the gospel at Ulietēa, whither some of the brethren purpose to go as soon as they have the language.

17th. Wind easterly, with moderate and pleasant weather. Set up our rigging, and rafted alongside fifteen butts of water, which completed our stock; and as we proposed to sail in a day or two, several articles were sent on shore to enable the brethren to go on with their work, with a quantity of nails, &c. for trade during our absence; also tea, cheese, and what else we could spare of that nature.

None of the chiefs came near us to-day, and but few canoes. The young king and Pomārre paid a visit at the house, when Mr. Jefferson took occasion to speak to him concerning the education of his children; representing it as a matter of the greatest importance both to them and the people of Otaheite; and that he would be highly blameable to neglect the opportunity which their coming afforded. The chief's mind seemed impressed with the truth of what was said, and he immediately spoke to Otoo, who returned a very unfavourable answer: "He did not want to learn English." "I have a very bad opinion of Otoo," says Mr. Jefferson. And certainly appearances are much against him; however, we may reasonably hope, that the example of our people, and the exhibition of arts which must appear wonderful in their eyes, may in time excite in his mind a thirst after knowledge. They expressed high delight on the garden engine playing, and casting water on the thatch of the house. Thermometer  $76\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

18th. Wind from N.E. to E.S.E. moderate and pleasant weather; employed clearing the ship for sea. In the afternoon Pomārre and Iddeah came on board, accompanied by Māne Manne, and Peter to interpret. A present of cloth was made the captain, and by a large chest which they had brought with them in the canoe, we could see what they expected; but feigning not to understand, as they handed it up the side, the captain inquired of the chief what



he meant to do with it. He seemed greatly perplexed how to answer this question, till at last he said, that he only wanted the lock repaired. He was then directed to take it on shore to the blacksmith; but this embarrassed him more than before; and seeing no other way to free himself, he said with a smile, that it was intended to hold the present which the captain might be pleased to make to him and Iddeah; and requested that it should be put into the cabin, to prevent his people from seeing what he received. When seated below, he was asked what he would like to have; but seeming at a loss what to name, the old priest, whose wits are always ready, helped him out: and first axes ahowrōo, ahowrōo, that is, twice ten, or ten for himself and ten for Iddeah; then for each five shirts, eight looking-glasses, six pair of scissars, six knives, fifty nails, and five combs: besides these, were added to his part, one cast-iron pot, one razor, and a blanket. The whole was put into the chest, and secured by the lock, which was very good. He then acknowledged himself content; but going afterwards betwixt decks, where the brethren had several things lying loose, he craved for something of all that he saw; but as they knew how well he had fared in the cabin, they gratified him with very little. I have been thus particular, because the incidents of this day do, in a measure, characterize the chief.

The brethren intended for the Friendly Isles, considering that none of the ordained ministers were to accompany them, chose from their number Mr. Seth Kelfo to be their pastor, and urged to those on shore the propriety of ordaining him and John Harris previous to their departure. This they very readily consented to, and the next day, being Sunday, was appointed for that purpose. Thermometer 76°.

19th. The same orders being issued as for last sabbath, but two or three canoes were off in the bay, and seeing that we took no notice of them, they soon returned to the shore. To-day, at the missionary house, were ordained Seth Kelfo and John Harris, ministers to the places of their respective destination.



The transactions of this day being singular, a more full report cannot but give satisfaction, and tend to encourage greatly our hopes as to the ultimate object of our mission.

It having been made known that we intended to address the natives this morning, numbers of them assembled early round our dwelling; among them was Pomārre and his sister: he had been inquiring a day or two before concerning our speaking to them, and said, "he had been dreaming about the book which should be sent him from the Eatooa."

At ten o'clock we called the natives together under the cover of some shady trees near our house; and a long form being placed, Pomārre was requested to seat himself on it with the brethren, the rest of the natives standing or sitting in a circle round us. Mr. Cover then addressed them from the words of St. John, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that they who believe on him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" the Swede interpreting sentence by sentence as he spoke. The Otaheiteans were silent and solemnly attentive. After service Pomārre took brother Cover by the hand, and pronounced the word of approbation, "My ty, my ty." Being asked, "If he had understood what was said?" he replied, "There were no such things before in Otaheite; and they were not to be learned at once, but that he would wait the coming of (the Eatooa) God." Desiring to know if he might be permitted to attend again, he was told, yes. Being conducted into the house, he and his wife dined with us, and departed.

About three o'clock the ordination solemnity of the brethren Kelfo and Harris took place; they were set apart for their work by the imposition of hands of our ordained brethren. Brother Cover preached the ordination sermon, and delivered the charge; brother Jefferson having made the inquiry of the candidates respecting their call and objects, and brothers Lewis and Eyre prayed at the com-



mencement and end of the service. The communion closed the solemnity, which was to us all a most refreshing and comfortable ordinance; and for the first time the bread-fruit of Otaheite was used as the symbol of the broken body of our Lord, and received in commemoration of his dying love.

Māne Manne was present during the whole service, and very attentive, particularly during the administration of the Lord's supper; he placed himself in the circle with the brethren, and when they passed him he shifted his situation farther on, in hopes of partaking with them.

20th. Pomāre, Iddeah, and all our Saturday's guests, visited us again to-day, bringing more cloth and some fowls for sea stock. They staid dinner; the chief, fed by his head man, ate heartily, and drank a large share of a bottle of wine, evincing rather a covetous desire for it, as he would hardly allow Māne Manne to have a glass with him. On the appearance of rain they took their leave, wishing us a good voyage, and expressing a hope of our speedy return.

As Peter the Swede had offered to go with us to the Friendly Islands, the captain consented, thinking that he might be serviceable on some occasions as interpreter. He purposed taking with him a young woman named Tāno Māno, with whom he had for some time lived as his wife, a man the mutineers had named Tom, and a boy called Hāraway. The two last Mr. Crook, who had already made great proficiency in the Otaheitean language, thought might be great helps to him. On this account the captain permitted them to go with us also. The natives understood we were now about to leave them for some months, but the captain's intention was to lie a few days at Eimēo, and, previous to setting off for the Marquesas, to touch again in Matavāi bay, when we might probably learn how the natives were likely to behave during our absence. Matters being thus settled, we took with us Mr. William Puckey, by trade a carpenter, to examine Māne Manne's vessel, and see whether she was worthy their assistance to finish her. After dark



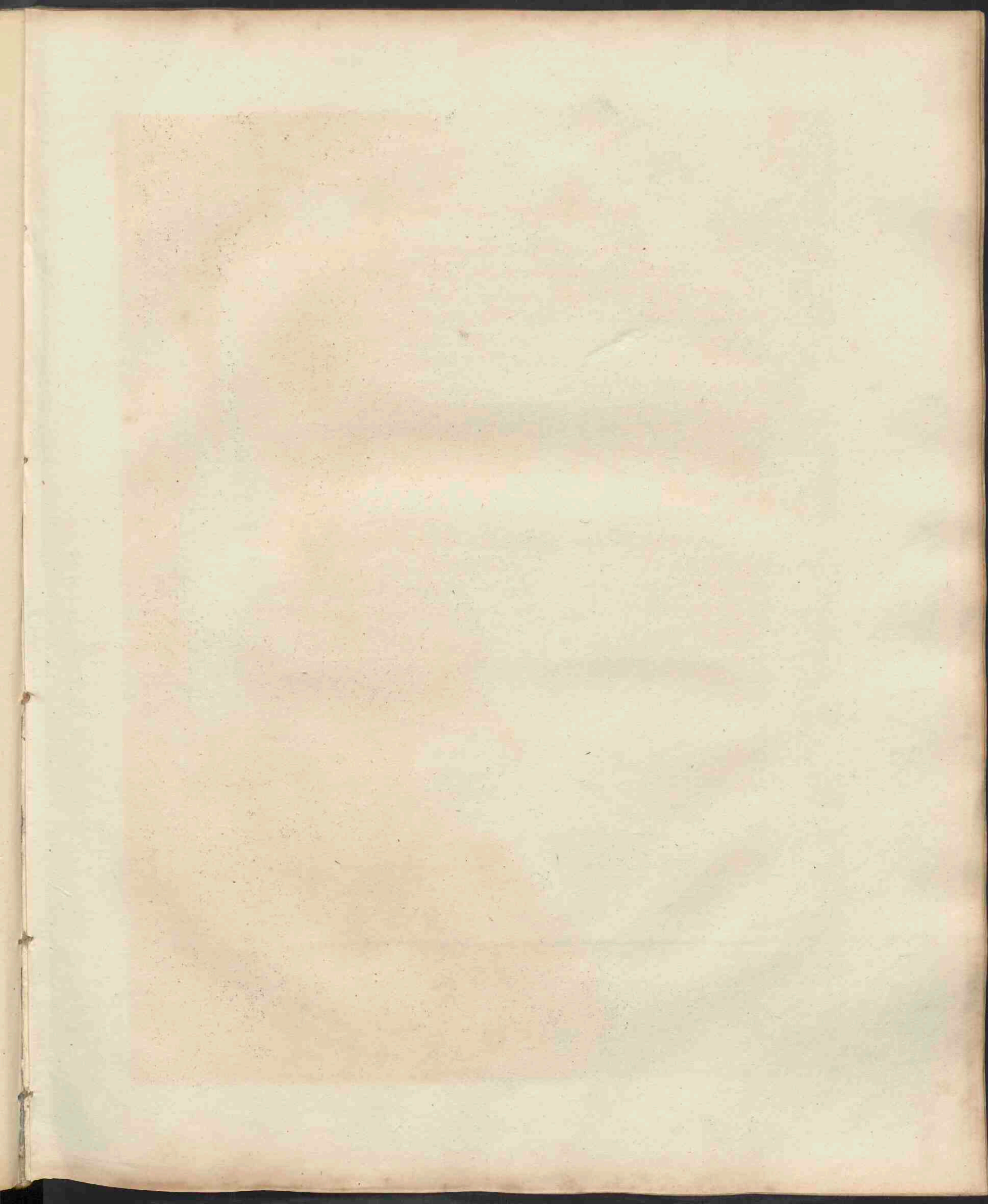
## CHAPTER VII.

*Short Voyage to Eimēo, and Return.*

ABOUT an hour before daylight we weighed, with a light air from the S. E. which taking us but slowly out of the bay, the natives, perceiving the sails set, hurried off in their canoes, eager to get a few articles more before we departed. At seven A. M. a fresh gale springing up from the N. E. attended with thunder and lightning, we left them, and by ten o'clock were off the north-east part of Eimēo, when it again fell little wind. We kept running along the edge of the coral reefs towards Tāloo harbour, and, at the distance of half a cable's length off, had irregular soundings, viz. six, eight, twelve, and fourteen fathoms. The reef appeared to block up the harbour till we were nearly abreast of it, when a good entrance shews itself. With a light breeze we run close up to the south-east corner of the harbour, and let go our anchor in ten fathoms water, and moored with the stream cable to a remarkably large tree which stands close to the water's edge; the Steeple cliff at the head of the harbour bearing S. by E.

Tāloo harbour is on the north side of the island; the bottom so clear, that you distinctly see the coral, with its beautiful branches. The mouth of the harbour is about a quarter of a mile broad; the water of an amazing depth: this led into a most delightful bay, about two miles wide and three deep. This bay is beautifully surrounded with trees; not the least agitation of the water is perceivable on the beach, let the wind blow from what quarter it may, it is so perfectly land-locked. We lay under a mountain ten times as high as our topgallant-mast, and perpendicular. There is a fine fresh-water river running up some









*A. Janssen del.*

TALOO HARBOUR in the ISLAND of EIMEO.



in the evening a canoe came alongside from Eimēo; in her was a Swede named John, whom we had not seen before; him his countrymen reported to be in a state of insanity, and by his discourse we thought him a little so. On his part, he complained much of the treatment which he had received from his shipmates since they landed; and expressed a desire to return to Europe. The captain, in answer, told him, that at present he could not keep him on board; that he was on the point of sailing, and would in a few months return; in the mean while he might stay at the missionary house, and if he behaved well he should have a passage with us: he is a native of Stockholm, about forty years old, and seems much reduced by sickness.

On Mr. Puckey's coming on board, some conversation passed on the propriety of the brethren's arming themselves on shore, and keeping watch night and day; which those on board disapproved. He replied to them very satisfactorily, that their intention in taking arms was not to injure the natives, much less to plant the gospel by human power; but merely as a means ordained of God for the protection of their persons and property during the absence of the ship.



miles, which a boat can ascend a mile or two, and ships water with the greatest ease. It is the securest harbour I ever saw. It has a border of low land, like Otaheite, covered with bread-fruit, coconut, and other trees; and many of a different kind in the mountains, some very like *lignum vitæ*; one small island is wholly covered with this wood. Being in quest of a tree of hard wood, we found one, but the axe would not stand against it, and we were obliged to use the hand-saw.

Here I first saw a *tūpapow*: the flesh was quite gone; the skin, like parchment stretched over the bones, remained: the natives seemed averse to our examining it. Two posts about six feet long are let into the ground at each end; on these a broad plank is laid, and the corpse is there extended, wrapped in cloth, to dry, and a small shed, like a boat inverted, placed over it to keep out the rain.

After dinner, the captain, Mr. Falconer, Wm. Puckey, and Peter, set off in the pinnace to the place where *Māne Manne's* vessel was building, and on their return gave but an unfavourable account of her. In length she was forty-two feet, but disproportioned in her breadth, by being fuller aft than forward, and the timbers were too small for her size. In this excursion the captain shot a wild duck and two small birds, and Mr. Falconer caught with the seine about a dozen fish. All the afternoon the ship was surrounded by the natives, among whom were several women, who expressed, by their loose gestures, a great desire to be taken on board, but had the mortification to meet with no encouragement. Several articles were offered to barter, but no hogs, owing to the *rāhoo* (or prohibition) being in force at this time. This *rāhoo* is laid on by the chiefs to repair the desolations their inordinate feasting make, and is always religiously observed by the people. It seems that the whole island of *Eimēo* was at this time under this injunction, but at Otaheite it is only imposed on a few districts at one time, during which none of the residents dare sell a pig, or kill one for their own use. However, they may take hogs from those districts that are free, and use them as they please. A



rāhoo is also frequently laid upon the fish; at which time poles with a flag at top are stuck upon the reefs, where they are not suffered to be taken. It is not improbable that this custom might have its origin coeval with the first peopling of the islands, or at least when they possessed few animals, and have been introduced from motives of economy. However this may have been, it is now become sometimes an act of injustice and tyranny in the chiefs, whose impolitic proceedings are extremely destructive to the general welfare. But of this there will be occasion to speak more particularly, when their several customs are noticed. At present we felt no inconvenience from this law, our decks being already crowded with the hogs we had brought from Matavāi: however, had we stood in need, there were none to be got, for in the absence of Iddeah and Māne Manne no chief was here of sufficient authority to repeal it.

22d. Light airs of wind and pleasant weather, with a few flying showers of rain. The crew employed painting the ship, making a new mizen, and putting the rigging in order.

An affair happened this morning, of which the brethren made some account: eight of them, by permission of the captain, took the jolly-boat to a fresh-water creek at the head of the harbour, with the intent to wash their linen, but returned in a short time, under a persuasion that the natives meant to rob them of their bundles, and to do them further mischief. "We put off," says Mr. Bowell, "from the ship, but took no arms with us; a double canoe, full of men, also two single ones, followed us; and when the boat entered the creek, multitudes of people were seen running along the shore, some with white sticks in their hands: others, with clappers of pearl oyster-shells, were seemingly convening more of their countrymen together; and when we landed they were crowding from all quarters, but still behaved peaceably; and those who held spears shewed us in what manner they used them. Their numbers increasing, we thought it most prudent to keep our bundles fast,



“ and return to the ship ; as the quantity of linen we had brought  
“ was perhaps a temptation too great for them to resist. This reso-  
“ lution we immediately put in practice ; and we were allowed to re-  
“ turn without molestation.”

Soon after they got on board, a meeting of all the brethren was held in the cabin, to debate on the propriety of taking fire-arms on shore with them at Tongataboo. Brother Kelfo opened the meeting in the usual manner ; after which the captain, as president, informed them of the reasons of being convened ; and, after a long conversation upon the subject, there appeared, on a division—for taking muskets to defend their persons and property, brothers Harper, Kelfo, Nobs, Shelly, Veefon, and Wilkinfon—against it, Bowell, Buchanan, and Cooper.

Before the meeting broke up there were some remonstrances addressed to Messrs. Harris and Crook, concerning their going to the Marquesas in so small a number ; to which they answered, That having long since made that place their choice, they were still in the same mind, nor did they entertain a doubt of meeting with a favourable reception : and on this account they did not think it necessary for the ship to revisit them, but would rather, if the proposal met with the captain's approbation, that the ship should first go to the Friendly Islands, and then proceeding to the Marquesas, a vast expense of time would be saved, and the captain be enabled to stay a month or more to see them safely settled.—This proposal was approved and adopted as our future plan.

About thirty canoes, filled with men and women, kept paddling around us all the day ; a greater number, who had no canoes, but only a log of wood, and some nothing, diverted themselves in the water several hours together, and if a small trinket was thrown in, they would dive some fathoms after it, and were in general sure to bring it up.

The night was very dark, and about eleven o'clock the watch saw



a naked native standing in the main chains; and attempting to seize him, he leaped into the water, and made his escape, taking with him four yards of our electric chain.

23d. Sent the boat to the creek for a turn of water, but when it came we could not drink it, by reason of a bitterness, imbibed probably from the trees and shrubs on its banks; however, on the west side, and not far from the head of the harbour, an excellent spring of water was found. The natives surrounded us as yesterday, but with little to barter.

24th. Fine pleasant weather. Many natives from different parts of the island were to-day viewing the ship with apparent admiration; and perhaps it is no erroneous opinion to suppose that there never was a ship in those parts so ornamented with figures to attract their attention. None appeared with arms, but all roguishly inclined, on which account we would not suffer one of them to come upon our decks; but, notwithstanding our precautions, they found means to steal the rudder out of the jolly-boat lying alongside. While we were at dinner in the cabin a canoe came close under the stern, and a tall fellow, getting up upon the back of the rudder, reached his hand up, and snatched away a book which lay just within the cabin windows; he then immediately fell back, and made a plunge in the water. This we heard, and starting up, insisted upon their putting the canoe alongside, but this they refused to do, and began to set off towards the shore, as did all the rest that were near us. Thinking this action too daring to be overlooked, and clemency, so often extended, only an excitement to greater depredations, a few small shot were fired, which made them take to the water, and skulk behind the canoe. Two of the seamen in our jolly-boat tried in vain to catch the offender, for he, with the dexterity of a wild duck in the water, eluded all their attempts to lay hold of him; and it was only with the help of the pinnace, and frightening him with a musket, that we caught him at last. When alongside, he trembled through fear of being put to death, and struggled hard to get into



the water again, but making a rope fast round his body, he was hoisted on board, and lashed up to the rigging, in sight of his countrymen, who stood ranged along the beach in expectation of seeing him punished. As Peter was on shore at this time, the delinquent was kept bound till he returned on board; in the mean while the natives, observing nothing was done to him, came around us as before. When Peter arrived, he was desired to tell the man in what light we considered his offence, and that if he or any other person was found doing the like again, they would certainly be severely punished; and that the reason why we let him go at this time was merely because we had not warned him of the consequence before. To this he said, he would not do so again, and took his leave with joy in his countenance.

The bad conduct of the captain's steward had been often noted; though the missionaries were reluctant to complain. This had at last exhausted the patience of the captain, who turned him out of the cabin before the mast. This evening, going on shore with others to bathe, he secreted himself, having contrived to get some of his things on shore unknown to any but the Swede. This caused us much sorrow of mind, as he had made, on coming on board, a profession of godliness, though his conduct had very little adorned it. We feared that this man, thus leaving the ship and indulging in all the abominable practices of the heathen, would prove a great reproach and plague to us; and so we afterwards found it to be.

Having now finished the painting of the ship, and put her otherwise in good order, the stream cable was ordered to be cast off from the tree on shore, and all things to be in readiness for proceeding to sea with the land breeze in the morning. Orders were given also that a good look-out should be kept during this night, as we had some reason to apprehend that we should be visited by thieves in the dark; therefore two muskets were placed in readiness. As we expected, so it proved; for about one o'clock in the morning, when it was very dark, a man was heard swimming under the ship's bows,



close to the cable, and perhaps with an intent to cut it; a musket was fired, which set him off with great precipitancy towards the shore.

25th. At six A. M. with a light air at S. S. E. we weighed and stood out of Tāloo harbour, which as we cleared we found the wind more to the eastward. Several of the natives in their canoes followed us quite out to sea, expressing a greater desire to trade with us than they had done all the time we lay among them.

Concerning the people of this island we learnt but little, not caring to trust ourselves in small parties on shore, for fear they should retaliate on us the vengeance which Captain Cook inflicted upon them for stealing his goats. However, we observed in those who came alongside, that they had not attained to that frank affable behaviour towards strangers, that the Otaheiteans have in general: neither were they so skilful in bartering; and in every point of civilization seemed far behind that people: which difference I cannot otherwise account for, than by supposing them less visited by strangers from Ulietēa and the other islands than Otaheite is. For it is certain that the vast number of arreoies which resort to the latter place do not only, by virtue of their privileges, oblige to the exercise of hospitality, the parent of many social qualities, but by their address, knowledge of the islands, and various talents to please, they contribute to inform the minds and soften the manners of those they visit. In their persons they differ nothing from the Otaheiteans, except it be in a Jewish cast of countenance, which is here more general: and a greater proportion of their women are of a low stature, but equal in the symmetry of features.

We saw but few canoes, and those were very indifferent ones both in size and goodness, nor were there any signs of their being possessed of many.

As for the island itself, it seems to have suffered great convulsions either from earthquakes or other violent causes. Most of the hills



are high, pointed at their tops, with broken rugged sides, particularly about Tāloo harbour, from the entrance of which they have a very striking appearance. The low grounds are covered with coconut, bread-fruit, and other trees, all growing luxuriantly, and without care or culture. They have also all the roots, &c. in common with the other islands. And here the cows are that Captain Cook left with them, but they are little attended to, as it is said that they are wild, and that none of the natives dare approach them: there is no bull. We did intend to have landed in pursuit of the cows, and to have taken them to Matavāi; but as all the chiefs were absent, it was thought prudent to relinquish the plan for fear of mischief from the natives.

Towards evening we saw Tethurōa, low land, about twenty-four miles from Otaheite. It consists of six or seven islets very near each other, not many feet above the level of the sea, covered with coconuts, but no bread-fruit, which they are not allowed to cultivate. It belongs to the king, but Māne Manne claims it. The natives, about three thousand, are employed in fishing for the chiefs at Otaheite, and bring back bread-fruit and other things in exchange.

26th. About four in the afternoon we tacked the ship close in with One Tree hill, hoisted our colours, and fired a gun; upon hearing of which, Messrs. Cover, Lewis, Henry, Gillham, and others came off in a double canoe, and reported that all was well, that they had now no reason to entertain apprehension of future mischief from the natives, who, they say, usually leave their house about six o'clock in the evening, and revisit them regularly at an early hour in the morning. The chiefs also were behaving extremely well. Since we left them they had made Māne Manne a chest, which pleased him. Pomāre had just set off to another district, after promising to be with them again in a day or two. They were all in good health; and respecting provisions, the natives continued to supply them plentifully with all that the island afforded. This pleasing intelligence could not fail to satisfy us, and also to reconcile them to the departure of their brethren.



Therefore we took leave of our friends, hoisted in the pinnace, and made sail for the Friendly Islands, after sending on shore materials for a flat-bottomed boat, to be built during our absence.

Nothing could have exceeded the kindness and attention of the natives; every day they attended our worship, and heard such addresses as we were able to make to them through an interpreter. This first experiment of the ship's absence had removed all the brethren's fears; and they saw us quit the harbour only with the tenderness of parting friends, who hoped again shortly to meet and rejoice together; wishing their missionary brethren good speed in the several places of their destination; yet not without many tears.

The wind being fresh to east, we filled our topails, and left them far astern. The brethren, who had come off hastily in the canoe, improvidently came away without the paddles; several canoes being near, they borrowed two, and some loose boards were in the canoe with them; with these they tried to pull her ahead in vain, the wind blowing from that point to which they wanted to go. The cross piece of the canoe, it being a double one, gave way, the lashing being nearly cut through; so they passed a rope round the bottom, and secured it. They were, however, obliged to bear away beyond One Tree hill, and travel home on foot, leaving the canoe and her cargo to the care of the natives, who were very faithful, and brought her back the next day.



## CHAPTER VIII.

*Division of the Missionaries.—Voyage to Tongataboo.—Occurrences there during the first Visit.*

WE must now interrupt the account of the transactions at Otaheite, to follow our other brethren through the deep; on the ship's return they shall be recorded.

The day following our departure from Matavāi we passed to the southward of the Society Islands, in sight of Huahēine, Ulietā, Otaha, and Bōlabola; then, with a fine fair wind and pleasant weather, shaped our course for Palmerston's island, which we intended to visit, as it lay directly in our way. Accordingly, on the first of April, a little before day, we saw it bearing west, distant about two leagues; then running nearer, hoisted out the pinnace and jolly-boat, and attempted landing on the south-easternmost islet; but finding it impracticable there, on account of the surf breaking high on every part of the surrounding reef, we bore down to the next islet, which is the south-westernmost, and found it almost as bad to land upon as that which we had left. A squall of wind and heavy rain coming on, we returned to the ship, for fear any accident should happen to the boats. About eight o'clock the weather cleared up, and we made a second attempt, finding that by reason of the tide of ebb the surf had fallen considerably; yet there appeared no place where we could land the boats with safety. Abundance of cocoa-nut trees covered the islet, and to get at them was our object; therefore Otaheitean Tom, the third mate, and one of the seamen, taking with them the end of a line, leaped into the water and ventured into the surf, where, with great difficulty, they effected a footing on the coral rocks which



compose the reef, after getting their legs, arms, and different parts of their bodies, much cut with the sharp points of the coral. They had still to walk near a quarter of a mile before they got to the dry beach, so that the small quantity of cocoa-nuts which they could have brought to the boat would not have been a recompence for the trouble of procuring them; but about half-ebb we observed a small opening or gutter in the reef, into which we rowed, and found it deep enough for the boats to pass clear over to the beach, where we could step out dry, and lie within fifty yards of the trees. We now applied ourselves to the object in view, and soon sent both the boats off loaded with cocoa-nuts, keeping the two Otaheiteans on shore to climb the trees, a task which they performed with much more ease than we could. The water had now fallen so much, that on the return of the boats they were obliged to lie at the outer edge of the reef, in a small creek about ten yards wide and twenty long, and covered from the force of the sea by the rocks projecting on each side. They were again loaded with cocoa-nuts, and grass for the use of the goats; and it now being late in the evening we returned on board, hoisted the boats in, and made sail, having got in the course of the day five hundred and thirty cocoa-nuts.

Palmerston's island was discovered by Captain Cook on his second voyage: it consists of a group of small islets, eight or nine in number, connected together by a reef of coral rocks, and lying in a direction nearly circular. The islet we landed upon is not a mile in circuit, and at high water is not more than four or five feet above the level of the sea. The soil is coral sand, with an upper stratum of blackish mould produced from rotten vegetables. All the inner area of the islet is covered with cocoa-nut trees, which decaying and falling successively form a thick underwood: without these, near to the beach, are the wharra tree, and others of various sorts. We saw vast numbers of men of war birds, tropic birds, and boobies. Among the trees there was plenty of red crabs, dragging after them a shell in form of a periwinkle, but larger, being in diameter about two or



three inches ; when they run along the ground they only put their claws out, but when we touched them, they drew themselves wholly into their shell.

We also saw the beautiful submarine grotto described in Cook's third voyage. " At one part of the reef which bounds the lake within, almost even with the surface, there is a large bed of coral, which affords a most enchanting prospect. Its base, which is fixed to the shore, extends so far that it cannot be seen, so that it appears to be suspended in the water. The sea was then unruffled, and the refulgence of the sun exposed the various sorts of coral in the most beautiful order ; some parts luxuriantly branching into the water, others appearing in a vast variety of figures, and the whole heightened by spangles of the richest colours, glowing from a number of large clams interspersed in every part. Even this delightful scene was greatly improved by the multitude of fishes that gently glided along, seemingly with the most perfect security ; their colours were the most beautiful that can be imagined, blue, yellow, black, red, &c. far excelling any thing that can be produced by art." This is the description which they give of this grotto, and is nothing exaggerated, for it is certainly a great and beautiful production of nature. We beheld it with pleasure, and with them regretted, that a work so astonishingly elegant should be concealed in a place so seldom explored by the human eye.

There are no traces of this island having ever been inhabited ; a piece of a canoe lay upon the beach, probably the same as was seen by Cook's people, and which they conjecture might have drifted from another island ; but as there are rats upon the island, which both they and we saw, hence a query is suggested, how or by what means they could come to this place ? They suppose it might be in the canoe, which is not at all likely, because they afford hardly a place of concealment for them ; and if there were men in the canoe, it is very probable that they suffered much from hunger, therefore it would be absurd to think they would not search their canoe for every



hidden morsel; or, finding a rat, to suppose they would spare it. It is doubtless more just to conclude they were drifted here on some hollow tree or root, which being before their place of shelter, and torn up by some tempest, might be cast upon this shore.

On Wednesday the fifth of April we saw *Savage* island, but did not get near it before dark. In passing the north end we perceived three lights, and on the west side seven more; by their motion we supposed them to be on the water, and seemingly in canoes a-fishing. The natives of this island shewed a ferocious and hostile disposition to Captain Cook and his people in 1774, when he discovered it; on which account he called it *Savage* island. His account of them shews the danger of landing among any of those islanders who have not previously had intercourse with Europeans; also the absolute necessity, when obliged to land, of being able to repel them by force when attacked. We ought to lay it down as a truth, that neither in places already known, where the inhabitants have acted constantly in a hostile manner, nor yet in new islands which voyagers may discover, are the natives to be trusted with the power of their lives; for in general they are so tenacious of their territory and of their canoes, so covetous of all we possess, and under a persuasion that all strangers are enemies, that they will, either by force or cunning, aim at the lives of those who are so unhappy as to place any confidence in them, till some friendly intercourse has been established.

We now shaped our course for Tongataboo, and on our passage thither such articles were sorted out as it was thought the brethren might with some safety take with them on their first landing. On Sunday the 9th, at ten A.M. we saw the land; and at noon the island of Eöoa bore S.W. distant seven or eight leagues. At half past four in the evening we tacked to the eastward, the small island of Eoo-äije bearing S. S.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. distant three miles, and then hove to for the night, during which we had light winds and constant rain. At daylight, it continuing still dark and hazy, we could see no land until seven A.M. when it ceased raining, and the weather gradually



clearing up, Eoo-āije bore W. and Eōoa S. by W.; the wind also veered in our favour from W.N.W. to N. by W. and freshening to a brisk gale we stood in for the harbour of Tongataboo. The natives of Eōoa had observed us the preceding day; for a canoe with four men, which must have put off from that island before daylight, was now paddling after the ship. This circumstance gave us some pleasure, as it both evinced their desire for our articles, and a confidence in us.

Passing to the northward of Eoo-āije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef. One of the large sailing kind, with about sixty persons upon her platform, kept close to windward of us, and proved herself the better sailer by running ahead with ease, then slackening their sheet and falling astern, then running ahead again, and so on; the ship, at the same time, going six knots and a half by the log, topgallant-sails and stay-sails set. It appeared evident, that, had they chosen, they could have run at the rate of seven knots and a half or eight knots an hour.

In sailing into the harbour we kept the north reef on board, until we came to the narrow channel which bends to the N.W. which we got through after making two or three short tacks with the tide strong in our favour; then running a little way further, passing Makahāa we hauled to the southward, and anchored in nine fathoms, on a bottom of soft sand, about three quarters of a mile from the small island of Pangimodoo, and moored with a stream anchor and cable to the S.W. Once more, through a gracious Providence, safe anchored in the haven where we would be.



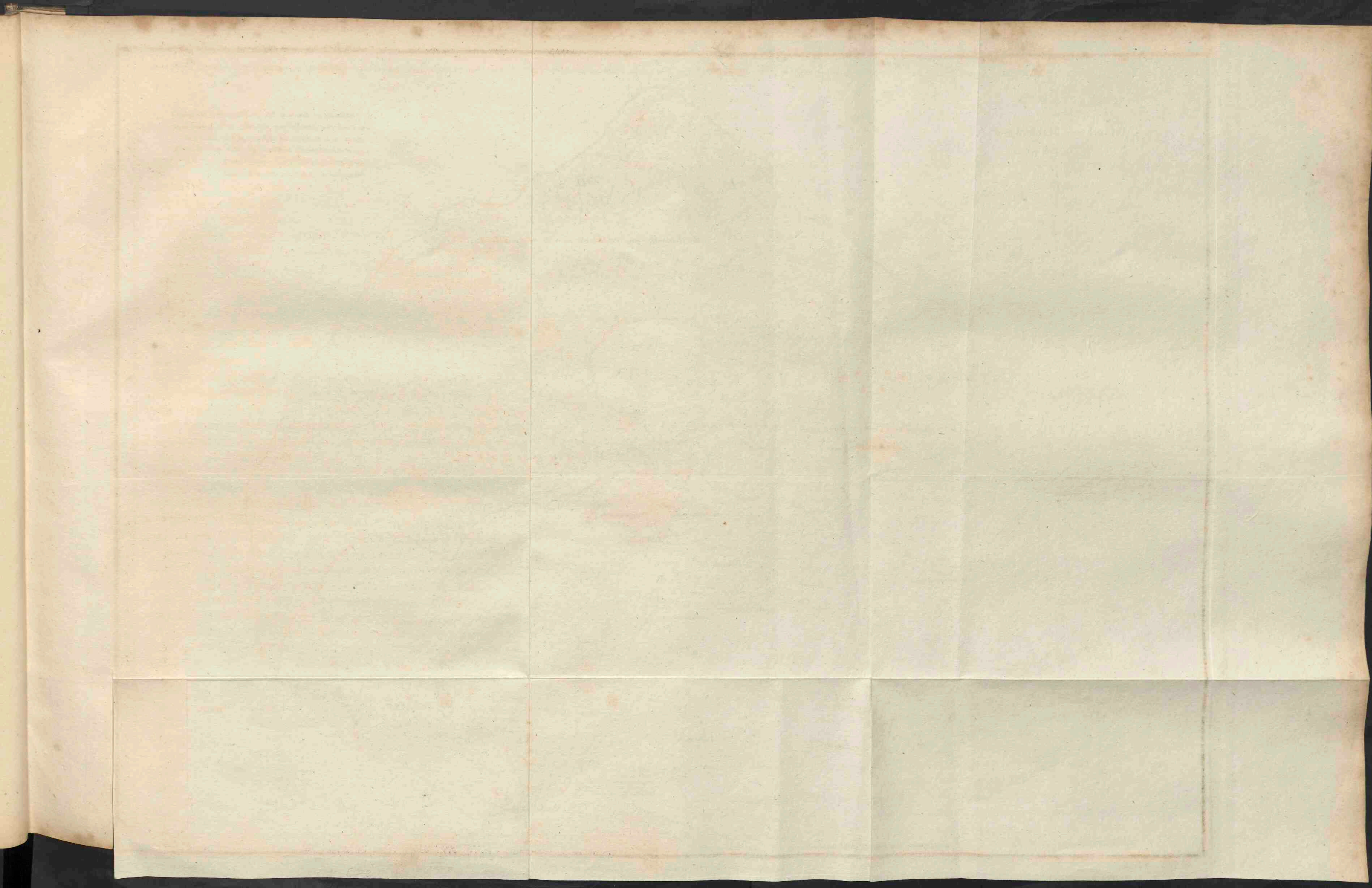
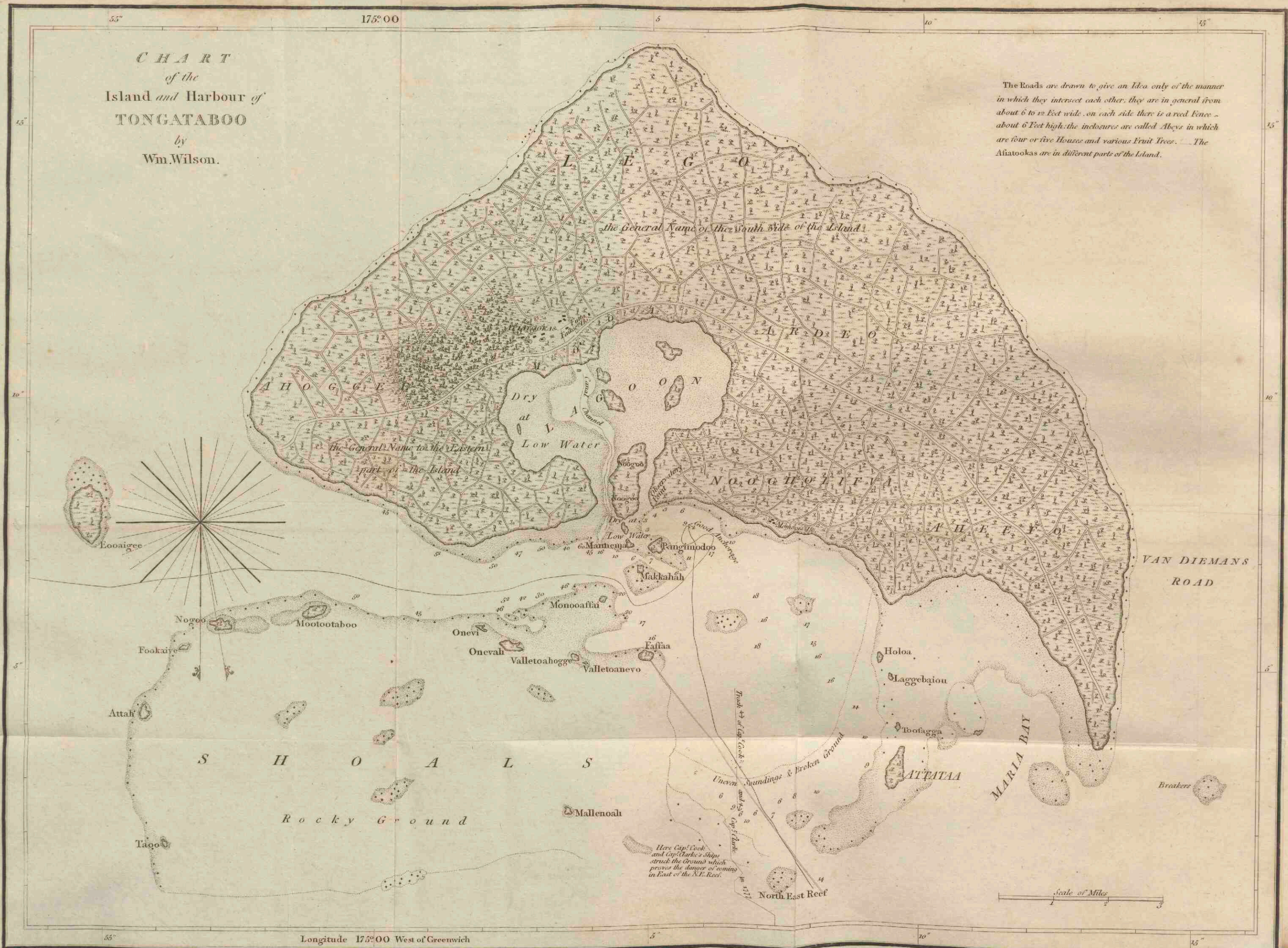




CHART  
of the  
Island and Harbour of  
TONGATABOO  
by  
Wm. Wilson.

The Roads are drawn to give an Idea only of the manner in which they intersect each other, they are in general from about 6 to 12 Feet wide, on each side there is a red Fence - about 6 Feet high, the inclosures are called *Abeyas* in which are four or five Houses and various Fruit Trees. The *Aliatookas* are in different parts of the Island.





## CHAPTER IX.

*Occurrences during the first Visit to Tongataboo.*

OUR followers were now all eager to come on board; but though we were willing to grant them every prudent indulgence, yet they were too numerous to have free access: therefore about twenty only were admitted; and by placing sentries along each side of the deck, we succeeded in keeping the rest off, though very importunate to be on board. The commodities they offered for barter consisted of hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, spears, clubs (which none were without), and various articles ingeniously manufactured; but their demands were so high that but little was purchased. Neither the Swedes nor Otaheiteans could understand what they said more than ourselves, which not only increased the difficulty of trading with such scrupulous dealers, but embarrassed us in no small degree to know how to settle the more important business of the missionaries. After dinner, a chief named Futtafaihe was introduced to the captain, as a person of great power in Tongataboo; and indeed such he appeared: he was about forty years of age, stout and well proportioned, of an open, free countenance, noble demeanour, and a gait stately, or rather pompous, for by it alone we should have taken him for a very great man; and by the attention with which he surveyed every object, he appeared to possess an inquisitive mind. He talked a good deal in the cabin, but all we could collect from it was, that he was a great chief, and that some white men were on the island, and that he would bring them with him on the following day. After the captain had made him a present of an ax, a looking-glass, and some other articles, he took his leave; and was hardly



from the ship when two Europeans made their appearance; they came alongside without hesitation, and slipping on board with alacrity, gave us the unspeakable pleasure of hearing our own language spoken by them; a pleasure which proved at once our necessity of such instruments, and our great distance from home; for in their countenance, one of them especially, there was so much of the villain marked, that in England a well-disposed person would shun them as he would a swindler or a pickpocket. However, bad as they appeared to be, as they have to act a part in future, I shall insert their account of themselves. One of them, named Benjamin Ambler, says, that he was born in the parish of Shadwell, London; and that his parents now keep a public-house in Cannon Street. He is a bold, talkative, presuming fellow; seems to speak the language fluently, and says that he learnt it with great facility. John Connelly is a native of Cork in Ireland, by trade a cooper, and is far less talkative than his comrade. Ambler says that they left London in a ship called the Otter, in which they sailed to America; and there, for the sake of better wages, left her to go in an American vessel bound to the north-west coast on the fur trade. On their passage outwards they touched at the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, where they made some stay, catching seals; and proceeded thence to the Friendly Islands, in hopes of procuring refreshments; but having nothing but old iron hoops to barter, the natives would not part with their hogs. This induced these two, and four more, to leave the ship; for their salt provisions were so bad as to be scarcely eatable, and so scanty as forced them upon a short allowance; therefore, dreading their case might soon be worse, they requested the captain to discharge them. This he accordingly did, and they landed upon Annamooka, where another American vessel called soon afterwards, and being in want of seamen, engaged three of their number. An Irishman named Morgan remained at Annamooka, and they two had been about thirteen months at Tongataboo. They are both young men, not exceeding the age of thirty.



Ambler informed us that Futtafaihe was a great chief, and presided over all the eastern part of the island; but that there was an old man named Tibo Moomōoe, of greater power, and generally esteemed as king over the island: at present, they said, he was in a bad state of health, for which reason he could not gratify his desire to come on board when the ship first came to anchor; but that he intended, if possible, to pay us a visit on the morrow, or day following. From their high praises of this old chief, we understood that humanity to his people, and hospitality to strangers, were predominant traits of his character. This pleasing account of the chiefs encouraged the captain to mention to Ambler the purpose of our visit, the talents and character of the missionaries, their intentions of service and good-will towards the natives, and to point out the certain benefits which the latter would receive, if our people were suffered to live unmolested among them; at the same time he requested their opinion of men settling at this place with such views. To this he replied, that the natives would certainly receive them gladly and treat them with kindness; but respecting property, they could give no assurance of its safety. Connelly, who seemed to speak with the greatest candour, expressed the danger their lives would be in if encumbered with iron tools, they attempted to defend themselves from private robbers, which character might apply to every man on the island when such temptations lay in their way.

As for a house, they had no doubt but Tibo Moomōoe would give them one, and also protect their persons; but were of opinion, that if all the ten lived with one chief they would not be so well supplied with provision as if they were to separate to different parts of the island. This was nearly all that passed at this time, or indeed could, until Tibo Moomōoe was acquainted therewith; for which purpose they now left us, first promising to return in the morning with his answer.

While this was passing, a large double canoe approached, in which were several chiefs, who, either with a view of obliging us,



or to shew their own arbitrary power, began driving the canoes from the ship, forcing them to the shore as fast as they could paddle; some had part of their crews on board, and could not get so quickly away, which the chiefs observing, came at a great rate under the ship's stern where they lay, ran direct over one canoe, and, as we thought, would have hurt the people, but by their dexterity in diving and swimming they escaped safe: the others seemed quite indifferent to what they had done, and there being now nothing to obstruct them, nor any farther sport, they came alongside: one of them, a remarkably stout man, we were informed was admiral, or rather the navigator of their fleets, when they go on expeditions to the other islands; another of note was Fēnou, who we understood to be brother to him that was so attached to Captain Cook. Each of them received a present, and in a short time returned to the shore, when the canoes again surrounded us to trade, demanding for half a dozen cocoa-nuts what would purchase a hundred at Otaheite. On the approach of night they all left us very quietly.

In the evening the captain and missionaries held a meeting, where it was agreed, that, if a favourable answer was received from Moomōoe, some of the brethren should land as soon as possible, to examine the place, view the natives in their habitations, and see how they were likely to behave to them: after which they could more easily determine what property it was safe to take at first, and also the propriety of taking arms.

During the night heavy rain and squalls of wind from the N.W.

11th. At daylight the large double canoe came alongside again, and in her several of the chiefs who had visited us on the preceding evening: these brought two hogs and a few yams, I suppose, in return for the present which they had received. They introduced themselves into the cabin without much ceremony, and sat quietly while we breakfasted: tea they refused to take, but some ate biscuit and butter with a seemingly good relish. About ten o'clock in the forenoon Ambler and Connelly came with a present of three hogs and



some yams from Moomōoe, informing us that himself intended to follow. Accordingly the venerable chief was very soon alongside, but was long before he durst venture up the ladder, fearing he had not strength sufficient for the task; he at last however made the trial, but was so exhausted thereby, that he was obliged to rest himself at the gangway; thence his attendants led him to the quarter-deck ladder, where he again sat down, saying that he would not go before the captain till he was shaved: and to please him in this, Mr. Harris began the operation, and finished it much to the satisfaction of this decent chief, who then saluted the captain, and entered the cabin, followed by twenty-two attendant chiefs and servants: these squatted themselves upon the floor, but the chief was placed in a chair, which he much admired, thought he sat easy in it, and, requesting it as a present, had it immediately given to him. He attentively surveyed the cabin and its furniture, expressing his admiration of all he saw, and asking a number of very pertinent questions: as, of what wood were the frames of the looking-glasses, supposing apparently the whole to be of a piece with the gilded outside: the same of the different coloured painted woods. Nor did they seem to admire the beauty of the whole more than the neatness of every part of the workmanship. They examined minutely the jointing of the chairs and of the mahogany table, and expressed no small degree of astonishment at finding themselves so far excelled; for they cherish an idea of being superior to all their neighbours. When told that the men we had brought to live among them could teach them those arts, and also better things, they seemed quite transported. This favourable opportunity the captain improved, by mentioning every circumstance that could raise in their minds an high idea of the missionaries; interrogating Moomōoe as to his willingness for them to reside there, and also what provision he would make for them: to which he answered, that for the present they should have a house near his own, until one more suitable could be provided; they should also have a piece of land for their use; and he would take care that neither their property nor



persons should be molested: adding, that, if they pleased, they might go on shore and examine the house, when, if they did not like the situation, he would order it to be removed to any spot they preferred, for this he could have done in a few hours.

For this purpose I was sent in the pinnace, with Ambler and four of the missionaries, and landed about four miles to the westward of where the ship lay. The natives, as the boat approached, crowded the shore, apparently to gratify their curiosity only, for they all behaved peaceably, and suffered us to pass along unmolested. From the beach we had to walk about half a mile, and when arrived at the place, we found it surrounded by a fence of reeds six feet high, enclosing three or four acres of ground: on which stood five houses, two large and three small: the largest, intended for the missionaries, was thirty-six feet long, twenty broad, roof fifteen feet high in the middle, and sloping to the sides till only four feet from the ground, resting upon wood pillars, and open all round: the floor was raised about a foot, and covered with thick clean matting. On the inside there hung to the cross beams an anchor, about six hundred weight: they had made a shift to cut the ring out with hatchets, and shared it among the chiefs. It was of English form, and probably the same Cook lost in 1774, though Ambler informed us they had it from Annamōoka, where it was left by an American brig.

From this we passed to the other large house, which, we were told by Ambler, was sacred to the God of Prētane, and in this old Moomōoe sleeps when indisposed, in hopes to obtain a cure. On the floor were four large conch-shells, with which they alarm the country in times of danger: and on the rafters were placed spears, clubs, bows and arrows, to receive from their imaginary deity supernatural virtue, to render them successful against their enemies. The whole of this enclosure, we understood, was what the natives call an abēy, of which there are several; it being their manner of laying out their dwellings, and which is properly the freehold of the chiefs who occupy them.



Our business being done, we returned to the ship, where we found the natives taking their departure for the shore. And in this interval of rest from noise and tumult the captain and missionaries met to consult on what was now best to be done. The latter had seen the house, approved of it, but thought the ground attached thereto too small for their purposes of gardening and agriculture. Besides this objection, another and greater was, that Moomōoe, being an old man, might soon die; in which case, especially if they were esteemed useful, a dispute might arise among the chiefs about whose property they should be, or who should be their next protector; and were this to happen before they had attained a knowledge of the language, they would not only be in danger of being stripped of their property, but also of losing their lives. A third objection was, that the chiefs most usually residing at Ahēefo, a place at the west end of the island, and drawing after them the greater part of the inhabitants, would in a great measure frustrate their usefulness. Therefore it was only agreed to go to this house, if they could do no better; but first to send Ambler early in the morning to Fēenou Tōogahowe, to propose their residing with him; and, if he willingly embraced the offer, they would immediately land with such part of their property only as they considered it was absolutely necessary to take.

While Moomōoe and the crowd of chiefs were in the cabin, they regaled themselves with a bowl of kava, which, though a delicious treat to them, was so disgusting to us, that we could not possibly go to dinner till they had finished, when it was near four in the afternoon.

12th. By daybreak in the morning the canoes hurried off to the ship, endeavouring which should get nearest, to trade. Among our visitors of note the first was Futtafāihe, who came early, bringing Connelly with him, to speak to the captain to place five of the missionaries with him. But for the reasons above mentioned, they would not consent to live on this part of the island, nor to separate, if possible, till they were better acquainted with the language and people: a



promise to visit him when they were settled gave him but little satisfaction.

At nine o'clock Ambler came off with Tōogahowe, who had already agreed with the former to take all the brethren under his protection, also to give them a house, and the land attached to it, for their use. Tōogahowe, by Ambler's account, is the most powerful chief in the island; is the greatest warrior, and in consequence thereof is not only a terror to the chiefs of Tongataboo, but likewise to those of the adjacent islands, which he visited not long ago in a hostile way, and quickly brought them under subjection. We were further informed concerning him, that on the death of a certain chief, the widow of the former Poūlaho, residing in Eōoa, sent her servant to possess the lands which the deceased had occupied, and which now belonged by right to her; but before they arrived, Tōogahowe had seized the property, and refused to deliver it up. The widow, who had many adherents, proceeded to drive him off by force; but the attempt failed on her part, and gave Tōogahowe a pretext for seizing all her possessions, and driving her and her adherents from Tongataboo. Since that he has held his neighbours in a state of fear; insomuch that it is thought when Moomōoe dies he will be formally chosen into his place of great chief, or king of the island. He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age; is of a fullen, morose countenance; speaks very little, but, when angry, bellows forth with a voice like the roaring of a lion.

As he came near to the ship the natives readily made way for his canoe, and behaved with such great awe in his presence as tended to confirm the account we had heard, and led us to consider him as the most proper person under whose protection we might place the brethren. Ambler, as above mentioned, had already informed him of our design; but for the satisfaction of the missionaries, the captain, in their presence, with Ambler as interpreter, again recited every particular of our intentions, and what we required of them; observing, that our sole inducement to come so far was to do them good, on which account we did



not think ourselves under the least obligation to them for permitting us to settle in their country, as was hinted the day before by Moomōoe; but, on the contrary, if they were unwilling to receive our people on the conditions mentioned, or were not desirous of their stay, the captain's determination was, to depart in a friendly manner, without landing a man. Tōogahowe seemed to understand the greater part of what was said, and made answer, that, if they chose to land, they might live there as they pleased, and that nobody should hurt them; and in the afternoon he would send a double canoe to take their things on shore. However, though the chief comprehended what we deemed sufficient for our present purpose, it would be wrong to suppose, after all our pains to make it plain, that he could have a conception of the disinterested views of the missionaries, nor yet divest himself of the idea of conferring a favour, in receiving and afterwards maintaining them.

Ambler, with Tōogahowe, had not been long on board, when he informed us of a design, which, if ever put in execution, would probably have ended the voyage, if not our lives, at this place. The plot, he told us, was to attack the ship, and at that moment every man in eight large double canoes, and in many hundred single ones, were apprized of the intention, and prepared to join as soon as the attack commenced. This was alarming intelligence; and though we suspected it a forgery of Ambler's, yet it behoved us to credit it till we had by secret and expeditious means prepared to repel them. Accordingly, the small arms were laid in readiness, and the great guns cast loose and loaded with grape shot, and every man at his quarters. We then turned all the natives out of the ship, except Tōogahowe and his attendants, likewise ordered all the canoes from alongside; and they, observing an unusual stir upon the decks, and the guns levelled at them, obeyed rather hastily; drawing up in a range ahead and astern of the ship, where they lay in that manner a considerable time, seemingly in expectation of our firing a salute to divert them, as former navigators might perhaps have done. Finding at last



that this was not what we intended, they wanted to come alongside again; but only a few single ones were suffered to approach; nor would we ever after permit the double canoes alongside, nor to make their rope fast to the ship.

The truth of Ambler's information we could never learn. As for the canoes sheering off so readily, and lying ahead and astern of the ship, as if no mischief had been intended, it is no proof of their innocence, for cunning and indifference is the savage manner of acting till they are openly detected. What offends them is often of so trifling a nature, that, passing without our notice, their revenge comes unexpected. It was said that Fēenou, who came in the large double canoe when we first anchored, was at the head of this plot; and his reason for it, that he received nothing in return for a pig which he brought us yesterday, which pig the captain had considered as a compensation for what he received on his first visit: but Fēenou, when we saw him, flatly disowned having ever thought of doing us the least mischief; however, it gave us no small satisfaction to see the canoes disperse, for they could not contain less than three thousand men, each armed with a formidable club or spear; so that, had they made a rush upon our decks, where were only thirty undisciplined men to oppose them, they must have succeeded.

Just as this affair had subsided, Moomōoe called alongside with a present of a few yams for the captain, requesting in return a glass of red wine, saying that what he drank the day before had been serviceable to him: a bottle was accordingly put into the canoe, and he immediately left us. We were all much prejudiced in favour of this old chief, and beheld with concern that he was hastening fast to that bourn from whence no traveller returns.

Futtafāihe and Mytyle, two great chiefs, came down between decks, joined with us in our devotions, and followed all our attitudes in the profoundest silence. They would fain have engaged us to go with them; but at Ambler's persuasion, and promise to learn us the language, we agreed to fix at his house.



In the afternoon the canoe came for the missionaries' things, and was immediately loaded; *Bowell, Buchanan, Gaulton, Harper, Shelley, Veefon, and Wilkinfon*, accompanied by *B. Ambler*, embarked in it, and proceeded westward to a place called *Ahēēfo*. A petty chief, named *Commabye*, was ordered by *Tōogahowe* to go with them and see that nothing was lost. *Kelfo, Cooper, and Nobs*, remained on board to prepare the rest of the things.

13th. This morning, finding the natives crowd about us as much as ever, and likely to be troublesome, the stream anchor was ordered on board. A passage out of this harbour by the north was a desirable object, either in case of a strong easterly wind, or an attack from the natives, when by cutting the cable an escape might be effected: therefore the captain intended to go in search of it; and accordingly we were under way by nine o'clock, and, with a fine breeze from the eastward and clear weather, stretched over towards the small island of *Faffāa*, into six fathoms, broken ground; then stood towards *Attatāa*, sounding as we run along in twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms, until within two miles of the latter island, where, seeing the canoe coming with some of the brethren in her, we anchored in twelve fathoms, broken ground.

About three o'clock in the afternoon she got alongside; three of the missionaries were on board of her: they said that *Ahēēfo* was farther from the ship than they at first understood it to be; and the landing with goods was very bad, by reason of a flat which runs from the beach about half a mile, and over which they were obliged to wade up to the knees; and after they got to the beach, had to go further than a mile to reach the house; difficulties which made the landing of their things so tedious, that six hours were fully employed in housing them safe: this great trouble was in some degree lessened by the natives. Their persons were not molested; and though it was dark, not a single article of their property was lost. It was near one in the morning before all was safe, and the house left to themselves. They then went to rest, resigning their persons and property into the



hands of their God; and told us, when they came next day, that they never slept sounder in their lives. In the morning the natives provided a breakfast for them after the manner of the country. At nine o'clock they set off for the ship, and, having the wind unfavourable, were just six hours on their passage. Every thing was in readiness; therefore the canoe was immediately dispatched, leaving on board sufficient for another lading. And that they might have whatever was thought for the present necessary, Buchanan and Nobs staid on board to see that such things were got in readiness.

The cargo brought on shore was surrounded by a hundred persons, who alarmed brothers Harper and Kelso; but Mytyle ordered the chests into a house near, and dismissed the people, threatening if any man, during the night, approached to steal, he should be put to death. So we lay down on mats, in perfect security, till waked by Mytyle, at one o'clock in the morning, to partake of an entertainment, which he had provided, of fish, hot yams, cocoa-nuts, &c.

Before we weighed in the morning a woman of rank paid us a visit; she was attended by many chiefs, and a vast number of females, who were all officious in their care of the old lady, whose amazing corpulence rendered her coming on board rather difficult. After her there came four stout fellows carrying a bundle of cloth, not quite so large but that two of them might have carried it with ease; this was presented in form to the captain, who gave her in return such things as fully satisfied her. The ship being under sail we could not be quite so attentive to this great personage, as, according to their ideas of ceremony, they might expect; however, any omission of ours they found means to dispense with, by regaling themselves in the cabin over the kava bowl for about two hours, when she was told that the ship had got a considerable distance from her house: on this they hastened into the canoe, and made sail for the shore.

The respect paid to this old lady, and to many of her sex in Tongataboo, distinguishes them from the servile condition to which females are subjected in other savage states or tribes. Here they possess the



highest degrees of rank, and support it with a dignity and firmness equal to the men.

Futtafaihe was on board most of the day, and was still very importunate to have some of the missionaries with him.

Towards the evening the weather became dark and unsettled, the wind also variable from the westward, which, though not desirable to us, was embraced by those who long for the night, that they may put their dark designs in execution. About midnight a canoe with four men was observed lying ahead of the ship, evidently for no good purpose, but, as we suspected, to cut the cable, that the ship might drive upon the coral reef, which at this time was only a short half mile astern of us: however, as we had observed them in time, we determined to drive them off without firing shot, and for that purpose the gunner and his watch mates laid a quantity of cocoa-nut husks upon the fore-castle. Presently, under cover of a squall, they dropped under the bow: without making the least noise for fear any of them should get into the water unseen, and hurt the cable, a volley of the husks was poured on their heads, the sudden surprise of which caused them to leap into the water, some swimming one way and some another, whilst the canoe, totally deserted, drifted astern: a musket was also fired over their heads, that they might know those instruments of terror were in readiness by night as well as by day. As it was very dark, we soon lost sight of the men, but thinking the canoe would prove the circumstance to the chiefs, and lead to a discovery of the offenders, we therefore lowered the jolly-boat down and picked her up. All the while it rained hard and blew fresh, and sometimes we could perceive the white surf breaking on the reef astern; so that, had they succeeded in their design, which was doubtless to cut the cable, then the ship at least must have been lost in consequence of their insatiable desire for her lading.

14th. This disagreeable night was succeeded by a morning altogether mild and pleasant; and with a clear sky and gentle breeze westerly, we again got under way in search of the northern passage,



if there was a safe one: and as Captain Cook, on entering in 1777, struck on rocks, and describes the way they came as dangerous, we explored farther to the westward. The wind veering to the north, we had to ply, sounding in ten, twelve, fourteen, and fifteen fathoms, broken ground; an officer at the mast-head looking out for shoals: on one spot which shewed white we had only six fathoms. As we drew near to the outer reefs an eligible passage was observed, for which we steered, and went safe through, leaving only one of all the reefs extending from Attatāa on our starboard side: this reef is of a triangular form, and bears from Faffāa N.W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N.; and when close to it on the inner side, the north end of Attatāa bears W.  $35^{\circ}$  S. and Mallenōoah E.  $9^{\circ}$  S. by the compass; and thence through the channel the course is about W.N.W.

Considering our distance from the shore, we expected to have but few visitors: on the contrary, several canoes followed us quite without the reefs; but, on account of last night's adventure, none of them were admitted on board, except our constant friend Futta-fāihe, who presented the captain with a fine turtle: he expressed great disapprobation of his countrymen's behaviour; said he knew the men, but as they did not belong to the part of the island over which he presided, he could not punish them.

Being now without all the shoals, we steered towards the west end, to be nearer to the brethren, and at three in the afternoon the canoe came alongside; Shelley and Cooper were in her. They reported all was well; that themselves and those on shore were perfectly content with their situation, and had abundant reason to be thankful for the favour which they experienced from the natives. The canoe was completely loaded with the last of the things which they had laid together as sufficient for their purposes till our return; but they afterwards thought a few boards might be of service in building a house more suitable than that which they occupied; as the canoe could not take them, the captain agreed to wait till the next day: however, as they had saws of every kind, there was no absolute



necessity for the boards; and the weather being uncertain, we took an affectionate leave of the brethren; promising, notwithstanding, to wait till the following day if possible, and for that purpose made short tacks without the reefs for most of the night. The wind N.N.W. a fresh gale.

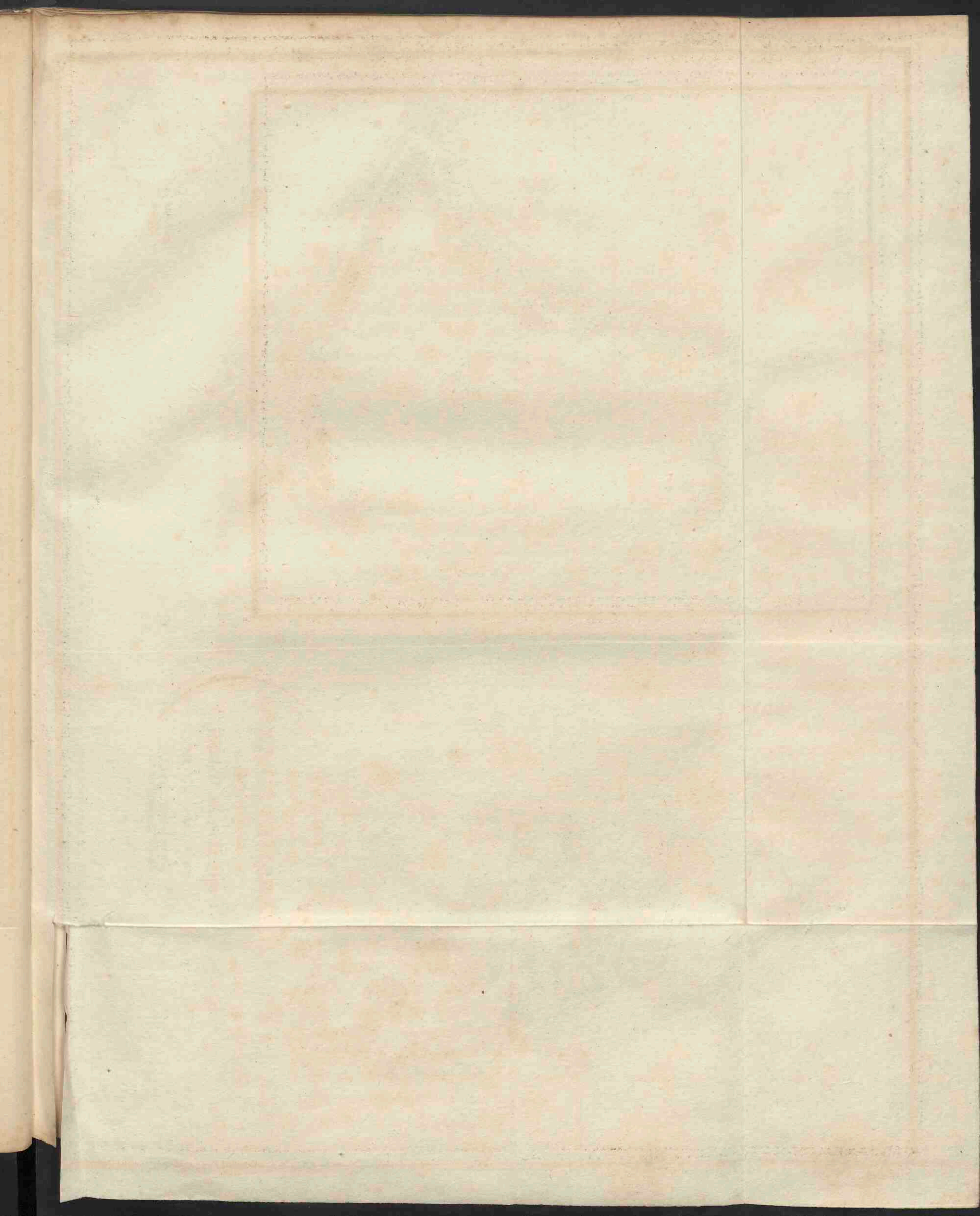
15th. At four in the morning we reefed the topsails, and tacked to the N.E.; at six tacked again to the westward. By this time the wind had increased to a hard gale, which forced us to relinquish the design of staying longer: our situation had now become so critical, by the wind blowing direct upon the reefs, that our concern was how to clear the island best upon either tack: to effect this, we kept our stretch towards the westward of the island, and expected to go clear of all danger; but as we approached within three or four miles of the point, bearing then about three points of the compass upon our lee bow, we saw heavy breakers ahead. In this case, to bear up in hopes of a passage between the reefs and the point, was risking a disappointment which must inevitably prove fatal, as we should then have no offing to return; therefore we tacked, to try if we could weather the north-east reefs, but soon perceived this to be impossible. The gale had increased so much, that we could hardly carry double-reefed topsails, and we found the ship was driving fast towards the reefs; so that by the time we were abreast of Attatāa, we saw plainly that, except we could fetch the passage we had found out the day before, nothing remained but shipwreck. Providentially we just weathered the reef on the west side of the channel by two or three ships lengths, and running through with assurance were soon once again in safety, thankful for so signal a deliverance.

We were now in the harbour, but having no sufficient reason to anchor in so hard a gale, which also blew fair for us to proceed to the south-east on our voyage, we steered for the eastern channel out of the harbour, and were once more alarmed with danger; for in running through the narrow passage betwixt Moonafāi and Māk-kahah, by not hauling to the eastward in time, we nearly ran upon

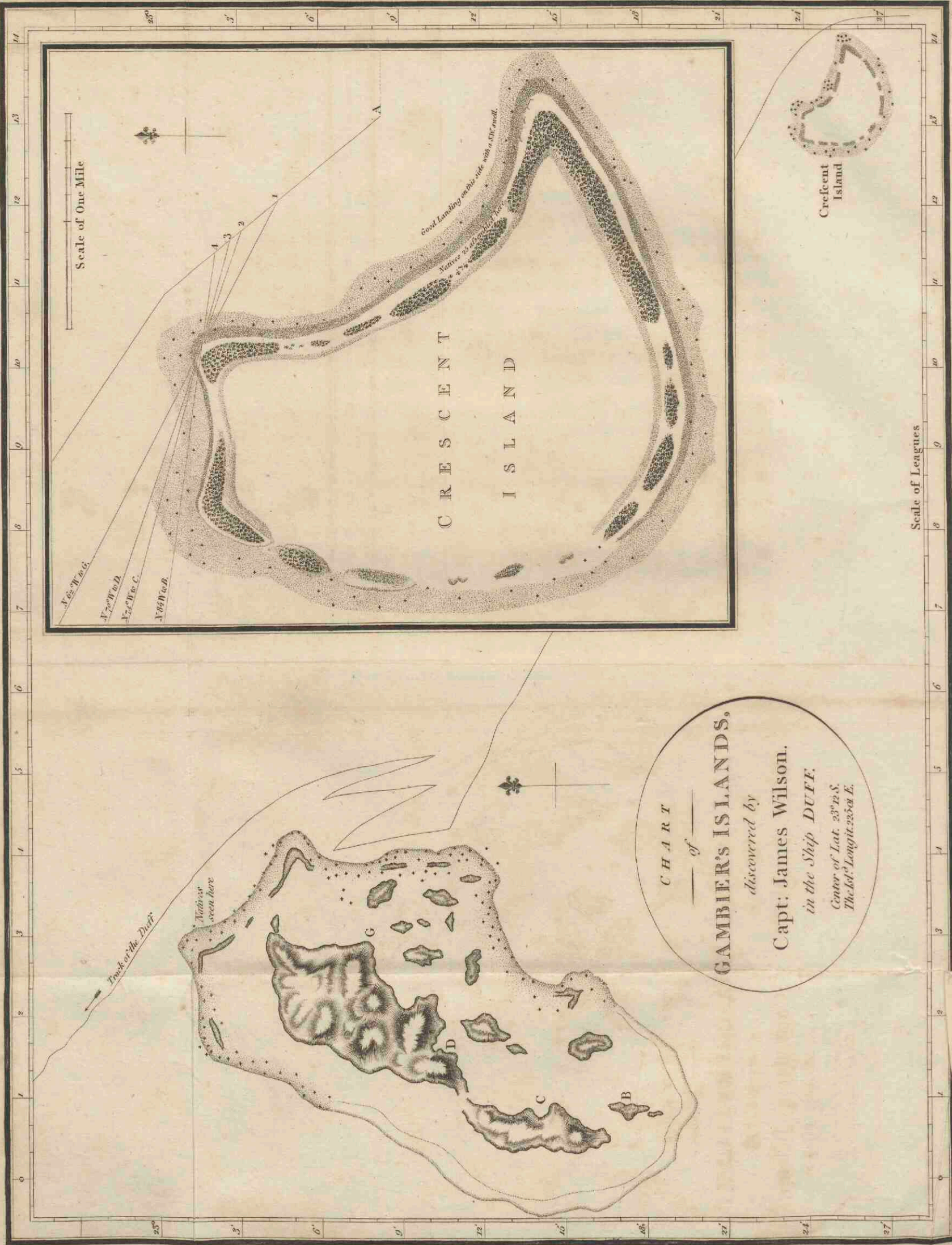


the rocks. This was occasioned by the flying clouds through which the sun broke at intervals, and formed very delusory appearances upon the water. The captain was aloft looking out, and thought he saw a shoal on the larboard bow; he called to port the helm, but the appearance vanishing, he ordered it a-starboard. That instant we found ourselves close to the lee reef, and running directly for it. The ship was still under the influence of the port helm, therefore we put it hard down that way, and in a few seconds she was close to the wind on the starboard tack, the reef scarce twenty yards to leeward of her, and about half a cable's length to run before we must heave her in stays, and upon her not missing, her safety depended. The crew exerted themselves, got the mizen set, and we had the joy to see her come about on the other tack, check the current upon the lee bow, and soon afterwards clear of danger and in good sea-room; then steering betwixt Eoo-āije and Eōoa, we proceeded to make the best of our way to the Marquesas. Thus, after perils the most imminent, and providential deliverances the most evident, we were preserved in health for the accomplishment of the work appointed us to do, and had planted a seed of divine truth which, we hope, will take root and flourish to the latest generations.











## CHAPTER X.

*Voyage to the Marquesas. — Discoveries made. — Transactions at  
Christina.*

HAPPILY extricated from the dangers which furrounded us in Tongataboo harbour, and once more passed into the open sea, for the first five days we had favourable winds, which shortened our distance about eight hundred miles ; but afterwards, during most of the time that we were to the southward of the tropic, we experienced successive gales from the eastward, with high seas and raw cold weather. The highest latitude we stood into was  $39^{\circ} 7' S.$  where we expected to find the winds prevail more westerly, but there was not the least appearance of it ; only we had much worse weather, and the ship was suffering in her sails and rigging : therefore we tacked to the northward into a more genial climate, and kept in about the latitude  $30^{\circ} S.$  embracing every opportunity to get to the eastward.

The cold weather affected our Otaheiteans very much ; the boy Hārraway, however, kept up his spirits ; Tānno Manoo also behaved very well ; she had got clear of her sea-sickness, and by conducting herself in a modest, affable, and obliging manner, was kindly treated by all on board : she was also of a good natural understanding, evidently susceptible of improvement, and always ready to communi-ate ; and was of great service to Mr. Crook and others who were learning the language ; for by her means many of the shibboleths of the Swedes' pronunciation were corrected, and better explanations given of the words. The captain gave her a warm week-day dress, and a shewy morning gown and petticoat for the Sundays ; and as she always kept herself clean, when dressed she made a very decent



appearance; taking more pains to cover her breasts, and even to keep her feet from being seen, than most of the ladies of England have of late done. Tom was under the greatest apprehensions, and was fully persuaded that he should die before he again reached Otaheite: in one of the gales he asked the captain if the ship would not die: indeed, during most of the passage he was very low-spirited, and suffered more than the others from the cold. We could teach him nothing, and could hardly persuade him to take any exercise; while Hārraway became a very useful boy in the ship, could understand almost any thing that was said, and would run to do what he was desired with great readiness. Crook taught him the alphabet; also to read several short words in the Otaheitean language, of which he printed a few for the purpose. Thus much I have thought fit to mention concerning them, because I think both Hārraway and Tānno Manoo are proofs that the Otaheiteans taken young, and kept from being held up as shews by us like Omāi, and from the insatuating diversions of their own island, are capable of receiving instruction. However, these two were rather too old; they had heard and believed the stories their countrymen are used to relate; and perhaps all reasoning whatever would be impossible to remove the prejudices inculcated by those stories, till the Spirit of God gives conviction to the conscience.

On the 19th of May the observed distance of the sun and moon gave the longitude  $223^{\circ} 5' E.$ ; the chronometer, at the same time,  $222^{\circ} 49' E.$  On the 23d we discovered land; at eight A.M. the extremities of a low island bore from W.  $25^{\circ} S.$  to W.  $32^{\circ} S.$  distant about five leagues; and a high hummock, at a great distance, bore W.  $3^{\circ} S.$ ; and another higher W.  $2^{\circ} N.$  This being a new discovery, we tacked a little before noon, on purpose to take a nearer view. Latitude at noon  $23^{\circ} 8' S.$  long.  $225^{\circ} 40' E.$  There being scarcely any wind, we made our approach but slowly, so that night came on before we got near; therefore we shortened sail, and lay by till the morning.



24th. At daylight we stood towards the land, and as we drew near found it very low and in form of a crescent, with a lagoon in the middle, into which the sea broke in several parts of the south-west side, though no opening appeared that would admit a boat. We perceived that it was inhabited; therefore, when within a mile of the north-east side, we hove the ship to, and putting two seamen in the jolly-boat, Mr. Wm. Wilson and Mr. Falconer, with Peter and Otaheitean Tom, who dressed himself for the occasion in a piece of his own new cloth, rowed towards the shore, intending to land if the natives were friendly; and as a means of ingratiating ourselves into their favour, took beads, looking-glasses, and iron tools; also some English coin, to leave as a testimony of our visit. But on our approach they collected themselves in a body to oppose our landing. As they walked along the shore, the women followed with spears, the only weapons we saw; these they shook in a threatening manner, and made signs for us to be gone. Tom stood up, shewed them his skin, his cloth, and tattou marks; and spoke to them in his language, which they seemed not to understand. Intent on their safety only, and the defence of the barren spot they inhabited, they acted as if we were known enemies, viewing us with little curiosity or astonishment. Finding that all our manœuvres to conciliate them had no effect, and that even to approach sufficiently near to give them any thing would expose us to a stone or a spear, and perhaps oblige us to fire upon them, we returned to the ship, and hoisting the boat up, steered for the higher island, which bears from this W. N. W. about nine or ten leagues.

This was named Crescent island, on account of its form; it is six or seven miles in circumference, and lies in lat.  $23^{\circ} 22'$  S. long.  $225^{\circ} 30'$  E.

There were many of the wharra trees upon it, and some others of a useless kind. The shore is grey coral sand and stones thrown up by the violence of the sea, forming a wall at the south-east point about twenty or thirty feet above the surface: on this point there were three



piles of coral stones; two were built round and small, and one square, the sides of which might be about twelve feet and six in height, with a hole at one side, seemingly to creep in at.

The natives whom we saw, were twenty-five in number, including three or four women carrying children at their backs; and these probably were all that are on the island. They are of a light copper colour and of middling stature; there is a similarity in the accent of their language to the other islanders with whom we are acquainted, but the dashing of the sea against the shore prevented Tom from hearing so distinctly as to understand them.

Some were quite naked, except a piece of cloth round their middle; others had a large piece of cloth thrown over their shoulders, and reaching half way down the leg: one, who perhaps was the chief, wore a piece of very white cloth round his head in form of a turban. We could not perceive they wore any ornaments.

Upon what they subsisted it was difficult to imagine, for they neither have bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, or any fruit-trees whatever; nor could we, with the whole island in view, see one canoe wherewith to fish; so that they must either be transient visitors from the high island, or if permanent settlers, and in any degree sensible of their situation, must be miserably wretched indeed.

It was noon when we left Crescent island, and soon after we had a fresh breeze northerly, attended with squalls and rain, which lasted about an hour, then cleared up, and gradually declined to little wind; so that for a while we made but little way. At three P. M. a gale sprung up at E. S. E. and it again became hazy with rain. We directed our course W. N. W. towards an island with two high hills that lie contiguous to each other, and are so lofty as to be discovered when distant fourteen or fifteen leagues. These, for distinction's sake, were named Duff's mountains.

When within three leagues, we saw a reef ahead, and the sea breaking very high upon it: this obliged us to alter our course to N. N. W. which we expected would lead us clear of every danger



which lay on the east side of the island; but in this we were mistaken; for after running thus about an hour we had a better view, and it appeared that Duff's mountains were part of an island about three leagues in length, with several of considerable height and extent to the south and south-east of it; the whole forming a group five or six leagues long, lying in a direction nearly N.E. by N. and S.W. by S.; and a reef which lies off about three miles from the main island, and probably encircles the whole as a defensive barrier, extended as far each way as we could see with the eye. Upon this reef were several dry spots, upon which clusters of trees grew, and appeared like so many small low islands without the higher ones. It was now the dusk of the evening, and we had one of those half-drowned spots ahead, bearing N.W. by N. and others in sight beyond it; and uncertain what dangers more might lie in our way, it was resolved to spend the night within the space we already knew; and accordingly we hauled our wind to the N.E. under an easy sail. The natives on the north end of the island had observed our approach, and they, to alarm their countrymen, as soon as it was dark made a large fire, which at times presented a very curious phenomenon, appearing like six or seven detached lights, then presently joining shewed as if the side of a mountain was wholly in a blaze. This light, which they kept burning till near daybreak, proved a real benefit to us as a guide; for the night was very dark, with variable winds and squalls, and heavy rain.

At six in the morning the north part of the islands bore N.W. distant two or three leagues; when, with a fresh gale from the N.E. we steered W.N.W. close to the reefs; and from this station observed it to trend south about five miles, then to the S.W. farther than we could see: thence we hauled towards the northernmost part of the reef, where was a small islet, upon which were assembled about fifty natives armed with spears; and as we passed the place where they stood, within a quarter of a mile, we observed boys taking stones off the beach, and making gestures as if they would throw



them at us: the men also shewing marks of a hostile disposition, walked along the shore to keep abreast of the ship, but as we left them fast they retired behind the trees. These trees seemed to be of the same worthless kind as those at Crescent island; the natives also, in colour, stature, and dress, exactly the same as those we saw there. We observed no canoes, though it is most probable they have some, as these people must have come from the high island either in a canoe or by wading, which latter seems impracticable. The main island, and those scattered about it, are, as before noticed, all high, and the reef keeping the sea quite still about them, they present a view romantic, wild, and barren: the valleys, however, appear covered with trees, but of what kind we could not perceive, though some said they could distinguish cocoa-nut trees; and it is certainly likely they should have the fruits and roots common to the other islands, and must have abundance of fish.

The tops of the hills, to about half way down, are chiefly covered with sun-burnt grass; and in some places there are spots of reddish soil, as on the middle grounds of Otaheite.

The group was named Gambier's islands, in compliment to the worthy admiral of that name, who, in his department, countenanced our equipment. Duff's mountains, which lie in the centre, are in lat.  $23^{\circ} 12'$  S. and in long.  $225^{\circ}$  E.

We had now got sufficient casting, and were in the way of the trade-winds, therefore kept on our course to the northward; all on board in good health, and in no real want of any thing. But as the passage from the Friendly Isles had already been longer than we expected, the captain thought it necessary to push on for the Marquesas; and on this account, though we had reason to suppose ourselves in a dangerous part of the ocean, we run by night as well as day; only put the ship under a proper sail for altering our course on any sudden emergency.

26th. At half past five in the morning, just as the day broke, we thought we saw low land ahead, and seeming to be very close,



wore ship and stood from it about a quarter of an hour, then tacked towards it again, when the day presented to our view the imminent danger we had escaped. For that part which we were running for, and many others, were even with the water's edge, the sea washing over them into the lagoon; and it is very probable, that, had the weather been hazy, or the day not so near, we might have struck before we either saw the rocks or heard the sea beat upon them, as it made but little noise. The island is in length about seventeen miles from east to west, and in breadth about eight or nine miles: and upon the reef which encloses the lagoon, there are several clumps of trees, but no cocoa-nut or other fruit-trees that we could see, nor any sign of inhabitants. This island, lying in lat.  $21^{\circ} 36'$  S. by observation, and in long.  $224^{\circ} 36'$  E. by chronometer, is probably the same called Lord Hood's island by Captain Edwards, who discovered it in the Pandora, 17th March 1791. We continued our course, and in two or three hours were out of sight of it. In the dusk of the evening of the following day we thought that we saw high land on our lee beam; but judging that to run down to put the matter out of dispute would be taking us too much to leeward, we left it for some future navigator to determine. However, if it really be an island, it must lie nearly in latitude  $20^{\circ} 30'$  S. and about the longitude of  $223^{\circ} 18'$  E.

28th. At noon we observed in latitude  $18^{\circ} 34'$  S. and about three in the afternoon discovered another low island bearing N. E. As it is not laid down in any of the charts, and the wind at N. W. being against us, we kept our stretch towards it, and as we drew near found it a lagoon island, with patches of trees on different parts around it. On the north-west end cocoa-nuts were growing, and near them a clump of lofty dark-coloured trees. Two clumps also of the same kind stood at a little distance from each other on the south-east part: these last we named Turk's Cap and Friar's Hood.

At half past seven o'clock we tacked within a mile of the north end, then took the topgallant-sails in, hauled the courses up, and



during the night made short tacks under the topails. In the morning, the 29th, we found ourselves farther off than we expected, owing to the leewardly current; and the wind changing to N. N. E. with our larboard tacks aboard we stood in, and at eight o'clock had the south point of the island bearing E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. distant three miles. Shortly after it fell little wind, and we lowered the jolly-boat down, rowed close to the shore, and tried to effect a landing, but found it impracticable, on account of the high surf which beat upon the coral rocks. Supposing we might find a better place, we rowed along shore two or three miles, till we came to the south-east side, but had the mortification to find it every where the same, therefore we returned to the ship. Observed at noon in lat.  $18^{\circ} 24'$  S.; the extremes of the island from N.  $14^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $56^{\circ}$  W. We had seen no signs of inhabitants, and having lost hopes of finding a landing-place, the captain had determined to leave this island and proceed on our voyage as fast as the unfavourable winds we then had would permit.

In the course of the night we had passed to windward of the island, and at six in the morning had the north-west end bearing S. W. by S. and the sea being then smooth encouraged a hope of procuring a few cocoa-nuts for our people, and herbage for the goats. Therefore we again shaped our course towards it; but, before we came near it by four miles, it fell almost calm; so that, as the ship went but slowly down, we hoisted the pinnace out, and I, with the third officer and a boat's crew, with Peter and Tom, set off in her. When we had got about a mile round the point, all in the boat (except one man and myself, who were but indifferent swimmers) got into the water and effected a landing, though the surf was very high. From the edge of the reef they had to walk about a furlong, up to the knees in water, over a hard coral flat, before they came to the trees: and while they were gone, I shot three or four man of war birds, and tried to catch some of the beautiful fish which swam without the surf; but they were too shy of the bait. Sharks of various sizes were very numerous.



At noon they observed at the ship in  $18^{\circ} 14'$  S. the north-west end bearing S. S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. a mile and a half; and an hour after, in rounding the point not more than a cable's length off shore, sounded with ninety fathoms of line, but found no bottom.

We had already hauled off a few cocoa-nuts; but this method was so tedious, that all we could procure by it would not repay the trouble. But just about this time it was low water, and the surf fell remarkably, so that by putting the boat's stern to the rocks I stepped out, without so much as wetting my feet. This both encouraged those on shore to go on, and being observed from the ship, induced them to send the jolly-boat with more hands to assist us. And now we were in hopes of getting a plentiful supply without difficulty or danger; ignorant that it was possible only at low water thus to pass and repass. This we were to learn afterwards by unpleasant experience.

The land at this end of the island is about three furlongs in breadth; upon it the only cocoa-nut trees grow, and upon that side next the lagoon, consequently the farthest off from us. The way to them, by passing through the other trees, is also very rough and bad; but by searching, we found a pleasant road along the side of a creek, leading from the sea into the lagoon, and sufficient in depth to admit the jolly-boat, when the tide was up. Therefore this was proposed as our plan: to get as many nuts as possible before four in the afternoon, and then bring the boat in for them.

Accordingly, by that time we had got about three hundred; but, contrary to our expectations, as the tide rose the surf increased to so great a degree as to render it almost impossible either to get them or ourselves safely through it. However, to put it to the trial, the jolly-boat was brought abreast of the creek, and by watching an opportunity was rowed through the surf, but not without striking on the rocks, by which we knew there was no chance for the pinnace to get in. As there were thirteen of us on shore, the small boat was insufficient to carry off the whole. To make it still worse, we saw the wind was increasing, and the sky become overcast with dark clouds. Therefore, being



thus critically situated, it was adopted as the most prudent plan, for those who could swim but little to make the first attempt in the jolly-boat, and for the others to stay on shore all night, and so swim off to the boats in the morning. Accordingly, four of our number were pitched upon to make the effort, and they probably would have succeeded, had not two others, who thought themselves as bad swimmers as any, jumped in, and thereby making the boat too deep, she grounded on the rocks, where the sea broke, and filling her, it was with difficulty they got back into smooth water. This failure damped all our spirits, as we were very anxious to have some more hands on board to work the ship, lest she should be blown to leeward, and not be able to get up to us again. Thus urged by necessity, the third officer, with two men, made a second attempt, and succeeded, but not without being again half filled with water. When clear of the surf, they rowed to the pinnace, and both returned to the ship, to inform the captain of the disagreeable news of myself and nine more, including the two Otaheiteans, being left on the island.

Our situation on shore was extremely uncomfortable and alarming; however, to make the best of it, after seeing the boats safe off, we walked up to the large clump of trees, and being thinly clothed and quite wet, we endeavoured to make a fire; but after Otaheitean Tom had tried two hours in vain for a light by friction, we were reduced to the necessity of passing the night without a fire. About ten o'clock it began to rain very hard, and continued till three in the morning, when there was a short interval of fair weather, and then constant rain till near noon the next day. To all this we were exposed, for the trees afforded us shelter only till the branches were completely wet, and this was very soon; so that I was apprehensive of fevers at least being the consequence of this drenching; but, to lessen its effects, requested the men to walk about, and keep in motion, which they did, and cheered each other by saying they sometimes saw the ship's light.

31st. At daybreak the ship stood close in, and the captain, who



was very anxious for our safety, sent the pinnace to try and get us off; but with concern we beheld the surf higher than on the preceding night, which obliged us to remain and wait the opportunity low water might afford, falling out on this day about one o'clock in the afternoon. They accordingly put back to the ship, and presently after came again to the edge of the surf, when one man leaped in and got safe to us with a bottle of brandy, which was of great service in raising the drooping spirits of the people, who had spent so bad a night, and had still a difficult task to perform. This done, the boat put off again, and about ten o'clock returned with a stage made of fir deals, with directions from the captain to bring the boat to a grapple as close to the surf as they could with safety, and then, after making a rope fast to the stage, to veer it ashore within our reach, when we were to get upon it and be hauled through the surf, one or two at a time. Mr. Falconer was in the boat, and did as directed; but the back sweep of the sea prevented the stage from even entering the surf, so that we were still in the same situation as before. Thus disappointed, we walked along the shore, to try if any better place could be discovered, the boat following abreast of us; but we found it alike dangerous. At one place two of us tried to swim off to the stage, but were washed about, and nearly dashed to pieces against the rocks, before the rest could help us out.

Low water was fast approaching, and nothing now remained but a chance of getting off at the place where I stepped on shore at the first. We accordingly returned thither, but were greatly disheartened to find it as bad as every other place: we resolved, however, to watch till the time of low water was over; certain that if no opportunity offered then, we must content ourselves where we were, and that perhaps for months, as the ship was now driving fast to leeward. Low water at last came, but the sea was still so rough that Otaheitean Tom, Mr. Crook, and some more, walked up in despair towards the clump of trees, to try if possible to procure some dry wood, with which to get a light and a fire, which they stood much in need of,



being wet and cold, the wind blowing through their thin clothing. But, to our great joy, they were scarcely gone, when the sea at intervals became smooth; one man got off to the stage, and was hauled to the boat. We instantly called them to us, and by embracing every opportunity, swimming to the stage one by one, we at length got all safe off. On trying to haul the grapnel up, we found it had fallen into the hollows of the coral rocks, which obliged us to cut the rope and leave it behind. These hollows add greatly to the danger of swimming off to the boats, for if the sea forces up or retires suddenly, there is a risk of falling into them and being hid under great flakes of the rock. The dread of this, and of drowning in the surf, banished from our thoughts the sharks which swam thick about the place. We now rowed towards the ship, which had drifted about four miles to leeward. The captain was overjoyed to see us, as were all the crew. The boat was hoisted in, and we made sail, fully determined never again to venture a landing upon one of those low half-drowned islands, except obliged thereto by want or other absolute necessity.

This received the name of Serle's island, in compliment to a gentleman of that name now in the Transport office, and author of *Horæ Solitariae* and other valuable works. The latitude of its centre is  $18^{\circ} 18'$  S. long.  $223^{\circ}$  E.; it is in length from S. E. to N. W. seven or eight miles, and in breadth four or five; it has a lagoon in the middle, where we observed several small rocks above water. The reef without and the lagoon within abound with fish, several of which were of the most richly varied and beautiful colours that can be conceived. As Mr. Robson walked by the side of the lagoon in the night, he observed thousands of young sharks swimming close to the shore. Mullet are very plentiful, and when low water left part of the reef dry, several spotted eels issued from holes, and on our approach reared upon their tails, attempting to defend themselves with open mouth. The birds were the same as at the other low islands; and besides there was here a bird about the size and colour of a lark,



which we had not seen before ; and during the night we heard one whistle like and equal to a blackbird : indeed, by their various notes, there was reason to suppose this place gave shelter to many different species, with this peculiar feature, that they sung almost all the night long, though it rained and was very dark. We saw some rats, plenty of the red (shell) crab, and a kind of land lobster, which even the Otaheiteans were strangers to.

The trees are various as at Palmerston's island ; but the cocoa-nuts are scarce here, and only found on the north-west end : those which form the clumps are peculiar ; they grow about sixty feet high, with large trunks from four feet to four or five yards in circumference, dividing about half way up into large branches, with a broad dark green leaf. As the soil is very thin, many of these trees had fallen, their branches had taken root, and were again grown up to five or six trees as large as the old one. The wood appeared to be of no use but to burn. Under shelter of this grove there was regularly built a morai of stones, with one stone at a little distance placed upright : we also found the remains of two or three huts, and a plain space, with only one circular cut near the end. At one place close by these were strewed on the ground vast quantities of clam shells. All which proved the island to have been once inhabited ; but whether the persons had emigrated elsewhere, or become extinct, there was no remaining evidence whereon to form a conjecture, as the latter is as probable as the former ; for it is likely they would be no more than the crew of one canoe, who, by the number of clam shells, must have subsisted here a considerable time, perhaps till their canoe was rendered fit to transport them to another island. It is likely also that the cocoa-nut trees, as they grew so partially and so near the morai, were of their planting ; and by the few of these which had fallen in the usual manner, we suppose it could not be more than fifty years since they were first planted.

One circumstance here is very striking, which is, that however small in number the wretched refugees might have been, a morai,



or place of worship, was thought by them indispensably necessary; it proves, that, however their ideas of supernatural beings are bewildered, they still universally hold the same tradition among them: and notwithstanding the inhabitants of different islands give their peculiar names to their guardian deity, the manner of worship being every where the same, proves the tradition originally to be from one source.

Concerning the formation of these low islands the opinions of men are various; but whether such a mass of matter grows like a shrub, or be the work of millions of animalcules, is what I must leave to the learned. It appears, however, that in their perfect state they come no nearer to the surface than where the sea breaks upon them. The part of this island that we were upon I suppose to have risen about two or three furlongs in breadth, and by the force of the sea against the outer edge the parts projecting were broken off; these, as the sea drove them towards the lagoon, would strike other parts and force them off, and a heavy storm coming on would, with irresistible violence, drive them up in a ridge at some distance from the sea-side, and near to the edge of the lagoon. This is evidently the case here. The first ridge lies within one hundred yards of the lagoon, and about three furlongs from the edge of the reef next the sea. The second ridge runs within ten yards of the first, and the furrow between is about ten or twelve feet deep. The other ridges, of which there are many, are nearly about the same distance, and the furrows the same, differing only in proportion as we may suppose the storms to have done which threw them up: these being composed entirely of large coral stones, prove this to have been the cause; and the ridges lying lengthwise in a direction about north and south, demonstrate that no other than gales from the westward could have produced this effect on this side of the island: and it is known, that winds from that quarter, though not excessively strong, raise a more hollow and heavy swell than any other. At present, about a furlong from the outer edge of the reef, the stones, after running over a flat of



that breadth, form a steep wall not less than eight or ten yards above the surface of the sea; but even over this height the stones are driven, and shooting a considerable way in, cover some of the former ridges, and form a gradual slope. Indeed it is almost incredible what large lumps of solid coral lie thrown half way up the steep wall above mentioned. I remarked no other part of the island where such effects of storms were to be seen; in some places more towards the S.E. and where the land was not more than a furlong in width, it was low and covered with fine white coral sand, mixed with rotten vegetables and leaves of trees that grow upon it: this in general is the kind of soil; even upon the large stones this rotten matter and the coral sand are blown, and there the trees are more flourishing and abundant than in other places.

From this time nothing material occurred until we made the Marquesas. One of the Serle's island party had a fever for three or four days, but soon got the better of it, and was the only one that suffered from that expedition. As we were trusting wholly to our time-keeper, we found ourselves, after so long a passage, contrary to our expectation, considerably to the westward, when we saw Santa Christina on the 4th of June, a little before sunrise in the morning, bearing E.N.E. distant nine leagues. Being thus to leeward of our port, we kept plying till the afternoon of the following day, and took several compass bearings, to ascertain the extent and relative situation of the islands.

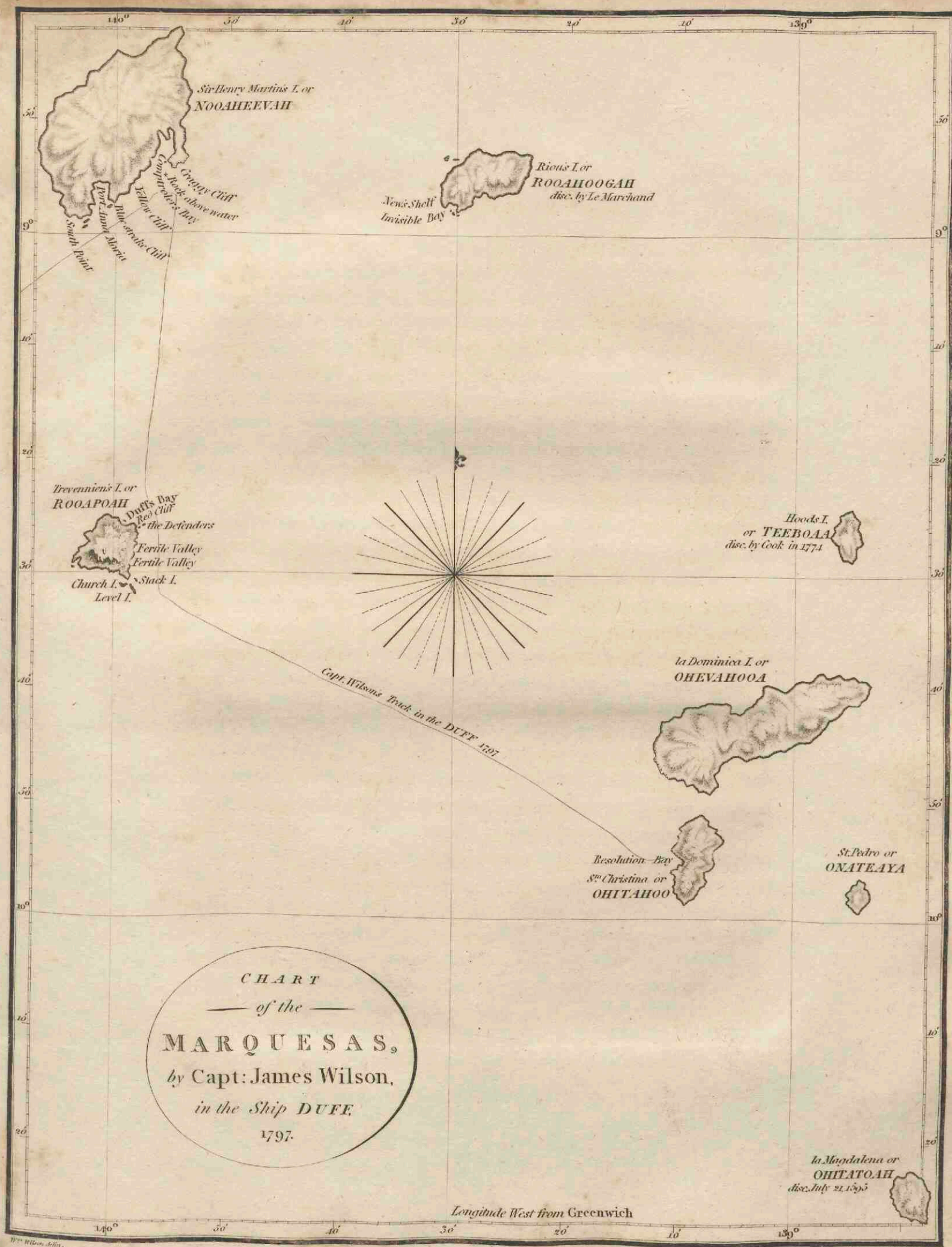


## CHAPTER XI.

*Occurrences at the Marquesas.*

5th. **W**HEN we had got within four miles of Resolution bay, we saw two men paddling towards us in a small, wretched canoe, which they kept above water by constant bailing. Not knowing their intention to come on board, nor conceiving them of any use if there, we kept all sail set, and passed close by them with great velocity: this they observed, and being more anxious to come aboard than we imagined, one of them leaped into the water, caught a rope we hove to him, and expertly hauled himself hand over hand to the quarter-gallery, where we took him in quite naked. At first he looked round the cabin with surprise, but soon recovered himself and ran upon deck. He was tattooed from head to foot, insomuch as nearly to hide his natural colour; he talked very fast, and was tolerably understood both by Crook and the Otaheiteans: the earnestness which he expressed was to induce us to tack and pick up his comrade, who he gave us to understand was his father; and that if we did not take him in, it would be impossible for him to reach the island in so wretched a canoe, as the wind blew strong. However, to ease him of his fears, we took the father on board and the canoe in tow, but she soon went to pieces and drifted away, which seemed to give them little concern. The wind, as we drew near the land, became variable and squally, and as we were stretching towards St. Dominica, to avail ourselves of a favourable flaw, the captain gave orders to tack towards the bay. This both the natives opposed, and made signs, that by keeping on the same tack until we run far.











ther, we should then fetch the bay when we tacked. Their advice was taken, and answering accordingly, was a proof of no small degree of nautical skill in them.

We found it very difficult to work up the bay, by reason of the heavy gusts of wind from the mountains; however, by seven o'clock we were close up, and let go our small bower anchor in fifteen fathoms water; veered out eighty fathom of cable as fast as we could, but before it held we had dragged it into thirty-five fathoms. Though it was now dark two females swam off, in hopes, no doubt, of a favourable reception; but finding they could not be admitted, they kept swimming about the ship for near half an hour, calling out, in a pitiful tone, *Wahēine! wahēine!* that is, Woman! or, We are women! They then returned to the shore in the same manner as they came: our two pilots also followed them, but not till they had used all their arguments for the captain to allow them to sleep in the ship; and, but for the sake of precedent, their request would have been granted, as a reward for the implicit confidence they placed in us.

6th. This morning we began unbending most of our sails, and stripping the foremast, that the rigging might have a thorough overhaul; one of the shrouds we knew to be broken in the way of the mast-head, and now found another gone on the same side; so that had we not providentially been on the larboard tack when we experienced the severest gales, we must certainly have lost the foremast, which we could not replace in any of these parts.

Our first visitors from the shore came early; they were seven beautiful young women, swimming quite naked, except a few green leaves tied round their middle: they kept playing round the ship for three hours, calling *Wahēine!* until several of the native men had got on board; one of whom being the chief of the island, requested that his sister might be taken on board, which was complied with: she was of a fair complexion, inclining to a healthy yellow, with a tint of red in her cheek, was rather stout, but possessing such symmetry of features, as did all her companions, that as models for the



statuary and painter their equals can seldom be found. Our Otaheitean girl, who was tolerably fair, and had a comely person, was notwithstanding greatly eclipsed by these women, and, I believe, felt her inferiority in no small degree; however, she was superior in the amiableness of her manners, and possessed more of the softness and tender feeling of the sex: she was ashamed to see a woman upon the deck quite naked, and supplied her with a complete dress of new Otaheitean cloth, which set her off to great advantage, and encouraged those in the water, whose numbers were now greatly increased, to importune for admission; and out of pity to them, as we saw they would not return, we took them on board: but they were in a measure disappointed, for they could not all succeed so well as the first in getting clothed; nor did our mischievous goats even suffer them to keep their green leaves, but as they turned to avoid them they were attacked on each side alternately, and completely stripped naked.

The chief above noticed is named Tēnae, eldest son of Hōnoo, the reigning prince in Captain Cook's time; he came in a tolerably good canoe, and introduced himself by presenting the captain with a smooth staff about eight feet long, to the head of which a few locks of human hair were neatly plaited; and besides this, he gave a few head and breast ornaments. Observing a musket on the quarter-deck, he took it with care to the captain, and begged him "to put it to sleep." He received an axe, a looking-glass, and neck-chain to hang it to, also a pair of scissors; the latter, an article much prized at the Friendly and Society isles, he was either indifferent about, or totally ignorant of their use. Two of his brothers, who were present, expressed not the least desire for any thing; they all seemed to have a thoughtful cast in their countenance, such as men acquire who are struggling for subsistence and can hardly get it, though they would frequently break out into mad fits of laughter, and talk as fast as their tongues could go, and this the women did as well as the men. It appeared that this was a very scarce time with them, for



they kept complaining they were hungry and begging for victuals all the while they were on board; to some we gave a little, but they were too numerous for us to supply all: as for the women, they are in that state of subjection, that, if they got any thing and could not conceal it, the men took it from them. Towards evening those who had no canoes, and who were by far the greatest number, leaped all together into the water and swam on shore.

Our intention of settling two men among them being made known to the chief, he seemed highly delighted with the proposal, and said that he would give them a house and a share in all that himself had. After this he went on shore; I followed with Mr. Harris, Mr. Crook, Peter, and Otaheitean Tom. Tēnae received us upon the beach, and conducting us a little way desired we would stop, as we thought, to gratify the natives, for they formed a ring around us, those nearest the centre sitting, to let those behind look over their heads: Tēnae's sister not following the example of the rest, he reproved her, which brought tears from her eyes. This shew continued about a quarter of an hour. Afterwards we proceeded up the valley, accompanied by the chief, his brother, and many of the young natives. The road was very indifferent, by reason of tree roots that cross it, and large stones which lie in the way; and being all up hill, we were pretty well tired by the time we reached the chief's house, though we rested thrice, at which times they brought excellent water in cocoa-nut shells from a rivulet that runs down the valley. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, with a variety of other sorts, afforded a comfortable shade from the heat of the sun. Tēnae conducted us to one of his best houses, intimating that it was for the use of the brethren, and that they might occupy it as soon as they pleased. To convey an idea of what this and all their best-built houses are like, it is only necessary to imagine one of our own of one story high with a high peaked roof; cut it lengthwise exactly down the middle, you would then have two of their houses, only built of different materials. That we now occupied was twenty-five feet long and six wide, ten



feet high in the back part, and but four in front; at the corners four stout stakes are driven into the earth, on which are laid horizontal pieces, and from these last to the ground are bamboos neatly ranged in perpendicular order, about half an inch distant from each other; and without them long blinds made with leaves are hung, which make the inside very close and warm: the door is about the middle on the low side. They do not use the leaves of the wharra tree here for roofing, as at Otaheite, but common broad leaves, which they lay so thick as to keep the water out; but the greater part of their houses are miserable hovels.

The inside furniture consisted of a large floor mat from end to end, several large calabashes, some fishing-tackle, and a few spears; at one end the chief kept his ornaments, which he shewed to us; amongst other things, he took out of two bamboo cases, two bunches of feathers of the tail of the tropic-bird, not less than a hundred in each bunch, forming a beautiful and elegant ornament: upon these he seemed to place a great value.

They made no offer of any thing to eat, except a few cocoa-nuts; nor did I see that they had any other thing in use but these and the four mahie. Hogs and fowls were walking about, but in no great plenty; indeed this appeared to be their scarce season; for when we first landed one fellow ran to me and stuffed a piece of mahie into my mouth, thinking, no doubt, that at this season of scarcity he was doing me a great kindness. However, in other respects, Tēnae treated us very well, and the people were evidently glad to see us among them.

On our return to the ship, the captain met the two brethren in the cabin, to know their sentiments of this place, and whether they were still in the same mind to settle upon it. Mr. Crook observed, that he was encouraged by the reception they had met with; thought the chief had behaved exceedingly well, and approved of the house assigned them, the place, and the people; and concluded by saying, that though there was not the same plenty here as at the other islands,



he had no objections to stay, as he never before nor since his engagement had comforts in view; therefore the present state of the island was not so great a disappointment to him. However, appearances gave him reason to think that they had their plentiful seasons here as well as at the other islands. Mr. Harris delivered his sentiments with hesitation, as if fear had taken possession of his mind: his opinions were quite contrary to Crook's; he disapproved of every thing, and judged the scene before him a solemn one; and, in short, seemed entirely to have lost his firmness and ardour. However, as the kind reception by the chief and his people had obviated every direct objection to them, it was agreed to go on shore the next day, take their beds with them, and make a trial; after which, if they thought it unsafe to stay, and assigned their reasons, they might then return on board, as no compulsion was intended.

7th. It is remarked, that honesty is no virtue of a South-Sea islander, especially when our articles lie exposed to tempt him. The natives here had not hitherto appeared solicitous to barter with us; but some of them last night had found means to lift the glass cover off one of our best compasses, stole away the card and needle, and fitted the cover on as before. We spoke to the chief and several others about it, but found all our endeavours to recover it by mild means ineffectual; and, rather than use any other, the affair was dropped. However, they seemed to be conscious of having done something amiss by their not coming to the ship till long after breakfast, when our decks were again crowded with both sexes in the same naked state as on the preceding day.

In the afternoon Mr. Crook landed with his bed and a few clothes; I accompanied him, to see how he was received. Mr. Harris declined going, wishing to stay on board and pack up their things in small parcels, for the convenience of carrying them up the valley. The chief's brother departed from the ship with us, and Tēnae himself received us at the beach, and treated us with respect and kindness, as on the day before. We proceeded up the valley, followed by a



vast concourse of people, some of whom carried the baggage, and deposited it in the house assigned for the brethren; but a short time after it was removed, and ourselves conducted to another house of larger dimensions, about a hundred yards distant from the first. This house stood on a square platform raised with stones, having a wall about six feet high on the lowest side (for they are all built on a declivity); in the inside was a kind of escutcheon in memory of Hōnōo, the chief's father; it was very curiously wrought with small reeds, laid upright, oblique, and horizontal, and about eight feet in height, forming a side of a pyramid. There was a drum at each end, made like those the Otaheiteans use, but much longer. Nearly adjoining, and upon the same platform, was another house, built on a small eminence, leaving a space in front, where were placed two rude figures of men carved in wood, nearly the size of life; behind these, against the side of the house, were three other escutcheons, wrought in the same manner as the one above mentioned; that in the middle, which was the highest, had the figure of a bird upon the top, and the reeds which composed the whole being stained of various colours, produced a beautiful and solemn effect. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but as my curiosity was a good deal excited, I opened a hole in the side of it, to see what it contained, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes about a yard from the ground. Just at this time Tēnae came up, and seeing he was not angry, I again opened the hole and pointed to the coffin: he instantly cried Hōnōo! and repeated it several times, by which I knew it was his father, and thought him pleased to see me notice the honours he had paid to his memory. The coffin was cylindrical, and bound about with various coloured plaiting made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. This sepulchre, Crook's house, the trees, and every thing within the platform, was taboo or sacred, and must not be approached by women.

I left Otaheitean Tom to bear Crook company the first night, and then returned on board. In walking down the valley, I observed



that it was well stocked with bread-fruit trees, but none of them were ripe; cocoa-nuts were not so plentiful: there were plantains, the ahee-nut, and some other fruits. These are chiefly enclosed by square fences of stones about six feet high, within which the owner's house stands; but some of the orchards are so over-run with weeds, that they mark more the division of property than industry or labour.

When the boat came for me, they brought as many of the natives as she could contain, they availing themselves of that opportunity to save the trouble of swimming. The chief's brother was with me, and wished much to go on board; but I refused to take him, as it was near dark: this hurt him so much, that he shed tears as he walked away.

8th. The weather still pleasant, but, as before, heavy gusts of wind and rain from the mountains.

The natives crowded on board to-day, infomuch that with difficulty we carried on our work at the rigging: the females were more numerous, and all in the same naked state as before, which induced our people to bestow upon each a piece of Otaheitean cloth. It is proper to observe, that these women dress decently on shore; but when they have to swim, as their cloth will not stand the water, they leave it behind, and cover their nakedness with a few leaves only.

In the forenoon the captain received a letter from Crook, wherein he expresses his perfect satisfaction with his new lodgings. As night drew on, he says, he was left to his repose; and after commending himself to the care of the Almighty, he went to rest, laying his clothes upon the ground near his hammock; but to his surprise, when he awoke in the morning, there were none of them to be seen, and he began to think he should have a bad report to give after the first night's trial: but before he had time to launch out into unjust surmises, the chief came with every article carefully wrapt up in a bundle. Soon after the letter, Tēnae, Crook, and the chief's brother, came on board; they were shewn into the cabin, and every endeavour



made to treat them kindly. The captain made Tēnae a present of an ornamented crown, which delighted him greatly; he also gave him a piece of cloth, a hammer, and some gimlets; but what most took his fancy was a large conch-shell; for these they barter eagerly, pigs or any other thing; one of them gave our cook a broad axe for a conch: but it may with truth be said, that they are in such a state of nature and ignorance, or rather stupidity, that notwithstanding many iron tools, &c. have been left among them, they have never yet thought of employing their powers to learn their use: therefore they set but little value upon what we have, except they can steal it, which always enhances the worth of the article. Nails and tools they think nothing of; cats and goats they sought after with some solicitude, and got some of the former; but of the latter we had only females on board. The conch-shells they use when they go a-visiting from one valley to another, and as they gain the summit of the hills, they blow them with all their might, and take great delight and pride in listening to the long reverberating echoes.

Tēnae was now more familiar than at his first visit, and surveyed the cabin with a degree of attention, but not with the penetration and discernment of the Friendly islanders. Happening to touch the wire of the cabin-bell, he was struck with astonishment and savage wonder; he rang the bell again and again, and puzzled himself a quarter of an hour to find whence the sound proceeded. Tēnae has a thoughtful cast of countenance, and looks much like the chief and father of a village, and to see him thus employed raised our pity, to behold a man on whom nature, perhaps, had bestowed talents capable of exploring her mysteries, thus confounded with a rattle; but, alas! in these regions, remote from all the paths of science, the talents and virtues of insulated genius lie hid in darkness, and, like the beauties of the rough marble, want the skill of the polisher to bring them forth.

It was not a little affecting also to see our own seamen repairing the rigging, attended by a group of the most beautiful females, who were



employed to pass the ball, or carry the tar-bucket, &c.; and this they did with the greatest assiduity, often besmearing themselves with the tar in the execution of their office. No ship's company, without great restraints from God's grace, could ever have resisted such temptations; and some would have probably offended, if they had not been overawed by the jealousy of the officers and by the good conduct of their messmates.

In the afternoon Mr. Godsell landed a chest and several parcels for the missionaries, which were taken safe up to the house. Tom and the boy Hārraway staid on shore this night, for the purpose of rendering Crook what service they could; and in the evening our visitors left us in good time, as usual.

On the 9th the pinnace was sent on shore again with more things. Crook still resolving to stay, attached himself to the place, took to eating the four mahie, and contented himself with the food the island afforded, which is not of a very delicate kind; for the mahie being made in small quantities here, and cleanliness little observed in the operation, it is not so good as at Otaheite: but he says that they always serve him first of the best they have; and as he hopes to get pork once or twice a week, and fresh fish as oft as he pleases, he thinks he may live contented without casting an eye to the luxuries of Otaheite. Tēnae had adopted him as his son, an act they ever after hold as sacred, esteeming him in the same light as his other children; this they explained to Crook, who, from the pains previously taken to learn the language, understood almost all they said. The chief being informed that Mr. Harris intended to stay, desired Crook to invite him on shore; but he could not be persuaded, which was certainly doing wrong, as he should have embraced every opportunity of learning the real state of the island, and thence judge of the practicability of settling upon it, before the day came when he must either go on shore or leave Crook alone, without being able to assign such clear reasons as landing in time might enable him to do.



10th. About two o'clock in the morning the moon was totally eclipsed; but the roughness of the weather prevented our observing it with sufficient accuracy to be of any use. The wind at this time came in very heavy gusts from the mountains, and just as the eclipse ended our cable broke; the best bower was immediately let go, and brought the ship up in forty fathoms water at the entrance of the bay.

11th, Sunday. The natives crowded off as usual; but on being told that the ship was taboo for that day, they all swam back to the shore.

12th. The chief and his brothers came on board with Otaheitean Tom, who informed us that the boy Hārraway had left them and gone to the other side of the island; and as he had said nothing concerning his intention, they thought he meant to remain, for which Tom blamed him very much: but the captain, to try Tom's own regard for his country, which he had constantly praised to the skies since we came here, ordered him to put his things into the canoe and go on shore also, assigning as the reason, his being privy to Hārraway's elopement. The poor fellow declared his innocence, and with tears in his eyes collected his trifles and put them into the canoe, and before he went over the side shook hands with all the crew, then put off with a heart ready to break with sobbing and crying: when he was gone a little way, the captain called him back again, but it was some time before he became reconciled and cheerful. On the other hand, several of the Marquesans were continually plaguing the captain to take them to Otaheite.

13th. While we were at dinner one of the natives stole a pump-bolt, and was making off with his prize, when Mr. Godsell detected him, and with the help of the gunner prevented his escape. The rest all jumped overboard, and made for the shore. The thief we lashed up by way of punishment, and shewing him a loaded musket, he fully expected to be shot. A man of some consequence, who had come in the same canoe, brought the chief's second brother, with two



pigs and a plantain-leaf, to intercede for the offender, who was his father; these we refused to accept. It was affecting to see the son kiss and embrace his father, and take their last farewell: however, not to prolong the anguish, we took up and discharged the musket, and then liberated the culprit. He could not at first believe that he was not shot; but when set free, and presented to his son, both of them appeared so overwhelmed with joy, that they could hardly trust their own eyes: dumb gratitude and consternation had deprived them of the power of speech. We added a solemn warning to them in future against such practices, and sent them ashore with the pigs, which we refused to accept, that they might see we had no advantage in our view.

14th. This morning the wind blew with such violence that we parted from our best bower; and as the ship was still unrigged we were under the necessity of either letting go another anchor, or drifting to sea; accordingly a spare anchor which we had in readiness was let go in fifty fathoms water, and one hundred and forty fathom of cable veered out before the ship brought up. We were now about a mile and a half without the entrance of the bay, and the wind continuing to blow as hard as ever, we became apprehensive that the ship might be drove off the island, therefore manned the pinnace, and set Mr. Harris on shore with all his things. The afternoon we employed in putting the rigging in some order, and bending the sails, as the captain intended to work into the bay the next day if the weather permitted. The latter part of this day we had very heavy rain: but notwithstanding the roughness of the weather, and the great distance we lay from the head of the bay, several of the natives swam off to the ship; but as we were so very busy, they were not admitted on board, only to rest in the boats alongside, and then return: some took no rest at all, but seeing by the others that the ship was tabooed, they swam back of their own accord; a great exertion, especially to the females, as the distance both ways could not be less than five miles.



15th. Early this morning we hove up the anchor, and worked close in to the head of the bay, having as much wind as our double-reefed topfails would carry, which makes the working in dangerous, as the wind is so variable, that sometimes when the ship was close to the rocks she would hardly come about. We anchored at noon in our former station, or rather nearer the shore, but were drove without it again. All the afternoon we were at work sweeping for our small bower, and just as it grew dark we swept the buoy-rope, and made a nun-buoy fast till the next day. We also unbent the sails, that the job at the rigging might be completed.

On the 16th we hoisted the long-boat out and got the anchor on board, but postponed our search for the other till the rigging was put in proper order. On Sunday the 18th we again tabooed the ship: indeed this was the only successful mode we had of keeping the natives away. On Monday we hauled the seine at the head of the bay, and caught about six dozen small fish.

20th. Mr. Harris and Crook came on board, and held a meeting with the captain respecting their stay. Mr. Harris complained of the poverty of the place, said he could not eat the mahie, &c. Crook declared his determination to stay, even though Mr. Harris should leave him. The result was, that they both went on shore to make further trial before our departure. Several of the natives on board as usual.

On the 22d a native stole the cook's axe, and setting off with his canoe, was near the shore before it was known; when he saw the pinnace chasing him, he paddled to the rocks, hauled his canoe up, ran into the bushes, and so got clear off. They had now become so active in stealing, that the sailors had scarce a knife left among them. To remedy this, as soon as they came in the morning, each man chose a young lad as his storekeeper, who followed his master closely all the day, with his knife, marling-spike, &c. hung to his neck; and this saved them, for they always proved very faithful.



23d. The boats were sent to sweep for the best bower anchor, and caught hold of it; but trying to heave it up, the rope broke; and night approaching, it was left till next day. This evening we observed the bay to be unusually agitated, for which we could assign no cause, as the wind was easterly, with moderate weather.

On the 24th, the fisherman, whom we hauled in at the quarter-gallery at our first coming, swam off at break of day, and informed us that Mr. Harris had been on the beach all the night with his chest, and had been robbed of most of his things. This affair at first gained little credit; for we could not suppose him so imprudent as to bring his property down without sending notice, that a boat might be ready to receive them. But, on dispatching the jolly-boat to know the truth, we found it to be really the case. He had come down in the dusk of the evening; and as none from the ship were on shore, the boats being employed at the anchor, and the ship lying too far from the beach for him to hail, he spent an uncomfortable night, sitting upon his chest: about four in the morning the natives, in order to steal his clothes, drove him off the chest; and, for fear they should hurt his person, he fled to the adjacent hills. Mr. Falconer, who went to bring him off, found him in a most pitiable plight, and like one out of his senses. The surf was so high that they could not land, and were therefore obliged to haul the chest and its owner off by means of a rope. The reasons he gave for leaving his partner so abruptly, besides those already mentioned, were such as he might naturally have expected: Tēnae, it seems, wanted to treat them with an excursion to another valley, to which Crook readily agreed, but Mr. Harris would not consent. The chief seeing this, and desirous of obliging him, not considering any favour too great, left him his wife, to be treated as if she were his own, till the chief came back again. Mr. Harris told him that he did not want the woman; however, she looked up to him as her husband, and finding herself treated with total neglect, became doubtful of his sex; and acquainted some of the other females with her suspicion, who accord-



ingly came in the night, when he slept, and satisfied themselves concerning that point, but not in such a peaceable way but that they awoke him. Discovering so many strangers, he was greatly terrified; and, perceiving what they had been doing, was determined to leave a place where the people were so abandoned and given up to wickedness: a cause which should have excited a contrary resolution.

To-day we put a new tow-line in the boat, and swept the best bower anchor with it; hove it up with the long-boat, and got it once more safe to the bows; the rigging was also completed, and we began to think of taking our departure. This was intimated to Crook, who still remained steadfast in his resolution to stay in the island, desiring only such implements of husbandry, and other things, as might facilitate and extend his usefulness among the people; observing, that his happiness would have been greatly increased had his devoted situation been with a friendly and agreeable assistant, whose conversation and sympathy might have comforted him in the time of trouble: but since the Lord had ordered things otherwise, he thought that it better suited with his character and profession, to resign himself to God's fatherly care, and rest in his promises, than to quit a station where a door of usefulness was so evidently opened: and should his blessed Saviour make him the honoured instrument of preparing the way for some of his more able servants, he should at last have the happiness to reflect that his life was not spent in vain.

Crook is a young man of twenty-two, remarkably serious and steady, always employed in the improvement of his mind, and applied with great diligence to the attainment of the language. He also possesses a very good genius, and I have no doubt will contrive many things to benefit the poor creatures he lives with; and as the valley is capable of great improvement, I should not be surprised to hear of this and the islands adjacent becoming very plentiful places by his means. He has various kinds of garden-seeds, implements, medicines, &c.; an Encyclopedia, and other useful books.

26th. To-day the captain went on shore for the first time, and



took with him Mr. Falconer. Their intention was, to ascend to the summit of the hills, and view the neighbouring isles. They landed, and were followed by a crowd of the natives, who were exceedingly glad to behold the captain in their village. After taking a little refreshment with Tēnae at his house, the chief's second brother accompanied them up the mountains, which are so steep, that in many places they were obliged to haul themselves up by the branches of trees that grow upon them. The captain did not reach the top, but Mr. Falconer did: whence he had a view of Trevenen's island to the west, Riou's and Dominica to the north, to the east St. Pedro, and Magdalena to the south. The ridge at the summit of the mountain is quite narrow, and every where covered with trees. The chief pressed him much to fire his musket against Trevenen's island, and was highly pleased with his compliance. On their return, Tēnae entertained them with a roasted hog, but not being very fat, some of the by-standers observed that it was not good; which affected the chief so much, that he walked aside in a pet, and was not reconciled till the captain said it was good; and refused to eat, except the captain came and sat beside him, which he accordingly did. In the evening they returned on board, followed by Crook and the chief, who came to take leave; accordingly, after several articles were put in the canoe, we bad him an affectionate farewell, and parted. His manly behaviour at this season did him great credit; the tears glistened in his eyes, but none fell; nor did he betray the least sign of fear to enter upon his work alone.

27th. At four in the morning we weighed, and stood out of the bay with a light air easterly. At seven, hove to for a canoe which was paddling hard after us; in her was the chief's brother and our old fisherman, who had wept heartily the evening before on parting with us, and partly because the captain would not take him to Otaheite: at present they brought a note from Crook, with a letter for his sister, and requesting some soap which had been forgot. Accordingly, the quantity before packed up for him was put in the



canoe, and a present of an axe given to each of the messengers, who preferring to go to Otaheite, left us very reluctantly. We now shaped our course for Trevenen's and Sir Henry Martin's islands, intending to observe their relative situation to Santa Christina, as we had reason to suppose them erroneously marked in the sketch we had on board.

Concerning the customs and manners of the people about Resolution bay, we learnt but little besides what is already related in our daily transactions; for, except myself for a few hours on the first two days after our arrival, and the captain and the third mate on the last day of our stay, no person was on shore from the ship. But, finding this was likely to be the case, I wrote a number of queries to Crook, whose time being likewise much taken up with his own affairs, he had not leisure to make the necessary inquiries to answer them all. But, from his knowledge of the language, I think that what he says of a few may be depended upon, and they are as follow :

“ Their religious ceremonies resemble those of the Society Islands.  
“ They have a morai in each district, where the dead are buried beneath a pavement of large stones, but with such exceptions as in the case of the chief Hōnoo. They have a multitude of deities. Those most frequently mentioned are Opooamanne, Okeeo, Oenamoe, Opee-peetye, Onooko, Oetanow, Fatee-aitapoo, Onoetye; but none who seem superior to the rest, though the extent of my information is small on this head. They only offer hogs in sacrifices, and never men.

“ The chief Tēnae presides over four districts, Ohitahoo, Taheway, and Innamei, all opening into Resolution bay, and Onopoho, the adjoining valley to the southward. He has four brothers: Acow-taytay, Natooafeedoo, Oheephee, and Moeneenee; but none of them seem invested with any authority; and Tēnae himself with less than the Otaheitean chiefs.

“ There is no regular government, established law, or punishments; but custom is the general rule.



“ As to their food and manners, like most uncivilized nations, they  
“ have no regular meals, but eat when they are hungry, and here  
“ not in a great quantity at a time, this being their scarce season.  
“ When they have a hog, they eat of it five or six times a-day ; and when  
“ without animal food, they use the roasted bread-fruit, fish, mahie,  
“ pudding made of it and other vegetables, ahee-nuts, and a paste  
“ made of a root resembling the yam ; and this they do often through  
“ the day. The women are not allowed to eat hog, and are proba-  
“ bly under other prohibitions as at Otaheite, and seem much more  
“ servile to the men, and harshly treated. They are employed in  
“ making cloth and matting, but not in cookery, except for them-  
“ selves. I have never observed any of the men, from the chief to  
“ the toutou, at work, except a few old persons making cords and  
“ nets. The rest idle about, and bask in the sun, telling their stories,  
“ and beguiling the time.

“ The chief is said to have three wives ; the youngest is with him  
“ here, the others in different parts of the island. He has several  
“ children, some of which live with him here, and the others with  
“ their mothers. Observing a pregnant woman, I asked her how  
“ many children she had ; she replied, Three. I wished to know if  
“ they were by the same man ; she said, Yes. I asked further, if he  
“ had any other wife ; she said, No. Whence I am led to suppose,  
“ that, though Tēnae has more wives than one, this is not usual,  
“ and may be the privilege of the chief. They seem to be very  
“ fond of their children ; and when I went up the valley I saw the  
“ men often dandling them upon their knees, exactly as I have  
“ observed an old grandfather with us in a country village.

“ Their particular customs I am not yet able to describe ; but I  
“ learn, the son must not touch the clothes of the father, and must  
“ walk before him on the road ; and the father must not touch any  
“ thing, nor eat victuals which have passed over the head of the son.  
“ Before the age of puberty, the operation of flitting the prepuce is  
“ performed ; and all the men are tattoued, even to the very lips and



“ eyelids. Their diseases are few ; I have indeed hardly observed  
“ the appearance of any ; and they are as yet happily free from that  
“ fatal malady which has made such ravages in the Society Islands.”

Respecting the persons, dress, canoes, &c. of these people, we found them exactly as described in Cook's Second Voyage, where he says, that “ for symmetry of shape and regular features, they perhaps  
“ surpass all other nations. Not a single deformed or ill-proportioned  
“ person was seen on the island ; all were strong, tall, well-limbed,  
“ and remarkably active. The men are from five feet ten inches high  
“ to six feet ; their teeth are not so good, nor are their eyes so full,  
“ as those of many other nations : their hair is of many colours,  
“ but none red ; some have it long, but the most general custom is  
“ to wear it short, except a bunch on each side of the crown, which  
“ they tie in a knot. Their countenances are pleasing, open, and  
“ display much vivacity. They are of a tawny complexion, which  
“ is rendered almost black by the punctures of the whole body.  
“ They were entirely naked, except a small piece of cloth round their  
“ waist and loins. These punctures were disposed with the utmost  
“ regularity, so that the marks on each leg, arm, and cheek, were  
“ in general similar.”

The women are rather of low stature, though well-proportioned, and their general colour inclining to brown. We observed that some who, on our first arrival, were almost as fair as Europeans, by coming off to the ship and exposing themselves to the sun, became afterwards quite dark-coloured. But a few of these were punctured or tattooed. The chief's sister had some parallel lines on her arms, others slight punctures on the inside of their lips, and even upon their eyelids. They wear a long narrow piece of cloth wrapped two or three times round their waist, and the ends tucked up between their thighs : above this is a broad piece of cloth, nearly as large as a sheet, tied at the upper corners : they lay the knot over one shoulder, and the garment hanging loose reaches half way down the leg.

“ Their canoes are made of wood and the bark of a soft tree, which



“ grows near the sea, and is very proper for the purpose; their  
“ length is from sixteen to twenty feet, and about sixteen inches  
“ broad. The head and stern are formed out of two solid pieces of  
“ wood; the former is curved, and the latter ends in a point, which  
“ projects horizontally, and is decorated with a rude carved figure,  
“ having a faint resemblance to a human face. Some of the canoes  
“ have a latteen sail, but they are generally rowed with paddles.”  
However, except the one Tēnae had hauled up on the beach, and two  
or three more, the rest were so indifferent as hardly to swim when  
there was a breeze of wind.

The only tame fowls are cocks and hens, and their quadrupeds  
only hogs; but the woods are inhabited by small birds, whose plu-  
mage is exceedingly beautiful, and their notes sweetly varied. We  
left cats and she-goats, and were sorry we had no he-goat to give  
them, as they were so fond of these animals, that the chief took them  
and Crook wherever he went.

28th. Before daybreak we saw several lights upon Trevenen's  
island; and as we run along the east side in the morning we observed  
two or three sandy bays, whence fertile valleys run towards the cen-  
tral hills, which last are broken and rugged, rising in several places  
into lofty cones, that give the island a very curious appearance. From  
one of the bays there came off a canoe with four men, who after a  
length of time came alongside, and got a few articles from us, for  
which they had nothing to give in return, but, seeming afraid of us,  
put off immediately. Behind the north-east point a large double  
canoe lay, with about twenty men in her: they kept close to the rocks;  
we hove the ship to for them, but they also seemed afraid, and kept  
aloof. At this time we saw a single canoe put off from a fine bay on  
the north-west side; this canoe was built exactly like those at Santa  
Christina, and had the same kind of latteen sail: they came close  
to the ship and talked boldly, and when they saw Tānno Manoo  
upon the deck, one of them stood up and made some very las-  
civious gestures. We invited them alongside; where they at last



came, but had lost their courage, for they trembled with fear all the while they staid. From them we got the native names of the islands, as marked in the chart. They wished us to anchor in the bay, but this we had no desire to do; so we made them presents and took our leave. They were stout well-made men, differing nothing from those about Resolution bay, except in being rather less tattooed; their canoes, though built after the same fashion, are neater and stronger; their houses also, as seen from the ship, appeared to be superior. The bay on the north-west part of the island seems eligible for shipping, and may be distinguished by a small but high islet lying off it, and a beautiful and regular row of cocoa-nut trees behind a fine white sandy beach.

From the north end of Trevenen's island we run N. by E. twenty-four miles, to within a mile of the south-east point of Sir Henry Martin's island, which point is high and craggy: close to the westward of it is Comptroller's bay, large, and secure from the reigning winds. At the entrance, and near to Craggy point, there lies a small rock above water, in appearance like a boat. At the head of the bay we saw some houses in a cove, a vast number of inhabitants assembled upon the beach, and several canoes hauled up near them. All the valleys about this bay appeared fertile, many of the hills were covered with trees, and the interior parts seemed more habitable than at any other of the Marquesas. Westward of Comptroller's bay lies Port Anna Maria, where the *Dædalus* lay; and besides these, I think it highly probable that there are other good anchoring-places about this island. Captain New describes the inhabitants of these islands as a handsome race of people, and extremely hospitable, which is certainly greatly in favour of those who would settle with missionary views, especially when the superior natural advantages of the island are taken into the account. It being five o'clock in the afternoon when we got off Craggy point, we bore up, and, running down the south side, took our departure for Otaheite, anxious to know in what circumstances we might find the brethren whom we had settled there.



## CHAPTER XII.

*Return from the Marquesas to Otabeite, with the Transactions which had passed during our Absence.*

29th. **H**AVING bent our course for the Society Islands, we proceeded on our voyage with a favourable gale.

July 3d. We fell in with Tiookea, a lagoon island, many of which lie scattered about this part of the ocean, and render the navigation in dark weather dangerous. We saw smoke ascending in various parts, one sailing canoe in the lagoon, and two men following us along shore. They appeared dark-coloured, had a piece of cloth tied round their middle, and each carried a spear in his hand. Cook visited this place on his second voyage. A lieutenant and the two Mr. Forsters landed: the islanders received them by touching noses, a common mode of salutation all over the South Sea. They found here various plants, particularly a vegetable which the natives bruise and mix with shell-fish: this preparation they throw into the sea, where they perceive a shoal of fish, and intoxicating them, they are caught on the surface of the water, without any other trouble than that of taking them out: the name, they say, which this plant bears among the natives is enow; but here the Mr. Forsters have evidently mistaken the quality of the plant for its name: enow, in the language of the Society Islands, means bad, and is doubtless in this instance used by the natives to intimate that the plant was noxious or poisonous. But this mistake only shews how easy it is to fall into others of a similar nature.

By observation at noon we made the centre of Tiookea in latitude  $14^{\circ} 30' S.$  and its longitude, by the chronometer, reduced from the



Marquesas and afterwards back from Otaheite, to be  $146^{\circ} 22'$  W. which is  $1^{\circ} 12'$  W. of what Mr. Wales makes it. But had we not made Otaheite very exact by our chronometer, we should rather have been silent than supposed an error in so good an authority as Mr. Wales. However, to be certain of this point is of consequence, as the longitude of several others of the small islands is deduced from it, and this is the island a person would choose to make first in coming from the Marquesas.

Latitude observed at noon  $14^{\circ} 29'$ ; the south-west end of Tiookea bearing E. N. E. three miles; and the extremes of an island to leeward, called Oura, from W.  $3^{\circ}$  N. to W.  $27^{\circ}$  S.

For the other islands we saw on our passage, see the chart.

6th. At seven in the morning we saw the high land of Otaheite; and at noon, being close in, we ran between the Dolphin bank and Point Venus reef, and came to anchor in Matavai bay in thirteen fathoms water, and immediately moored ship. The natives crowded off, all exceedingly glad to see us; the brethren followed in a flat-bottomed boat, which they had been desired to build for the purpose of passing the shallow entrance of the river with the goods. The report they gave was pleasing to us all. They had, in general, enjoyed good health. The natives had constantly observed the same respectful behaviour towards them as at first, and had never failed a day to supply them abundantly with all kinds of provisions. Respecting the purposes of the mission, it was a point of which they could not as yet say any thing more than that appearances were encouraging. From the little experience they had gained of the people, they supposed them teachable; and though rooted in the traditions and prejudices of their ancestors, they hoped that a knowledge of the language, and perseverance in their duty, would have a great effect upon the rising generation. Their example had already restrained the natural levity of the natives, and overawed them; so that they seldom attempt to act a heeva within their hearing; and when they come near on the sabbath, they always behave with decency. Their



dress and manners also exhibited great improvement on the side of modesty.

However, in their own department, there had been some difference of opinion concerning their interior regulations. Considering their small number, their committee and the office of president had been dissolved; the office of store-keeper, &c. had also been changed; and all public measures were debated, disapproved, or adopted, by the body; a majority settling the matter. But their own journals will give the most accurate statement of their proceedings during our absence.

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March 26th. The ship quitted the bay of Matavāi this day, and was soon out of sight. Our brethren who last departed from the ship in a canoe had an unpleasant return, by reason of the wind, and were obliged to land at a distance, but got to their companions in the evening, and received their canoe and its contents safe the next day.

27th. Brother Puckey informed the brethren respecting Eimēo, and the vessel he had gone thither to examine. He advised, that as Mānne Manne and his people had been exceedingly friendly, they should launch the vessel, and bring her to Matavāi bay to be completed. Puckey and Lock were accordingly appointed to go to Eimēo for this purpose. A consultation was held respecting Micklewright; though all condemned his conduct, the majority prevailed, that, if he professed repentance, he should be received. Some of the brethren thought he ought to be wholly separated from them as a hypocrite.

28th. A considerable present came from Pomārre and Iddeah of all sorts of provisions, assuring us, when these were expended, they would send a constant supply.



29th. We are daily visited by the king, queen, Iddeah, and many of the natives. Some of the Otaheiteans, whom we have with us as helpers, speak many English words, and are eager to be taught the art of reading; they have already learnt most of the characters of the alphabet, though our necessary avocations have prevented us from paying much attention to this point, or from employing ourselves in the acquisition of their language. We have provision in great abundance: a gracious Providence evidently favours our design.

31st. Visited by the king and queen; complained to them of the destruction occasioned by the rats. They sent in immediately four cats.

April 1st. Visited by the king and queen, and Mawrōa the husband of Pomārre's sister, a man of good sense and great authority: he brought a chest to be repaired, and requested Wm. Puckey to be his tayo: he hesitated at first, but, on the representation of the Swede how much he could serve us, he consented.

2d. Though multitudes of natives, with the king and queen, attended our worship, for want of our interpreter we were unable to address them; but they looked on silent whilst we preached and administered the Lord's supper.

3d. Took three Otaheiteans to assist in our cookery and attend our hogs. The king and queen brought a large present of cocoa-nuts to brother Cover and his wife, desiring to become their adopted children, and promising to regard them as their father and mother. Pomārre and Iddeah brought a larger in the evening, and begged them to receive the king and queen as their own progeny. The women crossed the river to visit the garden and the country around; the king followed them, and paid them every mark of attention, directing them to the best roads, and ordering his attendants to provide cocoa-nuts for their refreshment. It is incredible to see the quantity of provisions poured in upon us; we have not less than a waggon-load of fruits, besides the multitudes of hogs and poultry. Surely the Lord hath done this.



4th. At a quarter past eight o'clock we assembled for our monthly prayer meeting; were revived with the consideration of the thousands of God's people who were remembering us, and at the same throne of grace praying for our success among the heathen.

5th. Our daily royal visitors have taken up their abode of late at Matavai, on purpose to be near us. Pomarre brought a chair to be repaired, which the captain had given him, with a musket and fowling-piece: these we excused ourselves from repairing, except the chair, till the smith had set up his forge; but he left them with us. Their huts very much resemble a travelling camp of gypsies.

6th. Early this morning Otoo sent ten men to prepare wood for erecting the blacksmith's shop. Our brethren from Eimeo returned, and made us the pleasing report, that they had been very kindly received by the natives, who never attempted to steal any of our tools, and were ready to give us every assistance. Brother J. Puckey, on the Lord's day, had addressed them by Andrew; they heard attentively, and said it was *very good*; but it could be of no use to them to change their religion, as the brethren would so soon leave them and carry away THE BOOK. We assured them we would return and teach them again very soon. The natives replied, if any of the chiefs embraced our religion they should follow.

The vessel they had planked up, so that she would be fit to come over in a few days.

Micklewright's conduct was very distressing to us; none of our remonstrances could keep him from the natives.

8th. One of the arreoies, the tayo of brother Henry, came to us with his wife big with child: they were taking their leave of us, in order, during their absence, to destroy the infant which should be born, according to the ordinance of that diabolical society. We thought this a proper opportunity to remonstrate with them against this horrid custom. The mother felt with tenderness, and appeared willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief continued obstinately bent on his purpose, though he acknowledged it a bloody act, pleading the



established custom, his loss of all privileges, and the dissolution of the society, if this should become general. We offered to build them a house for the pregnant women, and take every child which should be born into our immediate care. We threatened him, that such an unnatural act would exclude him from our friendship for ever, and more, that the Eatōoa, our God, would certainly punish him. He said, if he saw the arreoies destroyed by the Eatōoa for it, he would desist; and asked if their forefathers were suffering for these practices. Our brethren failed not to open to him the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. On this he walked off dejected, but not apparently determined to desist from the evil or danger of his ways. A few days afterwards he came, and promised, if the child were born alive, he would bring it to us; and on another visit afterwards with his wife, renewed his promise, on forfeiture of our favour.

Mānne Manne returned from Opārre with abundance of clothes and provision for all the brethren. We took the opportunity to inform Pomārre, that next day we should speak to them the parōw no t'Eatōoa, the word of God; and invited them to come, which they promised.

9th. Brother Lewis preached from *Thou shalt not kill*, to the king, queen, Mānne Manne, and a number of the natives, who heard with serious attention, and said, “ My ty te parōw no Prētane, imā “ tipperāhai mydide, imā pōhhe rōā té taata: Good is the word “ of Britain, not to kill children, not to sacrifice men.” The high-priest whispering something, we asked him what he said; he answered, he told the people to leave off their wicked ways.

Pomārre and Iddeah came at noon, and going into the married brethren's apartment, found them conversing with the arreoies on the evil of destroying infants. Iddeah was particularly addressed on the subject, as she too was pregnant by a toutou who cohabited with her, and was also of the arreoie society. Pomārre and Iddeah had for some time ceased to cohabit; he had taken another wife, and she one



of her servants ; but they lived in the same state of friendship, and with no loss of dignity. The brethren endeavoured to convince her of the dreadfulnefs of murder, in a mother especially. They promised to receive the child immediately, and it should be no trouble to her ; but she was fullen, and made no reply. They then addressed Pomārre, and entreated his interference in suppressing such acts of inhumanity ; and to give orders that no more human sacrifices should be offered. He replied, he would ; said, that Captain Cook told him it should not be done ; but did not stay long enough to instruct them. One of the brethren then said, that we were come for that express purpose, and hoped he would hearken to our counsel ; pointing out all the danger and disadvantage to themselves ; and warning them, that if they despised our instructions, and continued in their wicked practices, we should leave them and go to another island, where we could hope for more attention. Pomārre was evidently affected by what was said, and especially could not bear the thought of our leaving him ; and promised he would use all his authority to put an end to these practices. He indeed appears of a teachable disposition and open to conviction. Māne Manne came in during this conversation ; and we told him freely, that if he offered any more human sacrifices he would utterly forfeit our friendship, and must consider us as his enemies. He replied, he certainly would not. On this we informed him, that our Lord knew his heart, whether he was sincere in his promises.

We renewed our attempts with Iddeah, invited her to continue with us, and suffer our women to take care of her child ; that her example would have the happiest effects upon the nation ; and knowing her eagerness for European cloth, we promised her three shirts, and any other articles, when the ship arrived ; yea more, that we would report her conduct to Queen Charlotte and the British caree ladies, to whom nothing would more endear her ; and that the next ship would assuredly bring her very valuable presents. She said the child was base born ; had it been Pomārre's, it would have lived ; but



that now they were arreoies—and marched off with her paramour, who sat by and heard with utter indifference.

In the afternoon we again addressed the natives through the interpreter. We asked them if they understood what we said; they answered, Yes, and that it was very good. Among our auditors was Mawrōa, the husband of Pomārre's sister, widow of Motuaro, the late chief of Eimēo. In conversation with us, he said he was resolved to throw away the gods that could neither hear, nor see, nor speak, and worship the English God. He put several questions to us, particularly, whether it was not lawful for a man to have one wife; we told him, assuredly; it was an ordinance of our God: to which he replied, "My ty, my ty, very good."

10th. A wet day. In the intervals of the showers went in quest of a situation for erecting new habitations, the present not having the land so good around them, and being a very sandy soil. We did not fix, but the majority seemed desirous to build on the spot which the mutineers had chosen, as having the advantages of soil, as well as the easterly breezes from the mountain; several waterfalls near formed a meandering stream through the valley; the foot of the mountains abounded in bread-fruit and cocoa-nut, and the land appeared suited for cultivation, being cleared of trees which had been burned down by the mutineers; with an opening to the west, which let in a beautiful view of Matavāi bay, and a distant prospect of Eimēo.

12th. This day Iddeah appeared again in public, and Māne Manne communicated to us the afflictive intelligence that she had murdered her new-born babe. It was therefore resolved by the brethren, that no more presents should be received from Iddeah; and that our marked disapprobation of her conduct should be shewn whenever she came to our house. Commenced a weekly lecture; brother Henry spoke from "The Son of Man is come to seek and save that which was lost:" the king and many Otaheiteans were present.

13th. Pomārre and Iddeah came with a vast present of hogs and



vegetables, which were separated into four parcels. We asked Pomāre from whom they came; we thankfully accepted his, but refused to touch those which Iddeah offered, and assigned our reasons, which Andrew communicated. She was highly offended; said she had a right to do with her children as she pleased, and should observe the customs of the country without minding our displeasure; and walked off with her toutou, leaving the present behind: a new chest which had been made for her, being her own materials, was given her, and she carried it off with her. Yet her unnatural crime did not utterly pass unpunished; a dreadful milk abscess brought her under the surgeon's knife, and repeated sharp rebukes; yet her heart appeared still hardened. She is a bold daring spirit, and much more warlike than her husband Pomāre. As we would not receive Iddeah's present, we wished Māne Manne to distribute it to the natives, instead of which he carried it off to his own house.

Yet even this is but one among many *unnatural crimes* which we dare not name, committed daily without the idea of shame or guilt. In various districts of the island there are men who dress as women; work with them at the cloth; are confined to the same provisions and rule of eating and dressing; may not eat with the men, or of their food, but have separate plantations for their peculiar use.

It is remarkable, that with all these horrid vices so predominant, in our presence they never shew an attitude or commit an act unseemly; indeed they profess hardly to know what we are, and suspect we are not Englishmen, or like any others they have seen who have ever visited their island.

It may be worth a remark, that Iddeah had not been absent from our house two days before she appeared as if nothing ailed her: with so little inconvenience do the most painful operations of nature affect those of that happy climate.

14th. Māne Manne brought us more hogs, and one of our sows having farrowed, we had now fifty-nine in the sty; so that we may truly say the good of the land is before us. Brother Jefferson



addressed the natives, with the king and queen ; some of them looked so stedfastly at the minister, as if eager to devour every word that was spoken. “ My heart,” says W. Puckey, “ was much engaged “ in secret prayer for these poor souls.”

15th. Wanted plank for the blacksmith’s shop ; told the king. He said, “ HARRY-mie, come along.” I thought he had some ready ; I went with him and six men ; he carried me up the valley, and searching every house took what he liked : many of the people stoutly resisted, but his men would not leave a plank. I told the king, with whom we exercise the most entire familiarity, that he was a thief. “ No,” says he, “ it is the custom of Otaheite.”

The king was carried on men’s shoulders, and through such dangerous places, that he ran the greatest risk of breaking his bones ; but he must not alight, as every place his foot touches becomes sacred and his own ground. At last we arrived at a territory of his own ; when alighting, he took a majestic stride, and stalking on, “ Puckey,” says he, “ is this as King George walks ?” I told him, Yes. Having gone about three miles I desired to return, though the king would have gone farther, notwithstanding the rain. He then gave me a hog, and made the people from whom he had taken the plank carry it down to our house.

I waited two hours, but the rain not abating, I pushed homewards ; in crossing the river I had like to have been carried away by the stream, and cried out ; one of our servants immediately plunged in, and brought me safe to land, though drenched to the skin as I had been the whole day.

16th. This day we thrice addressed the natives by our interpreter, and with their usual attention ; but as soon as they retired, they fell, like children, to their own light amusements. The Lord grant the seed sown may take firmer root in their hearts !

17th. Having given in the plan of the flat-bottomed boat which was to be built against the captain’s return, it was approved. Pomarre, on application, ordered six men to attend me : I had liberty



to cut down whatever I chose, and had not proceeded far before I found an excellent *poūrōw* tree, sufficient to build a vessel of any burden; it most resembles ash, but the wood is harder; it grows crooked, and is very capital for timbers and knees. The natives with me desired me not to do any thing, but only to mark where and how to cut, and they would do the work.

18th. Not able to work through pain in my back, my tayo and his wife coming, they desired to chamfer me, which gave me great relief. The shop being finished, and brother Hodges with Hassell at work, the natives crowded round him, but vastly frightened with the sparks and hissing of the iron in water. Pomārre came, supremely delighted with the bellows and forge, and catching the blacksmith in his arms, all dirty as he was, joined noses with him, and expressed his high satisfaction. After work they were going to bathe themselves in the river, when the young king laid hold of an arm of each, and went down with them to bathe. His queen, Tetua, followed, and said to Hassell, "Harre no t'avye, Go into the water:" but they signified they wished she would leave them first; on this she retired: as for herself, she often bathes at noon-day attended by twenty men, seldom ever having any women to wait on her.

20th. A native stole a box for the sake of the nails; we seized and confined him for three hours, and then liberated him, informing him, that, should any be caught in future, they should be more severely punished. Soon after Pomārre and Mānne Manne brought a peace-offering of a pig and plantain-leaf. The leaf we accepted, but we said we could not receive the pig, having forgiven the offence.

21st. Two of our brethren went with three natives to procure more wood: we went up the valley; it is about seven miles long and a quarter of a mile broad, with very little descent, which makes the river meander slowly through it. It is covered with trees, except a few verdant spots from whence the wood is cleared. The mountains on both sides are exceedingly high and perpendicular, covered with



shrubs and trees, where parrots, parroquets, and a kind of grey thrush which sings delightfully, build their nests. The natives are numerous and flourishing; they see the sun but a few hours in the day, his beams being intercepted by the mountains, and a light cool breeze blows downward continually. They have fine plantations of yava and cloth trees neatly enclosed; and they have all the other edibles in vast profusion, but are so indolent, that they hardly are at the pains to gather them. They eat when they are hungry, and sleep when they please. There were several infected with that horrible disease Europeans probably have left them, and some with their limbs ready to drop off.

Staying at a house till the rest returned, having made my feet sore, the kind inhabitant presented me his wife; and though I excused myself from that favour, he instantly prepared a hog, which was ready as soon as my companions came from the mountain; whilst our host himself would wait on his guests.

At our return brother Henry was preaching to the natives; and after service Māne Manne observed, that “we gave them plenty of the word of God, but not of many other things.”

22d, 23d. Nothing but the usual services: read the articles of religion we had subscribed.

24th. On a meeting of our society we agreed to new regulations, abolishing the committee of five; and as each had his vote in our deliberations, a secretary only was thought necessary, and a president, to be chosen at each meeting. We drew up rules for every day's work; the bell to ring at six; to be assembled for prayer in half an hour; to labour till ten at our various occupations; to spend from ten till three in mental improvement; from three till night at our usual employment; bell to ring at seven for prayer, and the journal to be read. We then proceeded to divide our iron for traffic, and cast lots for the watches.

27th. Pursuing our various employments, and daily attended by the natives. Five of us went to Eimēo with Māne Manne to finish



his vessel. The brethren at Eimēo were most hospitably entertained; but Micklewright, the steward, having warped the Swede, and disinclined him to us, he made a variety of excuses for not interpreting to the people as usual. Having an address translated, brother Cover desired to read it to them, which Mānne Manne approving, under the shade of a spreading tree they sung, "Salvation, O the joyful sound," &c. and after prayer read the address; at the close of which Mānne Manne exclaimed, "Very good fellow!" and on asking the natives if they understood what was read, they replied, "Yes, it was very good." They then crossed the bay, fully answering Cook's description. The face of this island is very romantic: the land around it is like the ruins of a stupendous fortification. The district of Watawy is less mountainous and better cultivated than any at Otaheite; the soil deep and good. We retired to rest on some Otaheite cloth laid on the boards of the vessel. Brothers Bicknell and Cock worked at the vessel, whilst Cover, with Andrew, with much difficulty was preparing a translated address; obliged to omit many sentences for want of words. Set off for Otaheite; slept at Popo bay in the canoe, very uncomfortably. The wind increasing, we were driven to leeward, and just made Attahooroo. Earnest to reach our house for the sabbath, we set off on foot, and left the canoe with the natives.

On the way we visited the tupapow of Orapiah: he is in a sitting posture, clothed in red cloth, under a shed; a native attending day and night, and offering provisions to the mouth of the dead corpse, which not being received, he eats them himself. We reached home after twelve o'clock, very much fatigued, not having put off our clothes since we left Matavāi.

29th, 30th. Our brethren were actively employed, sawing plank for the boat. The natives are vastly surprised to see us cut so many boards out of one tree, two being the most they attempt: they are amazed to observe the facility with which we work all our tools. Going to the blacksmith's shop, I observed a chief peeping in; I



asked him why he went not within; he said he was (mattow) frightened, and angry with the fire for spitting at him. As soon as the iron hisses in the water, or on the anvil, the natives fly.

Three of the brethren accompanied Pomārre in a journey through the island, in order to make observations.

May 1st. The king came with a musket and four pistols to be repaired and cleaned. On consultation we demurred to the request; but as he had sent a hog and other things to the smith, we ordered one of the pistols to be done, and put off the rest for a while.

2d. Our monthly prayer meeting. We shall transcribe a passage from one of the journals on this occasion, which others will feel with sensations of delight as we do: "O Lord, how greatly hast thou honoured me, that thousands of thy dear children should be praying for *me*, a worm! Lord, thou hast set me in a heathen land, but a land, if I may so speak, flowing with milk and honey. O put more grace and gratitude into my poor cold heart, and grant that I may never with Jeshurun grow fat and kick."

3d. Employed on the boat. Visited by the king and queen, who supply all our wants. Our hogs are increased to seventy; and we have entreated them to bring no more. One of our sheep brought a fine young ram lamb, much wanted.

5th. Held a meeting preparatory to the communion. Brother Lewis, as eldest minister, after prayer, examined every one with great fidelity and tenderness, giving such exhortation and reproof as was necessary. A happy openness of mind and melting of heart prevailed; and symptoms of genuine contrition for any past improprieties towards each other. This was the first meeting of the kind we had held, and it was truly profitable: we experienced something of the healing and refreshing presence of God with us. Resolved such meeting should be monthly.

7th. Visited by a chief priest from Paparā, Temārree, who is reputed equal to Māne Manne. He is called an Eatōoa; sometimes, Tāata no t'Eatōoa, the man of the Eatōoa; he was dressed in a wrapper



of Otaheitean cloth, and over it an officer's coat doubled round him. At his first approach he appeared timid, and was invited in: he was but just seated when the cuckoo clock struck, and filled him with astonishment and terror. Old Pyetēa had brought the bird some bread-fruit, observing it must be starved if we never fed it. At breakfast we invited Temārree to our repast; but he first held out his hand with a bit of plantain, and looked very solemn, which one of the natives said was an offering to the Eatōoa, and we must receive: when we had taken it out of his hand, and laid it under the table, he sat down and made a hearty breakfast.

Brother Cover read the translated address to all these respected guests, the natives listening with attention, and particularly the priest, who seemed to drink in every word, but appeared displeased when urged to cast away their false gods; and on hearing the names Jehovah and Jesus, he would turn and whisper. The people were examined by the brethren if they understood what was said, and repeated a considerable part of what had been delivered, and seemed greatly pleased.

9th. Temārree accompanied the king and queen, and staid to dine with us. He is, we find, of the royal race, and son of the famed Obērea. He is the first chief of the island after Pomārre, by whom he has been subdued, and now lives in friendship with him, and has adopted his son. He is also high in esteem as a priest. His name of Eatōoa engaged our conversation. We told him the Eatōoa could not die, as he must. A by-standing native said, "that he must be a bad Eatōoa indeed; for he had himself seen one of his kind killed with a musket; and that they were no gods who could be killed." These priests pretend to great power, as forcerers, to kill and make alive; and the people are in much awe of them: but we set their power at nought.

12th. We received afflictive intelligence that Micklewright and the Swede had fired upon the inhabitants at Eimēo: this grieved



and alarmed us. We dispatched a letter to our brethren then with Pomārre, advising them of what had happened, and hastening their return. With these men we determined to have no more intercourse.

13th. The birth-day of little Otoo Haffell; but this name is so sacred here, that every word into which Otoo enters is prohibited, and may only be used in speaking of and to the king.

14th. The tayo of Puckey returned from Opārre, and brought a present: it being the Lord's day, he declined accepting it till the next morning. Fewer natives attended the worship to-day than usual.

15th. Our brethren returned in consequence of our letters, all but brother Main, who staid one night with Temārree: he joined us the next day.

16th. The account they give is, that they made the circuit of the greater peninsula, and entered Tiaraboo, which Pomārree represented as of very difficult travelling; so they returned by the south, and were every where kindly received, and most hospitably entertained by Temārree, who prevailed on brother Main to be his tayo, and gave him and brother Clode each a double canoe, shewing them all his stores and fire-arms which he got from the mutineers; the guns, however, by the policy of the Swedes, are all bent. Pomārre, and the king and queen, would fain have detained them, not meaning themselves to return to Matavāi till the ship comes. Every evening and morning the king, or some of the people, reminded them of the *parow*, or prayer, and joined with them attentively; but sometimes the natives were noisy and interruptive: however, the brethren daily maintained their worship, and on the sabbath retired, and enjoyed sweet communion with God.

Their singularity of manners in this part of the island, which had not been visited by them, their singing, and asking a blessing on their meals, excited surprise and laughter, though probably not the laugh of contempt; for every where they were treated sumptuously, and sometimes on a table, with plates, in the English fashion. We



cannot omit an observation here made by one of the brethren : “ Yet  
“ all this kindness is not the gospel : were we as gods among them,  
“ we should be wretched, if they believed not our message.”

“ A priest, who pretended to great power in witchcraft, produced a rush wrapped up in the form of a bird, and shewed me,” says one of the missionaries, “ how they worshipped their god by  
“ this instrument, and intimated that it gave the divine response as  
“ our bible. To a curious person it would have been a feast to  
“ examine, but my bowels yearned over their ignorance and idolatry.

“ The same priest very kindly anointed my legs, which were much  
“ affected, with the juice of an herb, which gave me more relief  
“ before morning than all the applications I had made for three  
“ weeks before ; so that they are not destitute of some medical knowledge, probably the result of experience.”

Passing into Tiaraboo, we visited Pomarre’s youngest son at Matowee, his district, the best cultivated and most populous we have seen. We stopped at Wyoteea, as Pomarre said the next district was not friendly to him ; but we went ourselves and returned, and met the same civilities every where.

On our return, brother Broomhall, through fatigue, and catching cold, had one day a sharp feverish attack. One of the priests told him this sickness was inflicted upon him by the Otaheite Eatōoa, who was angry, and would kill him. Broomhall said he was not at all afraid of their god, who was a bad god, or rather no god ; that our Jehovah sent it, and would remove it the next day. The saying instantly spread among the natives ; and brother Broomhall began to fear he had spoken too hastily and unthinkingly of his speedy recovery, and that God might be dishonoured if his illness increased : he therefore looked up earnestly to God in prayer to heal him. The priest came to him again and again, as he turned in his bed, and asked if he should be well to-morrow ? He said, he trusted his God would restore him. He had a refreshing night’s sleep, and on the morrow found himself recovered, and rose. Many of the natives that



day questioned him if he was well, and seemed astonished at his recovery. The priest, among the rest, desired to know if the Pretanee God had sent away the sickness; he said, Yes; and took this occasion to speak to him about their superstitions, and urged that the gods which he and his deluded followers worshipped were no gods; but the priest insisted that they had gods, and a great many, and that they prayed to the good ones to keep away the bad ones; and if he did not bless the food, the bad gods would enter into the men and kill them. Brother Broomhall replied, that they were under no apprehension of the bad god entering their food, let him pray as much as he pleased, he should eat without fear; but the priest said, he did not wish to do him harm, and walked off confounded. This circumstance shews we must expect opposition when we have acquired the language, and go forth among them to testify that their deeds are evil. O that we may rejoice in being counted worthy to suffer for Christ's name sake!

The accounts of former navigators as to the populousness of the country are greatly exaggerated. We think that not a fourth part so many will be found as Captain Cook supposes, perhaps not a tenth.

In this excursion we visited one chief, in whose house were many wooden gods, of different names: the god of the sun, and moon, and stars, of men, and women, and children, &c. They had each a sword, axe, or hammer in their hands, which, the priest said, was to kill those who offended them, unless they offered a sacrifice or atonement for their crime. When they offer any thing, whether men or hogs, or a canoe, they say, "Take this, and be not angry."—Yet to these wooden representatives they seemed to pay little respect.

15th. Held a very profitable meeting, to express the feelings of our minds respecting the work in which we are engaged. Hassell and Hodges went to seek free sand at Opārre, but found none. Every house offered them fowls, if they would stay the dressing; and at Pomārre's a hog was immediately killed and dressed; they got twenty pine-apple plants: and as they returned they were met every where by the people



with apples, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and one man forced upon them a basket containing a roasted fowl and bread-fruit, which they brought home. "I took occasion," says one of them, "to speak against their intoxication with yava. They said it only made them dance, and tobacco did the same. I wish it never had been brought here by us."

19th—23d. Several succeeding days are only marked with ordinary occurrences. Happily to-day our sister Henry increased our number with a healthy female child, after a safe and easy delivery. Thus, instead of death making inroads among us, and in a climate so different from our native soil, not one of us is debilitated with disease. Surely the desire of every heart is to devote all our strength to the glory of the great Author of it.

27th. The boat goes on briskly, and will soon be finished. Two of us went to examine the coral reef before the mouth of the river: on the inside the depth is very irregular; in some places the water is two or three fathoms, in others a boat can scarcely pass. The bottom is beautiful; branching trees of coral, with small fish of the most beautiful and vivid colours swimming in the midst of them. Our canoe upset, but no danger ensued.

28th. "This evening, after divine service, I walked," says W. Puckey, "with a native who had been some time with us; and from the beautiful scene of creation around us, I took occasion to discourse of Him who made all these things. He said, The God of Prētane made all things there, but not at Otaheite; that one of their gods reached up, and stuck the stars in the sky; and that Mawwā, a being of enormous strength, holds the sun with ropes, so that he may not go faster than he pleases. I endeavoured to undeceive him respecting these tales of their priests; and, pointing to the house at Opārre, told him they were no gods who were placed there, but the work of men's hands; for there the three great gods, Ooroo, Tane, and Taroa are, to whom they only sacrifice in great extremities, when the priests say they are angry."



“ I asked the young man, how they knew they were angry. He said,  
“ By speaking to us. I asked how this was done; he laughing said,  
“ on these occasions, a priest wrapped himself in a bundle of cloth,  
“ rolled up like a ball, and spoke in a sharp, shrill, squeaking voice,  
“ ‘ I am angry; fetch me hogs, kill a man, and my anger will be ap-  
“ peased.’ I endeavoured to shew him the folly and knavery of the  
“ imposture, and regretted my want of words and language to make  
“ myself better understood. May the Lord hasten the happy time,  
“ when the power of the gospel shall take root in the hearts of these  
“ benighted people!”

29th. Resolved, without delay, to erect a building for Mr. Lewis to print a vocabulary and grammar; and that each member have a copy, and one be sent to the directors.

30th. Mānne Manne sent his tayo, Mr. Cover, a present of a double canoe, three goats, and about twenty fowls; with these came a letter from Andrew, the Swede, directed to Mr. Cover, wherein he expresses a desire to have some of the carpenters sent over to Eimēo, to assist in finishing Mānne Manne’s vessel. We much suspect the truth of what it contains, it is as follows:

“ SIR,

“ UPON the request of your friend Mānne Manne, I must inform  
“ you, that he desires your brethren would come over to us as soon  
“ as possible; and if no more than one can be spared, that he would  
“ bring a saw along with him, by means of which we may be able  
“ to proceed in finishing the vessel, which, at the present time, is in  
“ danger of being burnt down to ashes, on account of a spite that  
“ Pomārre’s wife has against the old man and me, and even your-  
“ selves, for us telling her that she was in the wrong in killing of  
“ her own child. She has ordered the people in almost every district  
“ of Eimēo to seize upon the old man, and kill him, and us, and  
“ every one that should take his part. We were assaulted the 8th of  
“ this month by an insurrection of about three hundred men, be-



“ longing to our own place, that came on purpose to insult us ; but  
“ we being forewarned a few days ago of their intentions, they did  
“ not succeed to their wish, as the steward and I were on our guard ;  
“ and, as soon as they began to insult the old man, by firing a round  
“ or two amongst them they dispersed without the loss of any life,  
“ or hurt, except one man that was wounded by me, at the first  
“ onset, with my cutlafs. They have now asked our pardon, and  
“ begged peace ; but are still very mistrustful of them, as they have  
“ removed what little they have to a distant part ; that we are under  
“ the necessity of keeping a good look-out at night, for fear of them  
“ setting fire to the house, which they have threatened to do. So  
“ if you cannot spare any of the brethren to come over, please to  
“ send word by the bearer of this what you think is best to be done.  
“ And, if any one should come, I would advise them to bring some-  
“ thing of defence with them, as that would greatly add to the secu-  
“ rity of ourselves, as well as that of the vessel.

“ He has likewise fulfilled his promise to you, by sending you a  
“ pair of canoes, three goats, and some fowls. He has also sent by  
“ the bearer two pieces of red cloth, which he wishes you to get  
“ made into an uniform coat, turned up with black or blue, and to  
“ have it done as soon as possible, so that the bearers of this may  
“ bring it back with him when he returns, which will be some time  
“ in going round to Tiaraboo.

“ For my own part, I am sorry I could not come over to you, on  
“ account of the old man being afraid to stay by himself amongst  
“ those troublesome neighbours of ours. We are still contented, and  
“ will be more comforted by hearing that you and your brethren  
“ enjoy good health, unity and concord amongst yourselves, and  
“ peace with the natives. I have no more news at present, and  
“ therefore remain, with esteem, your friend and well-wisher,

(Signed)

“ ANDREW CORNELIUS LIND.”



At a meeting of the brethren, where this letter was read, it was thought unsafe for any of them to go to Eimēo while there was cause of apprehension and danger. Neither could they at that time spare a saw, as they were employed in much necessary work of their own. But they agreed that the coat for Mānne Manne should be made with all possible dispatch.

We have strong intimations given us that Micklewright and the Swede intend to seize Mānne Manne's vessel as soon as she is fit for sea, and make for Port Jackson.

This afternoon our boat being completed, with the help of the natives, we got her out of the house, and launched her into the river. It is twenty-two feet long, six broad, forty-six inches at each end; the bottom seventeen; height two feet six inches. Forty natives and two or three brethren jumped in as she went off, and rowed down to the sea: she moves very swiftly, considering her flat bottom, draws only two inches of water, and is about six tons burden.

June 1st. Held our preparation meeting for the Lord's supper; brother Jefferson, leader: a precious and profitable season; great openness of heart. Where any grievance had subsisted, each acknowledged his fault, and expressed tender mutual forgiveness; and much blessing followed.

2d, 3d. Employed in fitting up a printer's shop. Visited by a number of strangers, and by Whyōoa, the younger brother of Pomārre, with his wife, a very elegant woman: fitted up a bedstead for him, with which he was highly gratified.

4th. Enjoyed the ordinance of the Lord's supper. A large body of natives assembling round us, we embraced the opportunity of reading to them an address, translated by the Swede, which they said they understood, expressed themselves pleased, and spoke of it to one another.

5th. About fifty people crossed the river, sent from Pomārre with provisions, consisting of three hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and



mountain plantain, which each man carried at the ends of a pole passed over his shoulder.

6th. The monthly prayer-meeting at nine. How many holy hands are lifted up for us !

7th. The natives who live with us pilfer us ; one of them this morning confessed, and impeached his companions. They charged principally two persons who had left us : these were sent for, and one of them being taken, owned the stealing of a large axe, and a check shirt. He was imprisoned, but the stolen goods being brought back by his friends, he was released with a reprimand ; a cleaver was also found at Attahooroo, and brought back. The other thief being at the island of Eimēo, the natives set off in a canoe to take him. In the evening I spoke to the young man we had discharged, reminded him of the kindness we had shewn him when ill, and his ingratitude ; he said, with tears in his eyes, he was a taata eno, a very bad man.

9th. Dr. Gillham having his clothes stolen while he was bathing, three or four of us pursued the thief ; he fled. Hearing a drum, we hastened to the place, and having intelligence the thief was there, we rushed in, and seized him finely dressed for dancing ; about a hundred fled in a minute ; we begged them not to be frightened, as we only wanted the thief, whom we brought off, and chained to a pillar of the house ; yet he contrived to go off with the padlock ; but being pursued, it was recovered, and he was dismissed. None ever think of resisting ; yet, strange to tell ! though they will run any risk to steal, they scarcely ever use what they get, but lay it up. Pomārre and Otoo have each more articles than any among us, yet they produce none, wear only a piece of cloth round them, and are ever craving for more.

11th. Brother Cover baptized the infant daughter of brother Henry, and preached a very judicious discourse on baptism. Many of the natives were present, and looked with wonder, as if inquiring, what can these things mean ? They all expressed great pleasure that a white woman had produced a child among them, and are exceedingly fond of



the infant. Hearing a heeva the other side of the river, we called to them to desist. Old Pyatea's wife came out, and said they would do so no more, as it was the God of Prētane's day, and immediately left off dancing.

We walked up the valley about a mile, where we have thoughts of erecting our new mansions; sat down under a tree: the natives, men, women, and children, flocked around us, and sat down; we sung an hymn, and went to prayer for the salvation of the heathen, in which themselves joined in attitude. "O how I antedate the time," says Puckey, "when I shall be able to speak the language of these poor heathen! what opportunities shall I then enjoy! O for more of the primitive zeal of God's saints to declare his truth!"

12th. This day the coat was sent to Eimēo for Mānne Mānne by a man from Cornelius Lind, who waited for that purpose. A letter accompanied it in answer to that we had received.

"SIR,

*Mataovāi, June 12th.*

"YOUR letter of the 16th ult. I received on the 29th, with a canoe, three goats, and several fowls, as a present from my tayo Mānne Mānne; for which you will make him my grateful acknowledgments, and assure him it will afford me pleasure when I shall be able to render him a more suitable return. Your request that two of the missionaries might be sent to assist in finishing the vessel, I laid before our body, and it was unanimously agreed, that in the present state of the society we could not part with any of the brethren, because of the work necessary to be done before the arrival of the Duff, which we expect in a few days; and all the time we can spare will be needed for getting ready our letters for Europe.

"With respect to the insurrection you mention, of the 8th ult. various reports have reached our ears, which give us great uneasiness, as we were informed you had killed two men. Knowing neither the cause which led to the perpetration of such an act, nor



“ the consequences which might result from it, we were induced to  
“ recall five of our brethren who were on leave of absence in the  
“ district of Paparra and Tiaraboo. We hope you gave no cause to  
“ the natives to commence such an assault. If it really originated  
“ in the breast of Iddeah from the part you took in reproving her  
“ for her crime, fear not her displeasure: the Lord who hateth  
“ iniquity is able to deliver you out of her hand. You ask our ad-  
“ vice, what is best to be done: we really know not how to counsel  
“ you in this respect, but hope your persons by this time are out of  
“ danger of Iddeah’s resentment. Should it continue on the cause  
“ you suggest, we should afford you protection under our roof.

“ By the bearer we send an uniform coat for Māne Manne, made  
“ of the cloth sent us, and hope it will give him satisfaction. The  
“ brethren join with me in grateful acknowledgments for all ser-  
“ vices; and I remain

“ Your sincere friend,

“ J. F. COVER.”

A fact was reported to us this day, which, if true, was shocking. In one of Captain Cook’s visits he left a great monkey, who was made a chief at Attahooroo; he had a wife and thirty servants, and abundance of every thing: they called him Taata oorec harrai, the great man dog. One day the woman seeing him catch the flies and eat them, which they abominate, she ran away into the mountains; the monkey and his toutous pursued, but being met by Temarre, who was jealous of his authority, he knocked him down with a club, and killed him.

One of our brethren this afternoon sitting in his birth writing, a young girl came in, and expressed her surprise that we behaved so different to them from what all our countrymen had done. He told her that such practices were wicked, and that if we did such things our God would be angry. “ Oh,” said she, “ but I will come to you in the night, and then none can see us.”—He replied, “ No-



“ thing can be hid from our God ; the night to him is as bright as  
“ the day, and there is no darkness or shadow of death where any  
“ of the workers of wickedness can hide themselves. But, if you  
“ first put away your evil customs, then we should love you.”

14th. Visited by Mawrōa, with a vast supply of vegetables ; three arreoies accompanied him, amazingly fat, and tattooed all over. This society is constantly wandering about from island to island. They are the finest persons we have seen, are said to have each two or three wives, which they exchange with each other ; and inhumanly murder every infant that is born among them. Wherever they go they exercise power to seize what they want from the inhabitants. They smite their hand on their breast, and say, “ Hārre, give,” whenever they covet any thing, and none dares deny them. They never work ; live by plunder ; yet are highly respected, as none but persons of rank are admitted among them. This makes women so scarce, and other horrid vices so common. May God hasten the time of reformation !

16th. The weather has been unsettled for two or three days. In general we have had it delightful and pleasant ; and no hotter than we have felt in England. We have been able to work all day without inconvenience.

18th. Opened the day as usual, and enjoyed much of God’s presence ; embraced the opportunity to address the natives in a written discourse. They assured us that men, women, and children understood us, and said, in English, “ Very nice, and very good ;” repeating it often, but desired we would put away the Prētane parōw, and speak to them in their own tongue, which we promised them to do as soon as we should be able. And oh, that He may give us some of these souls for our hire, who sent us hither ! We might have a host of converts if, like many missionaries, we would admit to baptism those who confess our God and religion to be better than their own. But till we see them created anew in Christ Jesus, and turned truly from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God,



we shall not admit them to the participation of our sacred ordinances.

A brother took occasion to speak to Tappeoy, one of our assistants, and explain what Mr. Cover had preached in the morning, and told him he had himself lost father, and mother, and sister, and many friends, to inform him about our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, &c. He listened with attention, and seemed much affected, saying, Never Englishmen there before talked and acted as we did.

19th. Got up the flag-staff forty feet high, rigged like a mast, but had like to have lost my life in procuring it from the mountains, whither we went. The natives climb like squirrels. I followed them till the rock became perpendicular, and I dreaded, when I looked down, how to descend again without being dashed in pieces. I committed myself to God, and holding by little pits in the rocks very slippery with rain, descended trembling; one hold failing, I must have gone headlong down the precipice; indeed, without the help of the natives, I never could have got down at all. I immediately offered them all the fish-hooks and beads about me. One stranger only accepted a fish-hook; the rest refused to take any thing from me; and he who took the hook said he would go and get the pole we wanted.

A chief had a hog ready dressed for us, and said, any poles we wished should be sent on Friday. As we came back we found the river much swollen with rain, and were carried over in many places by the natives. The valley was full of apple-trees loaded with fruit, and hundreds lying on the ground neglected.

On the 24th several natives came from other districts where the bread-fruit began to be scarce, to gather some from the trees in Matavai; upon which those of the district, considering the brethren as proprietors, came and complained to them; saying, that, except they prevented it, there would be no fruit left. Accordingly two of our body were dispatched to talk with them, and claimed their sole right to all the produce of the trees. The strangers promised to come no more, only



begged permission to take what they had got, which was granted; and also a canoe lent them, the better to convey the fruit home.

The old chief, according to promise, brought us the poles, for which a knife was given him, and some red feathers, which greatly delighted him. Went to Oparre in our boat for wood; hospitably entertained; visited the morai, where the great god Oorōo resides, represented by an ugly piece of wood; saw there several altars and skulls of men who had been sacrificed. One of the altars was forty-five feet long, supported on pillars of the bread-fruit tree about seven feet high; the other about twelve feet square, and on the top an arched shed like the tilt of a waggon; here the wooden god was laid. One skull we observed split across, and in the midst of the morai a salt pool with a young turtle.—Oh! when shall all these horrid scenes be closed, and Christ alone be exalted?

25th. Service as usual. The natives are very fond of being dressed; we have lent clothes to several, which at night they honestly returned; but they have committed some petty thefts, and we hardly know what to do with them: we are loth to punish them, yet impunity emboldens them in depredation.

A native coming into our apartments, a brother took occasion to speak to him about God. He owned the Otaheitean gods were enow, bad, for they ate men, hogs, bread-fruit, &c. which the Prētane God did not, and was “a good fellow,” an English term he had picked up. He observed also, that when we spoke to the Prētane god the good rain comes, and when we do not the good rain goes away, and the hot sun shines; a heavy rain having fallen on two successive sabbaths.

26th. A great quantity of bread-fruit was brought to-day to make mahie, as the time approaches when ripe fruit will be scarce in the district for two months. It is truly wonderful to see how Providence has furnished this place: as soon as the bread-fruit fails in this district it is ripe in another, so that we never want. Cocoa-nuts and plantain we have all the year round; as the evee apples get ripe on



one tree, young ones come on in another. Few trees ever lose their leaves, and are only destitute of fruit for about two months.

27th. A present came from Pomārre for the two brethren who work at the forge; a pair of good canoes, seven lobsters, a number of fine shells, seven or eight couple of fowls, two large hogs, with a quantity of Otaheitean cloth; and a message to come to him for more whenever they wanted.

28th. A looking-glass was stolen by a female native from the women's apartment; we resolved to expel the man and his wife till it was restored. Held our monthly meeting before the communion in great union of heart.

29th. Had a nest of six young rabbits; if they prosper, the hills will soon breed them in abundance. Met before the communion; happy unanimity prevailing among us, and unrestrained freedom of communication. Paid a visit to Opārre; most hospitably entertained by Mawrōa: he appears a steady friend. About half the beautiful valley in which he lives belongs to him; went with him a-fishing with a small seine; caught plenty of salmon-trout.

30th. Preparing letters for the return of the vessel, and our usual employments.

July 1st. Otoo sent a message, desiring us to discharge certain persons from the house, whom he described as great thieves; at the same time he nominated others, whom he wished to recommend to us in the capacity of servants. These the brethren knew to be the creatures of Otoo, or, more properly, a part of his mischievous gang, and saw clearly and without unjust suspicion, that he wanted them in for no other purpose than to steal with the greater facility; therefore his motion was rejected. Though it was true many things had been stolen, yet we did not think the servants guilty: but Otoo's having his own men constantly going about the districts stealing from the poor natives whatever they see, sufficiently characterizes them, and would deter our people from keeping any of them about the house.



5th. A grand assembly of arreoies visited Pyeteah, and began their sports on the other side of the river; many came over the river, and heard brother Cover, forming, as usual, a half-circle before him.

6th. A great shout of the natives this morning, "Te pāhee, Te pāhee," brought us out of our house, and to our great joy the white sails shone before us; went many of us on board, and rejoiced with the captain in the perfect health and safety of all the crew.



## CHAPTER XIII.

*Transactions during our Stay at Otabeite, and Survey to ascertain the Population of the Island.*

THE transactions of this second visit will deserve a distinct consideration. The joy of meeting was great, but the stay of the ship being no longer necessary, a speedy departure was announced, and every preparation begun: among these was the discharge of the remaining cargo, and those treasures of iron and steel that were to be now finally divided between the missionaries at the Friendly and Society Islands. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, Mr. Harris being landed with his property, in the evening the captain went on shore; when a meeting was held, where the public journal was read, and various matters were discussed concerning the proceedings of the society, and how they should divide the things in the ship between them and the party at Tongataboo; when it was agreed to choose two brethren to act in their behalf, and two for themselves, under the inspection of the captain.

7th. This morning the four missionaries appointed to divide the goods began their work; the captain superintended, and Mr. Jefferson acted as secretary, taking an account of the various articles which each party received. This business, it was foreseen, would cost much time and trouble; but as no other method could be devised of giving all parties satisfaction, the captain promised to stay till the first of August, which would also give the brethren time to finish their letters. The captain observes with pleasure, that the two brethren appointed to represent their brethren at Tongataboo were most attentive to their interest, and rather a larger share was allotted them than if two of themselves had been present.



An invitation was sent to the wives of the missionaries, who, agreeably thereto, dined and spent the day on board: they expressed much pleasure on finding us all in good health and spirits, and left us in the evening highly delighted with their visit. As for the natives, they crowded on board, few coming empty-handed: many of them were in the English dresses which had been given them by the brethren; and several of them spoke many phrases of broken English, such as, "Welcome again; Glad to see you, Captain Wilson."

8th. Iddeah sent a messenger this morning to know if she might come to our house. On consultation, we agreed that brother Cover should go and speak with her; and that if she expressed any concern for her cruelty to her infant, and assured us she would no more offend us with such conduct, we should be glad to receive her. In this she acquiesced, though we have no great prospect of a change: she came, however, under such professions, and drank tea with Mrs. Cover; and continuing with us till dark, returned much pleased with her reception.

9th. To-day being Sunday, not one canoe was seen off in the bay, and the whole district appeared remarkably quiet. Mr. Cover and Lewis came on board to act as chaplains for the day: the former preached in the forenoon from the second epistle of Peter, chap. iii. ver. 18.; the latter in the afternoon from Philippians, chap. i. ver. 28.

10th. Andrew the Swede came from Eimēo, and presented the captain with a fine turtle. Mawrōa, a kind friend to us and the missionaries, brought a hog and a great quantity of bread-fruit; his wife, named Aowh, was with him; she was formerly the wife of Motuara, chief of Eimēo, is the real sister of Pomārre, and mother of Tetua the present queen, Otoo's wife: she is a very intelligent woman, and Mawrōa himself is better acquainted with the islands than any man we have conversed with. Aowh informed us, that in the family of which she was a branch, the reigning prince had been called Otoo; which name passed to their first-born, whether male or female, the instant it was born; the custom obliging the father ever



after to take some other name. I mentioned before, that the grandfather of the present Otoo changed his to Otēy, his father to that of Teina, and next to that of Pomārre, and so on; for having lost their royalty by the birth of their child, they may change their names as oft as they please, but cannot before. Otēy was the father of Pomārre, Oreepiah (lately deceased), Pytouah, chief of Wapiāwno, and Aowh. Pytouah is an arreoie of the first rank, has a rough, disgusting look, and is much addicted to ava drinking; he was amongst our visitors of this day, and received a present: they were exceedingly glad to see us, and expressed much attachment.

It has already been noticed, that some of the brethren had made a tour of the island, and supposed the number of inhabitants on both peninsulas to be about fifty thousand: this sum, though less than a quarter of what Captain Cook calculated them at, was still thought by us as greatly exceeding the population. Therefore Captain Wilson agreed with Peter to accompany me in a circuit of the island, and to try some method of estimating the number of people in each district. On Tuesday the 11th we accordingly set off, having first engaged a man to convey us across the numerous rivulets which we must necessarily pass, and two others to carry my linen and what things Peter wanted. It was about noon when we landed near One Tree hill, and began the journey eastward through the interior of Matavāi, where the land is far from being clear of underwood; for the best roads are unpleasant by reason of the long grass, which bears a bur called by the natives peeree-peeree, and adhering to the stockings becomes painful: the flies were also very troublesome. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees abounded in perfection, and afforded an excellent shade from the heat of the sun. In this district there are also the wild cotton trees, some of which were in bloom, but being of a very inferior kind made no luxuriant shew; some spots were planted with ava and sugar-cane, and in some places the latter was growing wild.

The river of Matavāi receives its supplies from the lofty moun-



tains which hereabouts form the interior of the island; then running a winding course down the valley, and through the low grounds of the district, passes close by the missionary house, and disembogues at the extremity of Point Venus. At the entrance from the sea it is so shallow, that no vessel drawing above two or three feet water can enter it; nor can they proceed farther up than a quarter of a mile. When we came to its banks, Peter shewed me the spot where he displayed his first feats in their wars, and which ultimately ended so much in favour of Pomarre and his son Otoo. I desired him to give me some account of them. He immediately complied; but dwelt so much upon his own performances, as rendered it difficult for me to separate the essentials of the story from his frivolous boasting.

The first war, he said, happened in 1793, when he had been but five months upon the island. It seems, that a chief named Whanno had succeeded in wresting the district of Whapiawno from Pytovah; and conscious that by this usurpation he would offend Pomarre, he prepared to attack him first, but did not conduct his plans with so much secrecy as to prevent his designs coming to the knowledge of Pomarre. The latter, though not a warlike chief, prepared to oppose Whanno with all his strength. Peter and Andrew were engaged, with the Jew, who was a good marksman. Whanno had to assist him almost every chief on the north-east side of the large peninsula. When all was ready, the latter chief sent word to Pomarre of what he intended; and a day or two after entered Matavai with all his men. Iddeah was at that time on some business at the eastern part of the district, and nearly fell into their hands; they chased her to the river, where Pomarre's party stood ready to receive them. Iddeah got safe over, and placed herself in the front of the men; when one of the enemy, bolder than the rest, ran across the stream, and aimed a stroke at her; and would, but for Peter, who stood close by, have effected her death: he running to her aid, and seeing the man lift his club, wrested it out of his hands, chased him back



through the river ; and more of the party coming up, the man was killed. The body of Whanno's troops had retired a little back ; but one skulking behind a tree was shot. This threw all the rest of Whanno's men into a panic ; they precipitately fled, and in great confusion : two more were slain in the chase, from which Pomārre returned victor. This secured to him the districts of Matavāi, Opārre, and Tettaha, all he seems then to have been possessed of. Five or six days after this he mustered his men, now flushed with success, and proceeded to Whapiāwno. Whanno and his men were afraid ; a running fight took place, one woman was killed, but the warriors fled to the mountains. However, in three days they came down and renewed the combat, and were now severely beaten, not less than twenty-five of their number being slain ; which, considering their shyness to close in battle since the introduction of a few muskets, was certainly a great number. This victory entirely crushed Whanno, and by it all the northern side of the peninsula, from Matavāi to the isthmus, became subject to Pomārre and his son Otoo. Still they had powerful enemies who were meditating a grand attack upon them ; these were Wyheatua, king of Tiaraboo, and Temārre, chief over all the districts on the south side from the isthmus down to Attahooroo : over the latter district was young Towha, who wished to remain neuter, but was forced by Pomārre to join his party, though he was more inclined to favour Temārre, and was afterwards charged with having secretly concerted matters so as to gain him the battle. Temārre encouraged his men by telling them that he had muskets, powder, ball, and white men, as well as his adversary ; and that themselves were more numerous than Otoo's party. The whites he had were Connor, an Irishman, and James Butcher, a Scotchman, both of the Matilda's crew. Accordingly, about a month after the battle of Whapiāwno, these powerful adversaries met in the district of Attahooroo ; but being afraid of each other in no small degree, the first day was spent and nothing done. In all their movements they surrounded the white men, trusting more in them than ever an Asiatic

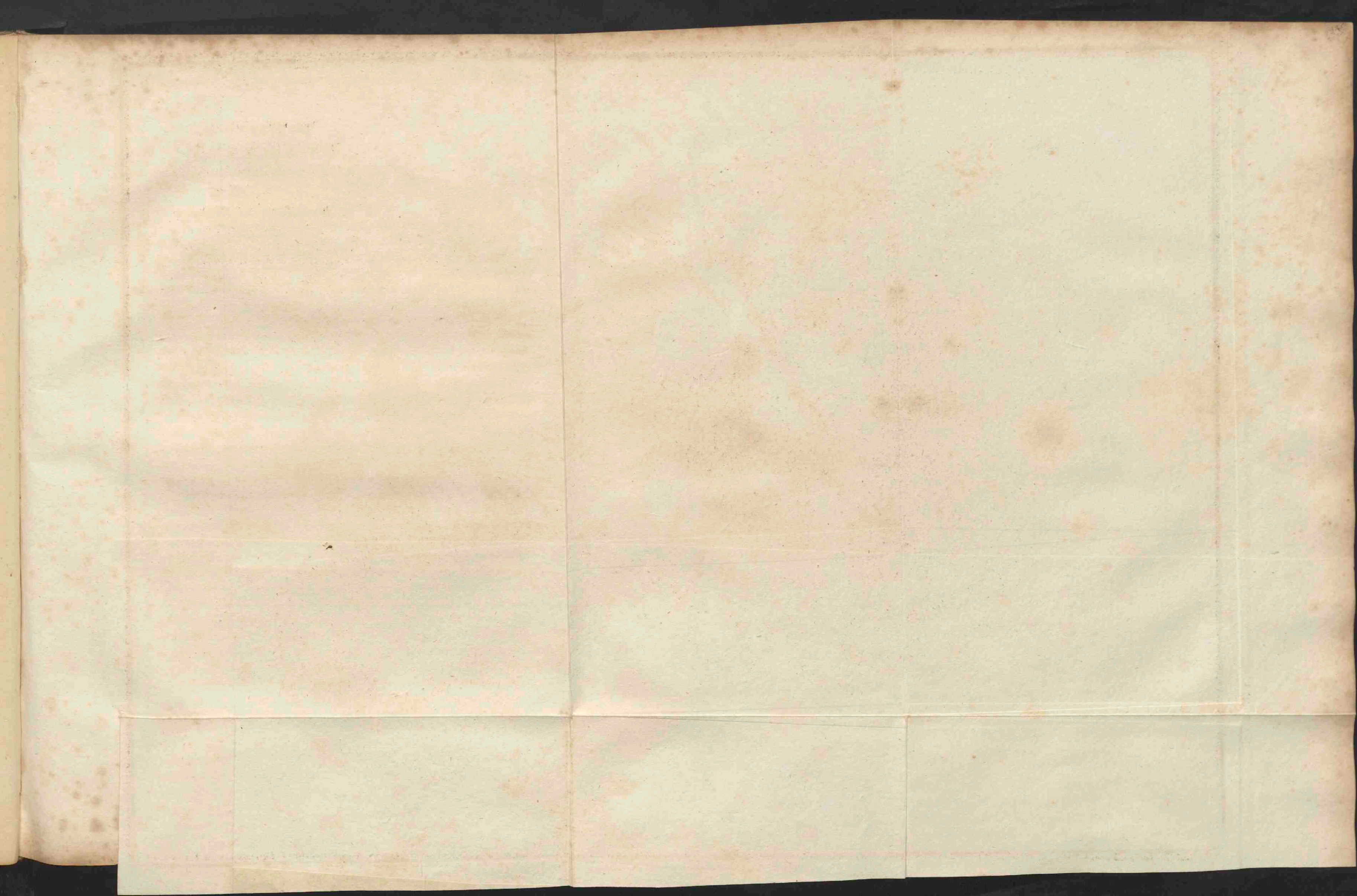


did in his elephant. On the second day the onset began; but in a short time Towha's men, who were in front, ran away, and all Pomārre's followed their example; which was afterwards charged on Towha, as his preconcerted scheme: Peter, Andrew, and the Jew, however, stood their ground, and shot four men. Butcher and Connor were obliged to run for their lives, and Oammo, the father of Temārre, was killed by a musket shot. These advantages brought their party back to assist them; all their adversaries fled, and a complete victory was gained for Pomārre, whom they found at a great distance from the fight, quite overcome with fear, and lying flat on the ground, held fast by the roots of a tree. When they acquainted him with their success he would hardly believe it, but continued to lie like one out of his senses: so little courage did this chief of the victorious army possess. The routed party fled to the remoter districts; some took refuge in the hills; one man in particular got up a very dangerous precipice, and threw large stones on his enemies below, and kept his station till he knew their rage had subsided. The consequence of this battle was, that Temārre became subject to the victors; was obliged to give to Otoo the great morai at Papparā: also every other privilege of the supreme chief. A house was built by Otoo in all his districts, where some of his servants constantly reside, and he occasionally visits: they represent his sovereignty, and none dare to pass them without stripping, the same as to himself. However, notwithstanding these things, the power of Temārre was still very great; he was left in possession of all his districts, and exercises the office of chief priest of the Eatōoa on that side of the island.

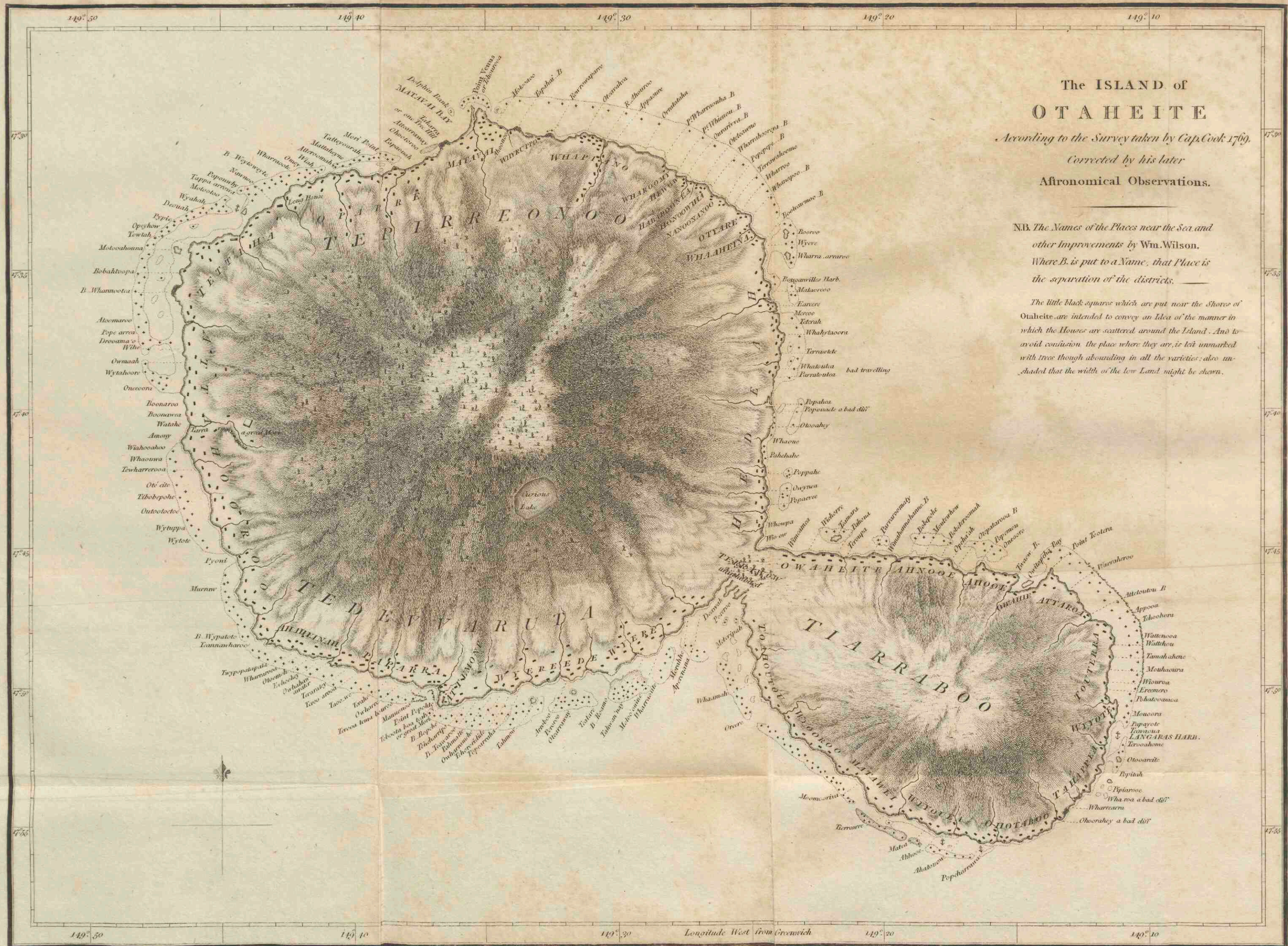
Towha being charged with treachery, was stripped of his district, and obliged to live as a private man in Papparā. Wyheatua had fled to Tiaraboo, where in a short time after he was defeated, and reduced in a like manner as Towha to a private station, and Otoo's younger brother made prince of his kingdom.

Pomārre being now in possession of all Otaheite, thought of revenging the injury the chief of Eimēo had formerly done by destroying









# The ISLAND of O T A H E I T E

According to the Survey taken by Cap. Cook 1769.

Corrected by his later

Astronomical Observations.

NB. The Names of the Places near the Sea and  
other Improvements by Wm. Wilson.  
Where B. is put to a Name, that Place is  
the separation of the districts.

The little black squares which are put near the Shores of  
Otaheite, are intended to convey an Idea of the manner in  
which the Houses are scattered around the Island. And to  
avoid confusion, the place where they are, is left unmarked  
with trees though abounding in all the varieties; also un-  
shaded that the width of the low Land might be shewn.



his canoes and the houses of Matavāi. With this intent he sent his party against that island, where his sister Wyreede Aowh made some resistance; but seven of her men being killed, she was obliged to acknowledge the conqueror, and take up her residence in Otaheite. In her stead Iddeah and Mānne Manne were made chiefs of the island.

Thus Pomārre (the Otoo of Captain Cook), on whom the favour of the English had drawn many enemies, and who at different times was so chased and straitened by them, that, afraid of his life, he has frequently entreated his visitors to take him off the island, had now, at a very good time, extended his power far beyond all former example, and that without either courage or talents for war comparable to his enemies; so that I cannot but ascribe it to the providence of the Almighty, who ordereth all things after the counsel of his own will, and for the accomplishment of his glory and gracious purposes. In whatever way these events are viewed, they certainly are much in favour of the mission; for it is clear, that those employed in it can proceed in their work with greater safety than when the natives were continually engaged in war.

Leaving Matavāi river we came to the eastern part of the district of Matavāi, called Teahonoo, over which Wyreede Aowh presides. She and her second husband, Mawrōa, were at Opārre, where they also have a dwelling. Their house in this place is exceedingly neat and clean; before it is a platform of gravel stones carefully levelled and smooth, and at the front of this a regular row of cocoa-nut trees; and by the side of the house a fine rivulet of fresh water runs from the hills. The low land hereabouts is not more than a hundred yards wide. Her servants were busy preparing a brown dye from the bark of a tree called mohoo, which they broke small into a bowl of water, and letting it lie till softened, they bruised it till the liquid became of the colour they wanted. We next ascended a high hill called Tappahey, which runs into the sea, and separates Ma-



tavāi from Whyripoo. The hill is included in the former district, a great stone on the east side being fixed on for the boundary of each.

From Tappahey the small district of Whyripoo extends near a mile, the shore straight, and the low ground about two hundred yards wide; it has also a valley of small extent. We walked about half way along it, and stopped for a while at the house of Inna Madūa, the widow of Oreepiah. She was absent, but her head servant Ahēine Eno received me kindly, and would have dressed some fish if I had promised to wait; but wanting to go further, I declined his offer. This man having a shrewd, intelligent countenance, I desired Peter to communicate to him the purpose of our journey, and to ask how many persons he thought usually resided in Whyripoo; assigning for our motive the wish of the carees of Prētane to render them service according to their numbers: when he instantly suggested a mode, which I afterwards adopted. He said, that in Whyripoo there were four matteynas, and to each matteyna there were ten tees; and by these he estimated the number of men, women, and children, to be about two hundred and fifty. I desired him to explain what a matteyna was, and what was a tee. The former, he said, was a principal house, distinguished either by a degree of rank in its ancient or present owner, or by a portion of land being attached to it; and sometimes on account of its central situation to a few other houses: that the matteyna sets up a tee (or image) at the morai, which entitles it to the liberty of worshipping there; and the other houses in the department of the matteyna claim a part in the same privilege, and are thence called tees: that in some matteynas there are eight or nine persons in the family, in others but two or three; and that it frequently happens, that a matteyna or a tee is totally deserted. Therefore, from this account, and what I afterwards saw of the thin population, I allow but six persons to each matteyna, and the same to a tee, as the latter is often occupied by a larger family than the former, and as both terms do sometimes apply



to the same house; consequently, as often as this occurs, there will be an error of six in excess.

According to the above, the number in

Whyripoo is	—	—	Mat.	$4 \times 6 =$	24
			Tees	$40 \times 6 =$	240
					<hr/>
					264
					<hr/>
					fouls.

Ahēine Eno, the name this man at present went by, means a bad woman; it seems that his mistress Inna Madūa was a character of this kind, and had got this name from the natives; but not liking it, transferred the name (though not the odium) to her servant. This district did belong to Whapiāwno, but was lately presented by Pytōuah to his brother's widow.

The next projecting hill which obstructed our passage is called Row-row-apāre; it divides Whyripoo from Whapiāwno: we passed it by the sea up to the ancles in water, and then had to walk round a bay about a quarter of a mile wide, when we came to a fine border of low land, which at this part, being the west entrance of the district, is about a furlong and a half wide, in length coastwise a mile and a half, and at the east part not quite a furlong wide; thence to the east end of the district the hills run close to the sea, and the road lies over rugged sharp rocks. There is a fine valley which opens about a mile east of Row-row-apāre, abounds with fruit-trees a considerable way up, and is inhabited. This is the only valley that runs quite across the island; on the opposite side it opens into Pap-parā, a little west of the great morai.

Pytōuah resides at the west part of the low land; and as it was too late for me to reach another district, I proposed staying here for the night. Both himself and his wife I knew were at the ship, but his head man, or overseer, very readily dressed a pig; and after we had dined I took a walk through the district, and Peter with me. The houses here were all neat and well built, and there was bread-



fruit in abundance. We stopped at one place where three houses stood, and inquired of the owner, how many matteynas were in the district; to answer this he took some small rods, and naming each matteyna as he counted them into Peter's hand, made the whole number thirty-two, including Whyripoo, for which he counted the same as I had got before; therefore, deducting four, the number is twenty-eight. In some, he said, were ten tees, in others nine, eight, and seven; and made the same observations on their being peopled as Ahēine Eno had done; therefore, as I could not get the tees exactly, I counted as under: viz.

Matt.					
7 of 10 tees	=	70		Brought forward	264
7 of 9 do.	=	63			
7 of 8 do.	=	56			
7 of 7 do.	=	49			
			$238 \times 6 = 1428$		
			$28 \times 6 = 168$		
				=	1596
					those of the valley included.
					<u>1860</u>
					men, women, and children.

Before we got back to Pytovah's house it was dark, and they had all gone to rest but one man, who shewed me to a new house, where, for want of bed or bed-clothes, I slept on the ground, and spent the night very uncomfortably; and might have spent it worse, had not Peter, towards morning, lent me a blanket, which he had brought as a necessary article in travelling round Otaheite.

12th. At daybreak we proceeded on our journey, and passing several good houses, came to the river, which is here three feet deep. My man Charles took me on his shoulders, and carried me through with great ease. When we had gone a little farther we came to a very bad road, having to walk over the stones fallen from the rocky cliffs which project here. One place was very dangerous; it is called Oratatahah. We had to ascend the cliff half way, and pass along a narrow path where was hardly room to fix the feet. The rock is quite perpendicular; and, had we fallen, it was near twenty fathoms above the sea, which beat violently against the base. Here it is said Pomarre once fell, but the tide being up at the time, when he found he was going, he threw himself well off, and received but



little harm. When we had safely passed this spot, we sat down on the rocks to breakfast on the remains of Pytovah's pig; for it is the custom here, that whatever their hospitality provides for strangers, the fragments of it are always brought away. About nine o'clock we came to a steep rock which terminates Whapiāwno, and forms the west point of a small bay. The eastern point is called Owhoona. Betwixt the two is a small district called Wharoo-my, over which Wyreede Aowh presides; it has a valley running up a little distance; it has but one matteyna and nine tees, equal to sixty persons. A little further east is another small district belonging to Mānne Manne, called He-wow; it has two matteynas; in one there are seven tees, in the other four, which makes the number of inhabitants seventy-eight. Mānne Manne, who has several of these estates, was at Eimēo, and the care of the place was in the hands of Teboota, his head man, who was at this time carrying on the building of a large house for the old priest. Teboota presuming on his master being tayo to the captain, insisted on my staying to refresh at his house, and immediately began dressing a couple of fowls and a young pig. In the interim the people ran from every quarter of the district, in order to gratify their curiosity; yet when they had all got together and sat down, I could count no more than thirty-five, which is certainly no sign of extraordinary population. After receiving a good dinner from Teboota, and much kind treatment, my followers packed up the fragments, and I paid our generous host with a draft on the captain for a pair of scissars; and as they have no doubt of the specified value of the paper, and have learnt how to negotiate the notes, he seemed quite rich. What a commencement of civilization!

We next came to the small district of Hahbawboonea, and passing a hill called Oteteawno, reached another almost equally small, named Honoowhyah. In the former are one matteyna and eight tees, equal to fifty-four persons. The latter has three matteynas, containing in all twenty-eight tees, and one hundred and eighty-six inhabitants.

The shore along these two districts is a sandy beach, and bending a



little inward makes a curve. The low land on which the houses are built forms in each place a kind of triangle, the interior corner of each being joined to a valley, formed by steep hills on each side, which are covered with trees to their summits, and running in a winding direction: they afford a view remarkably wild and romantic. Rivulets of excellent water run through both districts, which, notwithstanding, hardly deserve to be mentioned for fertility.

Otoo has one of his regal houses in Honoowhyah, and, in passing it, my company was obliged to strip. Nearly opposite is a small rock, a little way advanced into the sea, sacred to the feet of Otoo; for none besides dares to stand upon it; and I think he deserves to stand the statue of Folly, if ever he raises his own living image there. In walking along, about forty people came with great eagerness to gaze; had the place been populous, I think more would have come.

Rounding another hill, we came to the district of Nahnu Nahnoo: it belongs to Pomarre, and is much like those I had lately passed in appearance and population; it has three matteynas and eighteen tees, which makes the number of inhabitants one hundred and twenty-six.

The next dividing hill is called Peepe-pee; we walked round it over sharp rocks, which are a kind of basalt. A little further eastward there is a gentle slope from the hills towards the beach, and upon this slope are many cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, but no house or inhabitant. After passing this we came to the district of Otyayree; in the middle of it the low land is about a furlong wide, narrowing towards the extremes. The shore is a flat rock; the coast bending out and in. I stopped at a chief's house; his name is Noe Noe; and had the following account: namely, two matteynas and twenty-two tees, equal to one hundred and forty-four inhabitants. This chief had a double canoe just finished; it was the largest I had seen, measuring in length fifty-eight feet, exclusive of a long board which runs over the fore part; the stern was twelve feet high, though a-midships only three feet and a half. The two were fastened together in the usual method by rafters, upon which a platform was



made, where a house was intended to be placed for the principal persons to sit or sleep in; and this I suppose is one of the larger war canoes, though not suited for expert manœuvres.

Having done my business here, I intended to have gone a few miles farther, but had not proceeded many yards when I met Poppo, the tayo of Dr. Gillham, who entreated me to stay all night at his house; which offer I accepted, being rather fatigued with travelling over bad roads all the day. Poppo was very assiduous to entertain me well. A pig was instantly killed, and a comfortable bed prepared. Here about forty people collected. The supper, which was very good, was served up with salt water. Before I went to rest I made my kind host and his wife each a small present, and in return they gave me the cloth which composed my bed, and also an upper garment.

13th. At daylight we renewed our journey. Poppo accompanied us to the end of the district, which is at a hill called Annaboo: from hence I first got a sight of Tiaraboo, but still at a considerable distance from it. The district we were now come to is called Wahaw-heinah. The low land is here about a quarter of a mile broad, and the same in length; behind are lofty hills, forming two valleys, whence run large rivulets of water, which, after intersecting the low ground in several places, unite near the sea, and form a deep and rapid stream. In fording it my man Charles was up to the middle, so that in rainy weather it must be impracticable to cross at all. The coast along the district bends in; the beach is black coral sand, and on it the sea broke violently.

We stopped at a house as large as that of the missionaries, where were several natives, but none possessed the intelligence we wanted; therefore one was dispatched to bring a proper person, who informed us that in the district were four chiefs, of whom Roorah was principal; each is over a matteyna; two of these matteynas have eleven tees each, one fifteen, and one sixteen; the number of people is accordingly three hundred and forty-two.



Proceeding thence, the next hill (or cliff) we came to is called Boo-te-awmoo, which divides the latter district from Hedeah, which last runs quite to the isthmus. Off this place where we now were, and distant about a mile from the shore, there lie two small islets; the westernmost is called Booroo, the other Wharre-arra-roo. From these Charles informed me that a reef runs quite down to Matavai: it lies about two miles off shore, and has in some places only four and five fathoms water upon it.

Turning the point of Boo-te-awmoo, the land bends southward towards the isthmus. When we had got a little way we stopped at Peter's friend's house; he was by trade a fisherman, who supplied his neighbours with fish, and received from them canoes, hogs, fruit, roots, and cloth. He had been on the reefs, and came in while we staid with some lobsters and mullet, of which he gave us a part, and I paid him with a pair of scissars. At this house were about twenty persons collected, including the family. We left this place; and as I walked along the district, I observed more weeds and underwood than in any part of the road which I had passed: some places of considerable length had nothing but long overgrown grass, which obstructed all passage but by the sea-side. The houses were thinly scattered, and as thinly inhabited; in most of them they were building canoes, but none of a large kind. They all had iron tools; the hatchets were taken off the helms, and fixed as adzes. I inquired for a *stone hatchet*, which will soon be a curiosity to themselves; but they had none: also how long it took them to build a canoe with iron tools; they answered, about one moon. I then asked them how long they formerly were in doing it with their stone hatchets: at this they laughed heartily, and counted ten moons. When we had reached nearly opposite to Bougainville's harbour, the natives directed us to a chief's house, where we found Inna Madua, who, since the death of her husband, is chief over all Hedeah: though this was not her dwelling-house, she nevertheless assumed the command, and ordered a dinner instantly to be dressed. In the



interim the old chief gave us the name of every matteyna in the district, from Boo-te-awmoo to the isthmus, as follows:

Matteynas.	Tees.	Matteynas.	Tees.	Matteynas.	Tees.	Matteynas.	Tees.
Rah-ourey	2	Atte-popu-te	3	Nooahnah	6	3d Mattaheyaboo	6
Mattaheyaboo	2	Tootahrah	2	Toute-tooah	3	3d Ah-hotoo-teynah	6
Raa-oureyenia	1	Ah-hotoo-tooahnah	2	Aree-tye	3	Wah-tey	4
Wattarow	1	Ah-hotoo-teynah	2	2d Tahmatta-oura	6	Atte-hoonoo	2
Atta-toutou	4	Tahmatta-oura	4	Atte-oumah	6	Atte-to-aree	2
Atta-mayhowe	2	Atte-mah	4	Arra-whynah	12	4th Mattaheyaboo	2
Attetarree	1	Arroo-attomah	3	3d Tahmatta-ourah	7	O-howpay	4
Do.	1	2d Ah-hotoo-teynah	2	4th do.	7	Atte-towee	4
Atte-hourah	2	Oroopah	2	Atte-houah	2	Ottowah	17
Atte-te-hey	2	Atte-hayreynah	3	To-e-orah-pah-mooah	9		
2d Mattaheyaboo	2	Ah-how-atouah	6	Atte-eynah	6		47
							6
	20		33		67		282
	6		6		6		120
	120		198		402		198
							402
							1002
							42 matteynas × by 6 = 252
							Men, women, and children 1254

This may be thought but a small number for so large a district, especially when the magnitude of Captain Cook's and Lieutenant Corner's estimations is considered; but according to the best of my judgment, after passing through it, and paying every attention, I think even this small number exceeds the truth; and surely it is no argument in favour of great population, that at this house where I got the account, no more than thirty people should be collected at any time while I staid, including Inna Madūa's retinue, and those whom eager curiosity brought to see me.

When we had dined, Peter informed me that it was too late to proceed, as he knew of no good lodging-house but at too great a distance; therefore we staid where we were for the night. My bed and Peter's was laid at one end of the house. Inna Madūa presented me with more cloth for sheeting, and I gave her in return a pair of scissors, a looking-glass, and some trifles I had purposely brought to



answer such occasions. In this house was an epitome of their general employments: at one end women were pasting cloth together; some men were making finnet and lines, while some slept, and others were drinking ava: this last they drink in an unsocial manner, by one, two, or three at a time, and out of a small cocoa-nut shell; whereas at the Friendly Islands, one or two hundred form a ring, and from a large bowl they share nearly all alike; but it seems to be so scarce here, that none except the earees can be slavishly addicted to it. This evening I learnt that, besides the members of the arreoy society, it is the common practice among all ranks to strangle infants the moment they are born. A perpetrator of this horrid act was among those whom curiosity drew to visit us: she was a good-looking woman, and esteemed by the natives a great beauty, which I suppose to be the inducement that tempted her to murder her child; for here the number of women bearing no proportion to the men, those esteemed handsome are courted with great gifts, and get so accustomed to change their husbands, to go with them from place to place, and run after the diversions of the island, that rather than be debarred these pleasures, they stifle a parent's feelings, and murder their tender offspring. As no odium whatever is attached to this unnatural deed, many hundreds born into the world are never suffered to see the light. When either father or mother are disposed to save the child, they sometimes succeed, but not always; for if the woman says she will not rear the child, the man in general submits to her will; on the other hand, when she proves humane, and he is steady to his cruel purpose, the infant is often saved, for she orders matters so that some neighbours shall interpose, and if the child is not instantly put to death, they dare not do it afterwards; but the most insensible become as fond of their children as any refined people can be. I shall only notice farther, that both parties do oftener make up their minds to save the male than the female, which partiality accounts for the disproportion of the sexes, and is none of the least causes of the thin population; for the men that are not wealthy in cloth, hogs, or



English articles, wherewith to purchase a wife, must go without one; and this leads them to practise the great crime of onanism to an excessive degree, and renders them unfit to cohabit with women: but all their vices of this nature are too shocking to be related. When the arreoies destroy their children, they say it is to retain the privileges of their society: but what excuse can those make who are not of their number? It is said of Gelon, king of Syracuse, that having conquered Carthage, he made it the chief article in the treaty of peace, that they should abolish the custom of sacrificing their children. And while humanity reflects and shudders at the behaviour of the Otaheiteans, one can hardly help indulging a wish that either the sword of a Gelon, or rather the spirit of the Prince of Peace, were applied to oblige them to relinquish their abominable and unnatural practices.

14th. About six in the morning we arose, packed up our things, and proceeded on our journey. Inna Madua accompanied us to her proper dwelling, which lies near a mile farther on. Here I thought I got a sight of an European garden; the plats of ava-ground were laid out in such nice order: each bed formed regular parallelograms, trenched two feet deep, and disposed with a great degree of taste; the whole enclosed with a fence of bamboo. Her house, which was full one hundred feet long, stood on the sea side of the garden. At this place we parted from her, and walked about two miles along an irregular coast, where the low land in most places is very narrow, and hardly a bread-fruit or cocoa-nut tree to be seen. We then came to another dangerous cliff called Pah-rah-tou-tea. As we passed along the side next the sea, the footing was extremely narrow, and the sight below tremendous. Descending the opposite side, a valley opens, running between lofty hills, with a triangular piece of low land near a furlong in length, and a river of considerable depth and breadth. Close to the sea the passage is narrow; there we forded, and ascended a steep hill, from the summit of which we had the choice of two roads; the inner one was much out of our way, and by the outer we must



descend the cliffs: however, thinking this no worse than those we had passed already, we took the latter, but presently came to a most alarming place, about six yards wide, where there appeared neither place for hands nor feet. Here I was at first afraid, and had thoughts of going back; but with the help of the Otaheiteans, who are used to this work, I got along safe. Observing an old man had followed us from Inna Madūa's house, Peter inquired what he wanted; he answered, that Inna's mother had ordered him to follow, and if I gave any thing away in the district, he was to seize it, and take it to her.

When we had got within a short mile of the isthmus, in passing a few houses, an aged woman, mother to the young man who carried my linen, met us, and, to express her joy at seeing her son, struck herself several times on the head with a shark's tooth, till the blood flowed plentifully down her breast and shoulders, whilst the son beheld it with entire insensibility. I was not aware of this action to prevent it, but as she continued it without mercy on herself, I spoke to them angrily, and obliged her to desist. The son seeing that I was not pleased with what was done, observed coolly, that it was the custom of Otaheite. When we had gone about a furlong farther we put up for the night, at a house which lately belonged to a woman with whom Peter had lived, but she was now dead. She had been wife to Richard Sinnet, one of the unfortunate mutineers, who was lost in the Pandora, and by him had two fine girls, who are now about six or seven years old; they are of a fair mulatto complexion, and very lively and talkative. Since the mother's death Peter has taken care of them; they were glad to see him, and received each a small looking-glass, as did also the woman of the house. When we had rested a few minutes, Peter informed them that since the sun was at such a height we had not eaten any thing: this being known, it was impossible to behold with indifference the joy which those kind people expressed on having an opportunity of entertaining me; they instantly dressed a couple of fowls for my dinner, and a pig for the



Otaheiteans and Peter; for he pretended, that, being obliged to comply with some of their customs, he durst not eat in the house where I was. After enjoying a comfortable meal, as the cool of the evening by that time drew on, I got Peter, who, as well as myself, was rather tired with the day's walk, to accompany me to the top of one of the adjacent hills, on each side of which ran a deep valley. From the centre hills towards the sea, for a little distance up, the hills abounded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and the more interior parts with mountain plantain, tarro, and a variety of other things, which they have recourse to when the low land cannot supply all their wants. Asking Peter what reasons they gave for not cultivating more of those articles on the low ground, as it was evident they would grow as well, or better, there, he said it was on account of the havoc made by the arreoies, and those who accompany Otoo in his feasting round the island; at which times, though they only stay two or three days in a district, they consume and wantonly destroy all the produce, and often the young plants, leaving nothing for the settled inhabitants of the place to subsist on, but what they derive from the mountains: on this account they submit to the trouble of climbing almost inaccessible places, rather than expose much of the produce of their labour to those privileged robbers. From this hill we also had a view of the coral reefs which lie interspersed along this coast, some of them a considerable distance off shore: there are several openings, and probably anchorage within most of them; but I apprehend the ground must be rocky, and bad for cables. Respecting the district itself, from Boo-te-awmoo to the place where I now was, close to the isthmus, it is little better than a wilderness of rank weeds and useless trees, and that even in places where the low land might be rendered most fertile and valuable, though it no where exceeds two furlongs in width. In some places where we were obliged to quit the sea-side, travelling became exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the long grass, weeds, marshes, and numerous rivulets of water: in others the hills project into the sea, and form broken and dangerous precipices,



some of which I have noticed before. Besides this, it merits the name of a desolate district, from the few houses it contains, and its thin population. However, the place where I now was might be deemed an exception; it is about a mile long, and a furlong wide; and is better furnished with houses, inhabitants, and fruit-trees, than any place of equal size in the district.

When we returned to the house we found a servant whom Pomarre had sent to meet and conduct me to the place in Tiaraboo where himself and retinue were preparing for a great feast; but as this took me out of the way of my intended route, I should not have consented to it, had not Peter frequently mentioned the precipices at the east end of the island as impassable by any but the natives; who, though even accustomed to it, were frequently dashed to pieces; and that, without running that risk, the account I wanted could be equally well got from the chiefs of the several districts, who would be with Pomarre on the south side of that peninsula. Therefore I agreed to accompany the man across the isthmus next morning.

15th. At daybreak we rose. Peter then asked me whether I durst sleep in a house where there was a corpse; and shewed me the skull of Richard Sinnet's wife, wrapped in cloth, hanging to the roof of the house. It seems that she died at Eimēo, and was there put upon a tupapow till the body was dried; the head was then cut off, and brought to this place, where she had possessed several acres of ground.

Departing from hence, we ascended a hill, moderately high on the Otaheite side, and walked about a mile over a fine piece of land, which slopes gently from the middle class of hills to the isthmus, and is all along covered with a stratum of rich brown mould, fitter for the purposes of agriculture than any spot on the island: a few trees are scattered upon it; but on large spaces there is nothing but grass and fern. The isthmus seemed covered with trees quite across; and beyond it, on the Tiaraboo side, the land for three or four miles appeared exactly like that I was now upon, covered with fern, and level at top, but broken, or rent as it were, into chasms or deep hol-



lows, and rising with a gradual ascent towards the lofty mountains which occupy the middle and eastern divisions of Tiaraboo. At the south side of the isthmus, where we descended to cross, a cove about sixty yards wide, and of depth sufficient to admit a ship, runs close up to the low neck: it would be an excellent place for a ship to moor in, if a safe passage could be found between the large flakes of coral which lie without it; and I do not think this impossible, though, except commerce were brought thither, it would be unnecessary.

Besides this cove, we crossed two more shallow ones, and then entered the first district of Tiaraboo, called Toa-howtow. Here the low ground is so marshy, that at every step we sunk almost knee-deep. It is also covered with underwood, but abounding in bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts. Farther eastward the ground is more dry and hard; and we fell in with a few houses, where canoes were building, and the women beating cloth: they informed us that the district contained one matteyna and thirteen tees, which make eighty-four inhabitants. The next district is Wyoo-roo; the chief's name Vee-vee Roo-rah: it has six matteynas, containing forty tees, which make two hundred and seventy-six inhabitants; and with respect to the soil, fruits, &c. is exactly like Toa-howtow: the low land in both is scarce a furlong wide, and the coast waving.

It now began raining hard, which obliged us to stop where was a chief who knew Peter. His canoe was hauled upon the beach, and the little house taken off it for him and his wife to sleep in. And this is their common practice; so that wherever they land, if in a large canoe, they always have a house in readiness. While we sat under an adjoining shed, and the chief and I were exchanging presents, a boy picked my pocket, but, finding himself discovered, he dropt the booty; however, the chief was so enraged, that he immediately went in pursuit of the boy, and intended to punish him severely if he caught him.

The rain subsiding, we set off again for Mattahwey, which was the next district, and where Pomarre was with his retinue. On our



way we were met by the young king, son of Pomāre, and his betrothed wife, both carried upon men's shoulders; he asked for an axe, scissars, &c. but I had none to spare, therefore desired him to go to the pahie (ship), and they should be given him. He also asked Peter several questions concerning the places and people he had seen on his voyage with us. At last we reached the head-quarters, which were no more than a few canoe-houses and temporary sheds, the best of which was occupied by Pomāre; and to it I was conducted. As for himself, they said he was at a house farther on, busied with his servants in preparing cloth, but that a messenger was gone to inform him of my arrival. Accordingly he came in a short time, expressed much joy on seeing me, and saluted noses; he also inquired for the captain, and most on board. When I asked him his reasons for not going to Matavāi, he answered, that at present he could not possibly go, it being a very busy time with him, having to collect canoes, cloth, hogs, &c. to give away among the different chiefs and arreoies, who would attend him to the great feast at Papparā, which was to take place in a few days, and for which all the island was looking up to him. This excuse I had reason to believe, for public care seemed engraven on his countenance. However, as he could not go himself, he had sent his prime minister Iddeah; who, I told him, would not receive so many things as if he had gone himself. He said, he did not mind the things so much as the captain's friendship.

I had desired Peter, that if a mawhoo came in our way, he should point him out; and here there happened to be one in Pomāre's train. He was dressed like a woman, and mimicked the voice and every peculiarity of the sex. I asked Pomāre what he was, who answered, "Taata, mawhoo," that is, a man, a mawhoo. As I fixed my eyes upon the fellow, he hid his face: this I at first construed into shame, but found it afterwards to be a womanish trick.

These mawhoos chuse this vile way of life when young: putting on the dress of a woman, they follow the same employments, are



under the same prohibitions with respect to food, &c. and seek the courtship of men the same as women do, nay, are more jealous of the men who cohabit with them, and always refuse to sleep with women. We are obliged here to draw a veil over other practices too horrible to mention. These mawhoos, being only six or eight in number, are kept by the principal chiefs. So depraved are these poor heathens, that even their women do not despise those fellows, but form friendships with them. This one was tayo to Iddeah.

And here we are furnished with another impediment to population, and may ask how such a people can possibly have a numerous progeny.

At this place most of the chiefs of Tiaraboo were assembled; their canoes were hauled upon the beach, and before their huts vast quantities of provisions were hung upon stakes driven into the ground; and more were arriving from the neighbouring districts: all which was perhaps no faint image of the ancient Hellespont and Grecian camp.

From the different chiefs I got an account of Tiaraboo, as follows:



Names of Districts.					Names of Chiefs.	Matt.	Tees.	Numb. of Souls.
1	Toa-how-towe	.	.	.	} Vee-ve-roo-rah {	1	13	84
2	Wyoo-roo	.	.	.		6	40	276
3	Mattahwey	.	.	.	} Moocce {	6	39	270
4	Wy-you-teah	.	.	.		15	137	912
5	Otoo-boo	.	.	.	} Pomarre {	7	119	756
6	Taa-hapeah	.	.	.		Iddeah	7	119
7	Tee-row-ouah	.	.	.	} Iddeah {	7	119	756
8	Popootah	.	.	.		7	119	756
9	Wy-yote	.	.	.	} Iddeah {	7	119	756
10	Bo-be-ourooah	.	.	.		7	119	756
11	Eree-meoo	{ One of these is on each side of the preceding }			} Tee-ye-a {	7	51	348
12	2d Eree-meoo					7	51	348
13	Haw-bouah	.	.	.	} Tee-teah-manoowah {	3	65	408
14	Atte-toutou	.	.	.		3	65	408
15	Orrahayroo	.	.	.	} Tee-teah-manoowah {	3	65	408
16	Attah-roah—is the name of the district and valley. The point is called Ohaitapeha	.	.	.		3	65	408
17	Owahie—A small place in the west part of the above bay	.	.	.	} Manne Manne {	2	16	108
18	Ah-hoo-e	.	.	.		2	16	108
19	Ah-noohe	.	.	.	} Pomarre and Taata {	2	34	216
20	Owaheite	.	.	.		Douah-he	2	34
21	Tirra-wow is not inhabited.				} Mare - taata - hah {	4	47	306
						(son of Towha) and Houatooah	4	47
20	Owaheite	.	.	.	} Ore-a-why {	16	36	312
21	Tirra-wow is not inhabited.					16	36	312
Men, women, and children in Tiaraboo, 4008								

All the east part of Tiaraboo consists of high rugged mountains, which run to the sea-side, and form steep cliffs that are extremely dangerous to pass: on this account the low land is narrow, and distributed partially; but from Ohaitapeha bay, on the north side, and from opposite to it on the south side, down towards the isthmus, it runs from half a furlong to a whole one in width, and where valleys are, it is in consequence wider. There were not many cotton-trees to be seen, and those few of no value: indeed, no part of this peninsula is comparable to the districts of Matavāi, Opārre, and Attahooroo, in the larger peninsula.



At night I spread my bed in the same house where Peter, Pomāre, and several others lay; but little rest could be had, as one or other was talking all the night. Pomāre asked Peter many shrewd questions concerning the places and things he had seen on the voyage, and more particularly about the natives of Tongataboo, as the red feathers, and various manufactures from thence, have given them a high idea of that people. Nothing grows on Otaheite but what they mentioned, to know if they had the same; and whether they had good land, good canoes, and fine women. They also inquired much about the Marquesas, and spoke of the people there as being as far inferior to themselves in civilization as they really are to Europeans. However, they appeared highly delighted with the relation Peter gave them of these countries: but when he spoke of the wonderful things of Europe, they at first expressed surprise; but not being able to form conceptions of the things he related, their pleasure quickly slackened: whereas the people of the Friendly Islands and Marquesas are in almost all things similar to themselves; alike in person, manners, and dress; are tattooed, have canoes, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, as well as they; and without these articles they admit of no country to be really valuable, though they do not deny our superiority in every thing else. At this time Pomāre and his retinue particularly regretted their want of ships, and knowledge to conduct them to foreign countries; and, addressing himself to me, said, in a tone of concern, that they were able to go no further than Ulietea or Huaheine; and that at the risk of being driven they knew not whither, to perish: whereas we could sail for many moons, and in the darkest nights and strongest gales, and after all could come exactly to Otaheite. These were the very ideas he expressed. In answer to which, I told him, that we once were in the same predicament, and knew nothing; but that good men brought the speaking paper into our country, and taught us to understand it, by means of which we learnt to know the true God, to build and conduct ships, and to make axes, knives, scissars, and the various things which he saw we possessed: also that his tayo



Captain Cook had told the earees of Prētane, that neither the king of Otaheite nor his people understood the speaking paper, nor how to do these things: Therefore they had, out of real regard for him, sent the good men at Matavāi, to teach him, his children, and people, as we ourselves were taught: that, as chief of the island and regent for his son, it behoved him to send his children and the natives to attend to their instructions; for, if they neglected the present opportunity, no more good men would come to them, but they would remain in ignorance for ever.

I believe he paid as much attention to this as lay in his power, and said it was my ty (good), and so went to sleep.

16th. In the morning it rained very hard, which confined us to our quarters till nine o'clock, when the chief and all his servants set off to work at the cloth; and as I intended to rest all this day, I followed soon after, and found them busied on large pieces of cloth, about thirty yards long, and four broad; they had them stretched along the ground, and doubling each, by laying others upon them, cemented them with a paste. Pomārre was as busy as any. Here I saw the mawhoo also, who wrought with equal dexterity as the women.

At a proper time of day a fine roast pig was brought for dinner, part of which was given me, the rest went to the chief; but I observed those around him took so large a share, that himself made but a scanty dinner: and this may be the reason why his head man brought victuals in the dark, on the two nights I staid there. It seemed that the hogs were not plentiful here, or they were keeping them till the feast.

17th. I rose to take leave of Pomārre, and informed him of my intention to return to the ship by the south side of Otaheite nooe, and would therefore thank him for the use of a canoe. He immediately ordered one of the best single ones, which Peter was to keep after our arrival at Matavāi: he also put in it two large hogs, and sent a man to Wyēre (the first district we should land at) to prepare another. I had given him a pair of scissars and what I could spare:



and now he begged a piece of cloth, which the chief gave me where we stopped on account of the rain; having got it, he cast his eye on what I used as a bed, as if desirous of that also: but observing his disposition began to work, I bid him farewell, not without feeling on the occasion. He was much affected, and said, if possible he would come and see the captain, and desired me to speak a good word for Iddeah, that she might receive opys (axes), paouties (scissars), &c.

Leaving this place we paddled to the westward, and having a strong current in our favour were soon past the isthmus, and landed in the first district, called Wyëre, over which Maahehānoo (a woman) presides as chief: to her the son of Towha is betrothed: they are both young, perhaps fifteen years old; he has the most lively, piercing countenance of any youth I saw.

A person named Tootahah, who is also descended from the carees, lived here as guardian to Towha and Maahehānoo; he seemed well acquainted with many of our customs, and could speak several English words. Previous to bringing a young hog which they had prepared for dinner, Tootahah drove four stakes in the ground, and making a table of boards upon them, he spread a piece of clean cloth, placed an English plate before me, and tried to apologize for not having a knife and fork, and such things as he knew we had on board. Thus, for the first time, I dined in style among them. After dinner they put a pig into the canoe, agreeably to the order of Pomārre, and made some other presents, which I repaid as well as I could, and left them.

This is a very good district; the low land is of various breadths, as twenty yards, a furlong, and in some places half a mile. Next to it are hills moderately high, forming valleys of small extent; and beyond are the lofty craggy mountains, which are covered with trees to the summit. The district westward of this is called Wyoorēde, and answers the same description: the hill which separates them is called Rooamo, where the land bends in; and a little further a point runs off, and a quarter of a mile without it is the small island



Otearrawah. Another small islet lies about a mile further along the coast, called Tahmow.

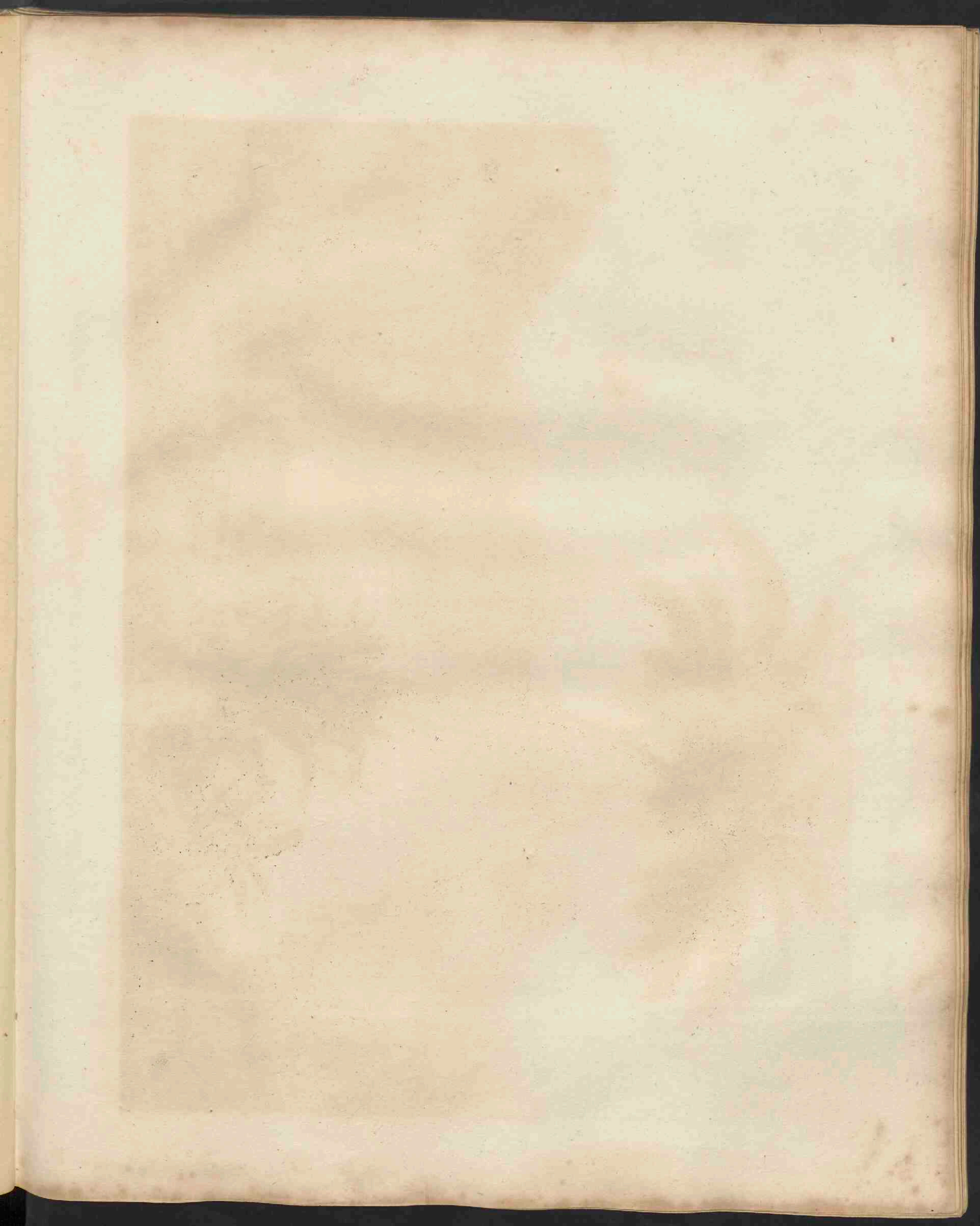
As it now began to rain hard, we landed to take shelter in the houses, which are here, as in other places, but thinly scattered: when it cleared up, Peter and I walked along the beach, while the toutous paddled the canoe. Foot-paths intersected the low ground, but it was bad walking on them, on account of the weeds and long grass being wet with the rain; and the trees in some places standing close to the sea, obstructed the way by the beach, and forced us again into the canoe; and just as it was dark we reached Attemonoo, a small district situate between Wyoorēede and Papparā, and there hauled up the canoe. We thence walked to Temārre's house at Papparā, and found him quite intoxicated with ava. When they had brought lights I laid my bed down, and being tired with the fatigues of the day, went immediately to rest.

18th. Temārre had risen early, and gone to a place considerably to the westward, to worship at a morai he had there, but left word to dress a pig for me. In the interim we applied to an intelligent elderly chief for the number of matteynas and tees which we had passed, who counted them as follows, viz.

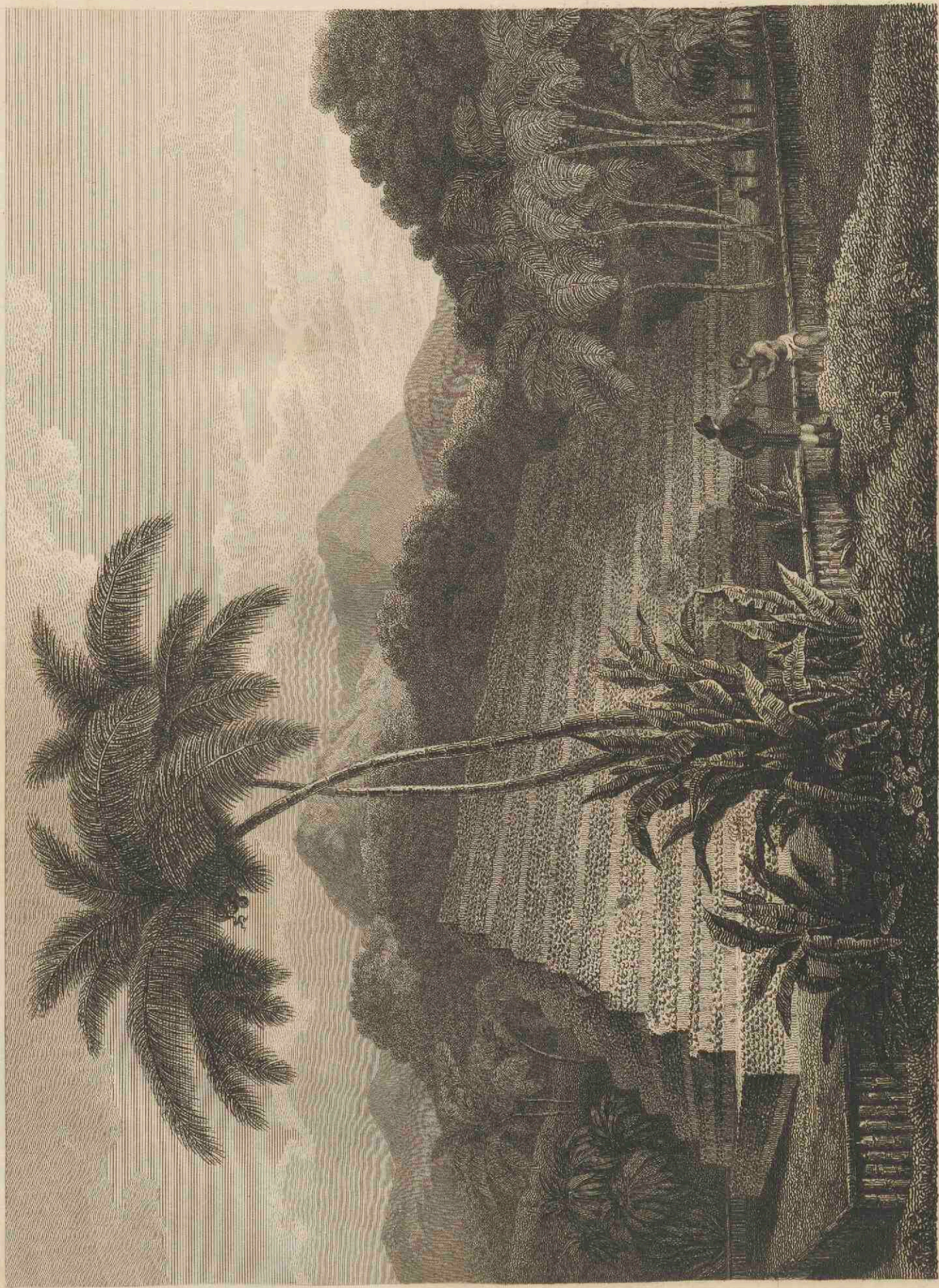
	Matt.	Tees.	Inhabitants.	Chiefs.
Wyēre	32	42	444	Maahehānoo.
Wyoorēede	13	161	1044	} Tayrēdhy, wife of Temārre.
Attemonoo	2	24	156	
Papparā	17	157	1044	{ Temārre. The above are also under him, and he is under Pomārre, or Otoo.
Aha-ahcinah	8	105	678	

After waiting till near eleven o'clock for breakfast, I found, on enquiry, that the hog they were dressing was so large as to require three hours more to do it sufficiently; therefore I was obliged to content myself without breakfast, and had but a faint hope of a dinner without staying all day for it.









*M. of Boston del: from a sketch by W. Wilson.*

*J. Landwehr sculp:*

GREAT MORAI of TEMARRE at PAPPARA in OTAHEITE.

Published by T. Chapman, Fleet Street, Feb: 22, 1799.



The great morai of Oberea stands on a point a little to the eastward: thither I went, to have a view of so great a curiosity. Otoo has one of his representative houses here; and in passing it, some of his servants, judging whither I was going, followed me, and were very assiduous in explaining every thing to me. This morai is an enormous pile of stone-work, in form of a pyramid, on a parallelogram area; it has a flight of ten steps quite round it, the first of which, from the ground, is six feet high, the rest about five feet; it is in length, at the base, two hundred and seventy feet, width at ditto ninety-four feet; at the top it is one hundred and eighty feet long, and about six wide: the steps are composed partly of regular rows of squared coral stones about eighteen inches high, and partly with blueish-coloured pebble stones nearly quite round, of a hard texture, all about six inches diameter, and in their natural unhewn state: this is the outside. The inside, that is to say, what composes the solid mass (for it has no hollow space), is composed of stones of various kinds and shapes. It is a wonderful structure; and it must have cost them immense time and pains to bring such a quantity of stones together, and particularly to square the coral of the steps with the tools they had when it was raised; for it was before iron came among them: and as they were ignorant of mortar, or cement, it required all the care they have taken to fit the stones regularly to each other, that it might stand. When Sir Joseph Banks saw this place, there was on the centre of the summit a representation of a bird carved in wood, and close by it the figure of a fish carved in stone; but both are now gone, and the stones of the upper steps are in many places fallen: the walls of the court have also gone much to ruin, and the flat pavement is only in some places discernible. The above gentleman, speaking of this court, says, “ the pyramid constitutes one side of a court, or square, the sides of which were nearly equal; and the whole was walled in and paved with flat stones: notwithstanding which pavement, several plantains and trees, which the natives call etoa, grew within the



“enclosure.” At present there is within this square a house, called the house of the Eatōoa, in which a man constantly resides. Sir Joseph further says, “that at a small distance to the westward of this edifice was another paved square, that contained several small stages, called ewattas by the natives, which appeared to be altars whereon they placed the offerings to their gods;” and that he afterwards saw whole hogs placed upon these stages or altars. My guide led me to this spot, which appears also to have gone much to ruin: he shewed me the altar, which is a heap of stones, and how they lay their offering upon it; he then went a few yards back, and laying hold of an upright stone, like a grave-stone, he knelt with one knee, and looking upwards, began to call on the Eatōoa, by crying, “Whōoo, whōoo;” and by afterwards making a whistling noise, intimated it to be the way in which the Eatōoa answered them.

The grand morai formerly belonged to Oammo and Oberea, then to their descendant Temārre, and now, since the conquest, to Otoo.

It was past noon when I got back to the house, and Temārre had not returned from his worship; and, worse than that, there was no prospect of any thing to eat: therefore I proposed to set off, when his wife entreated me to stay a while longer. This being complied with, they brought the hog smoking hot, but nearly raw, though it must have been covered up at least four hours, which was owing to its size, being large enough to serve forty men. Thus both I and my companions suffered by the excessive kindness of our host.

When we had taken our leave, and walked about a mile along the beach, we met Temārre on his way home; and when Peter told him that we had waited purposely for him, he seemed much afraid lest I should be angry, and asked if I was not. On satisfying him that I was not, he then inquired into the cause of our visit to Pomārre, in a way that bespoke jealousy, envy, and fear of that chief. After a little conversation we parted. Temārre is supposed to be



possessed of the Eatōoa, and, in conformity to that supposition, speaks in such a way that scarcely any one can understand him. This at first made me think that he used that peculiar language said to be spoken by the priests; but both the Swedes insist that the priests know no other than the common language, and can always be understood, except when, for the sake of mysteriousness, they utter their speeches in a singing tone; and that even the young girls can make their songs equally unintelligible. It is also said of this chief, that he is now meditating revenge on Pomārre, on account of the death of his father and his own defeat; and in hope of obtaining success he has chosen Mr. Main for his tayo, whom he has heard spoken of as a military man, and to whom he has made several great presents.

We stopped at Papparā for the night in the house of my tayo Wyreede: as I had not seen her since my late arrival, she expressed much joy on the occasion, ordered a pig to be instantly dressed, and made me a present of several things; among others, a quantity of human hair made into fine finnet. Here were a number of arreoies with their separate wives, who, by the attachment they shewed for their husbands, seemed to discountenance the assertion of promiscuous connexion, with which they are charged. Their great numbers made the house, which was one hundred and forty feet long, appear like a little village, where each claimed the place on which his mat was spread; and almost all were employed in making mats, finnet, &c. As soon as it was dark they brought lights, and danced and sung till near midnight, and perhaps would have continued all the night, had I not begged my tayo to cause them to desist; for the drums appear not to disturb their sleep; but, when tired with dancing, they lie down, and a fresh party rises to the sport: and in this manner the arreoies usually spend their nights, and thus they train the youths to the same irregular living.

19th. The morning being fine and clear, we walked to the end of the district, and crossing a little cove, entered on Ahaheinah. The point which, with the cove, separates the two districts, is called

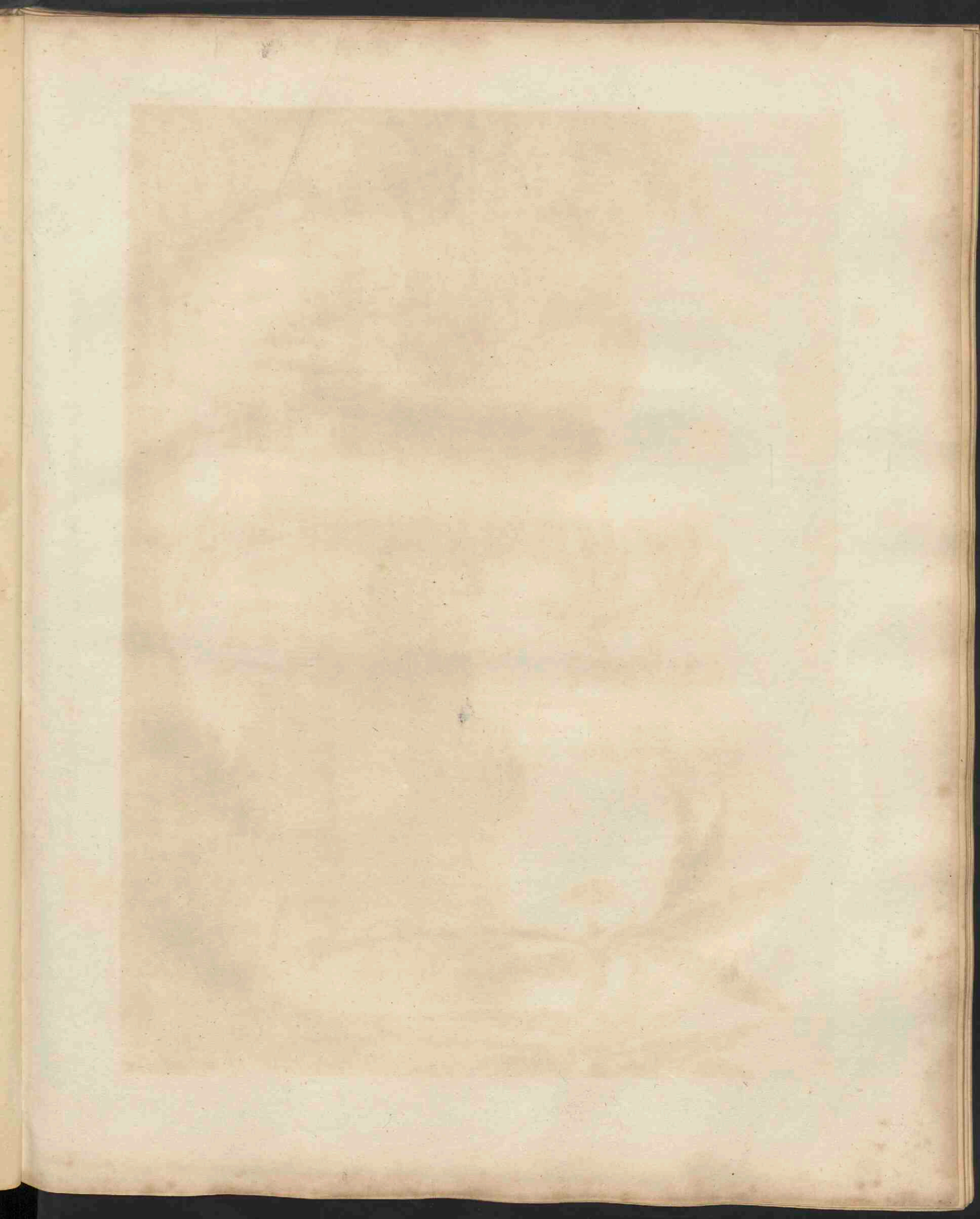


Abooroo. Papparā is a district of the middling class; for extent of low land and fertility it is better than the north-eastern districts, or those of Tiaraboo; but inferior to those I afterwards came to, viz. Attahooroo and Opārre: however, the low land seems not to be two furlongs in width in any place. Ahaheinah has a straight coast; in several parts the hills project to the sea, leaving a narrow beach or foot-path at their base, and where there is low land it is no where above a hundred yards wide. A hill called Weypah-toto separates it from Mahraw, a small division of Attahooroo: here Captain Weatherhead landed in his boats after the loss of the *Matilda*, and had his money and clothes taken from him by the natives.

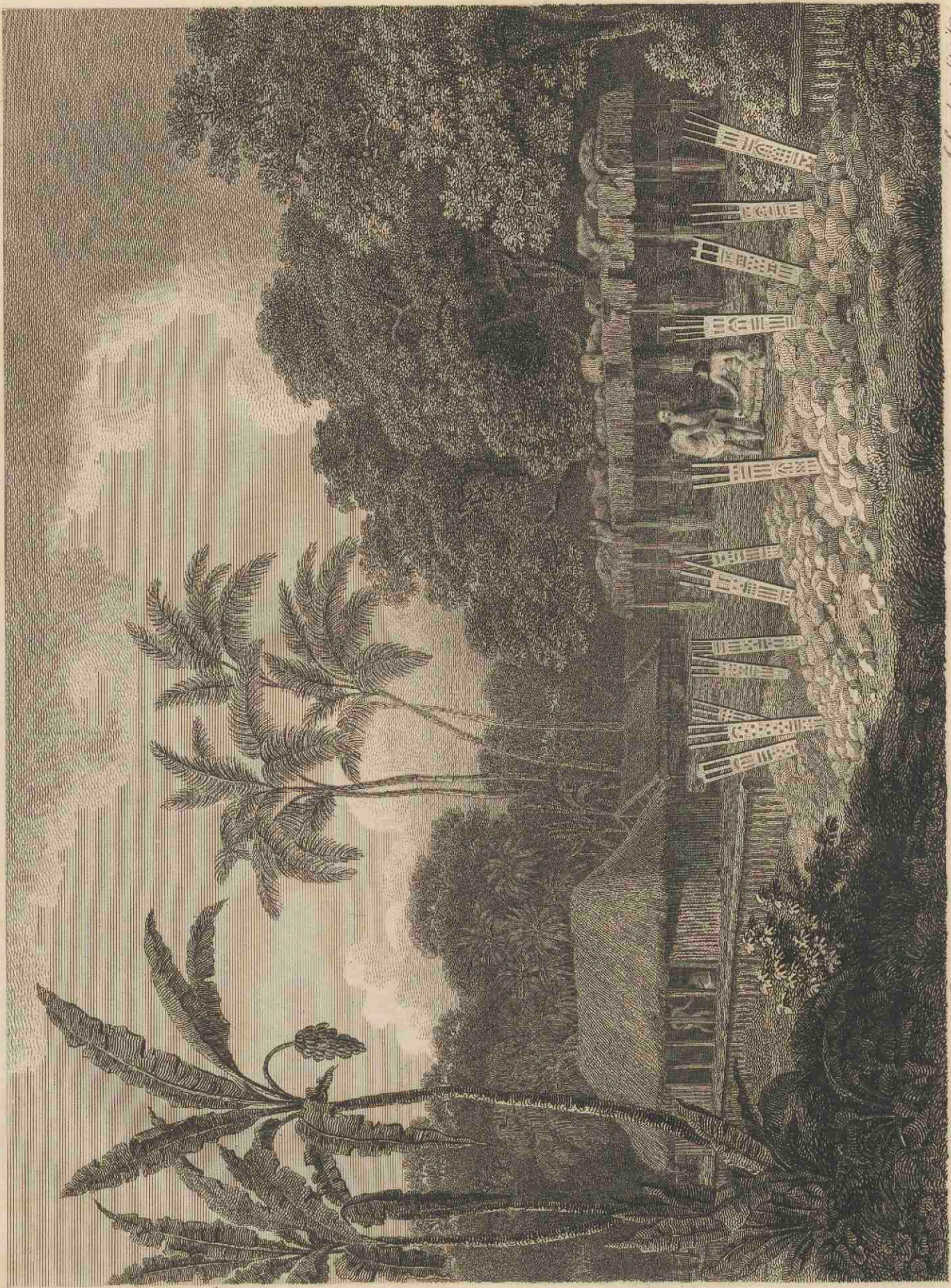
Attahooroo is divided into two or three departments, over which chiefs subordinate to Temārre preside. In the account given me they divided it only into two parts, of which the south-east contains fifteen matteynas and one hundred and fifty tees, and the north part ten matteynas and ninety-three tees, including the valleys. Here the shore is waving, and forms a segment of a circle as it bends round to Tettaha. The reef lies a considerable way off, and within it the water is smooth and shallow, and the bottom a fine white sand interspersed with beautiful coral, which makes the rowing over it delightful. Here the island puts on its most beautiful appearance. A large border of low ground is covered with cocoa, palms, and bread-fruit. Extensive valleys run considerably in-land, and the sides of the hills, which form them, are covered with fruit-trees, and their tops with grass. The lofty mountains in the higher region are also covered with trees, or broken into awful precipices; and by their various shapes and distances, and the clouds, which hover over them all the day, add a sublime grandeur to the beauty of the scene below.

We landed at a chief's house opposite the great valley, and before dinner set off with the chief to see a morai, where it was said the ark of the Eatōoa was deposited, and which had been conjectured by some visitors to bear a similitude in form to the ark of the covenant. Though it was about noon, in the road we went we felt little of the









*M. A. Bookman del. from a sketch by H. Wilson.*

*J. Landwehr sculp.*

*MORAI and ALTAR at ATTAAHOORO with the KATOOA and TEES.*

*Published by T. Chapman, Fleet Street, Feb'y, 1839.*



heat of the sun: lofty bread-fruit trees afforded their pleasant shade; and, as there was but little underwood, we felt no annoyance, except from a few flies. Turmeric and ginger abounded, also the wild cotton tree. The morai stands on the north side of the valley, about a mile or more from the beach: it is erected on level ground, enclosed with a square wooden fence, each side of which may measure thirty or forty yards. About one half of the platform next the interior side of the square is paved, and on this pavement, nearly in the middle, there stands an altar upon sixteen wooden pillars, each eight feet high; it is forty feet long and seven feet wide: on the top of the pillars the platform for the offerings is laid, with thick matting upon it, which overhanging each side, forms a deep fringe all around it. Upon this matting are offerings of whole hogs, turtle, large fish, plantains, young cocoa-nuts, &c. the whole in a state of putrefaction, which sends an offensive smell all round the place. A large space on one side of the fence was broken down, and a heap of rough stones laid in the gap: upon these stones, and in a line with the fence, were placed what they call TEES; these were boards from six to seven feet high, cut into various shapes. At a corner near this stood a house and two sheds, where men constantly attended. We entered the house, and found at one end the little house, or ark of the Eatōoa; it was made exactly like those they set on their canoes, but smaller, being about four feet long, and three in height and breadth. As it contained nothing but a few pieces of cloth, I inquired where they had hid the Eatōoa: they answered, that it had been taken in the morning to a small morai near the water-side, but that they would immediately bring it, which they did in about half an hour. Though I had not viewed this place without feeling for the poor creatures, yet when they laid their Eatōoa on the ground I could hardly restrain a laugh. It was in shape exactly like a sailor's hammock lashed up, and composed of two parts, the larger one just the size of the house, and the lesser, which was lashed upon it, was about half that size: at the ends were fastened little bunches of red and yellow feathers,



the offerings of the wealthy. They seeing me smile, laughed heartily themselves, but seemingly only to please me; for it was from no idea of the insignificance of their Eatōoa. I told them it was not, could not be a god, because it was nothing but the cloth and finnet which themselves had made, and could no more hear, speak, nor do them good or harm, than could the cloth they wore. At this they seemed rather perplexed, but still affirmed that it was a great Eatōoa; and when he was angry their trees bore no bread-fruit, and many ills came upon them; but not a word in reference to a future state. I wanted much to see what was in the inside; but they said, none but Māne Manne and a few more durst open it. However, they told Peter that it contained nothing but red feathers, a young plantain, and a bunch of young cocoa-nuts before they break the leaf. Several bread-fruit and etoa trees stand within the same square.

On our way back we called to see the body of Orepiah, as preserved in a tupapow: he had not been many months dead, and was now in a perfectly dry state. The man to whom the performance of this operation was entrusted lived close by, and came near when he saw us. He seemed quite willing to oblige me; and asked if I would like to see the body unshrouded; for, as it lay, nothing could be seen but the feet. Answering in the affirmative, he drew it out upon the uncovered stage, and took several wrappers of cloth off it; and, laughing all the while, placed the corpse in a sitting posture. The body had been opened, but the skin every where else was unbroken, and, adhering close to the bones, it appeared like a skeleton covered with oil-cloth. It had little or no smell, and would, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, remain so preserved a considerable time. The method they take for this is, to clear the body of the entrails, brain, &c.; then washing it well, they rub it daily outside and in with cocoa-nut oil, till the flesh is quite dried up; after which they leave it to the all-destroying hand of Time. This tupapow was constructed by driving four long stakes in the ground, about six feet asunder, lengthwise, and four in breadth: besides these,



two others, not so long by three feet, are driven on a line, and six feet from the former four: a stage is then made at the height of the shortest two, and the corpse being laid at one end, a thatched roof is raised upon the four highest stakes, to shelter it from the rain; the vacant part of the stage is to pull it upon, either for rubbing with the oil, or exhibiting it to the friends and relations of the deceased. On the adjoining trees, plantains and bread-fruit hung for the use of the dead. I asked them, where they thought his spirit, or thinking part, had gone? At this they smiled, and said, "Harre po," that is, "Gone to the night."

A little before dark we reached the further end of Attahooroo, and put up at a little place which Mānne Manne had given to Peter, who ordered what he pleased, and had it immediately; and here we left the canoe, as it blew too fresh to row it against the easterly wind. In the morning we rose early: a couple of fowls were ready dressed, on which we breakfasted, and set off with a hope of reaching the ship, if nothing occurred to prevent it.

We entered Tettaha by ascending a hill called Opeyhowe. The district almost throughout is hilly, affording but little low land; nevertheless it is well inhabited, which may be owing to its situation, lying between the two best districts on the island; though I apprehend even its own produce is sufficient for the people who live upon it. It has twelve matteynas and one hundred and thirty tees. Pomārre is the chief. The best grove of cocoa-nut trees hereabouts, and a great number of bread-fruit, are said to have been planted by him and Iddeah when they were young. We passed one spot where Pomārre had lately a house, which contained a vast quantity of his stores, and had been maliciously set on fire and burnt to the ground. At a place called Weyto-weyte, which terminates the district, there is a house three hundred and ninety-seven feet in length, and forty-eight wide: twenty wooden pillars, each twenty-one feet high, support the middle of the roof; and one hundred and twenty-four, each ten feet high, support the sides or eaves of the



roof: the rafters upon which the roof is laid are about six inches thick, and placed twenty inches apart: a wooden wall, or fence, encloses the whole. Here, it is said, they on great occasions hold feasts for days together, when they almost destroy all the hogs on the island. The next district is Opārre, which is well stored with provisions and inhabitants, having sixteen matteynas and one hundred and ninety-nine tees, including two valleys. It has also a morai, but it is said to be inferior to that in Attahooroo; therefore, as it rained, I did not go to see it. Being forced to take shelter in a house, I saw there a man, one of whose legs was swelled to a size little less than a man's body; the other leg was of its natural size, and the person cheerful, and busied in making a mat. One of Otoo's boat-houses was adjoining; it contained a war canoe sixty feet long, which is a little larger than that at Otyearree; and these two, and one from Ulietea of a different construction, were the only large ones I saw in the course of my journey, though I saw several of a middling size, yet not so many as I expected.

The last difficulty was to get over Taharray, or One Tree hill, as the rain had made the ascent very slippery. From thence we walked along the beach to the missionary house, and got our closing account from Pyteah. Matavāi has twenty-seven matteynas and one hundred and ten tees, which makes eight hundred and twenty-two inhabitants. Therefore the population is as follows:



JULY.]

## TO THE SOUTH-SEA ISLANDS.

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Districts.	Presiding Chiefs.	Matt.	Tees.	Numb. of Souls.
1 Whyripoo . . .	Inna Madúa . . .	4	6	264
2 Whapiáwno . . .	Wytouah . . .	28	238	1596
3 Wharoomy . . .	Wyreede Aowh . . .	1	9	60
4 Hewow . . .	Manne Manne . . .	2	11	78
5 Hahbahboonea . . .	Otoo . . .	1	8	54
6 Honoowhyah . . .	Ditto . . .	3	28	186
7 Nahnu Nahnoo . . .	Pomárre . . .	3	18	126
8 Ot-yayree . . .	Noc Noe . . .	2	22	144
9 Wha-ah-heinah . . .	Roorah and three more	4	53	342
10 Hedeah . . .	Inna Madúa . . .	42	167	1254
11 Part of Terrawow on this side the isthmus uninhabited.				
12 Wy-eree . . .	Maahe-hanoo (female)	32	42	444
13 Wyoreede . . .	Tayreede (wife of Temárre)	13	161	1044
14 Attemonoo . . .	Ditto . . .	2	24	156
15 Pappará . . .	Ditto . . .	17	157	1044
16 Ahaheinah . . .	Ditto . . .	8	105	678
17 Attahooroo . . .	Ditto . . .	25	243	1608
18 Tettaha . . .	Pomárre . . .	12	130	852
19 Opárre . . .	Ditto . . .	16	199	1290
20 Matavái . . .	Missionaries . . .	27	110	822
Total of men, women, and children, in Otaheite				12,042
Ditto in Tiaraboo . . .				4,008
Total on the whole island . . .				16,050



## CHAPTER XIV.

*Transactions at Otaheite till their Departure.*

THE intention of writing these pages being chiefly to preserve the circumstances of a voyage which from its nature and object is interesting to many, I shall with this view notice what occurrences passed at the ship during my absence, also in the subsequent days of our stay; and then take leave of Otaheite, without saying more on their customs and manners than what lies interspersed in the journal already detailed, as all former navigators have enlarged on this subject; and if errors can now be corrected, it will certainly be best done from the letters of the missionaries, whose residence among the natives for five months gave them greatly the advantage over us at the ship.

July 12th. It being the Rev. Mr. Lewis's turn to attend the boat employed in landing the goods, he expressed a fear that the division of them, after the departure of the ship, would occasion some uneasiness. In the course of the day Mr. Cover and Henry waited upon the captain, and spoke to the same effect, giving it as their opinion, that, to prevent any thing disagreeable happening, the most prudent way would be for them to make a division immediately; but this being only a proposal, the adoption of which the captain left entirely to themselves, it was no more spoken of. Mrs. Hodges and Mrs. Henry also visited us to-day; and in the evening they all went on shore in the pinnace. Landed the goods, and received from our friends the natives a plentiful supply of fruit, &c.

13th. To-day the captain and six of the missionaries examined the district of Matavai for the purpose of finding the most eligible



spot on which to build a house; but as there were several equally eligible, no preference was given as yet to any.

14th. The weather serene and pleasant. Information was brought to the ship, that the young king had come to Matavāi; but a report spreading that he had sacrificed a man, the missionaries expressed their marked disapprobation of the horrid act, which so terrified him, that he was setting off for Papparā, when the captain landed, and stopped him as he and his queen ran along the beach. On being asked why he was going away so soon, he answered, that, as the missionaries were angry, he supposed the captain was so too. The captain told him that it would be very wrong to sacrifice a man: he denied the fact. The captain entreated him to commit no such cruelty, and besought him to return, promising that he would send him a canoe, which he had brought purposely from Tongataboo. This both reconciled and pleased him: he accordingly took up his residence in Matavāi. Had he gone off in fear, there was no knowing what the consequences might be, as he had only to lay the rahooe on the districts, to cut off all our supplies; a circumstance which, though not experienced by us, has been severely felt by some of their visitors.

15th. Pleasant weather. The captain and the four appointed missionaries employed in dividing the goods; the seamen hoisting out of the hold, and putting the Otaheitean division into the brethren's boat. In the forenoon Otoo and his wife came alongside; the Friendly Island canoe was given to him, and after he had surveyed it near two hours, he got into it, and went on shore seemingly much pleased. About four in the afternoon, Sam (the little cabin-boy) ran from the ship, supposed to have gone out at the cabin-window. This boy being of a dwarfish size, was apprehensive of falling into want in his own country; therefore he preferred settling where nakedness was no hardship, and the vegetable diet at least of the island could always be procured at ease. He left behind him a few incoherent lines mentioning his design, wherein he likewise says, that



if he can do the missionaries no good, he will do them no harm. About the same time the captain had his dressing-box with all his shaving utensils stolen out of the cabin, and at first supposed the boy concerned in the theft, but it afterwards proved he was innocent. Thermometer  $71^{\circ}$ . Received from Mawrōa, and his wife Wyreede Aowh, two small pigs, with fruit, &c. also presents from several others.

16th. The day fine and pleasant. Mr. Jefferson and Eyre chaplains for the day on board; the former in the forenoon, the latter in the afternoon.

17th. Fine weather. Landed some goods, and received by the return of the flat-bottomed boat two loads of stone ballast. Iddeah having come to Matavāi, sent to the ship to know whether the captain was angry with her. The messenger was told that he was not; and as a token thereof, a plantain leaf was sent her. She then came on board, bringing with her two large hogs and two bundles of cloth: one of each was her own present, the other that of Pomārre. When seated in the cabin, she was asked the reason why she killed her child: in answer to which she said, that the man with whom she cohabited was a low man; had the child been Pomārre's, she would have spared it; but since it was the custom of the earees to murder all base-born children, she had only acted agreeably thereto. The father of the child was sitting by her, without seeming in the least angry; however, herself seemed rather hurt at the home questions that were put to her, and the conversation was turned. She then informed the captain of the reasons of Pomārre's absence, which being absolutely necessary, he had sent her to see that his friend the captain wanted for nothing the island could afford; though, perhaps, the truer reason was, that he might lose nothing by his absence that could be got from the ship. When she had received several presents, the evening drawing on, she set off to see her son Otoo, but was hardly gone when he made his appearance in a



large double canoe, whooping and hallooing to the seamen by name, and after playing a number of foolish tricks, set off to the shore. Thermometer  $71^{\circ}$ .

18th. The weather pleasant. No natives on board, or canoes about the ship; the reason of which novelty we suppose to be some diversions given by Iddeah. Landed some goods, and received two boat-loads of stone ballast. Doctor Gillham was in the boat to-day, and informed the captain of his desire to return with him. In the afternoon one of the natives brought back the boy Sam, and received for this service a new shirt; Mrs. Hodges accompanied them, to plead for the fugitive. The carpenter employed calking the ship's top-sides, which the powerful effect of the tropical climate had rendered leaky. Thermometer  $72^{\circ}$ .

19th. The weather squally, with rain. The young king (Otoo) sent a present of two hogs and some cloth. One of his servants also brought the captain's dressing-box; they had traced the thief to Opārre, where they found the box complete, but the offender had escaped to the mountains. By the messenger an axe was sent to Otoo. Iddeah, and the base fellow she cohabits with, dined on board, and before she left us, received all the red feathers we had, and likewise a red uniform coat for Pomārre; with which valuable presents she was highly delighted. Received two boat-loads of stone. In the evening a chief brought twenty fowls, for which he received an axe. Whilst at dinner a native requested the ship's harpoon, to strike a large cavally he had observed: this he performed with great dexterity; but the wounded fish having disengaged the harpoon, the man dived after it, and brought up the cavally in his arms, weighing forty-five pounds, for which the captain rewarded him, and sent the fish on shore to the missionaries.

20th. The weather squally, with heavy rain. Few of the natives on board, occasioned partly by the weather, and partly by a shooting-match with bow and arrow, which Otoo had at Opārre. Received



three boats of ballast. Thermometer  $72\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . To-day I returned from making a tour of the island.

21st. Weather as yesterday: the winds during the latter part squally from the N. W. with heavy rain; which so swelled the river of Matavāi, that we with difficulty got one boat-load of ballast.

Early in the morning Mawrōa and his wife, who are our most constant visitors, came, and brought with them a pig, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c.: with them came also three women, who, they said, were relations; they likewise brought each of them a present. One of them was full seventy years old, and so infirm, and exhausted with the fatigue of getting on board, that she laid herself down on the cabin floor, apparently about to expire; but recovering a little, she staid on board all the day, and went safe away in the evening. Iddeah was among this day's visitors, and, in short, the cabin was quite crowded with them; which would often be uncomfortable, were they not careful to supply us with a plentiful table. Thermometer  $72^{\circ}$ .

22d. Wind easterly; moderate and fine weather. Loosed sails to dry, &c. After breakfast the missionaries came off, but without stones, not being able to get them for the swell of the river. Sent on shore a quantity of rod, bolt, and bar iron. To-day the captain gave Peter, the Swede, two spades and some other articles, as he proposed erecting a house near to the missionaries. My tayo Wyreede sent me a large hog, as she had frequently done before.

23d. Fine pleasant weather, and a light air of wind easterly. Five or six sailing canoes went out of the bay towards Tethuroa. These are the only canoes of the sailing kind that we observed on the island, though sometimes they will erect a temporary mast to run before the wind. Service on board by brothers Henry and Broomhall.

24th. Three of the company made an excursion for two days, with Peter the Swede, through Matavāi, Opārre, Tettaha, and Attahooroo, at which last district they slept. Every where they



were received with profuse hospitality, and had nine pigs roasted to entertain them at different places.

Moderate and pleasant weather, with a few showers of rain. Landed fundries, and received some ballast. Our visitors were Iddeah and my tayo Wyreede, with their husbands; their presents amounted to three hogs and a large quantity of bread-fruit. The young king came off in his Tongataboo canoe, and paddled several times round the ship. The captain gave him an uniform coat of handsome scarlet, and entreated him to put it on, which he in a fullen fit, with savage obstinacy, refused to do.

During the night we had much rain, thunder, and lightning.

25th. The first part of this day moderate and fair weather. In the afternoon the wind veered to the westward, and blew fresh, with heavy rain for about an hour; then cleared up, and fell calm: and thus it generally happens when westerly, from which quarter it seldom blows hard or long. The wives of the missionaries dined and drank tea on board. Thermometer  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

26th. Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. The captain and missionaries employed in dividing the goods. Received one boat-load of ballast. The natives on board diverting themselves by leaping off the top-sail-yard into the water. Thermometer  $73^{\circ}$ .

27th. Variable winds and pleasant weather. Received one boat-load of stones.

In the dusk of the evening, one of our seamen, William Tucker, made his escape from the ship. We had been apprized of his intention to stay on the island, knew that most of his clothes were on shore, and had thoughts of securing him when we were about to depart, not thinking he would go till near the last day. When we found him gone, the boat was instantly manned, to pursue and search for him. I and the third mate went on this service: we landed at Point Venus, informed the missionaries, and the old chief Pyteah, of what had happened, and employed them also in the search, which proved in vain; for after examining every house in the district we were obliged



to return as we went. The two Swedes (Peter and Andrew) had been absent all the evening, which gave us reason to suppose them concerned in the affair; for just as we returned to the missionary house, they came in quite wet, saying that they had been a-fishing, an employment we knew they never went upon at nights; besides, their very looks condemned them. All that we could further do in this business was, to go to the huts of Otoo and Iddeah, and desire them to send men in pursuit of Tucker, which they promised to do. And to crown the disagreeableness of this day, just before we set off with the boat, the ram which we brought from England came into the house, and died; supposed to have received some injury from the natives, as he was a little mischievous among them. However, there are still good hopes of a breed, as one of the ewes had a fine ram, which was now grown up.

28th. Pleasant weather. This morning, when Andrew the Swede came on board, he was immediately put in confinement; it appearing evident that he had enticed Tucker from the ship, and was endeavouring to form a party which might prove dangerous to the missionaries: therefore the captain resolved on taking him off the island.

Peter came on board also, and turning king's evidence, informed us that a native named Matemoo had concealed Tucker in a thicket of Matavai.

Iddeah was on board at the time, to whom we applied for help, which she promising, landed, and sent off a band of Otoo's men to search the thicket, assisted by a number of the missionaries, with myself and the gunner; but all in vain: he was not to be found this day. We heard that he had taken the road to Opārre, and intended for Attahooroo; and in consequence of this information, Smith, Main, and Clode armed themselves, and set off in pursuit of him; as the captain intended at all events to have him, that mischief to the brethren might be prevented, and likewise desertions be thereby discouraged. Thermometer 72°.

29th. Moderate breezes easterly, and pleasant weather. The



captain and the four brethren employed dividing the goods, &c. No further account of Tucker. At noon the three missionaries returned from a fruitless pursuit, much fatigued. Many of our friends the natives on board to-day. Thermometer  $73^{\circ}$ .

30th. Pleasant weather. Mr. Jefferson and Lewis chaplains for the day.

About ten at night a native paddled off, calling out as he approached the ship, "All's well." His business, it seemed, was to communicate something concerning Tucker; but he was so stupified with awe, that he could not articulate a word. The coming of another canoe explained the matter. In this last were three of the missionaries, Iddeah, two of Otoo's servants, and Tucker, bound, who cursed Otoo heartily for his treachery. It appears that Otoo had been privy to the whole affair, and had himself daily fed Tucker. But the captain having dropt an expression, in Iddeah's hearing, that if the fugitive was not found he would take Otoo on board; it so terrified him, that he sent a man to inform Tucker that he wanted him, and contrived to have some of the missionaries in ambush near the beach, who seized him as he came along, and put him into the canoe, but not without a great struggle, and many curses. When we had got him on board, he was put in confinement, till we should leave the island. As for Iddeah, she was at this time trembling; and being asked the reason of it, she said, it was for fear Andrew should be let loose, for he was a bloody-minded man, and would wreak his vengeance on her, and the other natives to whom the captain had shewn favour; and that he thought very little of running his knife into them.

31st. Fine pleasant weather. Māne Manne, who was so attentive and friendly on our first visit, did not till this morning send his respects and a present to his tayo the captain, and that himself would be with us in a day or two. Iddeah and several others came with the usual presents of hogs, fruit, &c.



August 1st. Light breezes and pleasant weather. Bought two he-goats to carry to the Friendly Islands; and received several presents from the natives. In the evening Māne Manne arrived at Matavai in the vessel he had just built at Eimēo, and brought her alongside for the captain to view her: considering her as their first essay, she is a wonderful performance. This day at noon we fired a gun, and loosed the fore-top-sail, as a signal for sailing; and received Dr. Gillham and all his baggage on board.

2d. The first part showers of rain, the middle and latter part fair and pleasant weather; the wind westerly all the afternoon. Iddeah presented the captain with a complete mourning dress; and all the other natives brought something with them.

To-day the division of the goods was finished, having been a long employment.

3d. Pleasant weather, the wind variable. Sent on shore an addition of small arms, ammunition, &c. which makes their stock as follows: two swivels, eight muskets, one blunderbuss, nine pistols, and nine swords; fifty-six gun-flints, besides those in use; powder, ball, drum and fife.

The natives were now crowding the ship more than ever, and many of them were very importunate to go to Prētane. Mawrōa and his wife my tayo Wyreede, Māne Manne, Iddeah, and the tayos of the crew, laid us in a large sea-stock of hogs, fowls, and fruit; and in return for their kindness received such things as were to them useful and gratifying. Māne Manne was very urgent for sails, rope, anchor, &c. for his vessel, none of which articles we had to spare: on which account, though the captain gave him his own cocked hat and a variety of articles, he was still discontented; saying, "Several people told me that you wanted Māne Manne, and now I am come, you give me nothing." An observation similar to this he once made to the missionaries: "You give me," says he, "much parow (talk) and much prayers to the Eatōoa, but very few



“ axes, knives, scissars, or cloth.” The case is, that whatever he receives he immediately distributes among his friends and dependants; so that of all the numerous presents he had received, he had nothing now to shew, except a glazed hat, a pair of breeches, and an old black coat, which he had fringed with red feathers. And this prodigal behaviour he excuses, by saying that, were he not to do so, he should never be a king, nor even remain a chief of any consequence.

Unmoored the ship, and got all things clear and in readiness for sailing on the following day. Mrs. Henry, Hodges, and Hassell, with several of the missionaries, came off to take leave of the captain, officers, and crew. Mr. Clode, unsettled in his mind, wished to go to the Friendly Islands: and, as the brethren left him at liberty to go or stay, determining to go, some unwrought iron and other articles were taken on board again for his use; but in the evening he changed his mind again, and resolved to stay.

4th. Light airs of wind. At eight A. M. we weighed anchor, and stood out of Matavai bay; the wind variable and baffling. Great numbers of natives crowded on board, to take leave of their respective friends, and see what they would further bestow; for they possess generosity and selfishness in an almost equal degree. Some at parting with their tayos at one end of the ship wept bitterly, but by only walking the length of the deck they became as cheerful as ever; and when taxed with dissimulation, they laughing observed, that it was the parow or custom of Otaheite to weep and cut themselves on such occasions, but the latter they omitted because we had told them it was bad. But as all their passions or fits are extremely short-lived, especially that of grief, their present behaviour was only consistent with their general character and disposition.

After hoisting the pinnace in we stood off and on, waiting the packets of letters, which were brought off at noon by Cover, Henry, and several others who had not taken leave. After such conversation as the occasion suggested, we took an affectionate farewell, and parted, perhaps never to behold each other again in this life.



It was the purpose of the missionaries, as soon as the ship sailed, to change their abode to a more eligible spot, and to surround their premises with a strong wall, sufficient to protect them from any danger, though, while they are united, none is to be apprehended, as they have sufficient force to defend themselves against the whole island. As soon as this is done, they purpose building a vessel of one hundred or one hundred and fifty tons, capable of visiting all the islands around them; for which they have materials of every kind, plenty of timber, and able workmen.

We hope they will have widely diffused the glad tidings of salvation, with which they are sent, by the time we may again visit them.



## CHAPTER XV.

*Return to Tongataboo.—Occurrences during our Absence.*

HAVING passed at a considerable distance southward of the Society Isles on our former voyage, we now shaped a direct course for them; and by noon on the 5th of August were but a little way off Huaheine, its extremities bearing from N. E. by N. to N. W. As we rounded the south end a few canoes came off, in one of which was a chief, with the usual peace-offering, viz. a young pig and a green branch. They came on board without hesitation, and talked with nearly the same freedom as the Otaheiteans. A few hatchets, knives, and looking-glasses were distributed among them; after which, seeing that we disregarded their entreaties to anchor, they went into their canoe and paddled away.

When to leeward of the island, more canoes came alongside: in one of them was Connor, the Irishman, one of the Matilda's crew. To our astonishment, he had forgotten his native tongue, being able to recollect only a few words: and if he began a sentence in English, he was obliged to finish it in the language of the islands. Both he and the natives begged hard for us to enter Owharre harbour; but finding that we were determined to make no stay, he asked the captain if he would take him home; which was readily agreed to, as we had reason, from the conduct of his shipmates at Otaheite, to suppose that such as he would prove a hindrance to the mission. He then begged the captain to give him time to take leave of his wife and child; which was also promised him: for that purpose, we hauled our wind towards the entrance of Owharre harbour; and when off there, Dr. Gillham and I went on shore with him in the canoe,



and, landing, walked towards his house through a crowd of natives, which he cautioned us to beware of, lest, for the sake of our clothes, they should fall upon us and do us mischief: he also requested we might not go far from him. When he made known his intention, some of the women wept, and his wife was much cast down, though he treated her with much indifference; indeed, he had said that he did not care what became of her. But when he took the child in his arms, a most beautiful infant about eight or nine months old, the tears glistened in his eyes, and, expressing his sorrow, he seemed divided in his mind, whether to stay in a situation where, by reason of their wars, he said, his life was continually in jeopardy, or extricate himself, and leave his beloved daughter to the mercy of savages. However, as he still intended the latter, he embarked in the canoe, and his wife and child accompanied us. In the way, we asked her if she would part with her child; her reply was, "No, not for any thing." As several natives and chiefs had collected on board, it was some time before Connor's business could be settled; which also gave him time to consider more deliberately what to do. And, as he never let the child out of his arms, his affection preponderated, and he told the captain that he found it impossible for him to leave it; which we were all glad to hear for the infant's sake. A few useful articles were then presented to him, and we immediately wore ship and made sail, whilst they returned to the shore.

He says, that the wars here are far more destructive than at Otaheite, where they will not stand to fight; here they are more courageous, and both by practice and necessity are become far more skilful. He relates, that about two or three months before our visit, the people of Huaheine (whom he is obliged to assist, or starve) went against the island of Ulietēa; and in the first battle, after many falling on both sides, the latter was defeated, and forced to fly for safety to Borabora, leaving the Huaheine men masters of the island; but in a short time some of the victorious band longing after their wives, returned to Huaheine; of which their enemies no sooner



heard, than they came upon them with a superiority of numbers, killed about fifty of their best warriors, and it was with great difficulty that Connor and a few more got to their canoes, in which, by hard paddling, they escaped from the pursuit of their enemies. Connor shewed the mark of a wound on the back, which had been deep, but was now healed; by which I supposed it more than three months since this affair happened. He says, and I believe truly, that there is no end to their wars; and that to have been once beaten was considered as a sufficient cause for entering on fresh wars; for, notwithstanding their late misfortunes, they were preparing for another attack.

Connor had not been more than five years among the islands, in which time he proves, that a man may, in all points, become a heathen, and even forget his own language; though he had spent part of that time with his shipmates. He had also forgotten what time had elapsed since the wreck of the ship, but supposed it to be eight years, which was three years too much. Perhaps something might be said in excuse for him; he never could read; but had he possessed only a small share of literature, it is likely abstract or speculative ideas would sometimes have arisen in his mind, to express which, words of his native language connected with such ideas would naturally and of necessity recur, that of the islands being too penurious. Add to this, that the remoteness of his situation from home might cause him to give up all thoughts of ever returning to his native country, and to think no more of cultivating or retaining those qualities he had occasion for there.

From Huaheine we steered to go to the northward of Otaha; but as it was nearly calm we made little way; and next day at noon were no farther than between Otaha and Borabora, when we observed in  $16^{\circ} 28' S$ . A few canoes came off from both islands; but as it was Sunday, agreeably to the rule we had invariably followed, we had no intercourse with them; except giving a few knives and hatchets, for which we took nothing in return. Nevertheless, as we



lay becalmed, they hung about the ship most of the day; and when leaving us, promised to return on the morrow.

7th. In the evening the wind came from the westward, and stretching on the larboard tack, we saw the small island of Toubai; which at midnight bore W.N.W. and Mouroa W. by S.; and in the course of the forenoon we passed between the two, and north of the latter, the wind at the time from S.W. by S. squally, with thick weather and constant rain; which continuing, we hauled the foresail up, and run under an easy sail for the night; and next morning at daylight saw Howe's island off the deck, bearing S. by W.

8th. Observed at noon in latitude  $16^{\circ} 45'$  S.; at the same time saw the land bearing north, and supposed it to be the Scilly islands, discovered by Wallis. We now shaped a course for Palmerston's islands, where we had some business to do; and on the morning of the 12th came in sight of them. Hoisting the pinnace out, we landed at the same islet which we had formerly been upon, but by a better passage than before. This lies a little more to the northward. On this day we finished what we intended; got about six hundred coconuts for the ship's use, and planted (which was our main business) thirty-four bread-fruit trees, eighteen plantain and several evee apple-trees, of which there were none before on the island: and if they flourish, as there is scarce a doubt but they will, the benefit of them may be found by some poor cast-away islanders, or needy navigator. At this time the tropic-birds were sitting on their eggs, and so very tame, that, had we pleased, we might have caught many hundreds of them.

18th. Hazy weather prevented our seeing Savage island. On the 17th we came in sight of Eōoa, and next day moored ship in the harbour of Tongataboo in nine fathoms and a half, on a bottom of fine black sand, Mākkahah island bearing N.N.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. and Attatāa N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.

Before we had anchored, George Veefon, one of the missionaries, came off, and informed us that the brethren were all well, Isaac



Nobs excepted ; and that, for reasons judged most prudent, they had separated into small parties, and were now with different chiefs. Bowell and Harper were together with a chief named Vaarjee, who resides at a place called Ardeo, Veefon with Mulicemar, a chief of the district of Ahoge, thirty miles from Ahēfo, and Cooper with Mooree at Ahoge : the rest are still at Ahēfo. But before I notice our proceedings in the ship, it may be necessary to insert a few extracts from the journal of the missionaries, written since our departure.

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April 15th. We were visited by Tōogahowe, and many others ; we informed them of our want of more land and timber, which he instantly said we should have ; he would send a person to shew it us, and when ready it should be brought home for us. We were disappointed in not being able to visit the ship once more, and send letters to our brethren at Otaheite.

Sunday 16th. About seven o'clock we had a prayer meeting, when brother Kelfo and Shelly engaged. As we had fitted up one of our cuckoo clocks, the striking of it excited great surprise and attention among the natives, who considered it as a spirit, on which account they would not touch it, and supposed, if they stole any thing, the bird spirit would detect them, which was not without its use. In the forenoon brother Buchanan preached from Jer. xxxii. 27. Several of the natives were present, and behaved very quietly : in the afternoon brother Kelfo, from 2 Theff. iii. 1. John Connelly (the Irishman) paid us a visit, accompanied by a brother of Fēenou Towago, a chief who lay sick at Noogollifva ; who having heard that Ambler had a day or two ago emptied a cocoa-nut into a Japan pint pot, in order to drink the milk, sent his brother about sixteen miles to beg such a one of us ; for without it, he was afraid he should not get well again. This request we instantly complied with, and made a pro-



mise to visit him as soon as possible. Futtafaihe sent a message by Connelly, entreating us to visit him at Mooa; but this we could not comply with till we knew more of the language. Several of us went out to look for the ship, but saw nothing of her. Our patron, Tōogahowe, made us a present to-day of three pieces of land; two uncultivated of about an acre each, and one about the same size well stocked with yams and banana-trees: these, with the enclosure where our house stands, make about five acres. In the evening he sent us three baked hogs, a large quantity of yams, and a bundle of cloth.

17th. Two of the brethren went to look for the ship, but without success. We sent Tōogahowe a present of earthen-ware, two gimlets, and a few nails. Soon after he sent a messenger, requesting us to go and sing to him before he set off for Noogollifva; but as he was at this time surrounded by some hundreds who were drinking their morning kava, we declined going, and returned answer, that singing was a part of our worship, and we did not make a practice of doing it at other times; which answer satisfied him. He made inquiries concerning our clock; but said, he would not have such a spirit in his house. Brother Harper made him a present of three shawls; and soon after he sent us a hog and some yams. Some of our number were employed in stubbing up old bread-fruit trees, and otherwise preparing our home enclosure for garden-seeds: the secretary, Bowell, writing a vocabulary of the language. In the afternoon the mother-in-law of Ambler, with her two daughters, came to see us; her husband is commander in chief of the fleet of Tōogahowe, and the most skilful sailor on the island. She informed us, that if we sent to her when in want of provisions, she would readily supply us. Glory to God, we are not likely to know any want; he gives us enough and to spare.

18th. After family worship we resumed our different employments. Several sorts of seeds were sown, and more land prepared. A chief, named Cofawer, brought us a hog and some yams, and kindly in-



formed us, that whenever any of us went near his residence, we should be welcome to what his plantation afforded. To-day Ambler left us to pay a visit to Moomōoe, being first equipped by us with a suit of clothes. Cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. brought us by several people during the day.

19th. B. Ambler returned again this morning, and informed us, that the old king Moomōoe expressed some surprise that none of us had visited him since our landing, nor sent him a present. A servant from Fēenou Towago accompanied Ambler; his master had sent him to beg a fork, a plate, an oil lamp, and some red water (port wine). Some of them, it appears, had spread abroad, that the Pappa Langa Tongatas (which is the name we go by) had in their possession some small things that gave better light than the nuts stuck on the splinters of the cocoa-nut, which they used; and this had induced Towago to send for one.

In the time of relaxation from the business of the garden we met, and considered the propriety of some of our body going to visit Moomōoe and Futtafāihe; when it was resolved that brothers Kelfo and Buchanan should on Monday next accompany Ambler, and carry to each a present.

20th. Early this morning John Connelly took his leave to return to Futtafāihe, with whom he resides; with him went the servant of Towago with the specified presents for his master. Our friend Mytyle came, and requested one of us to shave him; which done, he set off for Eōoa, of which island he is the supreme chief.

Our clock excites wondrous attention. Every tool we make use of attracts the notice of the spectators, with which we are commonly surrounded. Many of them will mutter out bitter regret and reflections on their own country, because so ignorant of the ingenious arts with which we are acquainted. A poor object, with ulcers round her wrists of long standing, applied to us; and in about two months we happily were able to cure her.



Desiring to prepare a forge, we endeavoured to form moulds for brick: and to procure lime, we attempted to burn shells, which abound; but found no convenient mode: we were able, however, to obtain some from the natives, who use it to change the colour of their hair, and dive for the stone in deep water, which they afterwards burn. We shall no doubt, in time, be furnished with these things sufficient to supply our wants.

21st. We were visited to-day by several, who brought small presents of fruit, &c. Leboolo, a petty chief, came in the afternoon. This man is accounted the first spearman in the country, on which account Tōogahowe has made him his chief warrior.

22d. In the course of this week we have dug and planted about a sixth part of our home plantation; several old trees have been taken up, and an enclosure made for our hogs. Every employment we engage in excites the attention of the natives, who are frequently so troublesome, that we are necessitated to drive them away. Found the musquitoes very unpleasant; some confined with sore feet, attended with great itching.

Sunday 23d. As usual we had a prayer meeting this morning. About eight o'clock John Connelly paid us a visit, bringing a fine hog and some yams from Futtafāihe, who had also commissioned him to make us an offer of any islet we should choose among those which lie scattered about Tongataboo, as several of them are his. Fish are in great plenty at these islets, and during the hungry season will be peculiarly useful to us. At half past ten brother Buchanan discoursed from John, i.: before he concluded, an old chief, named Attar, came with some kava and a bunch of bananas; he and his attendants sat quietly till the service was over; after which, being told the day was sacred, he apologized for disturbing us, and took leave. In the afternoon brother Kelfo preached from Luke, xxii. An instance of a religious nature occurred to-day—the admiral of the fleet set sail for Feejee in a large double canoe to fetch a spirit (an



idol), as they term it, to cure old Moomōoe, who lies at the point of death; and long before the canoe returns, which cannot be in less than two months, he must be departed, and past the spirit's charm. Oh may the time be hastened when they shall turn from these vanities to serve the living God!

24th. Early this morning brothers Kelfo and Buchanan went with John Connelly to pay a visit to Futtafāihe and Moomōoe at Noogollifva. The weather proving very warm, little work was done without doors. A sister of Fēenou Towago, named Onoadaier, came to see us, and in the afternoon she sent us some hoti. Hoti is a dish very much in request among the chiefs, and is made in the following manner: they first pour cocoa-nut milk into a wooden bowl, then scrape out the kernel with a shell; gee root is bruised into the milk, and remains till the latter has imbibed a delicious sweetness from it; the root is then taken out of the milk, and the kernel mixed up with it, which we found a very rich mess. Harper visited Moomōoe's fiatooka, about half a mile from the missionary house at Bunghye, a beautiful solitary place surrounded by toa and other trees, on which hung vast multitudes of bats as big as crows, called by the natives bēaker. Here he saw two houses; in one there was a quantity of spears and warlike implements, sacred to the Odooa, or spirit; in the other an image of a goddess, called Fyēgā; to whom they pray for a favourable season for making cloth.

25th. Onoadaier paid us another visit this morning, and made us a mess of hoti; which being done in our own house, gave us an opportunity of noticing the great cleanliness which they observe in their cookery. In the afternoon we were visited by a young chief from Leefooka, called by Captain Cook, Leefooga; it is one of the Hapae, or Harby islands. His name is Foonogge, and he is one of the finest made men we have yet seen. As Ambler has been frequently with him, he has learnt several English words, which the young man speaks very plain. He indeed discovered a surprising facility to learn any word or letter which we spoke, or pointed out to him.



26th. During the night we had copious showers of rain, and the wind blew fresh. About eight o'clock a chief brought us a pig and twenty fine yams; in return for which we gave him a few articles of earthen-ware. A short time after we received a similar present. About ten o'clock brothers Buchanan and Kelso returned from Noogollifva, bringing with them sugar-cane, dressed fish, pork, and yams.

The following is a brief narration of their excursion: "At half past six we took our departure from Goloobaloo, and after wading about three quarters of a mile upon the beach got into a canoe, in which were three of Futtafaihe's servants to convey us to Noogollifva: wind and tide being against us, we landed about five miles from our journey's end, and walking about an hour we came to the residence of Fēenou Tōogahowe, who, surrounded by a circle of attendants, was taking his morning's kava. When we had gone through the usual salutations, and made him a present, we proceeded to see his father, and found him removed to a new habitation, which was not quite finished; but twelve or fourteen men being at work upon it, they completed it soon after our arrival. Poor Moomōoe seemed dangerously ill, and was surrounded by several of his wives, the oldest of whom is devoted to be strangled at his death. He seemed very well pleased with the present we made him; a piece of soap was a part of it, which when he saw, he expressed a wish to be shaved, and was much gratified when it was done. Soon after this we were furnished with a mess of fish, yams, &c.

About ten o'clock we went to Futtafaihe, whom we found giving orders to get a large double canoe into a boat-house, situated about twenty yards from high-water mark. He received us with great affability and good-nature, bidding us welcome, and apologized for the meanness of the habitation, also for the smallness of the presents he had sent us; the reason of which, he said, was our living at so great a distance from him. He received the present we made him with much good-humour, and without the avidity so remarkable in



many others. When we had partaken of the refreshments he had provided, he took us to the beach, and shewed us several islands, any of which, he said, were at our service; but he advised against going to examine them this afternoon, on account of the roughness of the weather. Therefore, having a little time on our hands, we visited several other chiefs; and being at last sent for by Tōogahowe, we immediately waited upon him in company with Connelly, and found upon our arrival, that Moomōoe had sent us a large baked hog and some yams. The hog was instantly cut up with a splinter of bamboo, and, together with the yams, divided among the chiefs who were present; and when we had spent a proper time here we returned again to Futtafāihe, who had got a fowl ready dressed for us: and thus it was wherever we went, plentiful provision was made. When we had supped we retired to rest, but were rather disturbed by some old women, who were employed the whole night in beating the legs of Futtafāihe. Next morning we rose before daylight, intending to visit the islands and make choice of one of them, but were detained for some time by a misunderstanding of Futtafāihe's orders. However, as the chief had been sent for to pay his last visit to Moomōoe, supposed to be dying, by Connelly's exertions we embarked in two canoes, with three natives in each to paddle us. After some time we landed at a place called Hollifva, where we were shewn a well, which they informed us was dug by Captain Cook: it is the largest and deepest we have seen in the country, but the water is bad, and the land contiguous to it much encumbered with underwood. Thence crossing a creek, we came to an island called Noogonoogo: here we breakfasted upon fish and baked plantains at the first house we came to; after which we made a tour round the island, and found it, like that at Hollifva, abounding with underwood; but it had a few plantations in good order, which seemed to have cost the natives much labour, on which account we refused to accept of it.



We therefore embarked again, and crossed to another, called Mākkahah: this we found well stored with cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruit, and sugar-cane, also good fresh water. Upon the beach we found a curious coral rock, much resembling the stump of an old tree, about five feet high and four thick; it was full of holes, in which were a great number of water-snakes. The natives forbid us to hurt them, and would scarce suffer them to be touched, saying they were agees; which led us to suppose they were sacred animals. These snakes were about thirty inches long: the body, from head to tail, is in circles of black and white alternately, each about half an inch broad; along the top of the back is a beautiful ultramarine blue. Though not venomous, the natives represent them as dangerous, and say they will kill a man by twisting round his neck and biting a hole in his throat. We next examined another small island, called Faffāa, where was plenty of bread-fruit, but little of any thing else; therefore, on our return, we made choice of Mākkahah, and the few natives, about thirty in number, became our tenants; from whom we could afterwards draw whatever we wanted of the produce, or demand their fish, if we chose it; or improve the island, by making what alterations in it we pleased. We found Futtāfāihe still with Moomōoe; he expressed his approbation of our choice in a very obliging manner, and informed us farther, that he had set three men to fit cordage to a single sailing canoe, which he intended for our use. Moomōoe was now incapable of turning himself, and appeared to be hastening fast to dissolution; nevertheless he desired us to send him a cuckoo clock, and a few of our number to sing psalms for him. We were greatly shocked with the behaviour of Tōogahowe, who two days ago had caused a young man (his own younger brother) to be strangled, that his father might recover. The victim he had buried within a few yards of the house where we were, and he now came to mourn over him, which he did by sitting upon the grave with his elbows upon his knees, and covering his face with



his hands remained a long time in silence, and then departed very thoughtful. After supper Futtafāihe went to sit up with Moomōoe, and we retired to rest; and early next morning embarking in a canoe, got home about nine o'clock."

27th. It had rained hard during the night, which prevented us from working in the day. A present of a turtle and some yams came from Noogollifva in Moomōoe's name: this is esteemed a valuable present in this country. Several of our garden-seeds have now made their appearance, and look exceedingly well; but the rats and mice are very destructive: our crops of peas have fallen a prey to their ravages, and we are afraid the beans will share the same fate, except we find some means to destroy or drive away these vermin. A blind chief visited us to-day.

28th. Weather still wet. Great numbers of people are daily coming into our neighbourhood, bringing cloth, hogs, yams, &c. to be disposed of at the funeral of Moomōoe, whose death is hourly expected. Temporary huts are constructing in every convenient place near to Bunghye, which was the usual residence of the king (Moomōoe), and where his fiatooka is, which stands about half a mile from our house. A young woman arrived at our house this morning, and gave an affecting account of the fate of one of Moomōoe's sons. The youth, it seems, lived at some distance from Noogollifva, where the father lies sick, and by order of whom he was sent for, under pretence of having his little fingers cut off, a custom common here, and done with a view to appease the anger of the Odooa, that the sick person may recover, but, in fact, that he might be strangled. Upon the arrival of Colelallo he was saluted in a cordial manner by his elder brother Tōogahowe, and soon after went to see his father, whose attendants seized upon him with a view to strangle him instantly, when he, guessing their intention, said, if they would use gentler means he would submit to his father's will; but they continuing their violence, he by a great exertion beat them off. Three feejee men were then called, and these being joined by a



sister of the unfortunate Colelallo, they accomplished his death. Alas, how dreadful the darkness that envelopes the minds of those poor heathens! The prince of darkness has impressed the idea on them, that the strength of the person strangled will be transferred into the sick, and recover him. Oh, when shall the happy period come when they shall say, What have we to do any more with idols?

29th. Foonogge paid us a visit this morning, and after him came our friend Mytyle, who informed us that Moomöoe had departed this life about four o'clock this morning. The people who passed from Noogollifva, with their faces bruised, and blood running down their cheeks, were numerous: instead of cloth they wore matting round them, and a twig of the chefnut-tree about their necks; this, it seems, is their mourning dress. About one o'clock Töogahowe arrived; and soon after Ambler, accompanied by brother Bowell, went to see him. He was sitting in a small neat house, giving orders to several chiefs who sat around him, concerning the procuring the vast supplies of hogs, &c. that will be consumed at the funeral. About three o'clock the body of the deceased king was carried past our house, at a small distance from the beach; it was laid on a kind of bier made of the boughs of trees, and supported by about twenty men: several relatives of the deceased preceded the corpse in their mourning dresses, as above; some of them had cut their heads with shark's teeth, and the blood was running in streams down their faces. Behind the corpse was a multitude of people of both sexes. A female chief called Fefene Duatonga, who is very corpulent, was carried on a kind of frame made of two long bamboos, between which she sat on a piece of matting, and was borne by four men. Near her Futtafäihe walked; and next them two women, who were devoted to be strangled at the funeral: one was weeping, but the other appeared little concerned; they both were wives of the deceased. Some of us followed them to the fiatooka, near which they deposited the body for the present, in a house carried thither for the purpose, and which was hung round with black cloth. This fiatooka is situated on a



spot of ground about four acres. A mount rises with a gentle slope about seven feet, and is about one hundred and twenty yards in circumference at the base; upon the top stands a house neatly made, which is about thirty feet long, and half that in width. The roof is thatched, and the sides and ends left open. In the middle of this house is the grave, the sides, ends, and bottom of which are of coral stone, with a cover of the same: the floor of the house is of small stones. The etoa and other trees grow round the fiatooka.

To the left of the tomb, and without the enclosure, sat about four hundred people: the major part of them were men, for whom yava was brewing. Opposite to these were placed five large roasted hogs, twenty baskets of roasted yams, and about one hundred pieces of mai (or mahie), the four paste. A few paces from the provisions sat seven or eight men, who were tabooed, and exempt from cutting themselves. One of these gave orders concerning the disposal of the hogs, yams, and yava; all that drank of the latter were mentioned by name, by a person appointed to that office by Fefene Duatonga, who now seemed to have the management of the funeral. They did not forget us; but in dealing out the liquor sent us each a part, which we gave to the natives who sat by us. Persons of both sexes seated themselves in different parts of the ground, beating their faces dreadfully; and after having emptied two bowls of yava, dispersed.

30th. During the night great numbers of people were passing and repassing. Preaching by brothers Buchanan and Kelso. Many of the natives crowded round our gate, and a few were admitted. Preparations for the funeral were carried on with unremitting diligence by the natives.

May 1st. Three roasted hogs were sent us this morning, one from Fefene Duatonga, one from Töogahowe, and the other from Fēenou Lucalullo. In return we sent a present to Töogahowe only; it consisted of a cooper's adze, an auger, a gouge, three gimlets, a plane, two chissels, &c. Several strangers came to gratify their curiosity during the day, great numbers of whom stood without the



fence, noticing all our actions. Futtafaihe paid us a visit this morning for the first time since we have been on shore; one of the brethren shaved him, and whilst he was doing it the natives were afraid any of the hair should fall to the ground, in which case not one of them would dare to eat under the roof again; however, no accident of that kind happened. Great preparations are making at Bunghye for the funeral; people flocking from all quarters with hogs, fruit, cloth, spears, and clubs.

2d. The crowd in our neighbourhood is prodigious, and alarming to us; and we are informed they are likely to make a stay of two or three months, in which time He alone who reigns on high knows what excesses they may run into towards us.

As the funeral was to take place to-day, brother Bowell went with Ambler to Bunghye to see the ceremony, and found about four thousand persons sitting round the place where the fiatooka stands. A few minutes after our arrival we heard a great shouting and blowing of conch-shells at a small distance; soon after about an hundred men appeared, armed with clubs and spears, and rushing into the area, began to cut and mangle themselves in a most dreadful manner: many struck their heads violently with their clubs; and the blows, which might be heard thirty or forty yards off, they repeated till the blood ran down in streams. Others who had spears, thrust them through their thighs, arms, and cheeks, all the while calling on the deceased in a most affecting manner. A native of Feejee, who had been a servant of the deceased, appeared quite frantic; he entered the area with fire in his hand, and having previously oiled his hair, set it on fire, and ran about with it all on flame. When they had satisfied themselves with this manner of torment, they sat down, beat their faces with their fists, and then retired. A second party went through the same cruelties; and after them a third entered, shouting and blowing the shells; four of the foremost held stones which they used to knock out their teeth; those who blew the shells cut their heads with them in a shocking manner. A man that had a spear run



it through his arm just above the elbow, and with it sticking fast ran about the area for some time. Another, who seemed to be a principal chief, acted as if quite bereft of his senses; he ran to every corner of the area, and at each station beat his head with a club till the blood flowed down his shoulders. After this brother *Bowell*, shocked, and unable to bear the scene any longer, returned home. *Futtafāihe* also came to our dwelling, and stayed about two hours. At two o'clock in the afternoon four of us went to the *fiatooka*, where the natives of both sexes were still at the dreadful work of cutting and mangling themselves. We had not been long there before we heard at a distance, low but expressive sounds of the deepest sorrow and lamentation: this was a party of about one hundred and forty women marching in single file, bearing each a basket of sand; eighty men followed in the same manner, with each two baskets of coral sand, and sung, as they marched, words importing, "This is a blessing to the dead;" and were answered in responses by the women. Another company of women brought a large quantity of cloth, and answered in their turn to the above responses. Thus these three bands walked towards the tomb, filling or covering that part of the mount between the house and the place where the corpse lay, and the grave, with fine mats and cloth; after which, seven men blew conch-shells, whilst others sung in a doleful strain expressive of the most heart-felt grief. The corpse was now conveyed to the grave upon a large bale of black cloth, with which, and fine mats, they covered it. The bearers, as they went, walked stooping low, and carrying the bale in their hands. Whilst these services were performing, a company of men and women came into the area, and cut themselves dreadfully. After them another file of females, nineteen in number, brought each a bag of their most valuable articles; and twenty-one more had each a fine mat in their hands, all of which they deposited in the tomb, being, as they call it, a present for the dead; and immediately after came a present from *Tōogahowe*, consisting of thirty-five bales of cloth, each bale carried by four men on a frame. After the pre-



sents another party of mourners entered the area, sixteen of whom had recently cut their little fingers off: these were followed by another party with clubs and spears, who beat themselves as before described, and disfigured their faces with cocoa-nut husks fixed on the knuckles of both hands. We noticed that those who had held offices, or were related to the deceased, were the most cruel to themselves; some of whom thrust two, three, and even four spears into their arms, and so danced round the area, and some broke the ends of the spears in their flesh. The grave was covered with a hewn stone about eight feet long, four broad, and one thick: this stone they had suspended with two large ropes, which went round two strong piles drove into the ground at the end of the house, and thence led to the area, where about two hundred men held by them; and whilst they lowered it slowly, women and children wept aloud, or sung words importing, "My father, my father! the best of chiefs, &c." More cloth was then brought to be put into the tomb; and another party entered, and abused themselves as before. After these paroxysms of grief they sat awhile in silence; and when they had pulled the rope clear off the stone which covered the grave, those on the mount gave a great shout, which was answered by a general tearing of the leaves from the necks of all present; after which they dispersed.

3d. Several strangers visited us this morning, many of whom are chiefs of considerable influence: from them we received a few small presents. The dreadful work of cutting and mangling was again renewed to-day with fresh vigour by the natives; but on reflection we did not think proper to go, and countenance by our presence the cruel customs of this poor deluded people. Except being crowded by natives round our enclosure, nothing material occurred on the two following days; but to prevent mischief as much as in us lay, we watched at nights, two at a time, though, thank God, we have not as yet been molested; and our friend Tōogahowe has threatened with death any man that should be detected in robbing us.

4th. Ambler, who had received from us various articles of



wearing apparel, and a box to secure them, pretended to be robbed by the natives, and contrived to have the empty box brought back; but we suspected the cheat. He beat one of the women he lived with inhumanly, who ran away, and the friends of the other carried her off; yet though this fellow was so wicked, he rendered us considerable service by instructing us in the language, as also did a young chief named Fynogge.

6th. Took a walk to Mooco, a fine elevated spot near the beach, with houses and enclosures, belonging to Fēenou Towago, who lay sick. We staid with him about four hours. He made us a present of a fine American dog, an animal of which we stood in need. We received also a present from a great chief of the Harby islands.

On our way we observed the country, and the manner of fencing and cultivating their lands. It is in general level, laid out in fields or smaller enclosures, called abbeys, and some still less, which surround the houses, called ladōres. Their fences are reed, set in a trench, plaited close, and fastened to stakes on the inside, which strike root and grow: they contain banana-trees, or yams, set in rows three feet asunder, which were now ripe; between the rows the yava root was cultivated, or the tālloo, another esculent root; but they left the uncultivated parts very foul, and overgrown with weeds and grass. Their mode of working is to squat down on their hams, and hoe the ground with an instrument of hard wood, about five feet long, narrow, with sharp edges, and pointed; with this also they dig it up.

In the evening Benjamin Ambler made use of very improper language to the brethren, and desired them to quit the abbey, and to sow no more seeds. On this we applied to our friend and patron Tōogahowe; Mytyle, who has rendered us so many kind offices, accompanied us. Tōogahowe received us very cordially, said he loved us and all our brethren, and immediately gave us a pig and twenty fine yams; and when he had heard our complaint was very angry, and sent immediately for Ambler, who came, and notwithstanding his endea-



vours to palliate what he had said, he received a severe reproof from the chief, who told him that he had no right to our house, nor any thing about us, and desired he would let us alone in future.

7th. This forenoon Futtafaihe, accompanied by two of his tuckongers (or counsellors), came, and staid about an hour with us, then took their leave.

About ten A. M. brother Buchanan preached from Heb. xii. 1.; in the afternoon brother Kelfo from Cant. i. and afterwards administered the Lord's supper. As few of the natives were permitted within the enclosure, we were enabled to wait on the God of our salvation without distraction.

8th. Our friend Tōogahowe, attended by a numerous retinue, brought us two pieces of cloth, and a spade which we had given him the week before; he now wanted it cut in pieces, to make small iron tools; this was done, and as the grindstone had been fitted up, they were also sharpened for him: having some yava root by us, we gave it to him, so that while the business of the spade was going on, they regaled themselves over a bowl, and afterwards departed much pleased. Futtafaihe came to-day likewise, and brought with him a fine turtle. More than twenty large double canoes arrived from the Harby islands, carrying upwards of fifty persons each: in one of them was Morgan Bryan, an Irishman, the former shipmate of Ambler and Connelly: he had heard of our arrival so early as about the time the ship sailed. As soon as he landed he came and staid some time, but during our interview gave such specimens of depravity as excited a wish for him never more to come under our roof. A writing-book forgotten at Fēenou Tōogahowe's his wife first denied, and then produced stripped of most of the leaves.

9th. Several chiefs came to see us this morning, and brought tools to be sharpened. Morgan came again to see us, and to our grief we are likely to have much of his company. Provisions in abundance are still brought to Bunghye from all parts of the country. Strangers likewise are visiting the fiatooka of Moomōoe, where they continue the



cruel mourning ceremony, but not so much now as a few days ago. Morgan, who had in the morning requested iron tools of us, which we did not think proper to give, took the liberty, in concert with Ambler, to upbraid us, and to use such language as much hurt our minds. Ambler well knew that our stock of tools was much reduced, yet he did not scruple to say, that, unless we complied with his request, he would, before ten days elapsed, adopt means to satisfy himself; and with this threat walked off. May He who has said, "Be not dismayed, I am thy God," protect us with his almighty power from the machinations of those wicked men!

10th. About five A. M. brother Kelfo being on watch discovered a man creeping through the fence; he immediately struck the thief, and repeated his blows till the man ran off. Mytyle being acquainted with it, was very sorry the fellow was not killed. A sister of Tōogahowe's, named Fēenou Allawallo, sent us a fine hog and eight baskets of yams, and several of her family followed, and staid most of the afternoon, which was rainy. In the evening Tōogahowe came himself, with a chief from Harby; before he departed he received a coverlid from one of the brethren, with which he was highly gratified.

11th. John Connelly informs us, that while the chiefs sat over the yava bowl this morning, he overheard them laying plans to embrace the first opportunity to deprive us of all our possessions, but that they waited the return of the ship, when they hoped we should receive more articles. The truth of this report we have no reason to doubt, as we know there is not a man on the island but would tell us upon inquiry, that they are "matdē monucka," that is to say, "dying in love for our things." This information gave us no small uneasiness, and led us to inquire what steps were proper to be taken at this critical juncture, and which was the path of duty. We knew not the way of proceeding they might take to effect their purpose; but as savages generally work themselves up to fury on occasions of enterprise, we had but little hope that they would regard our lives.



After debating the subject, we concluded the safest plan would be, to separate, and, going two together, put ourselves under the protection of the greatest chiefs, and place our property also under their care; by which means we might secure our persons, and, at least, save our books; but that we might have one place whereat to meet and commune together, it was judged proper that four of our number should remain with Tōogahowe.

In the afternoon brothers *Bowell* and *Veefon*, accompanied by *Connelly*, went in quest of Tōogahowe, who seemed to discover little concern when he heard of our circumstances; but wished that he might have his share of the property, if we did separate. On this we invited him to our habitation, and opened every box to his view, from every one of which he took something, by way of tithe, and departed satisfied.

12th. The night passed quietly, and but few of the natives came near our fence; however, the alarm of yesterday was by no means quelled. Tōogahowe wished for us all to remain with him, the motives for which we could easily see through; it appearing evident that he hoped to receive something considerable on the return of the ship. But the more we weighed the subject, the more were we persuaded of the impropriety of remaining together. We had witnessed a great waste of provisions at the recent ceremonies, and which, by the daily influx of strangers, was likely to continue; this we were certain would be severely felt in the scarce season, which was fast approaching. We had many articles in our possession which would engage their affection and friendship. Except we separated, we were likely to be the principal sufferers, it being much easier for a chief to provide for two or four than for ten; besides, we had hopes of acquiring the language with greater facility. We therefore waited again upon Tōogahowe, and acquainted him with our resolution: he seemed willing we should do as we pleased; but only seemed so, for we knew he was inwardly vexed about it. A chief named *Mulicemar* was spoken to, who agreed to take any two of our number.



We next addressed Fēenou Allawallo; she is accounted the greatest chief of her family, is the sister of Tōogahowe and mother of Fēenou Towago. She said that she would gladly take two of us, but that her brother was averse to our leaving him: that, as we had landed under his protection, he wished us to remain so; and that he would account the chief his enemy who attempted to entice us from him. On this account she advised us only to visit the chiefs at their houses, where we might make our stay long or short, and so return again; and that at her house we should be always welcome. This advice we at present adopted, and we resolved to wait as we were.

A great heiva or mai was performed at the fiatooka of Moomōoe; first by women in their best garments and finest mats: pieces of our cloth or silk were added as ornaments; the perfumed cocoa-nut oil dropping from their hair. Two drums, and a vocal concert of men sitting round, accompanied the women, who also sung and danced, performing different evolutions in a most graceful manner. An old chief at intervals called out, "Fyfogee," or, Encore; and sometimes "Marēa," or, Well done.

Great preparations were made this morning for what they call a mai, which was intended to be celebrated in the evening by women. Upwards of one hundred and thirty hogs were roasted, and, with three hundred baskets of yams, were distributed by Tōogahowe. Seven hogs and as many baskets of yams were sent us by different persons. Our visitors of rank were numerous.

As they are always in search for iron, a thief contrived to steal our wash-tub, took the hoops off, and concealed the staves in the grass. Thus we were deprived of the only utensil we possessed of this kind.

14th. Divine service by brother Buchanan, from Heb. xii. 2.: afternoon, by brother Kelfo, from Rom. vi. 23.

To-day Tōogahowe was vested with the name and authority of Dugonagaboola, in the room of his father, Moomōoe, deceased. His name was now changed from Fēenou Tōogahowe to that of Talliata-



boo, the god of their family ; and we understand that none of his subjects must in future address him by his former name, on pain of death.

15th. Vaharta, a chief, visited us, and brought us a hog, twenty yams, &c.

16th to the 21st. On Monday night we had a severe tempest, with copious showers of rain. Strangers still are coming from the Harby islands and Vavao ; many of whom, as they arrive, go to the fiatooka, and pay their tribute of respect to the deceased, by cruel inflictions on their own bodies. The scenes of joy and mourning now occupy their whole time : at present the diversions of the women prevail ; and in a few days the men will commence theirs. Those who come from distant parts of this island are returning home, on account of the difficulty of getting food at Bunghye. The diversions and ceremonies, we suppose, will yet last some weeks, in which time we cannot expect to make much improvement in our land.

On Sunday the 21st, brother Buchanan discoursed from his former text ; brother Kelfo, from Col. ii. 12.

22d. Prepared a piece of ground for turnips, which thrive better than any other seeds. Set some peas and beans ; those we first planted were in blow in about two months. The peas were chiefly destroyed by the rats, which abound here. Walked over the western part of the island, not more than a mile across. The shore rocky ; a heavy surf upon it. Observed the natives amusing themselves with swimming in the surf, and carried on the top of the wave ; this sport they call fāneefō.

The men have begun their diversions at Moomōoe's fiatooka, and practise morning and evening in different parties, under different chiefs. Next Sunday is fixed for the cartonga lahie, or great toomai ; after which, we are informed, many of the people will disperse, of which we shall be heartily glad.

28th. The great toomai was performed by men dressed in their finest robes, and mats ornamented with feathers, beads, shells, &c. ;



the drums called tarraffe founding, accompanied by a chorus of performers singing, and holding in their hands an instrument like a paddle, called dobōche, about two feet and a half long, with a short handle; making curious flourishes, with corresponding motions, and different attitudes; those around them joining in the chorus. They began in three lines, and shifted by various evolutions, till those in the rear became the front, moving in exact time, and with a graceful step. Some of our number make a practice of visiting one or other of the great chiefs every day, by whom we are treated with much affection, and they offer us any thing in their possession. They take great pains, and display much ingenuity, in endeavouring to make us understand their language. Through the week we have had a most liberal supply of provisions sent us, and have eleven hogs in our sty, more than we well know how to feed. Maintained our usual worship; brother Buchanan spoke from Heb. xii. 2. Kelfo from Col. ii. 13.

29th. Two of our brethren being invited by Futtafāihe to Mooa, they set off, and overtook him in about two miles, having rested with his party to take their morning draught of kava: they pursued their journey in company. The Dooatonga being unwell was carried by four porters, on a kind of litter. They proceeded not in the direct road by the beach, but turned to the right inland, and stopped at the largest house they had seen in the island, being one hundred and eighteen feet by fifty-six, and neatly thatched; it is called Naffōola, and is about six miles from ours. Here they rested about three hours, during which they took a turn to Lēgo, as they call the western part of the island, saw much land cultivated for yams, but more neglected and overgrown with weeds. There were vast groves of cocoa-nuts, which grew on the bare rocks, even to the edge of the cliffs. Below was a delightful spring gushing out of a rocky cavern, into which, at high water, the sea flows. In the evening they went to Tōgamalōolo, a beautiful spot at a little distance from the road, where



they slept. Before the house was a large green area, and on each side a fiatooka containing three tombs.

30th. Reached Mooa, the residence of Futtafāihe; they found the abbeys and ladōres of this village in a very ruinous condition, and the fences much out of repair. Here are several houses, which Connelly said were *spirits'* houses, where they found logs of wood, stones, and bundles of rags, which were considered as spirits, being brought from the Feejee islands. These places are falling down, but so sacred, they must not be touched to repair them. Futtafāihe is very superstitious, and himself esteemed as an odooa or god; he is also much devoted to pleasure, singing, and dancing; has several wives, the first women of the country; one, the daughter of Moomōoe, called Dooboumaofer: she has features and a complexion very like a European, as she seldom goes out of the house, or exposes herself to the sun and air.

The lands about Mooa are ill cultivated, and overgrown with grass and trash; though there are many beautiful abbeys planted with a variety of trees and flowering shrubs of the most delicious fragrance.

31st. Very rainy and tempestuous. When it cleared up they walked out to see the abbeys, canoes, &c. The fiatookas are remarkable. There lie the Futtafāihes for many generations, some vast and ruinous, which is the case with the largest; the house on the top of it is fallen, and the area and tomb itself overgrown with wood and weeds. Poulaho, the father of the present king, is said to have died and been interred at Vavao.

The history, if Ambler's report is to be received, is this: that Poulaho, but more especially his wife Mahoofe, of the Doubou family, were tyrannical in their government, dispossessing the chiefs arbitrarily, and rendering themselves odious. Tōogahowe was then chief at Eōoa. Her majesty, after Poulaho's decease, dismissed him from his post, and nominated another. This he resented, and refused to submit; and told the messenger he was a tooa, and not an āgee,



or chief, else he would have challenged him to single combat; but now he had only to depart with his train, or he would put him to death. The wind blew a storm, but he hastened back to his mistress, who inquired the reason of his return in such a gale: he related his reception; and she replied, "Tōogahowe has a mind to be killed, "I will punish his insolence." Tōogahowe meantime convened the other chiefs, and urged them to join him in support of their privileges. The conflict proved in their favour, and the queen was driven to Ahēfo, and took shelter at a house near ours at Attaboo. Here she sat with a garland of leaves about her neck, and a gōoter-koo in her mouth, which signified, I crave mercy. Tōogahowe was going to dispatch her with his toooca-toooca, or spear, but was withheld by his followers; and she was suffered to escape to the Harby islands, where she now lives in exile. Tōogahowe, victorious, exercised great cruelties on his enemies, tying some to trees and burning them alive, and making great devastations at the Harby islands. In a fight with the people of Vavao, his canoe outfailed the rest, and he fought them alone with such fury as gained the victory, and raised the fame of his military prowess to the highest pitch; so that he is universally dreaded and obeyed. Our missionaries were witnesses to some of Tōogahowe's savage conduct. One man who displeased him had his hand cut off on the spot; and another was tied up with his arms extended, and two women were ordered with lighted sticks to burn him under the arm-pits. Our brethren interceded for him, and happily rescued him from this cruel punishment.

June 1st. The brethren returned in a sailing canoe to Ahēfo. Futafāihe made them a present of a hog and twenty yams, and accompanied them to a small island in the bay called Mākkahah, which he had given them.

At Ahēfo found several chiefs returning to their homes; one of them, named Mōore, invited Cooper and Gaulton to accompany him to Ahoge on a visit, which they accepted. Several of the chiefs have given us pressing invitations to reside with them, and have of-



ferred us houses, and whatever we can desire; so that, whenever we separate, there is no fear of wanting an asylum.

4th. Spent the Lord's day as usual: partook of the holy communion.

5th. *Bowell* and *Harper* paid a visit to *Vaarjee*, a chief of great influence in the district of *Ardeo*: he informed us of some of the villanies of *Morgan* and *Ambler*, respecting several things they had stolen from us; and we met some women dressed in the stolen things.

6th. *Vaarjee* led us a walk across the country to his family fiatooka. Below the cliff are caverns on which the surf beats, and the water gushes back with surprising violence.

7th. *Bowell* and *Harper* returned from *Ardeo*, highly pleased with the treatment they had received. *Vaarjee* inquired earnestly of *Mr. Bowell*, if we had any who could assist women in difficult labours. Two of his servants attended them with a large mat to sleep on, and to assure us of hogs and yams whenever we wanted them, and an invitation to come to him whenever we pleased. He lives about ten miles from us. His land is the best cultivated we have seen; he has the largest district of any chief at *Tonga*; and is not obliged to furnish *Dugonagaboola* with his produce. He employs a great number of servants in different occupations and labours. At our return we found the materials ready, and laid at our gate, which *Tōogahowe* had promised to enlarge our dwelling. A mattock which we sometimes used took his fancy, and was given him. *Mytyle* objecting to another erection within the abbey, we set it up in an adjoining field, which we proposed to clear and cultivate.

10th. Heard that *Fēenou Lukolallo* was ill, and not likely to live. A pair of pantaloons were stolen. *Mytyle* had ingratiated himself with us, by his readiness to teach us the language, and was a very intelligent man, but we were sorry to detect him in several petty thefts.

11th. Spent the Lord's day in our usual manner. *Futtafāihe* visited us, and wished we would shave him. We excused ourselves



from doing it, as we never did any manual labour on the odooa day. Our gracious Father has given us great acceptance in the sight of this people, who express much surprise at observing how different our manners are from those of our countrymen, whose time is spent in idleness and profligacy. One of them has four wives, another three, and the other two. With such men it is impossible for us to maintain any fellowship, and their envy and enmity we bitterly experience.

12th. This morning Lukolallo died; and Fenogge, a young chief, informed us that Morgan and Ambler had been very industrious of late to irritate the minds of the natives against us, telling them that we were only tooas (mean people), and that they were agees (chiefs), and sons of the king of England. They had also recommended to them to attack and plunder us. After this we did not think proper to stay in the house where we were, but to remove to one larger, which stood in the enclosure next to Dugonagaboola, to which the chief readily consented, and all things except our hogs were taken thither this evening. However, next day when we went to fetch them we found the sty broken, and but one remaining; two were near the sty, and after the strictest search we found only another: thus our stock was reduced from nine to four.

14th. Ambler and Morgan having heard that we suspected them of having driven off our hogs, came to our house, and began to abuse us; and Morgan even kicked one of our number. Seeing them determined to proceed further, a scuffle ensued; Morgan again struck with his club the person he had before kicked; but the blow did no great injury. They then desisted, finding themselves overpowered, but not from uttering the most horrid execrations both on us and also on themselves if they did not prove bitter enemies, and murder us before morning.

In the evening we again met to consider further the propriety of remaining together; when it was observed, besides the reason formerly given, that we made less progress in the language than we should if



we had only natives to converse with. After much conversation, there appeared, on a division, eight for parting, against it two. It was then agreed, that a division of the public property should take place. On acquainting Dugonagaboola with what we had done, he consented, and promised to come to our house on the 17th, and receive a present which we had provided for him.

15th. A division of the public property took place. Morgan and Ambler came again to-day, but more peaceably disposed. On the 16th Connelly came and acted his part. He wanted a clock for Futtafaihe, and insisted upon having it, saying that it had been promised before. But we could not think of complying with such presumptuous demands, especially as we knew no such promise had ever been made; therefore he went away much displeased. Next day he came again, and received the same answer. He then swore he would do us all the harm he could, and that he would murder the first of us he could get into his power. Thus we experience perils among the heathen, but more from our own countrymen.

Sunday 18th. Buchanan preached from Psalm lxxiii. 1, 2, 3. Kelfo, from Heb. iv. 10.

20th. Our visitors are not half so numerous now as they have been, owing in part to a funeral ceremony about three miles from our habitation. This morning Mytyle sent his servants with one of our lost hogs. Vaarjee's funeral services ending, he told us he should return in two nights; and, if we were ready to go with him, would send his servants to remove our luggage; to which we agreed, and went to Attaboo to see our garden; only a few cabbage-plants had come up, which we transplanted. But Vaarjee being unexpectedly detained four or five nights longer, we returned to our house at Bunghye. Thither in the evening two chiefs brought a fine lad, with his hands tied together with sinnet, and wanted to barter (fuccatōw) him for an axe. We inquired what the lad had done, if he was ēn w, a bad boy; they said, No, lille dōono ōofee, ālofy



fakōw, Good for roasting yams and running errands. But we told them we were tabooed from all such iniquitous practices as felling our fellow-creatures ; on which they carried him away.

24th. Went to visit the fiatooka of Fēenou Lukolallo near the sea at Valoo : it is on a fine plain shaded with toa and other trees. Several people sat round the grave, which was covered with black cloth, and remarkably clean and neat ; we sat down to converse with them, and improve the opportunity for their instruction. They shewed us two logs of wood rudely carved in a human shape, which they said were odooas brought from Feejee. We told them these could not be spirits, but mere pieces of wood fit only for the fire. Nor did they seem, by the manner in which they tossed them about, to have any idea of their sanctity. We have not yet found that they have priests, or any stated ceremonial worship, but possess many superstitious notions about spirits ; and that by strangling some relations of the chief when he is sick, the deity will be appeased, and he will recover.

25th. Divine service as usual. Buchanan, 1 Theff. v. 9. Kelfo, Eph. iv. 9.

27th. Shelly and Nobbs accompanied Vaharlo to his house at Ahoge. This chief has shewn a peculiar attachment to us. Vaarjee called on us in consequence of a message to him from Dugonagaboola, who did not chuse we should leave him, or rather remove with our effects to another chief. However, on making him a present he consented, assured us of his cordial regard, and that whenever we came to Ahēefo we should have a welcome reception with him.

28th. About a quarter past three o'clock in the morning we were much alarmed by a shock of an earthquake, which lasted about a minute, during which time the earth kept a continual trembling ; it was sensibly felt by us all. Our consternation on this occasion was much increased by the natives around us, who seemed quite panic-struck, and set up loud cries ; and the surf on the beach made



a greater noise than we ever heard before. This we considered as a wonderful exertion of divine power, and a sign at which we beheld those who dwell at the uttermost parts of the earth tremble. May the time hasten when they shall learn to know and love Him of whom they are afraid! Early in the morning we were visited by some of the natives, to whom we mentioned the earthquake; the impression it made upon them seemed to be but momentary; they imputed it to the odooa (or spirit), of which they seem to have very confused notions, ascribing every thing to it which exceeds their comprehension, and of which they know not the immediate cause. Ambler says that it is the fourth shock they have had since he landed here about eighteen months ago. To-day brothers Bowell and Harper took their departure from us, and went to reside with Vaarjee, a principal chief at Ardeo, about ten miles distant.

29th. Bowell and Harper embarked with Vaarjee and his mother Duatonga Fefene, who seems the first woman in the island, and was going to Mooa. They landed at a small island in the bay, where they slept the first night.

Nobbs and Shelly returned from Ahoge, where they had felt the earthquake as sensibly as we had done, and attended with much the same circumstances. They report that they were treated with the greatest kindness, not only by their friend, but by all with whom they had any intercourse; as a proof whereof, they brought two hogs, two hundred yams, and six bunches of cocoa-nuts.

30th. Finding Bowell and Harper reading a book, their friend Vaarjee inquired what it said; they endeavoured to make him comprehend the sacred subject of which it treated, which he seemed to understand, and mentioned to his mother, who was sitting by. They embarked at eight o'clock; the wind being against them, they beat up to Mooa, and were entertained for the night by Kanēer, a friend of this chief. The next day, the 31st, they arrived at Ardeo. Spent the evening in learning the language; their friend Vaarjee being an



excellent tutor, and improving every occurrence to make them acquainted with the meaning of words, and the names of things, in the clearest manner.

July 1st. Dugonagaboola sent for brother Shelly, to inform him of his intended departure to Mooa on Monday next; and as he was apprehensive that we might run short of provisions in his absence, he advised us to accompany him thither, and offered to put our property into a place of safety till his return, which he proposes in about two moons, or months; but as we expect the ship much sooner, we thought it inexpedient to accept this favour. We could not, however, sufficiently admire the goodness of God, who hath the hearts of all men in his keeping, thus to incline this man to such a provident care over us, notwithstanding the pains our adversaries have taken to incense him against us.

Sunday 2d. Brother Buchanan preached in the morning from 1 Thess. v. 9.; brother Kelfo, afternoon, from Matt. xxvii. 35. and afterwards dispensed the Lord's supper.

3d. Brother Veeson went to reside with Mulicemar, in the district of Ahoge. We now begin to see something of the designs of Providence in casting us at our first landing into the midst of such confusion and disorder as then filled us with apprehension for our safety; he at that time not only made daily displays of his almighty power, and gracious care, in protecting us from every threatening danger, but, by collecting a vast concourse of strangers from every quarter, both of Tongataboo and the adjacent islands, and giving us favour in their sight, seems already to have opened a door for us to every part of this extensive group. We have received pressing invitations to several of the neighbouring islands, which nothing but a want of the language has prevented us from accepting. But we hope by a diligent application to remove that obstacle: so that we now look for opportunities of promoting the glorious design in which we are engaged, which at first we little expected. "The Lord's way is in



“ the sea, and his path in the great waters, and his footsteps are not known.”

4th. At seven in the morning, being nearly answerable to the time when we expect our friends in London to be engaged in the like exercise, we held our monthly prayer-meeting, and encouraged ourselves with the thought that many of the Lord's people were earnestly beseeching at a throne of grace in our behalf; and trust it will be no small comfort to them to know, that he has graciously heard, and seems to be giving answers of peace, by continually bestowing on us a rich supply of every needful blessing.

In the afternoon we received a letter from brothers Bowell and Harper, acquainting us with their welfare.

7th. We were visited by the wife and daughter of Mōoe, a chief who resides at Ahoge, and to whom brothers Gaulton and Cooper had paid a visit some time ago. He at that time had given them a large house and plantation, to induce them to reside with him, to which they consented; but, being since prevented, his impatience excited him to send this message for them. They brought a hog and a large quantity of yams.

This evening we felt another shock of an earthquake, but it was neither so sensible nor of so long duration as the former.

8th. Brother Harper came to see us, and says that they are very comfortable at Ardeo with Vaarjee, who is anxious to indulge them to the utmost of his power, and has assigned them apartments wholly to themselves, and is very ready and useful in instructing them in the language.

Sunday the 9th, brother Buchanan preached from 1 Theff. v. 9.; brother Kelso, from Gen. xxii. 1.

10th. Brother Harper returned home this evening to Ardeo, accompanied by brother Wilkinson.

12th. Laid out the grass-plot before our house, with brother Wilkinson's help, in the European style, with the garden; which



we began to cultivate. Taught Vaarjee's men the method of digging the ground with spades, and planted some pine-apples. Visited a chief called Tōboocovāloo, a relation of our friend; were entertained with great hospitality, and received from him a fine sow in pig, and three-score yams, for which, in return, we gave him two or three tools, and some earthen plates. On the Lord's day having told Tōboocovāloo that we did no work, and spent the whole in the worship of God, he asked with much humour, whether we might eat on that day; and having informed him, he very kindly sent us a baked hog, on which we dined together: he gave us also a very fine myrtle and other shrubs, with pine-apples for our garden, which we planted. Received also a parcel of garden-seeds and a spade from Bunghye.

14th. After constant and heavy rain, which lasted from morning until night with little intermission, we were visited with the heaviest storm of thunder and lightning which we have had since our arrival on the island; however, such weather seems not so frequent here as might be expected from the situation of the country.

15th. The rain still continued very heavy all day. In the evening brother Wilkinson returned home, having been kindly entertained by our brethren at Ardeo. On his return he lost his way, and was exposed to some danger; but the Lord, who keeps all our goings, graciously preserved him.

16th, Sunday. Brother Buchanan discoursed from Isaiah, liv. 13. During the intervals of worship we heard a hideous outcry of the natives towards Bunghye, and were afterwards informed that it was occasioned by a number of men just arrived from Vavao, who had repaired to Moomōoe's tomb, to evince their affection and respect by the same cruel ceremonies as had been observed at his funeral. O that the salvation of Israel were come forth out of Zion! When God brings back the captivity of this people, how will our hearts rejoice to hear these horrid howlings changed into songs of praise to Him who has redeemed his people from death, and ransomed them from the



power of the grave! In the afternoon brother Kelfo preached from Deut. xxxii. 2.

17th. We were favoured with a visit from brother Veefon, and a son of Mulicemar; they brought a fine hog and yams with them from that chief, and informed us of the death of Tamaifuma on the 13th instant: he was a chief of great repute for personal courage; and this circumstance our adversaries seem to improve to some purpose against us, by making the natives believe that our God, in answer to our prayers, kills them. This being the third chief that has died since our arrival, makes them say they never died so fast before; and imputing all to the same cause, they say, that if we continue praying and singing, there will not be a chief left alive. This idea, which could only originate from the father of lies, working in these children of disobedience, seems calculated to create us some trouble; but still it is an unspeakable comfort to reflect, that it shall prevail no farther than is consistent with the holy, wise, and gracious design of our heavenly Father, who, we doubt not, will make his strength perfect in our weakness, so that we may boldly say, "The Lord is our helper, we will not fear what man can do unto us."

On the 18th the same idea was mentioned to us by different persons; it seems to gain ground with them very fast, and our endeavours to persuade them to the contrary are fruitless at present. In the forenoon brother Veefon took his leave; and on Saturday the 22d, brother Howell paid us a visit. In the beginning of the week he had been at Mooa, where the greatest part of the inhabitants are at present assembled for the celebration of the annual natche. There he found the minds of the people had received the same dangerous impression, and that our countrymen were the sole authors and propagators of it; the Lord, however, has graciously over-ruled it, so that it has in some degree brought the mischief they intended us upon their own heads. When it was first mentioned to brother Howell, Vaarjee was present, and was much displeased with the person who spoke of it. Ambler



had also endeavoured to poison the mind of Dugonagaboola, who heard him with great indignation, and hissed him out of his presence. A few days after, this fellow quarrelled with one of the chief's carpenters, whom he kicked on the breast, and abused him otherwise in a shocking manner: on this he complained to his master, and Ambler, instead of making any acknowledgments for his conduct, thought proper to justify it in the most provoking manner; upon which he ordered him from his presence, threatening his life if he ever shewed his face there more: since that we hear he has gone to Futtafaihe; so that Morgan, Connelly, and he, are all together, and, we have no doubt, will be active in plotting farther mischief: thus their machinations were destroyed without our interference. How true is it, that the wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain, and that no weapon formed against his people shall prosper!

23d. Brother Buchanan preached in the morning from Isaiah, liv. 13. Kelfo, from Deut. xxxii. 2.; after which brother Bowell took his leave.

On the 26th, brother Shelly, who has had the care of our few medicines since brother Harper left us, went to see a woman who, with others, had eaten some fish of a poisonous nature, which was likely to be, to her in particular, attended with bad consequences: an emetic was administered, which removed the cause of the disorder, and restored the poor woman to health. According to the custom of the country, he received his fee before he returned: this was a roasted hog, which is generally killed as soon as the doctor arrives, who is expected to wait till it is sufficiently roasted; it is then given to him: but this being the first instance of the kind, like an inexperienced beginner who knew not the profits of his trade, he divided it chiefly betwixt the poor woman and her friends. It would be a valuable acquisition to this country, and might be a means of facilitating our work, to have a good stock of medicines, and a skilful person to apply them. The disorders which have principally come under our ob-



ervation are, a dysentery, of which the person is recovered; a dropfy, of which we have seen but one case; a disorder among the children, which spreads all over them like the small-pox, and seems of as loathsome but more inveterate nature; for we found one in this condition at our first landing several months ago, and there seems no alteration upon him as yet; its long continuance is probably owing to improper treatment: we know not whether it be infectious. What seems most general is an ulcerous sore, to which they are very subject. In one family of our acquaintance there are no less than four persons much affected by it: the poor man has lost the use of his limbs entirely, so that he is not able to stand upright, and many parts of his body are affected; and what renders his case truly pitiable, his wife is in little better condition; a great part of her breasts is already consumed, and one leg and arm are very bad. Two of their servants are nearly in as bad a state as themselves; they have often applied to us for assistance, which could we afford them, would certainly raise us still higher in their esteem; but at present we have neither proper medicines, nor skill to effect any thing this way. In some cases we have seen old women apply the juice of the bread-fruit, tied up in leaves, and made hot, with which they rubbed the wound; but it seemed to produce no good effect. As they have not the least idea of physic, whatever disorder they are attacked with has its full course, and often proves fatal.

24th. The principal wife of Futtafaihe was delivered of her first child, the son and heir of his dominions; on which occasion very considerable presents were made.

25th. The great enudee, or natche, described by Cook, was held at Mooa. Men in procession carried a yam, suspended on a pole; others, armed with spears, cried aloud to this effect, "Take care to keep the road clear;" and all passengers stood at a considerable distance. Ambler assured us this was a thanksgiving to the odooa for the late ripe yams. We were invited to join the procession, but did not chuse to make our shoulders bare, which was required, and



to wear the jēējē, a wreath of the leaves of a shrub called jee, around our waist. Particular honour is paid to Futtafāihe on this occasion. The same ceremonies are repeated at the season of early ripe yams. The ceremonial closes with an amusement called fatārga, like cudgel-playing, being single combat with the limbs of the cocoa-nut tree.

26th. Vaarjee assisted us with all his people at our abbey in levelling the ground, and laying out and planting our garden.

27th. Our chief took a second wife, a daughter of Tōobōocavālo. She was accompanied by large bales of anāddoo, or cloth, of Tongataboo. In the afternoon he went to finish the funeral ceremonies for his brother, in celebrating the games usual on that occasion. His bride remained at home. We felt this afternoon a sensible shock of an earthquake at Ardeo; and, as usual, the natives screamed. These shocks are common, and sometimes, they informed us, so violent as to shake down their trees and houses.

30th. Brother Buchanan discoursed from 2 Tim. ii. 3.; brother Kelfo, from Exodus, xxxiii. 18.

On Monday brothers Gaulton and Shelly went upon a visit to Dugonagaboola at Mooa; and in the afternoon Mooree (a chief) arrived from Ahoge, and brought with him two canoes, in order to convey brother Cooper home. This he had promised some time ago; but the fear that Dugonagaboola would be affronted at his taking any of us from under his care, had till now deterred him.

August 1st. Early this morning Cooper and his friend Mooree took their departure: he is now the fourth of our number that hath left us. What end the Lord may have in view by thus scattering us about, we know not; but hope that it will tend to the advancement of his glory, by a more general diffusion of the gospel over this benighted island. About sunset we had another shock of an earthquake, which lasted about a minute and a half, and was felt over the whole island. Ambler, we hear, is again in our neighbourhood.

On the 3d, brothers Gaulton and Shelly returned from Mooa, where they had met with brother Veefon, who was in health and high



favour with his friend ; having lodged one night with him, they received a warm remonstrance for it next day from Dugonagaboola, who assured them of a welcome at his house, and expected they would make use of no other. After inquiring into our state at home, and how we fared in his absence, he informed them of what our villainous countrymen had said against us, and expressed his abhorrence of them on account of it. On their way home they called at Ardeo, where our brethren were well, and desired the whole body might meet once a month for divine direction, and mutual counsel and encouragement in our work.

5th. Brother Bowell arrived in the evening ; and on sabbath-day brother Buchanan preached from 2 Tim. ii. 3. ; in the afternoon brother Kelso, from Isaiah, liii. 5. ; after which he dispensed the Lord's supper. It is surely an unspeakable favour that the Lord thus allows us to hold our solemn feasts in this land, and from time to time is refreshing us with his abundant goodness. If we had the happiness of seeing these poor creatures around us impressed with a sense of their lost and deplorable state by nature, and the excellency and suitableness of the Redeemer's character and salvation, which He has wrought, and the gospel reveals ; if we could but once see them compelled to come in and partake of our privileges, our joy would be full : however, it becomes us not to despise the day of small things, but patiently to wait for the salvation of the Lord : He hath spoken good concerning us, and hath done for us great things, which confirms our hope, that the day is not far distant when He will make bare his holy arm in the fight of the nations, and these ends of the earth shall see his salvation.

7th. Brother Bowell determining to remain with us till our monthly prayer-meeting was over, we the next morning embraced the opportunity of his presence to hold a meeting of our little body, when it was agreed that we should observe a general meeting the first Monday of every month : in the morning, for prayer and religious conference ; and in the afternoon, for collecting matter for the public journal, reporting progress in the language, and consulting with



each other on the most probable means of carrying our designs into effect; also that our absent brethren should be made acquainted with our design, and invited to join us in it. It was also resolved to hold a weekly prayer-meeting and conference in our respective parties; and that the anniversary of our embarkation, which is just at hand, should be observed as a day of public thanksgiving.

9th. In the evening we began our weekly meeting: brother Kelso opened it with praise and prayer, then read the second chapter of the first of Peter, and spoke from a part of it; after which the other brethren spoke in rotation. That our attention might be more particularly fixed on the subject, it was agreed, that, previous to next week, the portion of scripture to be then discussed should be made known; accordingly brother Buchanan proposed the second chapter of Ephesians. Brother Shelly concluded this present comfortable opportunity in the same manner as it was begun.

10th. The anniversary of our embarkation completes the first year of our mission, and the most remarkable of our lives, wherein the Lord has, in answer to the many prayers of his people, and, we hope, for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes, given us numberless manifestations of his almighty power, his infinite wisdom, and unchangeable love. While upon the mighty waters we were the peculiar objects of his providential care and bounty. His presence has been with us in passing through the fire and water; and though they often seemed to unite their rage and force against us, and to threaten our destruction every moment, they were not permitted to do us any harm. Some of us, when all help seemed to fail, were raised from the opening grave, to praise him in our little assembly; and we were all brought in safety to our desired haven, where his hand has been most wonderfully "stretched out still," in opening a door of access for us by the most unexpected and improbable means; in giving us favour in the sight of the heathen; in preserving us, though defenceless and exposed, from their rage and madness; and in making all things subservient



to his own most gracious designs; in frustrating the machinations, and carrying headlong the counsels of our more heathenish countrymen, making them produce the very opposite effects from what they intended. Lo! these are a part of his ways; but if we would tell of all the wonderful things he has done for us, they are more than we are able to express. "O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare his wonderful works to the children of men!"

This day was rendered in some measure memorable by the loss of a large axe, which was snatched from one of the brethren while he was cutting fire-wood; and in the evening some thieves broke into our dwelling while we slept, and rifling the first box they came to, which held nothing but medicines, they had gone off with a quantity of bark, jalap, nitre, &c.; but these not suiting their taste, they left them in the yard, where we found them next morning, so that they got only a few clothes that lay upon the chests.

11th. John Connolly sent to know whether we intended to inform Captain Wilfon of what had passed between us and them, observing, that, if we did, it would reduce us to the greatest straits, as it would both prevent them from receiving those things they expected, and had promised to the natives; and also effectually hinder their departure with him for China. This was accompanied with a hint of what we might expect, if our conduct was not suitable to their wishes. In answer we said, that we neither wanted to injure nor to quarrel with them; and if they chose to go to China, we would be no hindrance to them.

12th. Dugonagaboola sent us a present of provisions, which was very acceptable; but in the course of the day we received the mortifying intelligence, that he had accepted our large axe with much cordiality from the person who stole it; and after some compliments to his dexterity, had sent him off to Vavao, to be out of the way when the ship arrived. This action gave us an idea of what we might ex-



pect when our interest stood in any degree in competition with that of our noble friend; and yet, strange as the contradiction seemed, all our goods were every day in his power if he chose to plunder us.

13th. Brother Buchanan preached from 2 Tim. ii. 3.; and brother Kelfo, from Isaiah, lv. 6. The remainder of this week nothing remarkable happened till Saturday the 19th, when one of the natives brought us the reviving news of the ship's arrival at her former station. Three of our number, viz. brothers Kelfo, Buchanan, and Gaulton, set out in quest of a canoe to carry them to her; but after a fruitless endeavour to procure one, Buchanan and Gaulton determined to travel by land, which brother Kelfo declined, still entertaining a hope of soon procuring a canoe. After travelling about seven miles along the beach, they were met by a great number of the natives, one of whom presented them with a note, which brother Bowell had dispatched for their information at Ahēfo. This man had brought us several messages of the same kind on former occasions; and understanding the nature of it better than any of his countrymen, he had endeavoured to explain the use of it to those who were with him: this excited their curiosity to a degree which induced them to bear him company, in order to see it delivered, and know thereby whether or not what he said was true. When they saw the joy which the opening of it gave the brethren, they seemed struck with amazement; and were perplexed in no small degree, when they perceived that by means of it they knew as well as themselves that the ship had arrived, and where she lay. The whole company, together with the bearer of the note, soon left the brethren, in order to return to the ship, for which they were so eager, that nothing could induce him to proceed to Ahēfo with the note. In the afternoon the two brethren arrived at the ship, and had the happiness to find that all on board had fresh ground whereon to erect an Ebenezer to the Lord, who had graciously helped them through many imminent dangers, and preserved them from many evils wherewith they had been sur-



rounded. Surely his goodness exceeds all search. O for hearts formed to shew forth his praise!

20th. Brother Buchanan preached on board from Psalm v. 12.; and brother Bowell in the afternoon.

On the 21st, early, many of the principal chiefs came on board, among whom was Futtafaihe, who, as soon as he saw brother Buchanan, renewed his solicitations for him to go and live with him, at the same time reminding him of a promise to that purport, given on our first arrival, also of the several proofs of his favour since bestowed; and, with fresh assurances of his love and esteem, promised, on his part, to render every thing as agreeable as was in his power, and to remove every obstacle, if brother Buchanan would but mention them to him: this, however, at present he declined to do; but the chief being well acquainted with the recent villany of Connelly (who has resided with him ever since he came to the island) and his associates, Ambler and Morgan, asked if he was unwilling to live with Connelly, and being answered in the affirmative, he immediately proposed to bind him hand and foot, and bring him on board; but this proposal was at this time rejected, it being more desirable to Captain Wilson, and all concerned, that these fellows should come on board as they had promised, and depart of their own accord. Brother Buchanan could not help looking upon this as a plain call of Providence, and determined in his own mind to comply with it if he could find another brother willing to accompany him, and if the proposal also met with the approbation of Captain Wilson, and the brethren on board, which it did. Brother Gaulton readily consented to be his partner. When their intention was communicated to Futtafaihe, he expressed great satisfaction, and immediately invited them to go on shore, and chuse a place for their future residence. In the afternoon brother Shelly arrived from Ahēfo, and informed us that the thieves had paid another visit, and carried off a duck.

22d. Brother Gaulton went to Ahēfo, in order to bring his own



and brother Buchanan's chest, and other things, to Mooa, where Futtafaihe had given them their choice of a number of beautiful dwellings, situated between his house and the lagoon, which runs into that part of the country; and after chusing one about two hundred yards from his own, they returned on board.

23d. Connelly having heard of our being at Mooa yesterday with Futtafaihe, thought that our business had been to take him and his companions on board; he therefore came to speak to the captain concerning it, who informed him that he had no desire to proceed after that manner; but if he and the others chose to ship as seamen, they should have the same wages and treatment as his own sailors had. To this Connelly said he would return an answer in six days, in which time he would consult with his comrades.

Fefene Duatonga, the first woman on the island, came on board with her principal lady in waiting: their hair was plastered up with a composition which very much resembled the powder and pomatum of a fine-dressed London belle. Her feet are kissed in token of homage by all who approach her; and such are her ideas of her own dignity, that she admits no fixed husband as a companion, but cohabits with those of the chiefs whom she pleases to select, and has several children. A fine boy of about twelve years old attended her on board. Several presents of scissars were made, which highly pleased them; and when they left the ship they jumped overboard, and washed the snow-white decoration from their hair before they paddled on shore with their canoe. Brother Wilkinson brought off a fine bunch of turnips of their first crop, which had been almost wholly destroyed by the rats. They contrived a trap, in which they caught a great many, which were given to the women at their request, and eaten raw as relishing food. Sent some cats to the missionaries, the first which were ever introduced into the island.

26th. The noble lady visited the ship to-day with two or three female attendants; and the captain sent her on shore highly delighted in an elegant English dress which had been reserved for such an occasion.



Our time this week was chiefly employed in dividing, and carrying to our respective places of residence, the part of the cargo which, in the division at Otaheite, had fallen to our share. In it we found such an immense quantity of useful and necessary iron tools of all sorts, as far exceeded our greatest expectation, and filled the natives with astonishment. Our warmest acknowledgments are due, and must fall infinitely short of our obligations, to the divine Author of all our mercies, who hath put it into the hearts of his people to provide, and of his honoured servants, the directors, to bestow on us so bountiful a supply of every thing that could be devised for our comfort, and the furtherance of the work in which we are engaged; but especially for the wonderful manner in which he has prepared, brought forward, and preserved our dear captain, whom we cannot but esteem as the greatest testimony of the divine favour bestowed on our society. While on the voyage, the prosperity and furtherance of the work seemed to engross his whole attention. To his indulgent care in procuring and allowing us every comfort that could be enjoyed by people in our circumstances, might be imputed that extraordinary degree of health which we enjoyed. His counsel and advice has often guarded us from the intrusion of discord. His conversation was wholly calculated to stimulate our zeal. In our absence he has been mindful of our interests, and has effectually prevented every complaint. The affability and kindness of his conduct among the natives has won him their affections: and indeed in what we have reason to believe is his principal aim, he has succeeded wonderfully, that is, to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. May the Lord enable us to do likewise, and fill our hearts with gratitude to himself, and to all the instruments of his unbounded goodness! May we walk as children of so many mercies; and knowing that we are but stewards of those gifts of his providence for which we must ere long give an account, may we be led to devote ourselves, and all our enjoyments, to his praise and glory, that we may give in our account with joy in the day of our Lord Jesus!



## CHAPTER XVI.

*Description of Tongataboo.*

OUR dear friends and benefactors in the direction may justly look for some account of this country, where the Lord in his gracious providence, through their instrumentality, has placed us; and we think ourselves bound, in gratitude to them, to furnish them with the fullest information in our power: but in this attempt we find ourselves much at a loss for want of the Rev. Mr. Greatheed's manuscript account of these islands, which happened to be left at Otaheite, and which if we had brought with us, would have been useful in directing our attention to several objects which may have escaped our notice. Notwithstanding the numerous invitations we have received to visit other islands of this group, we have not as yet seen it our duty to comply, as, for want of the language, such visits could be no way profitable to the natives, and would have exposed us to so many unnecessary temptations.

Our observations must therefore be wholly confined to Tongataboo; the situation, extent, and product of which are already so well known, that there remains but little to be said concerning it. Captain Cook's account is in general so accurate as to render very little addition or correction necessary; however, a space of many years which has elapsed since his last voyage, has produced some changes which it may not be improper to communicate. On our arrival we found few of his old friends remaining, and their number has since been reduced by death; but his name is still mentioned with great respect by many of their successors, who recollect his favours bestowed upon them when in a



state of childhood, which they often relate in a manner that bespeaks them to be by no means destitute of gratitude.

The government of Tongataboo is so complex in itself, and the natives' account of it so different, each taking a particular pride in exalting his own chief above others, that it is difficult to come at any certainty concerning it. The following appears to us most consistent with the truth.

This island bears an unrivalled sovereignty over the whole group, Feejee not excepted. The inhabitants of Feejee having long ago discovered this island, frequently invaded and committed great cruelties in it; but in an expedition which the Tonga people made against them lately, under the command of Tōogahowe, Filatonga, and Cummavie, they completely routed and brought them into subjection, so that they now pay tribute to Tongataboo on certain occasions, the same as the other islands, of which we saw an instance at the death of Moomōoc. Tongataboo is divided into three large districts, viz. Ahēfo, at the north-west end, over which Dugonagaboola reigns with absolute sway. Mooa, the middle district, is under the same subjection to Futtafāihe; and Vaharlo has the same power over Ahoge, situate at the south-east part, each claiming a right of disposal over the lives and property of his own subjects, which we have seen exercised most despotically. These districts are subdivided into many smaller ones, which have their respective chiefs presiding over them, and exercise the same authority as the superior chiefs, to whom they are nevertheless, in some cases, accountable for their conduct; so that the whole resembles the ancient feudal system of our ancestors. The government seems to have been formerly more in the hands of the Futtafāihes than at present. Upon the death of the late Poulaho, father of the present Futtafāihe, Duatonga being then a minor, the intolerant ambition of his widow, Mahoofe, of the Toubou (or rather Doubou) family, led her to attempt extending her power in some particulars further than any of her predecessors had done. This was tamely submitted to by all the other chiefs, except Fēenou Tōogahowe,



now Dugonagaboola, son of Moomōoe, and nephew of Fēenou, the celebrated friend of Cook: he at that time reigned over Eōoa, and rejecting her proposals, declared war against her, contrary to the remonstrances of all his friends; he however succeeded, drove her entirely from this island to Vavao, whither he also followed, and having reduced her to submission, left her there, where she still remains in a state of exile.

The people fully answer to the most favourable representations the world has ever received of them; for surely no appellation was ever better applied than that given to them by our countrymen, of which they seem very proud, since we made them acquainted with it, and very studious to render themselves more deserving of it. They possess many excellent qualities, which, were they enlightened with the knowledge of the gospel, would render them the most amiable people on earth; for instance, their bounty and liberality to strangers is very great, and their generosity to one another unequalled. It is no uncommon thing for them to complain they are dying of hunger, and, as soon as they receive a morsel, to divide it among as many as are present, the first receiver generally leaving himself the smallest share, and often none at all. When they kill a hog, or make any mess for themselves, there is always a portion sent to their friends, who return the favour as soon as their circumstances will admit; which keeps up a constant friendly communication among them, and which we have never seen interrupted by any quarrel, during a stay of more than four months.

Their honesty to one another seems unimpeachable, though we have no reason to think the accounts of their dishonesty to strangers exaggerated. The murder of children, and other horrid practices, which prevail among the Otaheiteans, are unheard of here. Their children are much indulged, and old age honoured and revered. Female chastity is not much esteemed among the lower orders, it being a common practice with the chiefs, in our visits to them, to offer some of their females to sleep with us; the practices of our aban-



done countrymen making them believe this a favour we could not well do without. Our first refusal seemed to excite a surprise, but has generally prevented a second temptation from the same person. Unchastity among females of rank, and especially after marriage, we have heard is punished with severity; however, we have not as yet known an instance.

Their marriages are attended with very little ceremony; the only one we have seen was that of Vaarjee, with whom brothers *Bowell* and *Harper* have been some time resident. This was conducted in the following manner: A young female having attracted his attention, he first informed his mother that he wished to add her to the number of his wives. She immediately communicated this to the damsel's father, and the proposal meeting his approbation, he clothed her in a new garment, and with attendants, and such a quantity of baked hogs, yams, yava root, &c. as he could afford, she was sent to her intended spouse, who being apprised of her coming, seated himself in his house, and received her in the same manner, and with as little emotion, as he would have done any other visitor: feasting on the provisions, and a good draught of yava, concluded the whole, and the bride was at liberty either to return to her father till again sent for, or to take up her residence with her husband, which, in this instance, she preferred. Polygamy is in common practice among the chiefs, each of whom takes as many wives as he pleases; but they are entire strangers to domestic broils, which may, in a great degree, be owing to the absolute power each man has over his own family, every woman being so much at her husband's disposal, as renders her liable to be discarded on the smallest displeasure.

Their deities are numerous; and though we have hitherto been able to say but little to them on this subject, we have reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. *Talliatoo* is the god of *Ahēso*, which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. *Futtafaihe* presides over



Mooa and Doobludha, Cartow over the district of Ahoge; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts; so that we find their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements, but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offerings made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of Futtasāihe; and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude. The winds they suppose to be under the control of a female, called Calla Filatonga, who, they say, is very powerful, but is little regarded by them, and is therefore sometimes provoked to blow down their cocoa-nut, plantain, bread-fruit, and other trees, and commits such ravages as oblige them to bring offerings of hogs, yams, and kava, in the most humble and submissive manner, to a house sacred to her, where a person is appointed to personate her on the occasion, and receive the offering that is made. These storms being very unfrequent, and generally over before appeasing measures are taken, the representative is in little danger of being detected of falsehood by returning a favourable answer. This office of personator is only temporary, being always chosen for the occasion.

We have seen no person among them that seems more religious than another, or any thing that could lead us to suppose there is any such character as a priest among them. In all the offerings they make, each man kills and presents his own sacrifice. Their frequent earthquakes they account for by supposing the island rests upon the shoulders of a very powerful deity called Mowee, who has supported it for such a length of time as exceeds their conceptions. This heavy burden often exhausts his patience, and then he endeavours, but in vain, to shake it off; which, however, never fails to excite a horrid outcry over the whole country, that lasts for some time after



the shock is over: and we have sometimes seen them endeavour to quell his discontent, and reduce him to good behaviour, by beating the ground with large sticks. Tongaloer, the god of the sky, and Fenoulunga, of the rain, they suppose to be males; besides these, they have a great many others of both sexes, whose names we cannot enumerate, over earth, sea, and sky, each acting in their proper sphere, and sometimes counteracting one another, according as interest or inclination leads them. They also acknowledge the existence of a great number of strange gods, calling them by the general name of *Fyga*, among whom they rank ours as the greatest; and, when they think it will answer their purpose, they will readily acknowledge him as far wiser, and in every respect better than theirs, having taught us to make so much better ships, tools, cloth, &c. than they have ever been able to do. Besides these, they imagine every individual to be under the power and control of a spirit peculiar to himself, which they call *odooa*, who interests himself in all their concerns, but, like *Calla Filatonga*, is little regarded till angry, when they think he inflicts upon them all the deadly disorders to which they are subject; and then, to appease him, the relations and other connexions of the afflicted person, especially if he be a chief, run into all the inhuman practices of cutting off their little fingers, beating their faces, and tabooing themselves from certain kinds of food. Human sacrifices seem little in practice: the only victims to superstition which we have seen are already mentioned in the case of *Moomōoe*; though, at our arrival, *Ambler* informed us, that when a great chief lay sick they often strangled their women, to the number of three or four at a time. When the *odooa* is inexorable, the death of the person is inevitable and sure, and the surviving friends seem for a short time inconsolable; but their grief is soon changed into the opposite extreme, and they run into as great extravagances in their feasts as when the sorrowful passions prevailed they inflicted on themselves sufferings.

They believe the immortality of the soul, which at death, they say, is immediately conveyed in a very large fast-sailing canoe to a distant



country, called Doobludha, which they describe as resembling the Mahometan paradise. They call the god of this region of pleasure Higgolayo, and esteem him as the greatest and most powerful of all others, the rest being no better than servants to him. This doctrine, however, is wholly confined to the chiefs, for the tooas (or lower order) can give no account whatever; as they reckon the enjoyments of Doobludha above their capacity, so they seem never to think of what may become of them after they have served the purposes of this life. We have not been able to learn what ideas they form of the origin of their existence, or any other parts of the creation; when spoken to on these subjects they seem quite lost; this may, however, be owing to the inaccuracy of our expressions, arising from an imperfect knowledge of the language, which has hitherto prevented us from opposing any of those gross absurdities. But we look forward to that happy day when the glorious sun of righteousness will arise, and turn this shadow of death into the morning.

The produce of this island is already so well described, that it seems unnecessary to say thing of it here. We have been able to add very little to it. Our seeds, which have been sown in different parts, bid fair to do well: this induces us to think any kind of European seeds would thrive here, were it not for the rats, which destroy them as they appear above ground. Rats, with hogs, dogs, and guanoes, were the only quadrupeds we found here. The cattle left by Capt. Cook have been all destroyed some years ago: the horse and mare having been first gored by the bull, gave the natives an idea of his furious temper, and put them in terror for themselves; therefore, to prevent any bad accident taking place, they destroyed him, with the cow and three young ones, which, they informed us, were all they had produced, except one young bull which had been previously taken to Feejee. Captain Wilson, in his second visit, has left us eight goats, three cats, and an English dog, of which the natives are very fond, and which we hope will be useful in their proper places. The death of a ram at Otaheite prevented us from receiving



any sheep, which we esteem a great loss, as there is abundance of excellent food for those useful animals in the most neglected parts of this island, and they might in time prove a great advantage to the natives, not only by supplying their deficiency of food, from which many of them suffer much at present, but by leading them into habits of industry, to which they are strangers; for though they are more industrious than most of their neighbours scattered about this sea, far the greater part of their time is spent in idleness. This conjecture receives much strength from the earnest desire they express for our woollen clothes, especially blankets; which induces us to think, if they had the materials, and the least hint how to make use of them, they would soon endeavour to manufacture them themselves.

The soil is every where prolific, and consists of a fine rich mould, upon an average about fourteen or fifteen inches deep, free from stones, except near the beach, where coral rocks appear above the surface. Beneath this mould is a red loam four or five inches thick; next is a very strong blue clay in small quantities; and in some places has been found a black earth, which emits a very fragrant smell resembling bergamot, but it soon evaporates when exposed to the air. The air is pure and wholesome, much sharper in the winter than we expected to have found it, especially when the wind is from the southward; but for want of a thermometer, which happened to be broken, we have never been able to ascertain its true state.

But we must conclude our present account, hoping our next will contain something more interesting and encouraging to our dear friends, whose prayers we earnestly entreat in our behalf; for surely never men in the world stood more in need of their assistance in this respect than we do. Our work is great, our strength is small, very weakness itself; our enemies are crafty and powerful, but none we find so dangerous as those of our own house, those evil hearts of unbelief that are always ready to draw us from the God of our strength, who is the rock of our salvation. But if God be for us, who can be against us? He bids us fear not: and we have not only the assurance of his word, but



also the testimony of his providence, that he is with us, and will never leave us nor forsake us. Well then may we go on in divine strength, rejoicing in the prospects of greater tribulations than we have hitherto experienced, or at present have in view; trusting him that in every conflict which we may be called on to sustain under the banner of the glorious Captain of our salvation, we shall grow stronger and stronger, and at length be brought off the field more than conquerors through Him who hath loved us, and given himself for us.

The Duff is now unmooring. We feel all the anguish that is consequent upon a separation of friends who are bound together by such endearing ties as shall endure when those of nature shall be for ever dissolved. Besides our dear captain, we cannot but esteem many of the officers and crew as children of the same family with ourselves: all of whom, ourselves, and all our concerns, both for time and eternity, we desire to resign to the sovereign disposal of our gracious heavenly Father, and to the word of his grace, which is able to keep us from falling, and give us all an inheritance among them that are sanctified through faith which is in Jesus Christ. Farewell. May grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and are seeking the advancement of his kingdom and glory! Amen.

*Tongataboo Roads, Sept. 6th, 1797.*



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Transactions at Tongataboo during the Ship's Stay.*

THUS far I have written from the brethren's journal, judging that, though repetitions would unavoidably occur by this plan, the incidents related as they happened would enable those interested to form a better idea both of the natives and the real situation of the missionaries, than by any other method I was able to pursue; for perhaps from things which I might have passed over, some skilful friend would draw useful and interesting inferences.

And as I have brought it up to the day we left those dear servants of our blessed Lord, there remains but little to be said concerning what passed at the ship; as during this stay, which was twenty days, the whole was spent in one continued intercourse of friendship and service between us and the natives; every day we were visited by some or other of them; they laid us in a very large sea-store of fine yams, and as many hogs as we were willing to accept; for the stock of these which we had brought from Otaheite was still sufficient to take to sea. Some boars and fows of the larger size we exchanged with them for others, and had the satisfaction to hear that a sow thus exchanged to Vaarjee, Bowell and Harper's chief, had a few days after farrowed nine pigs. For articles of iron they will venture any thing. On our first arrival an iron hoop was stolen off the windlass end; but as no person was suffered to come on board till we got it again, it was returned next day by Futtafaihe. Several other things of less consequence were stolen, but as the captain did not like to break the harmony which subsisted for the sake of them, they were never recovered. Among other things, the cook's axe was stolen; and

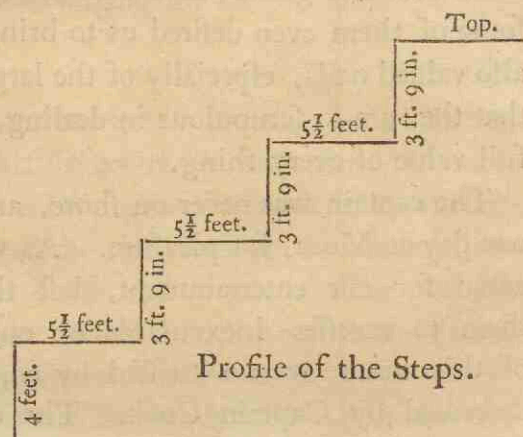


to give our friends an idea of the small value of a few glittering guineas in the eyes of these people, when put in competition with a useful iron tool, the captain gave the cook ten new guineas to purchase another axe from the natives; but his endeavours to make such a purchase were vain, they only laughed at him for his offer. Besides iron, our cloth and small blue and green beads were in high estimation among them; and some of them even desired us to bring such on our next visit. They also valued nails, especially of the larger sort. But it may be observed that they are so scrupulous in dealing, that they generally stand for the full value of every thing.

The captain was never on shore, and each of us was only permitted one day at Mooa, for pleasure. As we refused to have any diversions acted for our entertainment, lest the idea of pleasing might lead them to excesses inexcusable on our part, none of their customs of this nature were witnessed by us, but I suppose them to be fully described by Captain Cook. The day before we sailed I went to Mooa in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Falconer, Mr. Robson, and my brother James Wilson. Several hundreds of the natives lined the shore, part of them entreating us to go first to Futtafaihe, and the other part for us to visit Dugonagaboola first. As I had previously promised the former, we repaired to him, and were received with great ceremony; and when we had spent some time with him we visited the other chief, whom we found near the beach, seated with about an hundred others round a bowl of kava, part of which they offered to us; but the gee root only suited our taste. This, being what they conclude their morning's repast with, is sweet as sugarcane, and greatly resembles it, being only a little more pasty. Both chiefs treated us well; Futtafaihe roasted a large hog for our dinner, after which he accompanied us to the fiatookas of his ancestors: they lie ranged in a line eastward from his house, among a grove of trees, and are many in number, and of different constructions: some, in a square form, were not in the least raised above the level of the common ground; a row of large stones formed the sides, and at each



corner two high stones were placed upright at right angles to each other, and in a line with their respective sides : others were such as the brethren describe that of Moomōoe to be : and a third fort were built square like the first ; the largest of which was at the base one hundred and fifty-six feet by one hundred and forty ; it had four steps from the bottom to the top, that run quite round the pile : one stone composed the height of each step, a part of it being sunk in the ground ; and some of these stones in the wall of the lower are immensely large ; one, which I measured, was twenty-four feet by twelve, and two feet thick ; these Futta-fāihe informed us were brought in double canoes from the island



of Lefooga. They are coral stone, and are hewn into a tolerably good shape, both with respect to the straightness of their sides and flatness of their surfaces. They are now so hardened by the weather, that the great difficulty we had in breaking a specimen of one corner made it not easy to conjecture how the labour of hewing them at first had been effected ; as, by the marks of antiquity which some of them bear, they must have been built long before Tasman shewed the natives an iron tool. Besides the trees which grow on the top and sides of most of them, there are the etooa, and a variety of other trees about them ; and these, together with the thousands of bats which hang on their branches, all contribute to the awful solemnity of those sepulchral mansions of the ancient chiefs. On our way back Futta-fāihe told us that all the fiatookas we had seen were built by his ancestors, who also lay interred in them ; and as there appeared no reason to doubt the truth of this, it proves that a supreme power in the government of the island must for many generations have been in





*After the sketch by W. Wilson.*

*The AFFATOOKAS of FUTTAHIAH at MOOA in TONGATTA BOO.*

*Published by T. Chapman Price Street, Feb. 1829.*

*J. Landen delin.*







the family of the Futtafāihes : for though there were many fiatookas in the island, the brethren, who had seen most of them, said they were not to be compared to these for magnitude, either in the pile or the stones which compose them.

One of his wives was lying-in at this time, and we were conducted to the apartment where she was : it was extremely neat, and the floors were covered with mats. Both herself and the child had their skins coloured with turmeric, which gave them a glittering appearance, and they said this was their custom with women in childbed. She had several female attendants ; and though Futtafāihe has many other children, all the people seemed elate and glad on this occasion. During our stay we visited several chiefs of both sexes, and received presents from each of them. As the evening approached we took our leave, and returned to the ship.

Mooa is a beautiful place, especially where Futtafāihe's house stands. Proceeding from the lagoon about a quarter of a mile through fenced lanes, a spacious square green about half a furlong wide opens itself ; at the farther end of which the dwelling stands : on the same green, which is as smooth as if rolled, a few large spreading trees grow in an irregular disposition, which add much beauty to the scene. On the east side is a neat fence enclosing the long grove where the fiatookas stand ; on the west are the dwellings of different chiefs in their enclosures ; and along the north or lower side of the square, the great road runs from one end of the island to the other : this road is in general about six or seven yards wide, but eastward from the green, and for half a mile, it is not less than sixty yards wide. In this part there is a range of trees as large and spreading as the largest English oaks ; and as their branches meet at the top, and quite exclude the sun's rays, a pleasant walk is afforded by their shade. Close by these, brothers Buchanan and Gaulton are situated.



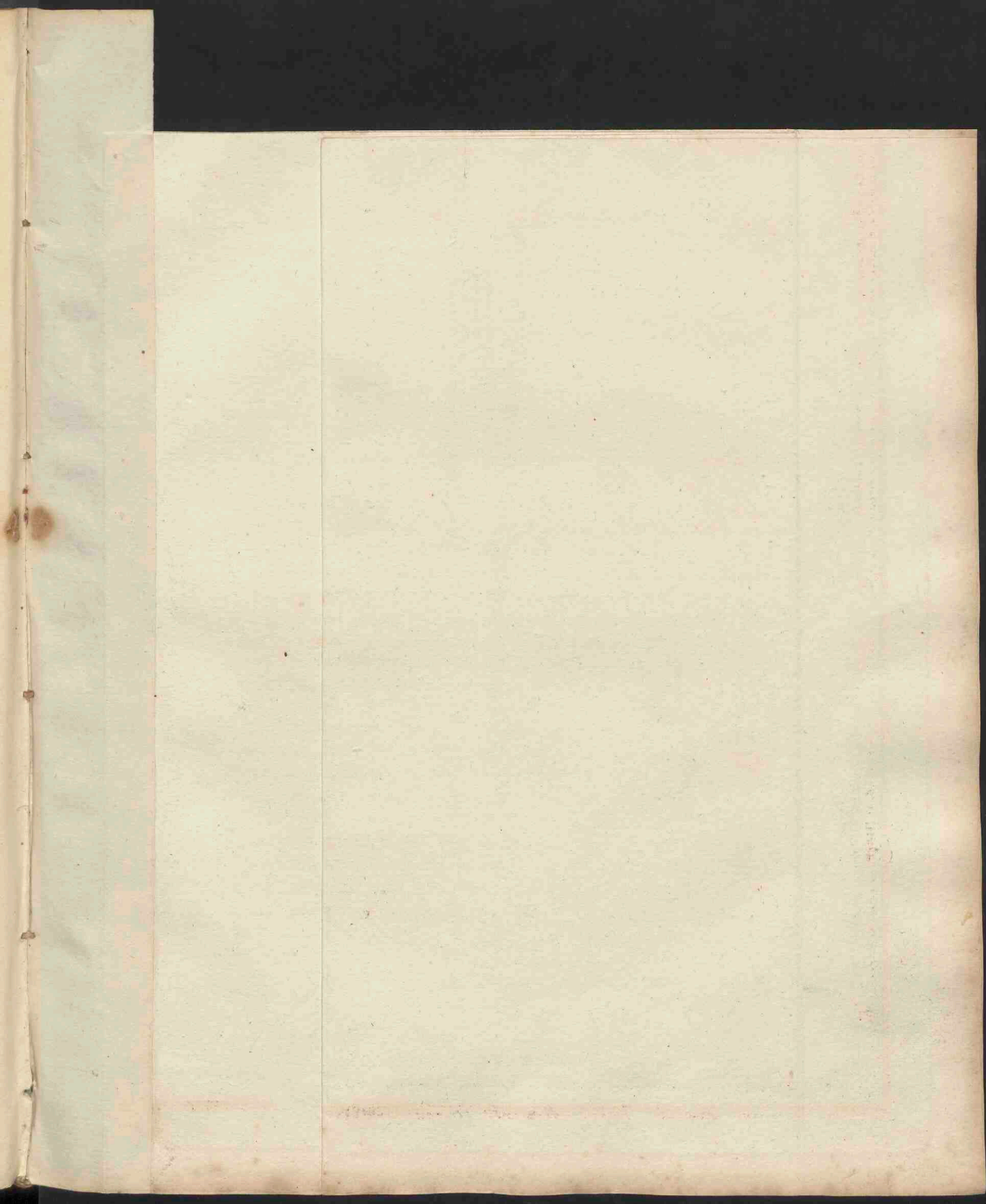
## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Passage from Tongataboo to China.*

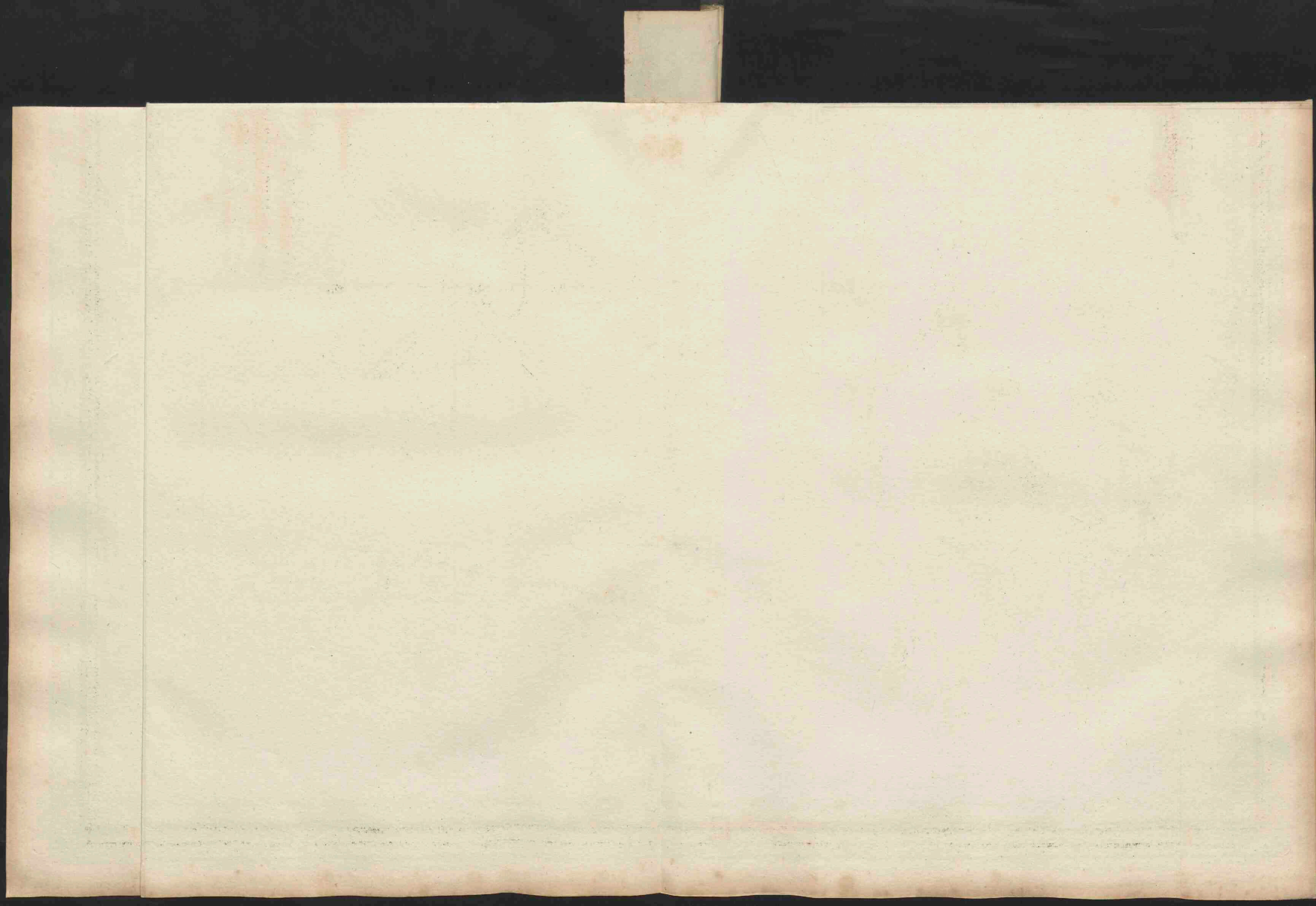
ON Thursday morning, the 7th of September, we weighed, and sailing from Tongataboo by the northern passage, passed close by the small islands of Honga Harpy and Honga Tonga; these are both moderately high, and appear fertile: at four P.M. they bore E. S. E. twenty-two miles distant. After which we steered N. W. per compass one hundred and twenty-six miles, and west thirty-two miles. Observed at noon on the 8th in  $18^{\circ} 43' S.$  and supposed that a current was setting us to the westward. From noon till half past five P.M. we steered W. by S. thirty-nine miles; then hove to for two islands, the southernmost of which bore S. W.  $\frac{1}{2} S.$  and the northernmost W. by N. distance from the latter seven leagues. The former had a remarkable flat top, on which account we called it Table island. A little before we hove to, the time-keeper gave the longitude of the ship  $182^{\circ} 5' E.$  Before dark we could see other islands further to the westward, and supposed them either the same, or very near to those, Captain Bligh first fell in with after leaving Tofoa in the launch.

We had brisk gales and a hollow sea all the night; about six hours we lay with the ship's head to the northward, then wore to the southward till daylight; in which last space of time we must have passed close to a dangerous reef, named in the chart Providence reef; but as nothing of this kind was in sight before dark, we had no apprehension of reefs lying in our way; and even when the day broke we thought we had a clear sea, and at six o'clock bore away,



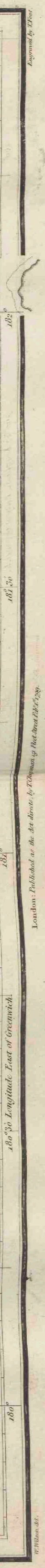








# CHART









and run W. N. W. about half an hour, when we discovered several islands besides those we had seen on the preceding evening; and perceived that extensive reefs surrounded every one of them. In viewing our situation from aloft it appeared very critical, and occasioned the island ahead to be called Danger island. A little from this island S. E. lay three or four small islets, and a coral reef extended about three or four miles S. E. from them. On our starboard quarter another reef trended to the N. E. further than we could see, as the weather was hazy. Thus were we running directly for Danger island, and leaving those extensive reefs upon each quarter, when the sight of many more islands gave us reason to suppose that to attempt a passage through them would be hazardous, if not impracticable. We hauled, therefore, our wind, set what sail the ship could bear, and tried to work out by the way we came in. The gale increasing, and the sea running very high, we had little hopes at first of gaining ground, or that the ship would stay in so heavy a sea. However, she never missed stays but once; the tide likewise appeared to be in our favour; for, after making a few tacks, at half past nine A. M. we passed to windward of the S. E. reef, and stood towards Table island. As we ran along we saw a large space to leeward free from reefs, which almost tempted us to bear away; but proceeding further, the islands to the S. W. appeared connected by them. Therefore we determined to get to the north by the east of them; though there is no doubt but, in fine weather, a passage might be found as well here as among those through which we afterwards had to thread the needle. All this day and the night was spent in plying to windward. On the morning of the 10th passed Providence reef, which is a small spot, and bears east from the south end of Danger island. We afterwards passed the north-east reef, where once more we appeared to have a clear sea. Table and Danger islands, of which we had the nearest view, wore an aspect of fertility, having the loftiest hills covered with trees to their summits. Observed at noon in latitude  $18^{\circ} 23' S.$



On the 12th at noon we were in latitude  $16^{\circ} 42'$  S. and longitude  $180^{\circ} 30'$  E.; half an hour afterwards saw land bearing south, for which we hauled up, wishing to have some intercourse with the natives. As we ran to the south we had a reef on the weather side just in sight from the deck, and a low island on our lee beam bearing W. by N. The wind being E. S. E. we just weathered a reef lying eastward from a small but high island; and standing a little farther, tacked ship close to the north-east reefs of what we called Sir Charles Middleton's island, and chose the ground between this and the before-mentioned reef to spend the night in, as we had the bearings of several islands whereby to direct us clear of the surrounding danger.

At daybreak on the 13th we bore away, and ran along the north side of Sir Charles Middleton's island. There appeared no opening through the reef, though one might perhaps be found somewhere about the island, if diligently sought for; but on this side there is none. As we ran to the windward, compass bearings were taken of the islands and reefs, to ascertain their relative situations; and to the chart constructed from these, with the help of the time-keeper and latitude, we must refer those who may either have to sail this way, or who would improve the geography of this part of the globe. Leaving Middleton's island, we steered west per compass four or five leagues, and passed close by what we called Maitland island. There were natives on the beach with spears in their hands; and the island, which was moderately high, seemed to abound in the common produce; but, like those we had already seen, was quite surrounded by a reef. Therefore sailing thence W. N. W. about six leagues further, we came near to the east end of another pretty large island, called Ross's island, where we saw vast numbers of natives assembled upon the beach, and smoke among the trees; but they also were quite secure, being, like their neighbours, strongly fortified with a surrounding reef. Just off here we observed, latitude  $16^{\circ} 48'$  S. and longitude  $180^{\circ} 29'$  per chronometer. Many larger islands were in sight to leeward, which, from examination of Bligh's narrative, we



supposed to lie N.E. from the large islands, which he passed when the canoes chased him.

From the mast-head we observed a reef trending to the N.E. to weather which we hauled our wind to the northward; and passing it, stood towards some small islands, which we called the Clusters. As night approached, being surrounded with reefs and islands on all sides, we put the ship under an easy sail, and chose the most clear space to make short tacks in, till next morning. At seven o'clock a low island to windward bore E. by N. and the highest of the Clusters bore S.S.W.; the wind was easterly, and the sea as smooth as a river. At the above time we stood to the S.E. by S. under the top-sails; and at nine o'clock, no danger appearing, we thought ourselves safe; but we were presently alarmed by the ship striking upon a coral reef, upon which the sea hardly broke, to give the least warning. All hands were upon deck in an instant, and, as she stuck fast, became under great apprehensions of being shipwrecked; a misfortune which presented itself with a thousand frightful ideas. We knew that the Feejees were cannibals of a fierce disposition, and who had never had the least intercourse with any voyagers; consequently we could expect no favour from such. Imagination, quick and fertile on such occasions, figured them dancing round us, while we were roasted on large fires. However, it was no time to indulge thoughts of this kind, but to try what could be done to save the ship. Judging it to be a weather reef we were on, the moment she struck the sails were hove aback, and in about five or six minutes we beheld with joy that she came astern, and shortly after was quite afloat; when we were again delivered from our fears, and found the ship, which had kept upright the whole time, seemed to have received no injury. It was not possible to ascertain at sea what damage had been sustained, as she made no water; but on her coming into dock, we discovered how very wonderfully we had been preserved. The coral rock on which we struck was providentially directed exactly against one of the timbers. The violence of the blow had beat in the copper, deeply



wounded the plank, and beat it to shivers. Had the stroke been between the ribs of the ship, it must have gone through, and we had probably never returned to adore the Author of our mercies. Thus the gracious Lord, who still guarded us with a shepherd's care, was pleased to shew us the insufficiency of human prudence; and that, except we are kept by himself, "the watchman waketh but in vain." O that he would give us hearts of gratitude and thankfulness, in some measure proportioned to his daily mercies extended to us his unworthy creatures!

When the day shewed us the dangers which lay hid on every side, it appeared wonderful how we had escaped so well, and made us very desirous to get clear of them as fast as possible. With this view we steered N.N.W. betwixt several small reefs, not larger in circumference than the ship, and with scarce a wash of the sea upon them. They seemed to extend on both sides of us, as far as we could see. When we had passed these, and began to bring the islands astern, we thought ourselves quite clear, and were regretting that we could have no intercourse with the inhabitants; who, we had no doubt, would have been willing to barter with us, had we found safe anchorage for the ship; for with these people the Friendly islanders carry on a trade with the articles they got from us. At nine A.M. another island came in sight to the N.W. for which we shaped our course, to try if anchorage could be found near it; and the weather side appearing on our approach to be clear of reefs, it gave us hopes that the lee side would be the same; but it proved otherwise. At noon the body of the island bore south, distant one mile, and our latitude by observation  $15^{\circ} 41'$  S. longitude per chronometer  $180^{\circ} 25'$  E. Along this north side, there being no reef, the sea broke violently against the cliffs, which are high, and from the face of them huge fragments have fallen off, and lie scattered at their base. These cliffs, especially towards the north-west end, have a less fertile appearance than those we had already passed; but towards the east end the island wears a better aspect; and at this part there



were natives and houses upon the top of the hill. Probably there is low ground on the south-west side, where we intended to anchor; but coming to the north-west point, we saw a shoal close to us, and a large flat ran S.W. off the island: upon which we hauled our wind; and as this was the last we saw of this dangerous group, it received the name of Farewell island.

These are probably the same as Tasman got entangled among, and which he calls Prince William's islands: however, it may be presumed that but part of them have been yet seen by Europeans, as it was evident that many large islands lay to the S.W. the nearest of which we could but faintly distinguish, and some were at a distance from the tracks of Captain Bligh in the launch of the *Bounty*, and afterwards in the *Providence*.

They doubtless are connected with those which the people at Tongataboo call the Feejees, as they lie in the direction pointed out by them. In general they are high, and all we could distinctly see appeared fertile: the loftiest hills were woody to their summits, and on the top of several was abundance of cocoa-nut trees, which on some islands thrive only on the low ground; nor is it here as at Otaheite, where the middle region is commonly nothing but sun-burnt grass; for, from the beach to the top of the hills is one continued grove of trees, and many of them have fruitful skirts of low land. The valleys of Middleton's island appeared delightfully pleasant, and must abound in all the fruits and roots common to these parts of the world. In some places we saw spots of cultivated ground, probably of kava.

Coral reefs surround every island, and those which lie near each other are connected by them. Though there appeared to us to be no openings through these reefs to the respective islands they enclose, yet we cannot venture to say that there is no such thing, but think it highly probable that by a more diligent search both openings and anchorage might be found. But as the captain proposed making some stay at the Pelew islands, and had to reach China at a specified



time, we could not with propriety delay longer here in search of an uncertainty. Where we passed close we saw many inhabitants, and have no doubt but that they are all well peopled; and they must be an improved people in the savage state, for the natives of the Friendly Islands, who are unwilling to give place to any, acknowledge that the Feejees excel them in many ingenious works; that they possess larger canoes, and are a brave, fighting people; but abhor them for their detestable practice of eating their unfortunate prisoners. They use bows and arrows in war; and from the blackness of their complexion, and the difference of their language and manners, they are evidently a distinct race from the natives of those groups where missions are now established.

16th. We observed at noon in latitude  $13^{\circ} 13'$  S. and at five P.M. saw the island of Rotumāh, bearing N.W. by W. The weather being at this time squally, with rain, we hove to for the night. At daylight next morning we bore away, and at half past eight o'clock were opposite the north-east end, when several canoes came off, containing from three to six and seven persons each. At first they were shy, and kept aloof; but presently some bolder than the rest ventured alongside, and one with a fowl in his hand, taking hold of a rope, dropped himself into the water, and was hauled on board. He made signs that he wanted an axe for the fowl, by which we immediately knew that there must have been friendly intercourse between them and Captain Edwards of the Pandora, who discovered this island in August 1791; but it is probable that they have been visited by none besides, as they now beheld us with much surprise and wonder. This day happening to be Sunday, the rule we had constantly observed while in this sea prevented trade between us and these people. However, this man received an axe, a few fish-hooks, and other things, which made him leap for joy. Three others, encouraged by his good fortune, ventured after him, and fared equally well; and it appeared that many more would have come on board, had they an opportunity; for observing that we steered rather from



the island, they pointed towards a bay, as if desirous we should come to anchor. As we ran down the north side there appeared a good bay near to the west end, where, if the anchorage be safe, ships may ride sheltered from all but northerly winds; and perhaps a situation might be found to lie in the same bay sheltered from these also. This bay lies to windward of the highest bluff hill, on the west end of the main island; a high islet lies directly north of this bluff hill, and they bear a great resemblance to each other, being both steepest on the north side. Westward of this last lie three more small islets, the largest of which appeared to be split in the middle, as if broken by an earthquake.

The main island far exceeds in populousness and fertility all that we had seen in this sea; for in a space not more than a mile in length we counted about two hundred houses next the beach, besides what the trees probably concealed from our view; this was at the east end, and there was reason to think almost every part of it equally well inhabited. In the shape and size of their persons we could distinguish no difference between them and the Friendly islanders, except that we thought them of a lighter colour, and some difference in the tattooing, having here the resemblance of birds and fishes, with circles and spots upon their arms and shoulders: the latter are seemingly intended to represent the heavenly bodies. Two or three of the women whom we saw were tattooed in this last way: at Tongataboo they keep the upper parts clear of all tattooing. The women here wear their hair long, have it dyed of a reddish colour; and with a pigment of the same, mixed with cocoa-nut oil, they rub their neck and breast. The men who were on board appeared to have much of the shrewd, manly sense of the above people, and many of their customs. One of them made signs, that in cases of mourning they cut their heads with sharks' teeth, beat their cheeks till they bled, and wounded themselves with spears; but that the women only cut off the little fingers, the men being exempt from it;



whereas at Tongataboo there is hardly man or woman but what has lost both.

Their single canoes (for we saw no double ones) were nearly the same in all respects as at the Friendly Islands, being of the same shape, sewed together on the inside, and decorated in the same manner with shells; but, being rather shorter in proportion to their width, seemed not so neat and well finished. The only weapons we saw were spears curiously carved, and pointed with the bone of the sting ray. The natives expressed great surprise and curiosity at the sight of our sheep, goats, and cats. Hogs and fowls, they said, they had in great plenty, which, added to the evidently superior fertility of the island, and the seeming cheerful and friendly disposition of the natives, makes this, in our opinion, the most eligible place for ships coming from the eastward, wanting refreshments, to touch at: and with regard to missionary views, could one or two young men, such as Crook, be found willing to devote their lives to the instruction of perhaps five or six thousand poor heathen, there can hardly be a place where they could settle with greater advantage, as there is food in abundance; and the island lying remote from others, can never be engaged in wars, except what broils may happen among themselves. Its latitude is  $12^{\circ} 31'$  S. and longitude  $177^{\circ}$  E.; its length, in an east and west direction, is not above four or five miles.

From Rotumāh we steered N.W. by W. to W. and W. by S. for eight days; and as we hove to every night, we had reason to think that no land lay within four or five leagues on each side of our track. At eight A.M. on the 25th, we saw land from the mast-head bearing N.W. by N. and immediately steered for it. The weather being gloomy, with drizzling rain, we had no observation for the latitude. About five o'clock in the evening, as we drew near to the land, we found that it consisted of ten or eleven separate islands, two or three of which were of considerable size, and saw a canoe coming towards us, in which were two men: they approached within hail, but would



come no nearer; they stood up and brandished their paddles, and using many wild gestures, hooped and hallooed in a harsh tone, not seemingly as a menace or defiance, but the effect of surprise and a mixture of other passions at so wonderful a sight, having, in all probability, never beheld a ship before. They had baskets of fruit in the canoe, and to them they frequently pointed, as if they wanted to barter them; but if a conjecture might be allowed, I should rather think they meant them as offerings; for if they really never did see a ship before, they could know nothing of our articles, nor their use or value. However, whatsoever they intended, fear kept them at a distance, though we used every method to allure them alongside. Nine canoes more were now coming off, but they also acted with the same caution and fear as the first, keeping all together astern of the ship. When we had got pretty near to the island we tacked, and should have passed through among them, had they not perceived their situation, and paddled to windward. After this they were making towards the largest of the islands, when a heavy squall of wind and rain coming on, and obliging us to bear before it, we were so near running over some of them, that the men in one small canoe jumped overboard and swam to another. When the squall was over, we saw that they had all got near to the shore, and that the deserted canoe was not far from us; we therefore stood close to her and picked her up, hoping to have an opportunity of returning her the next day.

This canoe (and they all seemed to be alike) was about twelve or fourteen feet long, and about fifteen inches broad, made of one tree, sharpened at the ends, and a little ornamented on the upper part: the instrument with which they had hollowed her had left marks as if done with a gouge.

Having put the ship under a snug sail, we stood to the eastward all the night, and at daybreak found we had drifted considerably to the southward; but as we still expected to have some intercourse with the natives, we set sail, and plied to windward. About eleven A.M.

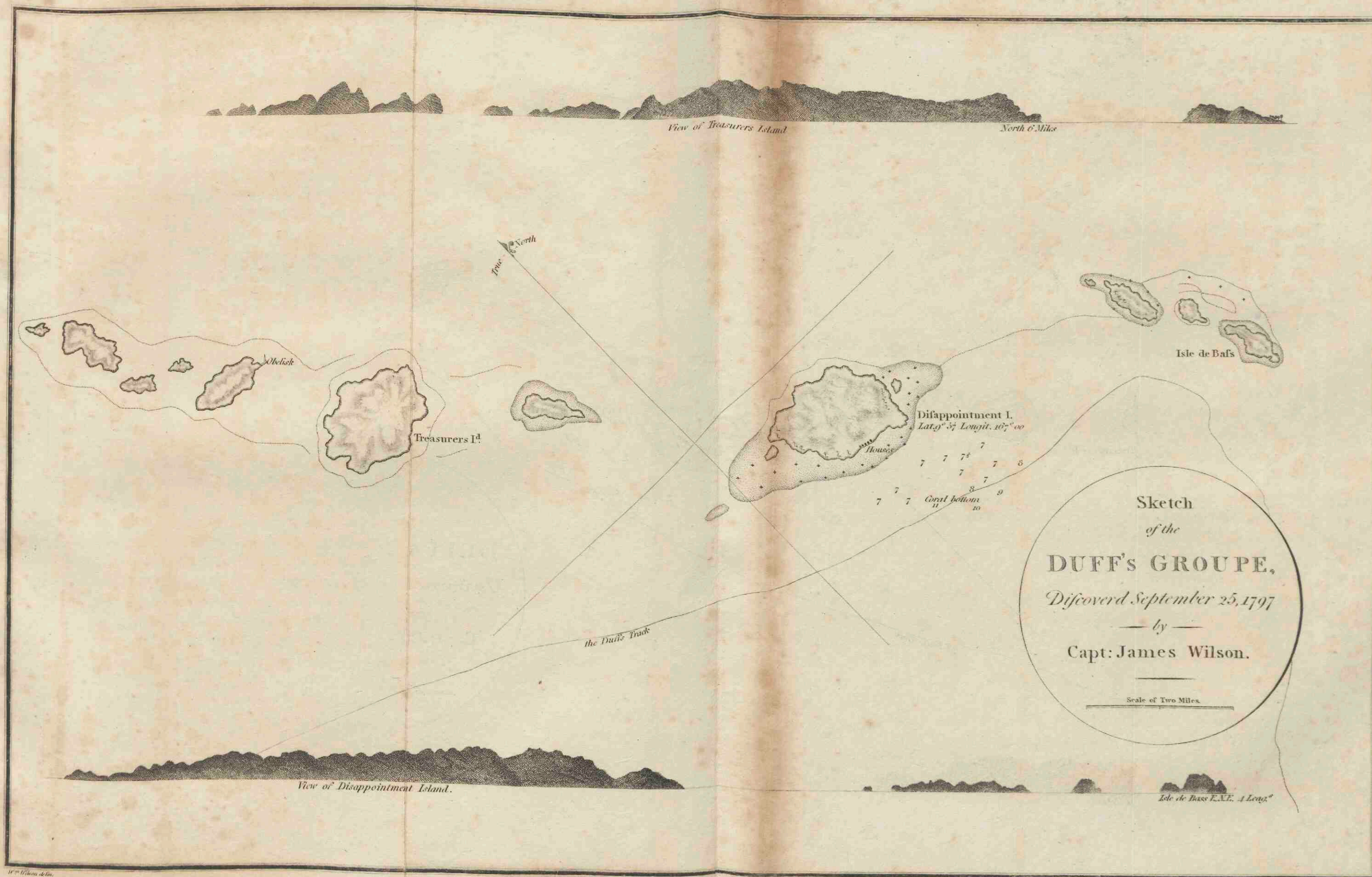


we were pretty near to the largest island, when five canoes ventured off; but acted with the same caution as before, taking great care to keep between us and the shore, to which they paddled after about an hour's stay. Seeing them depart, we stood close in with a reef which lies about half a mile from the beach, and seems to extend some distance from the west end; and probably the islands are connected by it. Where we were, we found seven fathoms; a flat coral bottom. Finding that their fears prevailed over their curiosity, and that we were likely to have no intercourse with them, we lowered the jolly-boat down, and intended to tow the canoe close to the shore, and there leave her with a few of our articles in her. But observing that the ship could not get near enough to aid the boat in case of an attack, this design was relinquished, and we immediately bore away.

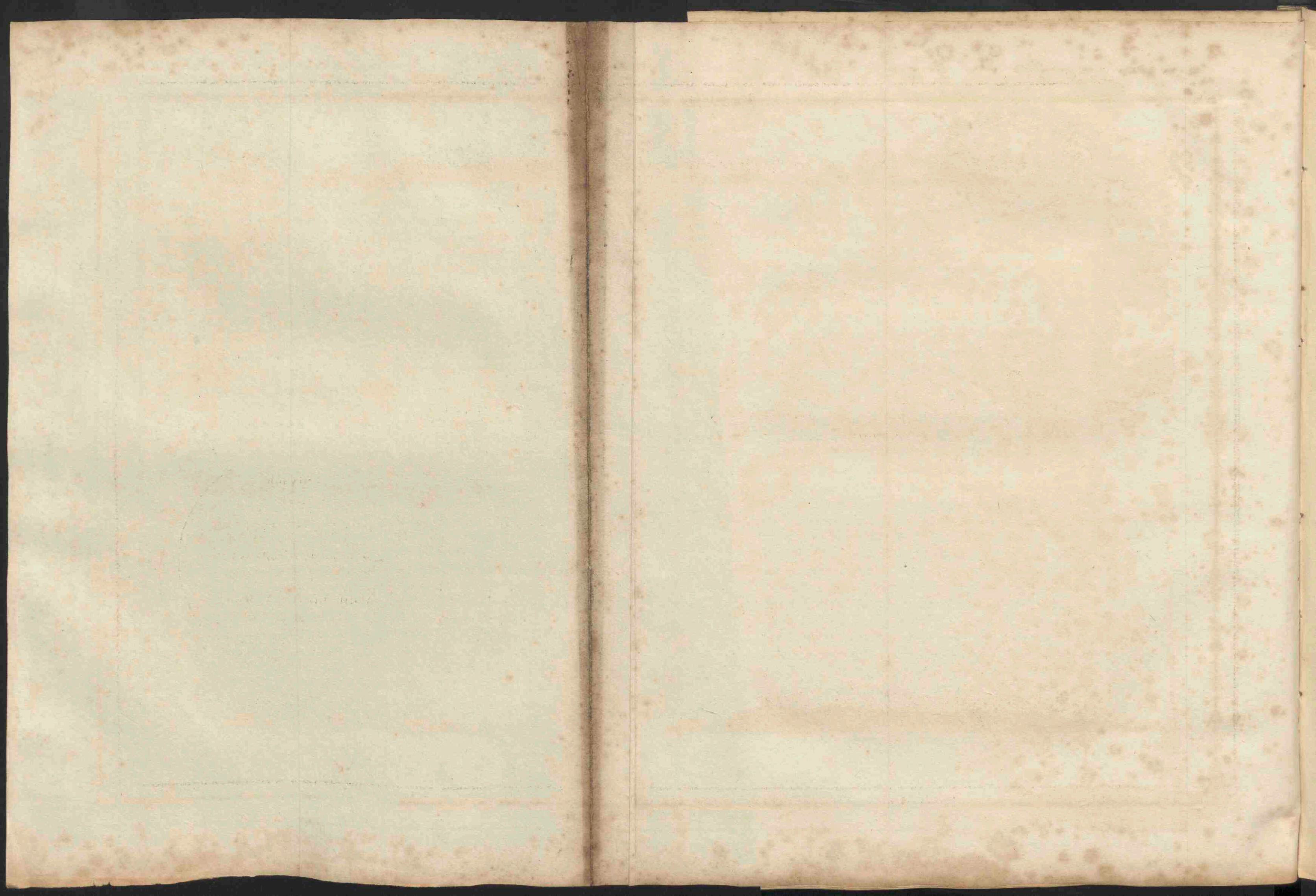
The largest of this group we named Disappointment island, and the whole cluster Duff's Group: they are about eleven in number, lying in a direction S.E. and N.W. fourteen or fifteen miles; in the middle are two larger islands about six miles in circumference; betwixt these last is a small islet, and to the eastward are three islets, two of which are round and high, the other flat and longish. On the north-west part of the group are five or six more; some of them high. At the east end of one is a remarkable rock in form of an obelisk. The small islands are apparently barren; but the two largest are entirely covered with wood, among which were several coconut trees; but, on the whole, they had not the appearance of great fertility. The natives appeared stout and well made, with copper-coloured complexions; their houses are built close to each other, and not dispersed, as we had been accustomed to see them: a horde of their dwellings was on the south-west side of Disappointment island. The latitude of the latter is  $9^{\circ} 57'$  S. and longitude  $167^{\circ}$  E.

From Duff's Group we steered W. by S. thirteen or fourteen leagues, and on the following day observed in latitude  $10^{\circ} 4'$  S. and were then just losing sight of the easternmost of the group, bearing











about E.  $13^{\circ}$  N. when we again saw land in the south-west quarter, and steered for it, which proved to be Swallow island and Volcano island; and further to the S.W. we could discern Egmont island: all these were discovered by Captain Carteret. Besides these we discovered a low island, which lies about S.S.W. from Volcano island, and steered to go between the two latter, but found that a reef ran from the south part of the low island; to avoid which we hauled to the southward, then bore away; and steering W. by S. about five leagues, saw two more low islands bearing about W. by N. distant two or three miles. As the moon was just now setting, and we had reason to think running in the dark would be extremely dangerous, we hove to with the ship's head towards Volcano island. Captain Carteret, in his Narrative, says, that they saw smoke, but no flame, issuing from this volcano: but as we passed it close, and even when we were at a distance, we beheld it emitting a large and bright flame every ten minutes; which was to me and many on board truly gratifying, who had never before beheld so grand a phenomenon. The height of this volcano is from the surface of the sea two thousand feet and upwards; and its height is to its base in the proportion of one to three; its circular form, with straight sides and an apparently pointed top, gave us reason to suppose that it had received this form by successive eruptions of lava issuing from the crater, and running down its sides: and perhaps if this ever was what naturalists call a primitive mountain, it might not originally be very high; its being surrounded by low islands, and its similar form to any common heap of matter, naturally enough suggest such an idea.

28th. At six A.M. we had the west side of Volcano island in one with the west end of Trevanion's island, bearing, per compass, S.  $22^{\circ}$  E. At the same time the eastern extremity of Egmont (or Guernsey) island bore S.  $43^{\circ}$  E. and the extremities of two low islands north of us from N.  $33^{\circ}$  W. to N.  $20^{\circ}$  W. distance of the volcano five miles. Hence I conclude Egmont island of far less extent than it is said to be by Captain Carteret. Variation  $10^{\circ}$  E.



From six A. M. till noon we steered W. by N. by compass twenty-three miles, and observed in latitude  $10^{\circ} 2' S.$  and longitude, corrected from lunar sights and chronometer,  $165^{\circ} 5' E.$ ; and at this time the volcano bore E.  $29^{\circ} S.$ ; but we had reason to think that a considerable current set to the northward. From noon we steered W. N. W. twenty-eight miles, and could just discern Volcano island through the haze; probably, had the weather been clearer, we might have seen it farther off; though even now we must have been distant from it near twenty leagues.

On the 29th and 30th we had unsettled weather, with thunder, lightning, and rain. About noon we passed to the southward of Stewart's islands: they are five in number, of no great extent, and low. They were discovered by Captain Hunter on his passage to Batavia, after the loss of the Sirius; their longitude we make  $162^{\circ} 30' E.$  On the following day we passed in sight of New Georgia, and saw no more land for several days. On the 10th of October we crossed the equator in longitude  $152^{\circ} E.$  where we had the winds prevailing generally from E. S. E. to N. E. and fresh breezes. From the line to  $6^{\circ} N.$  and betwixt the longitudes of  $150^{\circ}$  and  $140^{\circ}$ , we found that the current often set to the eastward; and as we run down about ten degrees in the latitude of  $7^{\circ} N.$  we experienced many calms; notwithstanding which we all enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of good health.

On the 25th we came in sight of a low island bearing W. by N. and presently perceived some canoes coming towards us. About nine A. M. one came alongside without the least fear or hesitation; by which free behaviour we judged that they had been acquainted with Europeans before; and their frequent mention of "Capitaine" confirmed this conjecture. These first were followed by several more, who exchanged their fishing-hooks (made of shells) and lines, and koir rope, &c. for any thing that was given them: and when several of them were admitted on board, they, for a considerable time, shewed no inclination to steal. However, those in the canoes



gave us reason to alter the good opinion we had formed of them, by stealing the rudder rings; a thing which the skilful Friendly islanders had attempted in vain: and besides this, one fellow was caught handing a pump-spear into his canoe. As we had been accustomed to such matters, we only drove them off the decks for these first depredations; but while we sat at dinner in the cabin, we heard them at work trying to knock off the bolt-head of the rudder rings: upon which the captain fired some small shot among them, which made them instantly sheer off. Just at this time William Tucker and John Connelly were discovered swimming close under the stern, with a view to make their escape to the canoes, and by their skulking appeared afraid of being fired at likewise; but the captain, enraged at the former for his ingratitude and deceit, and willing to part with the latter, told them, that if they chose to go they might, for he would not fire at them. Connelly answered, "Thank you, Sir;" and they both swam to the canoes, and were received by the savages with great shoutings. Soon after, a breeze springing up from the N.E. we resumed our course, and left them behind. Connelly we had brought by force from Tongataboo for threatening the missionaries. During his stay on board he had conducted himself quietly, and being put on the ship's books as an ordinary seaman, seemed to be content in his situation, till this last action proved his hypocrisy. The same might be said of Tucker, who being also reinstated, had often said that he was happy that he had been taken again after running from the ship at Otaheite; and perhaps he spoke his sentiments, as there was reason to believe that Connelly had persuaded him to this last resolution. If Connelly was really a Botany bay convict (as we have since heard), we may suppose him to have been actuated by two motives, the fear of work, and the fear of punishment if caught in England; and as for Tucker, his conduct had long made it evident that he was under the absolute rule of his sensual passions; which is the more to be lamented for the sake of an excellent mother, of whom he was the only son. This spot, on



which they have chosen to pass their days, is but a small island on the bosom of the deep, being not more than two or three miles in circumference, and where the comforts and necessities of life seem so scarce, that we had reason to think their whole subsistence consisted only of fish and roots, cocoa-nut, and perhaps the bread-fruit.

The natives are not a stout race; their complexion is a dark copper; their dispositions lively. We saw no women. Their canoes differ from all we had met before, being raised high at each end, and painted red: they have outriggers, and sail either end foremost. Their sails are made nearly in the same manner as the single sailing canoes of the Friendly Islands. The latitude of the island is  $7^{\circ} 22' N.$  and longitude  $146^{\circ} 48' E.$  We named it from the runaway, *Tucker's island*.

With light airs of wind from the N. E. we proceeded on our course to the westward, leaving Tucker and his companion to reflect upon the unhappy choice they had made; a choice, to all appearance, so replete with wretchedness, that we did not imagine a third person could be found willing to follow their example: but such is the prevalence of habit, and the enervating influence of idleness over the mind, that Andrew Cornelius Lind came to the captain, and begged earnestly to be set on shore upon the next island we should discover. To this request not only consent was given, but likewise a promise to let him have a selection of useful articles wherewith to benefit the natives, and the better to introduce and give him importance among them.

26th. When we had got about ten leagues farther westward, at midnight we saw another island bearing N. and at four A. M. saw two more to the N. W. and as the day broke shortly after, we counted six of these low islands, the extreme points bearing from N. W. by N. to N. E. by E.: for the most southerly of these we steered, and soon had a great number of canoes about the ship, into one of which Andrew, after taking leave of his shipmates, went, and was received



with joy by the savages. The canoe that took him in soon put off, and, as they paddled away, he stood up and waved his hand, seemingly more elated than depressed by his change of situation. The indolent life he had led at Otaheite, the unobstructed ease with which all his sensual appetites had been gratified there, with his aversion to labour, and the prospect of its necessity, which a return to Europe held up to his view, strongly urged him to prefer a lazy savage life upon these unpromising islands to his native Sweden, which he knew to have advantages only for the industrious. The following are the articles which the captain gave him: viz. two hand-saws, two hatchets, one hammer, ten looking-glasses, eighteen knives, three hundred deck nails, two razors, and some trifles besides; these, with what he had of his own, particularly a bible, will, no doubt, make him an acquisition to the natives, and may likewise be the means of rendering service to the other two, whom it was our opinion he would endeavour to join. The natives of this group, their canoes, implements, and eagerness for iron, &c. were exactly the same as at Tucker's island. The afternoon set in gloomy and rainy, which nevertheless was not a hindrance to the canoes, many of which followed us quite out of sight of their own island; and as we observed them haul to the northward in a squall, we concluded that they meant to go to some place in that quarter.

27th. About ten A. M. we came in sight of another low island, bearing S. W. and as we altered our course to go to the southward of it, when west of us it shewed like two distinct islands, lying near each other: here also many of the natives came off, and trafficked, as the others had done. One thing we had observed as peculiar and remarkable, that hitherto in our range among these islands no females had appeared; whence we concluded the men either more jealous than their eastern neighbours, or as placing a higher value on their women; or, perhaps, they had at some period suffered in defending them from licentious visitors. The latitude of these sister islands is  $7^{\circ} 14' N.$  longitude  $144^{\circ} 50' E.$  At four P. M. the latter bore E. by N.



two leagues. Just before dark we saw another island to the W.N.W. distant three or four leagues; and steering to go to the southward of it, the better to avoid any danger that might lie in the way, at midnight it bore N.N.E.

About four A. M. on the 28th, we discovered other islands, and by means of our night-glasses could discern the extremes from W.N.W. to N. by W. About this time it fell calm, which continued; and at daybreak we counted six, which might, from their size, merit the name of islands; and seven islets, or kayes; to the whole of which we gave the name of the Thirteen islands. At the distance of one league their extremes bore from N. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. to N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. by which their extent may be estimated. The latitude of the southern part of them is  $7^{\circ} 16'$  N. longitude  $144^{\circ} 30'$  E. About sixty canoes came off at first, and afterwards some of our people counted one hundred and fifty in sight, each of which, on an average, contained seven men, which is one thousand and fifty; and if we add half as many left on shore, and double that number for the women and children, the population of this group alone will amount to three thousand one hundred and fifty souls, which, according to the appearance of the islands, must often be pinched for food. Here, for the first time, we got a sight of their women, who, to the number of a dozen or more, came off in three canoes: in two they were accompanied by the men; the third was occupied by young women only. For a considerable time they kept aloof, whilst their own men seemed to eye them with attention; but observing that we did not regard them with any particular notice, they were suffered to approach within a few yards of the ship, which, as well as ourselves, they appeared to survey with delight. Some of them were well featured, having neither very thick lips nor broad faces, though inclining to both. Their hair is black and long. In complexion they differ from the men by a sickly kind of whitishness that is mixed with the natural olive. As we saw them almost naked, their greatest ornament and highest praise was the decency and modesty of their behaviour.



The greater number of the men were naked also: some had a sash mat wrapped round their middle; others added an ornamental belt round their body, near the navel: these belts are about an inch broad, composed of bits of black and white shells, bored and strung after the manner of beads. Some of them wore a broad conical hat, in form not much unlike that of the Chinese. These islands seemed alike in every respect, no one appearing to afford greater natural advantages than the other, except where the groups derive some enjoyments from neighbourhood; and perhaps more extensive shoals and smooth water afford a covert where the fish may shelter from the storm. Thus they may find greater resources than on the island that is solitary. However, with respect to articles of exchange, they appeared to be equally stored: of these the staple is koir rope, thirty fathom of which we could purchase for a piece of an old iron hoop six inches long: this rope is in general about an inch thick, and equal, if not superior, in strength to our hemp-made ropes. As they every where expressed the most eager desire for iron, at the above price we might, by delaying a few hours at each island, have almost filled the ship with it; and would certainly have done it, had we known what we have since learnt, that it will frequently fetch a good price in China. Their fishing-tackle differs little from what we had seen in the eastern islands; but their matting was striking and curious, being wove and made in the form of a Spanish sash, with a fancy border at each end, wrought in with black threads. The natural colour of these sashes is white; but many of them are dyed of a beautiful yellow with turmeric. It is impossible to behold those neat-wrought sashes, and their rude manufacturers at the same time, without wondering, and wishing to know how they came by the art. It is not improbable that they might have been taught by the Jesuit missionaries; two of whom were sent by the Spanish government from Manilla in the year 1710; but as the ship that took them thither was driven away by the currents, the Jesuits were never heard of more: however, others were sent, who continued their efforts a few years, till having informed



themselves of the general poverty of the islands, and certain that they never could be of value to the Spanish monarchy, they quitted them, and since that time (about 1720) they have been totally neglected. This makes it the more worthy of remark, that through so long a period this useful art should still be retained; and while it reflects credit upon their original teachers, is an encouragement to our missionaries to endeavour all in their power to introduce the mechanic arts, as it proves that their labour will not be in vain. Turtle is among the articles of their subsistence, as we purchased one of about twenty pounds weight for a piece of iron hoop about two feet long.

They manage their canoes with great dexterity, and go from island to island apparently without fear; from which free intercourse, and having no weapon, except a sling, among them, we concluded they had but few wars. Their language differs much from all that we had heard before; and except a few words, as, looloo (iron), capitaine, &c. we understood but little of what they spoke. Their numerals are as follows:

English.	Carolinas.	Pelew Islands.
One	Iota	Tong
Two	Rua	Oroo
Three	Toloo	Othey
Four	Tia	Oang
Five	Leema	Acem
Six	Honoo	Malong
Seven	Fizoo	Oweth
Eight	Wartow	Tei
Nine	Shievo	Etew
Ten	Segga	Mackoth.

We now, as it proved, had taken our leave of the Carolinas, for after the Thirteen islands we saw no more of them. To visit the Pelews being our next object, we accordingly shaped our course thither,



but had rather a tedious passage of nine days, owing to light and variable winds.

November 5th. We observed in latitude  $7^{\circ} 25'$  N.; and at sunset, being about two leagues more to the northward, we thought that we saw land in the south-west quarter, but could not be certain of this by reason of the dull gloomy weather which at that time prevailed: however, as we judged ourselves to be at no great distance from the islands, we shortened sail, and tacked to the S. E. The ship now having to contend with a head sea, pitched to such a degree, that the fore-top-sail yard broke in the flings: as this was of consequence in our present situation, it was immediately sent down, and replaced by a spare cross-jack yard, until a proper one could be made. During the night we had squally and rainy weather, which lasted until near eight A. M. on the 6th, when it became more settled, and we got sight of the land, bearing W. S. W. distant ten or eleven leagues. As we were steering towards it, we were suddenly alarmed by the cook's cabouse catching fire: every man instantly exerted himself to extinguish it; and happily this was soon effected; though, had not the fore-sail and rigging been wet with rain, the flame blazed so fiercely, that it is probable the ship might have been burnt down to the water's edge. This fire was occasioned by the cook melting his fat in a careless way.

At noon we observed in latitude  $7^{\circ} 31'$  N. the extremes of the land bearing from W.  $30^{\circ}$  N. to W.  $25^{\circ}$  S. distance about eight leagues. With a brisk gale from the southward we continued our course until half past three P. M. when we were within two short miles of the reef which extends no great distance from the shore of the largest island, called Babelthoup, divided into several districts, each of which is governed by a separate chief, acknowledging the supreme authority of Abba Thulle. When we hove to, we were opposite to the southern part of the district of Artingall. Two hundred persons, or more, were collected upon the beach, and presently about a dozen canoes were seen upon the water, some of



which were under sail, and others paddling; but as the weather at this time wore a most gloomy aspect, three of them only came far enough off to get alongside. The natives in these had a piece of white cloth tied upon a stick, which they waved as they drew near; an emblem, as we supposed, of peace. They approached without fear or the least hesitation, and spoke to us as to a people with whom they had been long acquainted; but their language was quite unintelligible; nor could we, even with the help of Captain Henry Wilson's vocabulary, make them understand one word, except a few of their proper names; they however kept talking very fast, accompanying their words with violent and sudden gestures of the hands and body, expressive of their eager desire for us to anchor at a place to the north-west, towards which they pointed; and one of them, who we afterwards learnt was a rupack, with a clumsy bone on his wrist, came up the ship's side in great haste to enforce the request, and was followed by two more, who were equally solicitous; but all their entreaties, added to our intention to make some stay at this celebrated group, were of no avail, as we could see no place where it was probable that a ship could safely anchor, and we had not Lieutenant Macluer's chart on board to guide us. On our mentioning the name of Abba Thulle, they repeated it several times, saying, S'Thulle, S'Thulle, and pointed to the land. The name of Lee Boo was not spoken, for they talked so fast and so constantly, that we had scarce any opportunity to ask questions; and probably the weather, which now threatened a storm, kept him out of their minds. As their comrades in the canoes bawled loudly for those on board to rejoin them, the captain presented a few knives, looking-glasses, &c. when they hastily, though reluctantly, took their leave; but before they paddled off they were at some pains to shew their gratitude, by throwing upon our decks with difficulty a couple of cocoa-nuts, which was all they had: they then made for the shore. This was all the intercourse we had with the Pelew islanders, a circumstance much regretted by us, as it had all along been the

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captain's intention to stay here a few days, for the purpose of learning what we could of the inhabitants respecting the expediency of settling a mission among them; and to prepare the way for missionaries, by distributing some useful articles retained in the ship for these and the Feejee people, from a hope of being favoured at both places with safe anchorage and friendly intercourse; but, for the present voyage, we concluded every thing of this nature at an end, and proceeded to make the best of our way to China, cherishing the hope of there receiving letters from our dear friends in England, to whom we now thought ourselves drawing near, though still at the distance of many thousand miles.

Soon after we bore away, and had shaped our course N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. we fell in with an extensive reef, trending N. E. about two leagues from the north end of Babelthoup, and discerned three small islands lying further to the N. enclosed by the above reef. When we had run nearly five leagues, the northernmost of the three bore S. W. by W. and at this time we reckoned ourselves past the north point of the reef; and though very dark, with constant rain, we continued our course for two leagues more, when we saw two other islands to the N. N. W. and at only a short distance from us, on which account we hauled to the eastward, and hove to till the moon should rise, which it did about eight o'clock, when we resumed our course, and afterwards fell in with no more dangers.

If we admit the few which we saw of the Pelew islanders to be a specimen of the whole, they are, in our opinion, inferior in external appearance to the Marquesans, the Society or Friendly islanders; they have not the stature and symmetry of the two first, and fall far short of the muscular, bold, and manly look of the latter. They approach the nearest to their neighbours, the Carolinians; for, like them, they are neither a stout nor handsome race. Among some customs which they seem to have in common at both places, is that of flitting the ear, through which some of them put vegetable ornaments, at least an inch thick. In tattooing at Pelew, their legs and



thighs appear as if they had been dipped in a dye of blueish black, the same as at the Carolinas; but they mark their bodies also with figures, like fingers, or gloves. They appeared before us quite naked, without seeming conscious of shame, and shewed their kindness and hospitality by the earnest invitations they gave us to visit their habitations.

From November 7th, when we left the Pelew islands, till our arrival on the coast of China, nothing very interesting occurred. The winds were so unsettled, that we experienced hardly any thing like the N. E. monsoon, until within two or three days sail of the Bashees, the most southern of which we saw the evening of the 17th: they appeared to be very high, and distant about ten leagues. Having no chart on board upon the accuracy of which we could depend, we kept our wind for the night, stretching to the northward. At day-break, supposing that we could clear the northern rocks, we bore away west, and with a little alteration of our course, sailed close past the northernmost isle, which lies in the latitude of  $21^{\circ}$  N. longitude  $122^{\circ} 6'$  E.

The Bashees consist of six or seven islands; two to the S. E. are high; some of the others are of moderate height: the most northern except one is high and craggy at top; and between these two lie two small rocks above water. After passing this group in about  $21^{\circ} 10'$  N. we steered W. N. W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. twenty-five leagues, then reckoned ourselves in latitude  $21^{\circ} 42'$  N. and longitude  $121^{\circ}$  E. the south point of Formosa bearing at the same time N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.; we saw the rocks which lie to the S. E. and had a good birth of them as we passed.

20th. We got into soundings, and passed several Chinese fishing-boats. The next day, at seven A. M. being within two or three leagues of the Great Lemma, a pilot came on board: at first he asked about one hundred dollars to take us to Macao road, but afterwards accepted thirteen, besides giving us two fine fish.

21st. At ten A. M. we passed between the Grand Lemma and



Potoy, and leaving all the islands, except Lingting, to the south of us, we sailed through with a fine easterly breeze. At three P. M. came in sight of Macao, and at half past four anchored in the road, the town bearing W. two leagues. The pilot was then discharged, and a signal made for another; and that no time might be delayed, our own boat was lowered down, and an officer dispatched on shore to bring a proper pilot off, as also to learn what European ships were at Canton; but to our great mortification we found that not one had as yet arrived, consequently there were no letters for us. Nor was this the only disappointment: the Chinese had lately refused to permit any vessel up to Whampoa, except such as brought cargoes thither. One ship from Port Jackson had been lying six weeks in the Typa, at the entrance of the river; and had not as yet obtained leave to proceed upwards; and on our applying to the mandarin at Macao, we were told, that, as we had brought no cargo, no pilot would be sent on board until the Honourable Company's supercargoes could prevail on the Chinese government at Canton for a passport. The boat, however, brought us a variety of refreshments, of which, though received as very salutary after a long passage, we did not stand in such need as many preceding navigators who had neither sailed the distance, nor been so long at sea as ourselves. We had run from the time of leaving England upwards of thirty-four thousand miles, and had been out fourteen months, eleven of them at sea; yet in all this time we had scarcely experienced any sickness, and were at present, to a man, in good health. We never made use of antiscorbutics, as malt, spruce, &c.; but being a crew small in number to what are usually on board ships upon voyages of discovery, we were enabled to lay in a sufficient stock of fresh provisions at one group of islands, to serve, with a little œconomy, till we got to a place to procure more; so that our sailors always had fresh meat at least twice a week; and for nearly half of the time that we were in the South Seas they lived entirely upon the hogs of the different islands; and we may venture to



say, that those who can be thus highly favoured need not be solicitous about any other antiscorbutics. On our arrival in port the captain observes, he was exceedingly shocked at hearing around him, once more, that great and awful name blasphemed, which, for fourteen months, he had never heard mentioned but with reverence: it was as found as grievous as unusual.



## CHAPTER XIX.

*Occurrences at China, and Voyage home.*

22d. **E**ARLY in the morning Captain Wilson went in the pinnace to Macao, to endeavour to have the obstacles to our going up removed, while the crew were employed painting the ship, and putting her otherwise in order; and in a few hours we had the pleasure to see her look almost as smart as when she left Spithead. Towards evening a strong gale came on from the north, and increased to such a degree, that in the course of the night we drove a considerable way with both anchors ahead. The next morning we were glad to embrace the opportunity of the windward tide to weigh our anchors and run into the harbour of the Typa, and moored close to the Britannia, Captain Dennet, the ship we mentioned from Port Jackson. A chop (or passport) had this day been sent for that vessel to proceed for Whampoa, and Captain Wilson judged it a good opportunity for him to go up in her, supposing that by being on the spot he should the sooner obtain the leave he wanted.

On the 25th the Britannia left the Typa; and that our ship might be in readiness, we began to strip the rigging off the mast-heads, which we examined, and found it necessary to put new checks to the main-mast. The whole of the rigging was thoroughly repaired; and just as this work was upon the finish, the captain arrived on the 9th of December with permission for the ship to go up the river.

On the 10th we weighed from the Typa, and as we worked out had the pleasure of seeing three large ships at anchor in the eastern road: these, we hoped, had, what we anxiously longed for, letters from England; and so it proved.



On the 13th we moored at Whampoa, where we found ships of different nations, Swedes, Danes, Americans, and English; of the latter, belonging to the Honourable Company, were the Glatton, Canton, Boddam, and Arniston, besides some extra ships. The three former have recently suffered much by a tiffoon in the China sea, and were returned to refit. The Arniston had two or three days ago arrived from England, having touched at the Cape of Good Hope; and by her we learnt the political state of our native country.

We now expected to be three months at least before we should receive our cargo, and be dispatched home, which we supposed would be with a fleet composed of Indiamen, just at this time arrived. But the supercargoes having determined to dispatch the Glatton, Boddam, and Amazon packet, they ordered an immediate survey to be made of our ship, and the report of the committee appointed for that purpose being, "That the Duff was in excellent order, and fit to receive "a cargo," Mr. R. Hall, the head supercargo, told our captain, that if we could take in our lading, and be ready to depart in the course of five or six days, he would dispatch us. This the captain promising to perform, teas were immediately sent alongside. But though the ship was in every respect in very good order, she was by no means clear for receiving a cargo; our hold was half full of water-casks, bread puncheons, tierces of beef, and various articles of stores beyond our consumption, and for which we had as yet found no purchasers; so that to dispose of these, and to remove them from place to place as we advanced in our lading, gave us more trouble and expended more time than taking in the cargo itself. However, by the 31st of December we were completely laden, and in a shorter time than perhaps ever ship was before; and having, by the kindness of the supercargoes, got over the difficulties which the Chinese are continually throwing in the way, we that same day ran down the river, and joined the other ships at a place called the Second Bar, just as they were getting under sail.

The singularity of our manners at China could not fail to attract



notice; and as all immorality was utterly discountenanced, not an oath sworn, and an appearance of unusual devotion maintained, the company we had now joined were pleased wittily to new-christen the Duff, and called her *The Ten Commandments*.

January 2d, 1798. We got down to Macao, where we found three English men of war, and seven of the Bombay cotton ships, at anchor, waiting for us to sail with them.

The Honourable Company's ship Glatton, commanded by Charles Drummond, Esq. was appointed to convoy us home, to take the country ships bound to Bombay under his care; and the Fox and La Sibylle were to accompany us for a few leagues down the China sea. Every thing relative to the fleet's departure being arranged, and the ships in readiness, early on the 5th we put to sea, with a fresh gale from the north, and found that the Duff was fully competent to keep up with them, though we had been apprehensive of this, as our Indiamen are remarkable for their fast sailing, especially when it blows hard.

Our passage down the China sea was as favourable as we could have wished it to be. Some time in the course of the first night the frigates left us, and we saw them no more.

On the 10th we passed Pulo Sapata, and, continuing our course for the straits of Malacca, at ten A. M. on the 14th we came in sight of the Malay coast; at the same time saw a strange sail ahead. Having heard that an enemy's squadron was cruising in the straits, we at first thought this might be one of them sent to look out; and this seemed the opinion of our commodore, for he made the signal for the fleet to prepare for action, and that one of the fastest sailing ships should chase. But we soon recognised her to be a Portuguese vessel which had departed from Macao three days before us. In the afternoon we rounded Cape Romania, and spoke a ship from Bengal that was at anchor under the lee of the point, which removed all our fears of an enemy. The straits of Malacca are accounted dangerous to navigate in the dark; however, as the wind was fair, our commo-



dore kept the fleet running all the night. Next day we had calms, which obliged us to anchor; but a breeze springing up at N. E. we soon weighed, and the wind increasing at midnight, we passed the Water islands, and at two A. M. on the 16th came to with the small bower in Malacca road, in seven fathoms water, the flagstaff on the citadel bearing N. 64° E. the Outer Water island S. 39° E. distant from the town two or three miles. The reason of our touching at this place being to fill up our water, and gain information for the safety of the fleet, at daybreak in the morning the boats were hoisted out, and most of the commanders went on shore, but were disappointed in the hope of intelligence, as there was none of later date than what we had received at China. As this spoke only of war, our duty was to prepare for all events on the passage; not that we had fears. The ability and care which we had observed in our commodore, and the strength which would be with us after the Bombay ships had separated, gave us confidence. The Glatton mounted forty guns, and the Boddam about thirty, and both ships had a few troops on board; besides, at the Cape of Good Hope or St. Helena we expected to join others of the Honourable Company's ships.

On the 17th we received about four tons of water, which is brought off in bulk by small vessels kept here for the purpose. We also received an addition to our live stock, and could have gone to sea this evening, but that the large ships had not completed their water; and one of the fleet which had lain several months laden at Whampoa had sprung a leak, and was obliged to use tedious and laborious methods to find the place where the water entered. This they happily found, and it deserves notice as a hint to shipwrights and to those who are more interested: by ripping the copper off the under wales a bolt-hole was found left without the bolt; an act of negligence which might have proved of the most fatal consequence, had it not been discovered.

Malacca in prospect affords little beauty; the houses, excepting a few, have a poor and mean look; and the best, though convenient,



are neither large nor fightly. The fortifications which surround the town have originally been strong, but at present are thought too weak to stand the shock of cannon planted upon them: to make up for this defect, our countrymen, since the place fell into their hands, have strengthened the lines and outworks, so that they could now make a very good defence. The streets within the ramparts cross each other at right angles, three or four lying east and west, and as many north and south. The shops are shabby, presenting for sale nothing that is enticing to an European; and their market has all the appearance of a negro market in the West Indies. Until the English made a settlement upon Pulo Pinang, or Prince of Wales's island, this city was the only place of trade in the strait; and, from our earliest knowledge of India, is mentioned as a place of great importance. They export tin, nutmegs, canes, &c. Provisions were at this time scarce and dear. The inhabitants are a mixture of Dutch, Malays, and Chinese: the garrison at present is English.

On the 20th we sailed with the fleet, and proceeded down the strait until we came in sight of Pulo Pinang, when the Bombay ships left us and steered for that island. Our fleet was now reduced; consisting only of the Glatton, Boddam, Amazon, and our own ship.

31st. We finished the last of our yams, which had plentifully supplied us five months. We had a very good passage, with few gales of wind, and met with no disaster; nor did we see a strange sail to alarm us until the 16th of March, when in the morning we made the Cape land, and fell in with two transports from Amboyna, which joined us. At night we hove to, and waited for day to run for Table bay, where we were directed to fill up our water, and refresh the crew.

At daybreak on the 17th, after we had born away, one of our boys, going up the main shrouds to loose the main-topgallant-sail, slipped his hold and fell into the sea; the jolly-boat was instantly lowered from the stern, and providentially saved him just on the point of sinking: we got him on board, and though far spent, after discharg-



ing a quantity of water, he soon recovered. At three P. M. we anchored in the bay, where we found a squadron of men of war under the command of Admiral Christian; two outward-bound East-Indiamen, with several Portuguese, Danes, Americans, and other vessels. In the evening the health-boat came to examine in what state the crew were, and, on finding us all well, gave permission for free communication with the shore. After them the admiral's boat upon guard took account of the ship, whence she came, &c. From some of the ships they impressed a few men, but took none from us. When they had left the admiral's excellent regulations, which are given to all vessels coming into the bay, they departed. In a few days we had got what water and stock we wanted, but it was not until the 1st of April that the signal for sailing was made, and we put to sea, with the addition of the transport *Bellona* to our fleet. The same day we got out of sight of the Cape, and shaped our course for the island of St. Helena, where we arrived on the 15th. Seven Indiamen, besides extra ships, and two South-Sea whalers, lay in the bay, all homeward bound.

On the 16th the *Albion*, an extra ship, was dispatched for England by the governor, with advice of the fleet being on their passage.

On the 1st of May we sailed. Captain Drummond, being the senior in command, had the charge of the fleet, consisting of twenty sail: during our passage we saw only two or three strange ships. In latitude 20° N. we fell in with a small Spanish vessel from Cadiz, bound to Vera Cruz: she was made a prize by our commodore.

On the 23d of June we saw the coast of Ireland, west of Kinsale; and on the day following put into Cork harbour for a convoy. The *Ethalion*, Captain Countess, was appointed for that purpose by Admiral Kingmill; and, after a detention of eight days by contrary winds, we set sail, and on the 4th of July saw the coast of England. On the 8th we passed the Downs; on the 11th came to anchor in the river Thames; and in a few days discharged our cargo of tea, which was landed in as perfect order as we received it at China.



THUS have we finished a voyage, in which the Missionary Society, and our Christian brethren in connexion with them, were so deeply interested. Their prayers have been heard for us, and eminently answered: success beyond our most sanguine expectations has crowned our endeavours in every place where the missions have been settled. We have not lost a single individual in all our extended voyage: we have hardly ever had a sick list: we landed every missionary in perfect health: and every seaman returned to England as well as on the day he embarked at Blackwall. We feel our gratitude rising high to the Author of all our mercies, and cannot but believe that every man who shall candidly peruse the foregoing sheets will join us in acknowledging the gracious providence that hath supported us hitherto; whilst the generous and humane conductors of this benevolent undertaking will be animated by the success which hath attended their first attempt, to pursue with increasing energy an object which appears so fraught with blessings to mankind. The way into the southern ocean is now open, and the facilities for enlarging the missionary labours greatly increased. The settlements formed will every day continue to widen their circle of influence and usefulness; and new and vast countries around them, equally accessible, afford an inexhaustible field for the most vigorous exertions of Christian zeal. The more all circumstances are weighed, the more it must appear that this hath God done: and can we perceive that it is his work, and not at least confess our obligation to further these efforts to the utmost of our power? It is to be hoped that every objection to this blessed undertaking will be now removed; that the cautious will confess themselves satisfied, and demonstrate their approbation by a more liberal assistance, because of past delay; that the prejudiced will nobly lay aside their opposition, and redeem unfavourable suggestions by immediate and generous acknowledgments that they knew us not; and that a mission to the heathen, planned with much deliberation, investigation, and zeal, and executed with eminent skill, perseverance, and success, bears a stamp of divine benediction upon it,



which ought to commend it to every man's conscience in the sight of God. How much thankfulness, delight, and satisfaction, it must produce in the hearts of those who have been most active in the service, and such eminent benefactors to mankind, I need not say: their work itself is their first and highest reward. Having finished, as one of the inferior wheels in this great machine, the revolution which received its impulse from the main spring, I am for a while reposing on these happy shores of Britain; but my prayers will never cease for the prosperity of Zion, and for the furtherance of the missionary labours, of the commencement of which having been a favoured spectator, I cannot but indulge the pleasing expectation of abundant increase; and wait, with the multitude of those who believe the promises will be fulfilled in their season, to hear that *His* kingdom is advancing, who shall assuredly receive the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession. The Lord hasten it in his time!



## A P P E N D I X.

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### INTRODUCTION.

IN the following Appendix of miscellaneous matter respecting the country, its inhabitants, customs, natural history, &c. should any thing be advanced apparently different from the preceding representations of former visitants, it will be proper to remark, that these papers have been drawn up from manuscripts attended with every mark of authenticity, and from conversations with a variety of persons who have been lately on the spot, and whose veracity is highly to be respected. It must be obvious to every intelligent person in search of information, that some are struck with one object which another overlooks, and that the strongest trait of character and manners is often drawn from the simplest trifle, which is ready to be disregarded or not mentioned for its seeming insignificance; and where the same thing is noticed, inferences may be drawn by one concerning it, of which another may entertain a different opinion. We hope, however, on the whole, that the body of information here collected from these sources will be found strongly corroborative of the truth of the facts in the preceding narrative, and cannot but afford satisfaction to the curious and inquisitive into the real state of men and manners in the isles of this vast ocean. We hope, also, to be able hereafter to present a more explicit and full account, if it pleases God to crown our present expedition with any similar success as the past: and we cannot but flatter ourselves that the public, on an impartial survey of what



has been done, will consider the Missionary Society as among the real benefactors to mankind, and support an undertaking which God has hitherto singularly blessed; and which proposes, as its first object, the divine glory, and the salvation, temporal and eternal, of those whom hitherto no man hath cared for. Names, sects, and parties, have no place among us—we mean nothing political, partial, or exclusive. One is our master, even Christ: we desire to know and teach nothing but him crucified; to interfere in no contest, to disturb no government established, or introduce any peculiar modes of religious worship, but to leave every man to the book of truth for his guide, in the spirit of meekness; to unite in one centre, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and to love one another, out of a pure heart, fervently. Time and better information, it is to be hoped, will dissipate every prejudice entertained against so benevolent an undertaking.



## SECTION I.

*Country.*

THE island of Otaheite consists of two peninsulas connected by a low isthmus about three miles across, covered with trees and shrubs, but wholly uncultivated; though no part of the island seems more capable of improvement, and of admitting the plough if cleared from wood. The larger, Otaheite Nooe, is about ninety miles in circumference, and nearly circular; the lesser, or Tiaraboo, is about thirty miles. They are divided into a variety of districts, in enumerating which the former reporters differ, as probably they are subject to changes, and divided and subdivided by the chiefs among their towhas and relations. I shall therefore refer to the map, as containing the latest and most accurate account. The island has a border of low land reaching from the beach to the rising of the hills, in some places near a mile, in others hardly a furlong, and in several points the mountains abruptly terminate in high cliffs, against which the sea beats, and form difficult passages from one district to another. The soil of the low lands and of the valleys, which run up from the sea between the mountains, is remarkably fertile, consisting of a rich blackish mould covered with bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, plantains, evee apple, the yōute, or cloth plant, and many others, which will be hereafter described. The mountains afford a great variety of trees of all sorts and sizes, and are, in most places, covered to their very tops with wood, in others with bamboos of great length, and in some by fern and reed, which at a distance appear like a fine green lawn. The hills rise very steep, and swell into mountains almost inaccessible; but every where productive of plantains, yams, and a multitude of



wild roots growing spontaneously, and sometimes used for food. In these higher regions only is to be found the precious sandal wood, of two kinds, yellow and dark-coloured; from whence the natives chiefly draw the perfume for the cocoa-nut oil, with which they anoint themselves.

The country exhibits a mountainous aspect, and rises very high in the centre; but it is intersected by narrow valleys, which receive innumerable streams from the hills, some of which fall in beautiful cascades, and fill the rivers, which meander through them, amidst the verdant scenery, to the sea. During the rainy seasons these swell into torrents, and sometimes loosen rocks and trees from the precipices, and carry them down into the valleys, which they overflow, and occasion much damage. During the greater part of the year these valleys afford a passage from one side of the island to the other, though always difficult when you ascend the mountains; but in the rainy season this becomes impracticable, and the communication between one district and another is kept up by canoes, which pass within the reefs in smooth water with great facility; using this precaution only, that as the northernmost part of the island has a steep rocky shore, and in blowing weather the landing is dangerous, those who wish to go to windward proceed in their canoes westward, where they seldom find the trade wind, and the sea breeze sets in from the westward; the high land obstructing the easterly wind, and the island of Eimēo lying in a direction N. and S. forces a fresh westerly current up the south side of Otaheite, which wafts the canoes to the isthmus; where hauling them across, they are sure of a fair wind home. This is at present done on rollers and by ropes; but a carriage with wheels would wonderfully facilitate the operation: and probably, ere long, a practicable road will be formed for this purpose, as has been suggested by one of the missionaries.

When the trade wind gets far to the south, and blows fresh, it generally rains on the south side of the island, bringing the clouds from the mountains of Tiaraboo, and emptying their contents at



Papparā and the adjacent districts. This occasions a great difference in the bread-fruit season between the north and south sides of the island; as on the north the rain is less frequent and less violent, and the trade wind constantly blows, except when the sun is vertical. Hence the great bread-fruit harvest commences on the northern side about November, and continues till the end of January; whilst on the south side, in some parts, it begins in January, and continues in different districts till November. But though this is the case with the general harvest on both sides the island, there are some kinds of bread-fruit, though scarce, in season all the year, especially in the district of Attahooroo. The different species of the same tree amount to thirty. At our arrival in March we found plenty; it continued till we left the island in August: they said it would be scarce for two months at Matavāi.

As soon as you begin to ascend the hills, the soil changes from the rich loam into various veins of red, white, dark, yellow, or blueish earth, clay, or marl: in the red are found stones resembling cornelian or flint; but being full of veins, though they will strike fire with steel, they break on a second stroke. The white appears a pipe-clay, or fuller's earth; the dark, a fine fat mould, probably the decayed parts of vegetable substances; the yellow is mixed with gravel; the blue a marly substance. These are all found in digging ten or twelve feet, and the under-stratum appears a soft sand-stone of a brownish colour, intermixed with hard rock.

The hills also afford a blackish stone, which seems a lava, in pieces eight or ten feet long, and from four to ten inches thick; of which they formerly made their stone tools: it is of a fine grain, though not very hard, nor apt to splinter; which answered best the purposes of the natives, as they could thus bring them more easily to an edge; but at every stroke almost their adzes required whetting, and two-thirds of their time nearly was employed in this labour.

The beds of the rivers consist of stones and gravel; many of which contain a glassy substance, and will melt in a strong fire; others are



more infusible, and many are found like pumice-stone. In powder the magnet attracts many particles. This, with other high islands, has evidently a volcanic origin.

In the district of Matavāi there is a singular cliff, called Peeha; which one of the missionaries describes as formed of an immense number of oblong pieces of stone, strongly cemented together, and hanging in a very romantic manner. The cliff is about eighty or ninety feet high, and twice as broad; at the bottom runs a river, the largest in the island. This is probably basaltic.

The mountains are in some parts bare and full of precipices, broken as by earthquakes. In the bosom of those which bound the district of Vyeorēde there is a remarkably large fresh-water lake, called Vychēerea, which the natives say cannot be sounded with any line, and contains eels of a monstrous size. On the banks of this lake many inhabitants are seated, who have plenty of all sorts of provisions, except the bread-fruit, for which they substitute the mountain plantain. This lake empties itself into the valley of Vyeorēde. Here also they make vast quantities of a greyish cloth highly prized, beat from the bark of the mountain floe tree; and a number of arreoies frequent the place for this purpose, as they prefer the cloth to any other, and call it orāa.

The bay of Matavāi affords safe anchorage during eight months of the year, but is dangerous from December to March; the bottom is a blackish sand, from six to eighteen fathom. The channel between the reef and the Dolphin bank, on which the water is thirteen feet only in the shoaler part, extends not more than half a cable's length, but has twenty-two fathoms of water; yet, in a weakly manned ship, this passage seems preferable to passing to the westward of the bank, as it frequently happens that the wind comes off in squalls from One Tree hill in a southern direction, and often falls into a dead calm; both which may be avoided by keeping the reef close aboard, with ten fathoms water, and bringing up where you please, as there is no foul ground to windward of the Dolphin bank, nor any



rocks but what are visible. The funken rocks, called Tōa, the natives know, and are ready to point out. The only harbour to the westward is that of Opārre, called Tōa rōa, or Long rock.

Water is convenient and abundant in all parts of the island.

The weather, during our stay, from March till August, was serene and pleasant, the thermometer never sinking lower than  $65^{\circ}$ , and seldom higher than  $73^{\circ}$ ; and so cool at night as to make a blanket welcome. When we came, the weather was a little squally and rainy, being the end of the rough season, which commences some time in December and lasts till March: during these months the wind frequently blows hard from the west, with rain, and throws a heavy swell and surf on the shore into Matavāi bay; the rest of the year the wind blows from the east, but with an alternate land and sea breeze around the island, which extends its influence about a league from the shore.

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## SECTION II.

### *Government.—Ranks in Society.—Property.*

THE government of Otaheite is monarchical, and hereditary in one family; of this two branches subsist. Temārre, the son of Oberēa and Oāmmo, reigned when Wallis first visited the island: he was then a child, and Oberēa his mother was regent. Oāmmo and she had quarrelled about saving the child, which he wished to destroy; whether to retain the sovereignty longer, or suspecting that the child did not belong to him, the lady not being sparing of her favours to others. On his accession, Oāmmo retired to a private station in his own district of Papparā, and left his wife, an active woman,



in trust with the reins of government for her son. Oāmmo was son of Tenac, and elder brother of Whāppai, who since has assumed the name of Otey. Whāppai's son Otoo was then a child of six or seven years old. Tootahā, their younger brother, was chief of Attahooroo.

Wars and various changes appear to have preceded the last grand revolution, when the partisans of Otoo, with the assistance of the mutineers, recovered the royal maro from the men of Attahooroo. By one of these intestine wars Temārre, the Tirridirri of Cook, had been previously deposed, and Otoo, the present Pomārre, advanced to the dignity of earee rahai. But the chiefs of Attahooroo, who, under Tootahā, had been the principals in effecting this revolution, seized the regalia, the royal maro, and the ark of the Eatōoa, and carried them off to their own district; and though incapable of using them, as not being of the seed royal, they kept possession of them for the honour of their district; and having established their warlike character, none dared contend with them. To Attahooroo, therefore, on all great solemnities, were all the other chiefs obliged to repair, and were sometimes insulted or plundered by the way. This occasioned continual disputes; and the Attahooroo chiefs giving an asylum to all those who fled for crimes from other districts, they became such a terror to the rest, that Temārre, though dethroned and reduced to his private patrimony, as chief of Papparā, joined with Otoo to attack them.

Tiaraboo also had revolted, and set up Vayheeadōoa. A general war commenced; Eimēo leagued with Attahooroo; and Maheine (the uncle of Motuāro, king of that island, who had married Otoo's sister, as Otoo had married his) usurped the right of his nephew, and forced him to take refuge with his brother-in-law at Opārre, just at the time Cook arrived in 1774, who saw the preparations for war, but did not wait its issue.

Otoo (now Pomārre), after many conflicts, maintained his authority, though not without such defeats as sometimes drove him to



the mountains, and almost annihilated his maritime power. The war canoes of Otaheite have nearly disappeared. Otoo having cultivated the friendship of the Europeans, continued to be acknowledged supreme chief, though holding a precarious dominion, till the settlement of the mutineers at Matavāi. Them he engaged in his interest; and as they could incline the balance to whichever side they pleased, by their means he vanquished Attahooroo, recovered the royal maro, and established his son's dominion on a more solid basis than it had ever been before. Motuāro also recovered his lost dominion in Eimēo; and strengthened the government of his nephew by acknowledging his supremacy. Pomārre (the name assumed by the father since his son's succession to the title of Otoo) continued, as regent, to manage the affairs of government; and by the help of his European friends, the lesser as well as the greater peninsula bowed to his dominion, and his flag passed with reverence through all the districts. Temārre first paid it due homage, and it proceeded from him through Tiaraboo. It was a union jack, given by the captain of a vessel which had touched there, and decorated with breast-plates of pearl and red feathers. This was carried to the great morai, where all the chief people of the district attended, and received it with ceremonious reverence.

Pomārre, from king become the first subject of his son and regent of the state, supports his son's dignity with all his weight and influence. Temārre is joined in the strictest friendship with him, and, having no children, adopted Pomārre's daughter, since dead. Eimēo acknowledged the young king's sovereignty; and his dominion was no where openly resisted, though in Tiaraboo more than one district still appears discontented.

As the ceremony of investing the young king with the royal maro, like a coronation, is a solemnity which few can witness, the following account from a spectator will be interesting:

Assembling at the great morai at Opārre, the maro oora, or red fash of royalty, recovered from Attahooroo, was laid on the morai:



it is made of net-work, and thrummed with red and yellow feathers. The tāata ōrero, the public orator (probably Mānne Manne), opened the ceremony with a long speech, which set forth the rightful authority of the son of Pomārrē to the royal dignity; and invested him with the regal cincture. Motuāro, the chief of Eimēo, who had recovered his authority, first paid his homage to the young king, who was borne on a man's shoulders, and surrounded by all his chieftains. He brought three human victims from Eimēo in his canoes; from each of which the priest, scooping out an eye, presented it to the sovereign on a plantain leaf plucked from a young tree in his hand, accompanied with a long ceremonial discourse: the bodies were then taken away, and interred in the morai. The same ceremony was repeated by every chief in rotation, of the several districts of Otaheite, some bringing one, and some two human sacrifices, fixed on a long pole; and buried after the presentation of the eye.

The reason assigned for this horrid oblation was, that the head being reputed sacred, and the eye the most precious part, it was to be presented to the king as the head and eye of the people. During the presentation the king holds his mouth open, as if devouring it, whereby they imagine he receives additional wisdom and discernment; and that his tutelar deity presides, to accept the sacrifice, and, by the communication of the vital principle, to strengthen the soul of his royal pupil. Hogs innumerable were strangled, and immense quantities of cloth presented. The royal maro, worn only on that day, was deposited in its place at the morai, and the sacred canoes, which brought the human sacrifices, were hauled up thither. The king and chiefs then departed, to devour the hogs, turtle, fowls, fish, and vegetables prepared for them in the greatest profusion, and to drink their intoxicating yava. The feasting and heivas lasted two months; the hogs killed on the occasion were innumerable, the yava abundant; and more than one of the chiefs paid for their excesses with their lives.

Otoo, the present king, is about seventeen, and very large limbed,



promising to be of a size like his father. Though he is absolute, he lives in the greatest familiarity with the lowest of his subjects. He is differently represented: some say he looks solid, and of a thoughtful aspect; whilst others call him stupid, and his countenance vacant. His queen, Tētua, daughter of Wyreede, relict of Motuāro, is about his own age, and rather the larger of the two. Her countenance is pleasing and open, but masculine, and widened by the usual method of pressure, called *touroome*. It is considered as the distinctive mark of their regal dignity, to be every where carried about on men's shoulders. As their persons are esteemed sacred, before them all must uncover below the breast; and from this mark of homage their own father and mother are not exempted. They may not enter into any house but their own, because, from that moment, it would become *rāa*, or sacred, and none but themselves, or their train, could dwell or eat there; and the land their feet touched would be their property: therefore, though they often came off to the ship, ate what was handed down to them, and baled the water out of their own canoe, they would never come on board; and when they daily visited our missionary house, they never came farther than the door. Yet this had not been the case with the father, when king, who freely entered the ship, and visited our people on shore: perhaps some ceremony is yet to pass, when the king comes to a more advanced age, when he will have the same liberty.

The king and queen were always attended by a number of men, as carriers, domestics, or favourites, who were *rāa*, or sacred, living without families, and attending only on the royal pair; and a worse set of men the whole island does not afford for thievery, plunder, and impurity.

The queen has had as yet no child, nor is it likely she should produce any, as, if the reports our missionaries have received are true, she is a perfect *Messalina*, and lives in a promiscuous intercourse with all her porters.



The mode of carrying the king and queen is with their legs hanging down before, seated on the shoulders, and leaning on the head of their carriers, and very frequently amusing themselves with picking out the vermin, which there abound. It is the singular privilege of the queen, that, of all women, she alone may eat them; which privilege she never fails to make use of. On their own lands they sometimes condescend to alight, and walk; but seldom move far without their porters. Among these attendants is to be found one of the singular curiosities of the island, a native of a complexion quite different from his fellows; reddish, and of a Swedish cast of countenance, and his hair white and fine as flax. There are a few others something similar, like the white negroes, an anomalous breed.

The next in rank to the king is his own father, Pomarre, who acts as regent for his son. He is represented as of very amiable manners, and peculiarly attached to us. He is the largest man on the island, being above six feet four inches high, and strong built. Our tallest men in the ship hardly reached his shoulders; and he would weigh against three or four; yet he is no warrior, and in military prowess exceeded by his wife Iddeah, a woman of a most masculine appearance and disposition. They live together in great harmony, though they have ceased to cohabit. He first took her younger sister to wife, and then another woman; and she has a servant of her own, by whom she has had more children than one, all of whom have been murdered, she being now a member of the arreo society.

The next in dignity are the chiefs in the several districts; some of whom are supreme in more than one district, and exercise in their own territories all regal power, yet still subject to Otoo as sovereign paramount, and liable to be called upon for assistance: these, also, have houses and lands in many districts, which, as they cannot occupy themselves, they commit to the care of superintendants, called *medius*, or give them to their tayos, who enjoy all the usufruits



without being called to any account, and share them with the chiefs when they come to reside themselves.

Next to these are the *tōwhas*, the near relations, or younger brothers, or tayos, of the chiefs: and if there are more chiefs than one, the district is divided into different *pātdoos*, or parishes, and each of these have *tōwhas* under him.

The next rank is the *ratirra*, or gentleman, who has one portion to the *tōwha's* three. These smaller estates are called *rāhoe*, from the power the *ratirra* has to lay a prohibition on his own land, or on any particular sort of provision, as well as the *tōwha* on his portion, and the chief on the whole; but this power, though sometimes abused, is usually employed after a great consumption of provisions, or to accumulate them for some magnificent feast. The principal objects of the *rāhoe* are hogs, though sometimes it extends also to other sorts of provisions; as when they find the shell-fish scarce on the reefs, the *ratirra* can *rāhoe* his portion, which is done by sticking up at the extremities of it two branches of a tree, to which a white cloth is attached; and no person dares fish there whilst these remain. When the *rāhoe* is taken off, and the offering of a hog and fish is made, the place is again free, and a feast given by the person who put on the *rāhoe*: this is called *orōa*; and besides feasting the guests, it is expected that he should present them with large quantities of cloth: some of this is thrown to the populace to scramble for, which makes sport, the cloth being torn into ribands; and however small, they prefer it to a larger piece, which they might have for asking: these narrow slips they wear as favours in honour of the feast. The young men wrestle, the women dance, and the feast is often prolonged several days.

When such a feast is made by a chief on taking off the *rāhoe* from a whole district, it is called *towrōa*; then larger quantities of cloth, live hogs, bamboos of oil, and even canoes, are given to be scrambled for. At these greater entertainments most of the chiefs of the island are present, vast numbers of the *arreoies*, and all descriptions of



people. The towrōa resembles a country fair, to which every one who goes brings home something to show where he has been, with this difference, that here it costs them nothing; and besides the sport of the hērroo, they are feasted all the time. Hogs innumerable are dressed on this occasion; and a stranger would suppose every one on the island had been collected. The cloth and canoes seldom fall to the share of the same person, but are mostly rent in pieces; and he who gets the largest piece is the best man. If several of a family seize and carry off the canoe, it is their own; and he who first catches the hog, carries it home.

The things appointed for this sport are all brought together in an open space. The chief's men hold the hogs fast, till the priest has made a long prayer on the occasion: at the conclusion of it he throws a young plantain into one of the canoes, which stand in a row, with masts erected to spread the cloth, and hang the bamboos of oil; immediately on this signal, the hogs, goats, and fowls, are let loose, and the young men and women begin the chase, which continues a considerable time before all are caught, and affords many a laughable incident: after this, the presents are given, and the feast served up. Wrestling and dancing occupy a part of every day and night while the feast continues.

They have other feasts, held at the ratīrra's morai, called oboo nōe, where they meet in smaller companies, baking a hog, and eating it on the spot; and if not cleared the first day, they must come the second, or the third, as none must be removed from the morai. The chief of the padtdoo, and the priests, are always invited on these occasions; and if absent, a portion is put by for them till they arrive, which they seldom fail to do. If the chief does not come, the priests are entitled to his portion. At this feast no woman, nor any of her male attendants, can be present, or partake of it. At all these they brew plenty of yava; and they who can get it, drink it greedily.

When the hog is taken from the oven, the priest offers a long prayer, and on a plantain-leaf collects a small portion of all the pro-



visions, with a bit of yava root, placing them on the altar, as an oblation to the Eatōoa. The hog is then divided into as many shares as persons; each eats as much as he pleases, and puts the remainder into a basket, covered with leaves, till he returns to finish his portion. If a stranger passes by at the time, he is always invited to partake, provided he declares himself rāa, or a clean person; if not, he refuses, nor dare they tell a lie; for should the imposition be detected, death only could expiate the offence.

The women and their servants have their separate feasts also, called oehumōo. These are generally of fish, and not kept on sacred ground. Any man who is invited may partake with them.

The lowest class in society, after the ratirra, is the *manabōune*; they cultivate the land, and most resemble our cottagers: some are rāa, or hallowed; and others common or unclean. These hold under the tōwhas and ratirras, answer all their demands to the best of their ability, make cloth for them, build their houses, or assist in any laborious work required of them; yet their vassalage compels no constant service or residence: they may change chiefs, and go to another district.

The servants of whatever class are called *toutou*; and such as wait wholly on the women, *tuti*; nor is it uncommon to find young men of the first families so debased; though by such feminine service they become excluded from all religious solemnities.

There yet remains a set of men of the most execrable cast, called *māboos*, affecting the manners, dress, gestures, and voice of females, and too horrid to be described.

In the scale of rank, birth enjoys singular distinction. A chief is always a chief; and though expelled from his command, losing his district, or having his honours transferred to his child, he continues noble and respected; on the other hand, no acquisition can raise a common man to a higher station than that of tōwha, or ratirra; yet the meanest are in no slavish dependence. The honour and respect which they pay their chief, is rather through force of custom than



the fear of punishment. They are admitted as their companions on all occasions, and treated with perfect freedom; indeed, in outward appearance they can hardly be distinguished. The king is not averse to converse with the lowest of his subjects, or to be their visitor; and never treats them with hauteur. His retinue is often changing: no man serves him longer than he pleases. They have no wages, nor engage for any stated time, though some remain in the same family all their lives; and these ancient domestics are as much respected as their own relations, giving directions to the younger branches, and managing, as stewards, the affairs of the household without control.

All are friendly and generous, even to a fault; they hardly refuse any thing to each other if importuned. Their presents are liberal, even to profusion. Poverty never makes a man contemptible; but to be affluent and covetous is the greatest shame and reproach. Should any man betray symptoms of incorrigible avariciousness, and refuse to part with what he has in a time of necessity, his neighbours would soon destroy all his property, and put him on a footing with the poorest, hardly leaving him a house to cover his head. They will give their clothes from their back, rather than be called *pēere pēere*, or stingy.

Respecting *property*, they have no writing or records, but memory and landmarks. Every man knows his own; and he would be thought of all characters the basest, who should attempt to infringe on his neighbour, or claim a foot of land that did not belong to him, or his adopted friend; for the *tayo* may use it during his friend's lifetime, and if he has no child, possess it at his death.

If a man bequeaths his property to another on his death-bed, no person disputes the bequest, as there are always witnesses abundant to the gift, if the heir is not present. The landmarks set by their ancestors, the father points out to the son or heir; and should any dispute arise, through their decay or removal, multitudes know where they stood, and the matter is in general easily settled. Indeed it is much the same in all litigations; the case is referred to a by-stander,



and the party which he declares in the wrong submits, and makes the other a peace-offering of the plantain-stalk. Men seldom or never fight in consequence of any personal quarrel. If any matter of serious offence is given, the whole family or district take it up, and go to war with their adversaries; but if they chuse not to fight, a peace-offering must be made, which is never refused; if they will fight, the weakest must suffer; and as all the relations adopt the quarrel, there is sometimes much bloodshed, and it frequently leads to a general war. Such broils, indeed, are sometimes produced by what appears to us a very trifling matter; such as scurrilous words spoken against the heir of a large estate, or even of a small one; neglect of proper respect to a child, and other things as trivial; for instance, as the child from the moment of its birth becomes the head of the family, the boundaries of his land are new marked with rude images; and if this new-born infant be a *tōwha*, or *ratirra*, a number of little flags are set up in different parts of the boundary; to these all persons of inferior rank must uncover themselves as they pass, whether by day or by night; and should this mark of homage be contemptuously neglected, the mother flies to the shark's teeth and cuts herself, and the party must make his peace-offering with the plantain: should this be refused, the father and mother would tear off the clothes from his back, and well drub him into the bargain. The friends and relations on both sides sometimes arm, and fatal consequences follow. Even a chief has been known to be driven from his district on account of a dispute originating about a poor man's child supposed to be affronted by one of the same rank with himself.

The famous, or rather infamous *arreoy* society, consisting of noble persons in general, have also different ranks among themselves, like our freemasons, known by the manner of their tattooing. The highest are called *ava' bly arēema tatōwe*; the next, *arēema bly*; the third, *ahōwhōa*; the fourth, *harrotēa*; the fifth, *e'ōte ōle*; the sixth and seventh, *po*, and *mo*, youths training up.



## SECTION III.

*Inhabitants.—Men, Women, and Children.—Abodes.*

THE natural colour of the inhabitants is olive, inclining to copper. Some are very dark, as the fishermen, who are most exposed to the sun and sea; but the women, who carefully clothe themselves, and avoid the sun-beams, are but a shade or two darker than an European brunette. Their eyes are black and sparkling; their teeth white and even; their skin soft and delicate; their limbs finely turned; their hair jetty, perfumed, and ornamented with flowers; but we did not think their features beautiful, as, by continual pressure from infancy, which they call *tourōme*, they widen the face with their hands, distend the mouth, and flatten the nose and forehead, which gives them a too masculine look; and they are in general large, and wide over the shoulders; we were therefore disappointed in the judgment we had formed from the report of preceding visitors; and though here and there was to be seen a young person who might be esteemed comely, we saw few who, in fact, could be called beauties; yet they possess eminent feminine graces: their faces are never darkened with a scowl, or covered with a cloud of fullness or suspicion.

Their manners are affable and engaging; their step easy, firm, and graceful; their behaviour free and unguarded; always boundless in generosity to each other, and to strangers; their tempers mild, gentle, and unaffected; slow to take offence, easily pacified, and seldom retaining resentment or revenge, whatever provocation they may have received. Their arms and hands are very delicately formed; and though they go barefoot, their feet are not coarse and spreading.

As in all warm climates, the women in general here come earlier to puberty, and fade sooner, than in colder and more northern coun-



tries ; though in some the features continue little changed even to gray hairs ; and what is remarkable, some are said to fade, and revive again, retaining their comeliness beyond those who have not experienced such a change. Many, indeed, who lead a dissolute life, receive their immediate punishment, and are old and haggard at thirty ; whilst others, who have lived more decently, or, at least, have been less profligate, retain all the sprightliness and vigour of youth at fifty.

As wives, in private life, they are affectionate, tender, and obedient to their husbands, and uncommonly fond of their children : they nurse them with the utmost care, and are particularly attentive to keep the infant's limbs supple and straight. A cripple is hardly ever seen among them in early life. A rickety child is never known ; any thing resembling it would reflect the highest disgrace on the mother. If an utter stranger discovers the least defect in a child, he makes no scruple to blame the mother, and imputes it to her want of sense and experience in nursing : so that if the child is not born radically defective, which is seldom the case, they will mould it into a proper shape. A person knock-kneed, or bow-legged, is scarcely to be found : in the whole island we saw only three hump-backed boys, in three different districts.

The men in general are above our common size ; but the chiefs a larger race, few of them short of six feet high ; and Pomarre four or five inches higher, and proportionably bulky. They carry their age well ; and are healthy and vigorous at a very advanced time of life, if not infected with disease : such are Otey, the grandfather of Otoo, and Männe Manne, the high-priest, and others. The exact amount of their years can only be collected from circumstances, as they keep no regular computation of time ; yet from events which they relate, a pretty accurate calculation may be formed. Many were alive in 1791 who remembered the loss of one of Roggewein's squadron at an island north of Otaheite, in 1722.

The dress of both sexes is nearly the same, excepting that the men wear a narrow piece of cloth, which, passing round the waist, goes



between the thighs, and is tucked in before, named the mārro, and may be called their breeches. An oblong piece, like a piece of printed calico, not a yard wide, with a hole in the middle to admit the head, hangs down before and behind, with the sides open, falling loose as low as the knees, and leaving the arms quite uncovered: this is the tebōota. A square piece of cloth, doubled, of any size sufficient to pass once and a half round the waist of the men, and above the breasts of the women, under the tabōota, is called parū: this falls down only to the knees of the man, but to the mid-leg, and often to the ankles of the woman; and is sometimes tucked in at the corner, or confined by a girdle of cloth, plaited hair, or fine matting, called tatdōoa. The women, besides, often wear a piece of cloth, ahhōo, square, or oblong, folded, which they throw tastily over all, by way of cloak: this is generally of white cloth, and very fine. The other garments are of what colours they fancy most. Instead of the mārro, worn by the men, the women have a smaller parū, beneath the larger, as an under-petticoat.

When travelling, they usually tuck up the parū, to prevent its being soiled or dirty. If persons of rank appear with more than the ordinary quantity of cloth around them, this is designed for a present; and they generally honour the person for whom it is intended with winding it round him with their own hands.

The women uncover their shoulders and breasts in the presence of a chief, or on passing the sacred ground. Their bonnets resemble the green shades which our ladies use in summer: they are often changed, as they must cast them away on passing the morai; but they are replaced in a minute by plaiting, or weaving, the leaves of the coconut; and for this they prefer the bright yellow leaves to the green ones. The turban dress and tamōu are never worn by the women but at the heivas, and are called tāao oōpo. Both sexes wear garlands of flowers and feathers, but no wig, or artificial coiffure. The tamōu is made from the hair of their departed relatives, and held in the highest estimation: it is seldom composed of more than six or nine hairs in



thickness, but is often five or six fathoms long. They sometimes dress with a garland of cocoa-nut fibres, ornamented with bits of pearl-shell, and the nails of the thumb and fingers of their deceased relations: these they use as mourning, and consider as very precious relics. The women have no morai, nor appropriate place of worship; nor are they ever present at their solemnities; nevertheless they suppose they shall be admitted to happiness with the Eatōoa, as well as the men.

In the tattooing of men and women there is a small spot on the inside of each arm, just above the elbow, which is a mark of distinction, and shews that such a person may eat or touch his father's and mother's food, without rendering it rāa, or sacred; it is a sort of seal, that all the amōas have been performed. This is generally received when the head is made free, which is the last amōa, except that of friendship and marriage. The man who does the tattooing to young or old, is called at the pleasure of the parties, and no constraint is ever used. The young persons will not suffer him to leave off while they can endure the stroke of the instrument, though they make cries and lamentations as if he was killing them. The girls are always attended by some female relations, who hold them while struggling under the pain of the operation, encouraging them to cry out, which they think helps to alleviate the anguish. When the pain becomes excessive, and they say they can endure no more, they use no compulsion. No person ever lifts his hand even to strike a child; on the contrary, the young girls under the operation will often strike those who compassionate them, and wish them to suspend the operation, as they are never esteemed women till the whole is finished: this sometimes lasts for a year, or more, by intervals, from the commencement of the tattooing.

No where are children brought into the world with less pain or danger: the women submit to little or no confinement within doors, but rise and go about as usual. The infant presently crawls, and soon



begins to walk, and almost as soon to swim. They run about entirely naked, and are remarkably healthy and active.

They are generally acquainted with the art of conversing by signs, either in public or private, and perfect masters of the language of the eyes.

Their voice and speech are soft and harmonious. Their dialect is the Italian of the South Seas, abounding with vowels, and expelling every harsh and guttural sound from their alphabet: this consists only of seventeen letters, with which they express themselves with great facility and precision. Their pronouns are a striking instance of this: these are different according to the number of persons spoken of: *we*, two only—*we*, two out of three in company—*we*, an indefinite number, have each a different pronoun specifically marking the persons; and it is the same in the others, both personal and possessive; a singularity perhaps unknown to any other language. *C g j k q s x z* they can hardly articulate, or pronounce a word into the composition of which these letters enter.

In general, the ingenuity of all their works, considering the tools they possess, is marvellous. Their cloth, clubs, fishing implements, canoes, houses, all display great skill: their mourning dresses, their war head-dress and breast-plates, shew remarkable taste: their adjustment of the different parts, the exact symmetry, the nicety of the joining, are admirable: and it is astonishing how they can with such ease and quickness drill holes in a pearl-shell with a shark's tooth, and so fine as not to admit the point of a common pin.

The men are excellent judges of the weather from the appearance of the sky and wind, and can often foretel a change some days before it takes place. When they are going to any distant island, and lose sight of land, they steer by sun, moon, and stars, as true as we do by compass. They have names for many of the fixed stars, and know their time of rising and setting with considerable precision: and, what is more singular, their names and the account



of them resemble, in many instances, the Grecian fables : they have the twins, or two children, their Castor and Pollux, &c.

Their year consists of thirteen months. They calculate by the lunations of the moon, and by the sun passing and repassing over their heads. They pretend to foretel when the rains will set in, and whether they will be more or less violent than common, and prepare accordingly. They know the seasons for particular fish, and get ready ; when the bread-fruit will come in season ; and whether the harvest will be plentiful or scanty, late or early. The day and night are divided into twelve equal parts, and they guess pretty exactly what the hour is by the sun and stars.

They reckon in numbers from one to ten, then add *m*, before each number till they reach 20, reckoning onward thus : *āttahāi* 1, *āhōoro* 10 ; *m, āttahāi* 11, &c. ; *tāōo* 20, *āttahāi, tāōo* 21 ; and so on to five, *ērēema tāōo*, five twenties, or 100. But at calculation they are no adepts.

They compute distances by the time it takes to pass from one place to another. They measure their fishing-lines by the fathom, or span, and sound depths of water as accurately as ourselves.

The common dwellings are about eighteen feet in the ridge-tree, oblong, and rounded at the ends. The furniture consists of a few wooden trays and stools for making their puddings, posts to hang their baskets of different sorts to store their provisions, a large chest on which the master and mistress of the house often sleep, or on the floor spread with matting and cloth, and covered with the same ; frequently they employ a canoe-house just sufficient for their length, and too low for them to stand erect ; and sometimes a bedstead : many in fine weather sleep in the open air. Their pillow is a little wooden stool, neatly wrought out of one block ; and they who have no such, take the stool they sit upon in their canoes. Their usual seat is the ground, cross-legged ; but they have seats with which they are always ready to compliment a stranger. The unmarried women sleep next their parents, and



occupy one end of the house; the unmarried men the other. The servants usually sleep in the women's eating-house, or near it.

Their houses are full of fleas, which harbour in the floor, and are very troublesome; though the natives are much less affected by them than we are: they say they were brought to them by the Europeans. One of our missionaries writes, he has been obliged to get up at midnight, and to run into the sea to cool himself, and get rid of the swarm of disagreeable companions. This, among other causes, has made the call for bedsteads great, as they find the comfort of this mode of sleeping. Their bed-clothes are the garments they wear, if they have no other, which is frequently the case with the common people and servants, who, in that warm climate, little trouble themselves about clothes or the care of them.

They have no partitions in their houses; but, it may be affirmed, they have in many instances more refined ideas of decency than ourselves; and one, long a resident, scruples not to declare, that he never saw any appetite, hunger and thirst excepted, gratified in public. It is too true, that for the sake of gaining our extraordinary curiosities, and to please our brutes, they have appeared immodest in the extreme. Yet they lay the charge wholly at our door, and say that Englishmen are ashamed of nothing, and that we have led them to public acts of indecency never before practised among themselves. Iron here, more precious than gold, bears down every barrier of restraint: honesty and modesty yield to the force of temptation.



## SECTION IV.

*Deities of the South Seas.*

THOUGH the world was at first of one speech and one religion, all confessing Jehovah in triune existence, the true tradition began soon to be obscured. On the dispersion of mankind, gods many and lords many were created. The East, amidst its thousand deities, still preserved some traces of the triune God. Whoever reads the ingenious Mr. Morris's account of India will receive singularly curious information on this subject. However absurd the notions of deity and creation may appear, now retained by the Otaheiteans, the most polished nations of Greece and Rome devoutly embraced equal absurdities. It should afford matter of great thankfulness, that we have been rescued from the darkness of idolatry. So far at least hath the world been indebted to Christianity, that wherever this hath prevailed, before it every idol hath mouldered into dust.

The deities of Otaheite are nearly as numerous as the persons of the inhabitants. Every family has its *tee*, or guardian spirit, whom they set up, and worship at the morai: but they have a great god or gods of a superior order, denominated FWHANOW Po, born of night.

The general name for deity, in all its ramifications, is EATOOA.

Three are held supreme; standing in a height of celestial dignity that no others can approach unto: and, what is more extraordinary, the names are personal appellations:

1. Tāne, te Medōoa,

*the Father.*

2. Oromattow, 'Tooa tee te Myde,

*God in the Son.*

3. Taroa, Mānnoo te Hooa,

*the Bird, the Spirit.*

To these, the dii majores, they only address their prayers in times



of greatest distress, and seasons of peculiar exigency, supposing them too exalted to be troubled with matters of less moment than the illness of a chief, storms, devastations, war, or any great calamity. Indeed, fear and suffering seem to be more powerful motives to worship than gratitude. The house of these *fwanow po* is at *Opārre*, where the chief *carie rahie* resides.

The following names of other gods are collected: *Orohho*, *Otoo*, *Tamaharro*, *Tey'erec*, *Orouhatoo*, *Ochawhow*, *Tamma*, *Toaheite*, *Vaveah*.

For general worship they have an inferior race, a kind of *dii penates*. Each family has its *tee* or guardian spirit: he is supposed to be one of their departed relatives, who, for his superior excellencies, has been exalted to an *eatooa*. They suppose this spirit can inflict sickness or remove it, and preserve them from a malignant deity who also bears the name *tee*, and is always employed in mischief.

They have a tradition, that once in their anger the great gods broke the whole world into pieces; and that all the islands around them are but little parts of what was once *venōoa nōe*, the great land, of which their own island is the eminent part. A curious conversation held with *Māne Manne*, the high priest, and *Tāatā Orēro*, the orator and oracle of the country for tradition, is as follows interpreted by the Swede Andrew:

In the beginning, *Tāne* took *Tarōa*, and begat *Avey*, fresh water; *Atye*, or *Tē Mydē*, the sea; also *Awa*, the water-spout; *Matāi*, the wind; *Arye*, the sky; and *Pō*, the night; then *Mahānna*, the sun, in the shape of a man called *Oerōa Tabōoa*: when he was born, all his brethren and sisters turned to earth; only a daughter was left, by name *Tōwnoo*; she became the wife of *Oerōa Tabōoa*, by whom she conceived thirteen children, who are the thirteen months: 1. *Papeerec*; 2. *Oownoonoo*; 3. *Paroromooa*; 4. *Paroromoree*; 5. *Moorecha*; 6. *Heaiha*; 7. *Taoa*; 8. *Hoorororera*; 9. *Hooreeama*; 10. *Teayre*; 11. *Tetai*; 12. *Wacaho*; 13. *Weaha*.

*Tōwnoo* now returned to earth, and *Oerōa Tabōoa* embraced a rock called *Poppoharra Harreha*, which conceived a son named *Tetoo-*



boo amata hatoo ; after which the rock returned to its original state, and the father of the months himself died, and went to dust. The son he left embraced the sand of the sea, which conceived a son of the name of Tee, and a daughter called Opeera ; then he also died, and returned to the earth. Tee took his sister Opeera to wife, who produced a daughter Oheera, Reene, Moonoa ; the mother died, and the father survived : in her illness she entreated her husband to cure her, and she would do the same for him if he fell sick, and thus they might live for ever ; but the husband refused, and preferred her daughter, whom, on her decease, he took for his wife. The daughter bore him three sons and three daughters : the sons, Ora, Wanoo, Tytory ; the daughters, Hennatoomorrooro, Henaroa, Noowya. The father and mother dying, the brothers said, Let us take our sisters to wife, and become many. So men began to multiply upon the earth.

Respecting a future state, they suppose no person perishes or becomes extinct. They allow no punishment after death, but degrees of eminence and felicity, as men have been here most pleasing to the deity. They regard the spirits of their ancestors, male and female, as exalted into eatōoas, and their favour to be secured by prayers and offerings. Every sickness and untoward accident they esteem as the hand of judgment for some offence committed ; and therefore, if they have injured any person, they send their peace-offering, and make the matter up : and if sick, send for the priest to offer up prayers and sacrifices to pacify the offended eatōoa ; giving any thing the priests ask, as being very reluctant to die. But if they find their case desperate, they take leave of their friends, and commend them to the guardian spirits, exhorting them to be more careful of offending them than they themselves had been. When the spirit departs from the body, they have a notion it is swallowed by the eatōoa bird, who frequents their burying-places and morais ; and passes through him in order to be purified, and be united to the deity. And such are



afterwards employed by him to attend other human beings, and to inflict punishment, or remove sickness, as shall be judged requisite.

The evil demon named *Tee* has no power but upon earth; and this he exercises by getting into them with their food, and causing madness or other diseases; but these they imagine their tutelar saints, if propitious, can prevent or remove.

They believe the stars were the children of the sun and moon, attributing every substance to procreative power; and when the sun and moon are eclipsed, they suppose them in the act of copulation; and pretend to foretel, from their appearance at such times, the future events of war, sickness, or the like.

They imagine when a star shoots (as we call it), it is the *Eatōoa*: that in the moon there is a vast country with trees and fruits: that a bird of *Otaheite* once flew up thither, and ate of the fruit; and on his return, dropped some of the seeds, from which a great tree sprang, of which the bird still eats, and of no other.

With regard to their worship, Captain Cook does the *Otaheiteans* but justice in saying, they reproach many who bear the name of Christian. You see no instances of an *Otaheitean* drawing near the *Eatōoa* with carelessness and inattention; he is all devotion; he approaches the place of worship with reverential awe; uncovers when he treads on sacred ground; and prays with a fervour that would do honour to a better profession. He firmly credits the traditions of his ancestors. None dares dispute the existence of deity. They put great confidence in dreams, and suppose in sleep the soul leaves the body under the care of the guardian angel, and moves at large through the regions of spirits. Thus they say, My soul was such a night in such a place, and saw such a spirit. When a person dies, they say his soul is fled away, *bārre pō*, gone to night. It is singular, that *Pomārre* declared to the missionaries that he had, before their arrival, been dreaming about the *speaking book*, which they should bring from the *Eatōoa*.



They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietēa had broken off the other half, and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night.

Their superstitious notions of this kind are endless; unhappily, their most unnatural and cruel customs are connected with them, and they are tenacious of the worst, fearing the neglect of these, though inadvertently, would bring down the displeasure of the Eatōoa upon them, and expose them to sickness or death.

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## SECTION V.

### *Priesthood and Sacrifices.*

THE priests at the Society Islands are a pretty numerous body; they are in every district: Mānne Manne seems to be the first among them for knowledge and traditionary information: he is also monarch of Ulietēa by right, though an exile. Temārre, the chief of Papparā, of the seed royal, is also high in the sacerdotal office. The priesthood is divided into two orders: the tahowra morai, and the tahowra Eatōoa. As tahowra morai, they officiate in all the prayers and oblations made at the morais: these prayers are uttered in a chant that cannot be understood, and was supposed to be a peculiar sacred language; but that is now thought to be a mistake, and the obscurity owing to the mere manner of utterance. All the chiefs officiate as priests on some



occasions, praying for their friends when sick, making offerings at the morai, and performing other religious ceremonies.

The priests have plenty of employment, being called in on all occasions, births or deaths, feasts or sickness; and are the physicians as well as clergy of the country. They affect to possess extraordinary powers, to promote conception or abortion, to inflict diseases or remove them at their pleasure, and are greatly feared on that account. They are supposed to be able to pray the evil spirit into the food, by rubbing a human skull with a part of the provisions they eat; and sometimes to kill men outright. Thus Orepiah is supposed to have died by Māne Manne's conjuration. They acknowledge that over us they have no power, because they know not the names of our God and our grandfather, which is necessary. They gave us a specimen of their conjurors in one of our visits to Temārre. A man presented himself in an old blue coat turned up with red, his head surrounded with numerous feathers, so as to hide his countenance entirely: he ran up to us with an unintelligible jargon, making a squeaking noise, and actions so wild, that we asked if the man was delirious. The natives not seeing us at all frightened, said it was Temārre's son, the *Etōoa etc*, the little god, which killed Omiah and many others. Having with us a great dog, he fell upon the priest, who fled; at which the natives seemed terrified, and said he would kill us. After a while, the priest returned with a club in his hand, driving like a fury all before him, the women and children shrieking, and the natives trembling. On this one of the brethren jumped up to protect the dog, against whom his rage was directed, and wresting the club from him, turned up the feathered cap, and discovered a well-known countenance, who had run away from Matavāi after robbing Pyetea. We immediately charged him with the theft; on this he changed countenance, and shewed the greatest terror. The natives interposing in his behalf, while we were telling them of the man and his imposture, he gave us the slip, and fled; so we saw no more of him.

He seems to have been one of those called tahowra Etōoa, who



affect inspiration. Of these, some pretend to belong to the particular deity, others to many: such as claim acquaintance with the three superior eatōas are the most consequential, and procure high reverence from the part they presume to act; indeed they do it with so much cunning and address, that the Swedes whom we found on the island, as well as the mariners who preceded them, really believed the appearances supernatural, and that the devil actually was the agent. When they are called upon to consult the deity they assume an odd fantastic dress, enriched with red and black feathers; to which they say the Eatōa is so partial, that on their approach to him thus, he descends to the earth at their call in one of the sacred birds which frequent the morais and feed on the sacrifices. As soon as the bird lights on the morai, the Eatōa quits the bird and enters the priest. He instantly begins to stretch and yawn, and rub his arms, legs, thighs, and body, which begins to be inflated as if the skin of the abdomen would burst; his eyes are thrown into various contortions, sometimes staring wide, then half closed and sinking into stupor; while, at other times, the whole frame is agitated, and appears to have undergone some sudden and surprising change. The speech now becomes low, the voice squeaking and interrupted; then on a sudden raised to an astonishing degree. He now speaks intelligibly, though affecting not to know what he saith, nor the persons of those around him; but his words are regarded as oracular, and whatever he asks for the deity, or himself, is never refused, if it can be possibly procured. Of this, however, the actor affects to have no consciousness; his colleague and assistant, nevertheless, takes care to minute the claims of the deity, and receives them from the person on whose account the deity was so condescending as thus to appear: these requirements are generally very large.

When the deity quits the pretended inspired tahowra, he doth it with such convulsions and violence as leave him motionless on the ground, and exhausted; and this is contrived to be at the moment when the sacred bird takes his flight from the morai. On coming



to himself he utters a loud shriek, and seems to awake as from a profound sleep, unconscious of every thing which hath passed.

The priests who superintend the lower orders of the people proceed nearly in the same manner, with variations only according to their craft and abilities: among these are women, who officiate, though not solely, for their own sex. They think it impossible that a child should come into the world without their assistance, though, in fact, they afford them none. People of property, when sick, will sometimes have half a dozen of these priests and priestesses praying around them, and making offerings for them; and whichever of these happens, in the estimation of the sick person, to be the happy cause of his recovery, is sure to be well rewarded, and ever after highly respected, to whatever class of the priesthood he may belong. Whenever a priest visits a person of consequence he carries a young plantain in his hand; and before he enters the house offers a prayer, sticks a leaf of the plantain in the thatch, and throws the remainder of the tree on the roof.

Their sacrifices and oblations are various and liberal. They offer to their gods all the product of their island, hogs, dogs, fowls, fish, and vegetables; and at every feast a portion is presented to the Eatōoa before they presume to take their own repast. When a priest denounces the necessity of a human sacrifice, or, as on the inauguration of the king, custom requires such offerings, the manner of selecting them is by a council of the chief with the ratīrras. The occasion is stated, and the victim pitched upon; he is usually a marked character, who has been guilty of blasphemy, or some enormous crime, or a stranger who has fled to the district for shelter from some other part on account of his ill conduct. The decision of this council is kept a profound secret, and perhaps the only one which is so. They watch the opportunity of the night, when the culprit is asleep, and dispatch him, if possible, with one blow of a stone on the nape of the neck, to prevent any disfigurement of the body; a bone of him must not be broken, nor the corpse mangled



or mutilated. If a man has been bit and disfigured by a woman, he becomes *nōā*, unclean for ever, and can never be offered in sacrifice. The victim is placed in a basket of cocoa-nut leaves fastened to a long pole, and carried in a sacred canoe to the morai, when the eye is offered to the king with the ceremonies before described.

If the chief and *ratirras*, on the requisition of the priests, declare they can find none deserving death in their district, or refuse to provide a human sacrifice, they may substitute a hog in his place; and it is reported, as taking off something from the horror of the deed, that none are pitched upon whose lives have not been justly forfeited by their crimes. Where there is no law, nor regular administration of justice, this mode is substituted to dispatch a criminal, whom his friends might rescue; but being thus executed, it is supposed the choice was right, and no farther notice is taken: but what a door this opens to partiality, private enmity, and revenge, is too evident and shocking. No woman is liable to be offered at the Society Islands, though they appear the chief victims at the Friendly Islands; nor may they, at Otaheite, be present at any of the religious assemblies, partake of the offerings at the morai, or tread the consecrated ground, except on a particular occasion; nor may they eat of any food which has been there, or touched by those who officiate at the altar; and all their male attendants are in the same state of uncleanness and seclusion.

The sacred ground around the morais affords a sanctuary for criminals. Thither, on any apprehension of danger, they flee, especially when numerous sacrifices are expected, and cannot thence be taken by force, though they are sometimes seduced to quit their asylum. On the inauguration of Otoo many took refuge in the precincts of the mutineers' habitation, which was held sacred as the morai, and where they enjoyed full protection. Our habitations will afford as assured exemption; and the whole district of Matavāi being ceded to us, no more human sacrifices will probably be demanded from us, and such an example will have the most beneficial tendency to abolish



the custom in other districts. If we shall be enabled only to put an end to a practice so inhuman, and to induce the pregnant females to preserve and commit to our nurture the infants devoted to destruction, we shall acknowledge this alone would amply reward us for the labours of love in which we are engaged.

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## SECTION VI.

### *Singular Customs.*

WHEN a woman takes a husband, she immediately provides herself with a shark's tooth, which is fixed with the bread-fruit gum on an instrument that leaves about a quarter of an inch of the tooth bare, for the purpose of wounding the head, like a lancet. Some of these have two or three teeth, and struck forcibly they bring blood in copious streams; according to the love they bear the party, and the violence of their grief, the strokes are repeated on the head; and this has been known to bring on fever, and terminate in madness. If any accident happens to the husband, his relations or friends, or their child, the shark's tooth goes to work; and even if the child only fall down and hurt itself, the blood and tears mingle together. As the child, from the moment of his birth, succeeds to all the honours and dignity of his family, any insult offered to him is felt more deeply by the parents than if offered to themselves. Should the child die, the house is presently filled with relations, cutting their heads and making the loudest lamentations.

On this occasion, in addition to other tokens of grief, the parents cut their hair short on one part of their heads, leaving the rest long.



Sometimes this is confined to a square patch on the forehead; at others they leave that, and cut off all the rest: sometimes a bunch is left over both ears, sometimes over one only; and sometimes one half is clipped quite close, and the other left to grow long: and these tokens of mourning are sometimes prolonged for two or three years.

Their marriages are performed without ceremonies, but various are those which succeed. If a woman be a virgin, the father and mother perform an *amōoa*, or offering, of a hog or fowl, and plantain-tree, to their son-in-law, before they can touch any of his provisions; but not if a widow, or separated from a former husband. The wife's relations make a present of hogs, cloth, &c. to the new-married pair. As they agree, they live either on the husband or wife's estate; but if they part, each retains their own.

The separation of the women from their husbands on a particular occasion, Dr. Gillham had once the opportunity of remarking. Going into the hut of his tayo, named Poppo, very early, he observed him laid alone on the bedstead, and his wife lying on the floor. Inquiring the reason, Poppo informed him, it was because she was at present under the Otaheitean feminine infirmity.

When a woman brings forth a child, a kind of hut is raised within the house with matting and cloth; heated stones are then placed, with sweet herbs and grass spread over them; on these water is sprinkled, and she is close shut up in the steam which rises, till she is in a proper perspiration, and can endure the heat no longer; from this vapour-bath she comes out and plunges into the river, and washing herself all over puts on her clothes, and takes the child to the morai. This she afterwards repeats, and often brings on the ague; nor could they be persuaded to desist from so preposterous a custom, such being the force of prejudice.

The child being washed, is taken with the mother to the family morai; where, after the father hath made an offering of a young pig or fowl, with a plantain-tree, the navel-string is separated, about ten inches being left, by one of the priests, who always attends, and



is paid for the operation by a hog, or cloth. A temporary house is erected on the sacred ground adjoining the morai, and what is cut off from the child is buried at the morai. In this house mother and child dwell till the rest of the navel-string drops off, which may be deposited in the house, or at the morai. During this time of seclusion, which is for a male infant a fortnight, and for a female three weeks, the mother touches no provisions herself, but is fed by another; and should any person touch the child during this time, he must undergo the same restrictions till the amōoa is performed, of a young pig, or a fowl, for the mother, which finishes this separation for uncleanness. The child is then removed to another temporary house on the sacred ground, near the house in which the father and mother reside; but they may not touch the child in the same clothes in which they eat their provisions. To take off this restriction, a second amōoa must be performed by the father and uncles, and a third by the mother and aunts; a fourth, before the child returns to the house where the father and uncles eat; a fifth, on the same account for the mother and aunts. If the child is a male, these are all till he is adopted by a medōoa, or godfather, when another amōoa is performed; but if a female, two yet remain; one when she is married, that the father and uncles may eat with her husband, and of such provisions as he has touched, which otherwise they could not: the next, that the mother and aunts may touch the son-in-law's provisions, though they may not eat with him. These last are called *fwatatoe*. Hogs and cloth are the offering for the males, for the females only fish. Of these rites they are in no wise sparing, and much festivity attends them.

If the child touches any thing before these rites are performed, it must be wholly appropriated to their use, being rāa or sacred; and if any thing touches the child's head before the amōoa is offered, it must be deposited in a consecrated place railed in for that purpose at the child's house; and if it were the branch of a tree, as sometimes happens in carrying it about, the tree must be cut down; and if in



its fall it injures another tree, so as to penetrate the bark, that tree also must be cut down as unclean and unfit for use.

The head is always regarded as sacred, though, after the ceremonies are performed, these demands cease; but they never carry any thing upon their heads, nor can bear to have them touched without offence; and the cuttings of their hair are buried at the morai.

Both sexes go naked till they are six or seven years of age; about thirteen or fourteen the operation of tattooing the males begins, and earlier for the females. The instruments employed for tattooing a chief, or head of a family, are always sent to the morai, and destroyed as soon as the work is completed. The females mark their hands and feet with a number of small figures, and their hips with arched lines, guided wholly by fancy as to their number and thickness; but the men tattoo their arms, legs, and thighs, as well as the buttocks; and a person without these honourable marks would be as much reproached and shunned, as if with us he should go about the streets naked. At thirteen or fourteen years of age the boys have an operation performed, by flitting up the prepuce with a shark's tooth, and ashes are sprinkled on the wound; it is at their own option when they choose to have it done. The tattoo-men perform the incision, and receive a pig, or piece of cloth, for their trouble.

They bathe constantly three times a day in the fresh water, and always wash themselves in it after coming out of the sea; and though men and women are together, there is not the least immodesty permitted, and they slip through their clothes without any wanton exposures—it would be condemned in a man as much as a woman. In their dances alone is immodesty permitted; there it appears the effect of national habit or custom, as no person could ever be prevailed upon to do in any private company what, when they dance in public, is allowed without scruple. In fact, though chastity and modesty are not held in the same estimation with them as with us, yet many of their married women are said to pique themselves on its strict observ-



ance, and are not to be won at any rate, being only accessible to the husband's tayo.

The single young men, who in the heivas indulge indecent gestures, would not dare to do so at any other time; and however strangely the women act in public dances, no woman of character would admit of improper liberties elsewhere. They never uncover their breasts but when they bathe, nor their bosom and shoulders but in the presence of the chief. Their ideas, no doubt, of shame and delicacy are very different from ours; they are not yet advanced to any such state of civilization and refinement; but the woman who sailed with the ship soon became as reserved in manners and dress as any European; and the progress made in the island by the missionaries in this respect when the ship returned, was evident and pleasing.

If a woman has any defect or deformity, she carefully conceals it; and when they go into the water they take with them broad leaves to supply the place of cloth. Their constant bathing prevents every disagreeable smell from perspiration, and their mouth and teeth being washed at every meal, preserves their teeth white and their breath sweet.

They extract every hair from the nose, arm-pits, &c. to prevent its harbouring any dust or foulness. Their beards are usually neatly trimmed with shells, and their hair short or long, according to their fancy. The women, except those who affect to be prophetesses, wear their hair short and decked with flowers, paying the nicest regard to their persons. They adjust their brows and eyelashes, clipping them if too long, and forming the eyebrows into regular arches. Nor are the men less attentive to their persons, and will sit at the glass dressing with the greatest complacency. A black cocoa-nut shell filled with water served them for a looking-glass, till we supplied them with what they so highly prized. Fish scales, or shells, formed their tweezers, the shark's teeth their scissors, and the bamboo their combs. The fragrant oil supplies the place of pomatum, and powder



and civet can hardly furnish greater beaus. At their heivas they put on their best, and dress in the most tasty manner fancy can suggest. Both sexes have their ears bored for ornaments; in them they wear pearls, or beads, hanging down about two inches in a plait of hair; sometimes the hole of the ear is stuck with an odoriferous flower. They have pearls which they value very highly; and at first our white beads, which resemble them, were much coveted; but when they found they were spoiled with water, they ceased to be in demand. As long as they are able to move, they never neglect bathing; the old, who can scarcely crawl, get down to the river; nor does any sickness or disease prevent them; nothing but utter inability restrains them from the water.

They produce fire in the following manner: with their teeth, or a muscle-shell, they sharpen a stick of porous wood, and fixing a larger piece of the same under their feet, they with both hands and a quick motion rub a score in the board at their feet till the dust produced takes fire; they have dried leaves or grass ready, into which they sweep this tinder dust, and wrapping it up, wave it in the wind till it kindles into a flame: while they are rubbing they continue singing, or chanting a hymn or prayer, till the fire is produced, in about two minutes if the wood be completely dry. In wet weather this is a difficult task, and therefore they usually then carry about with them fire, which in the dry weather they need not do. The women are not suffered to kindle a fire from that made by their husbands, or any other man, except those feminine male associates which attend them, and are subject to the same rules.

They never suffer a fly to touch their food if they can help it; and should they find one dead in their puddings, or any of their provisions, which sometimes cannot be avoided, they throw it to the hogs. Hence they all carry fly-flaps; these are usually made of feathers, and fixed to a handle of wood ten or twelve inches long, sometimes carved, sometimes plain. The wing bones of the largest fowls, when cleaned, are used for handles; and if they have not these, they



supply their place by a bough from the nearest tree. Whenever you enter a house, or approach a place where provisions are preparing, this is the first thing they offer you. When the provisions are dressed and hot before you, the boys continue to fan away the flies with fly-flaps, nothing being more offensive or disagreeable than that a fly should get into their mouths; and their aversion to touch them with their hands is such, that should a dead fly be found on any part of their body, they would go instantly to the river and wash themselves. These flies at times are numerous, but not so venomous as the musketoës in the West Indies: they are of two sorts, the common black fly, and a gray one of the same size, which sometimes stings sharply. They have also butterflies, butterfly moths, musketoës, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, beetles, crickets, grasshoppers, small ants, sand-flies, and others; but neither dangerous nor very troublesome.

The middle-aged of all classes generally take a nap at noon, during the heat of the day. To this the yava, among those who drink it, does not a little dispose. The aged, as more watchful, need not this indulgence; and the youth, too lively to sleep during the daylight, find always some sport or amusement to employ them.

During the night, if strangers lodge with them, they burn the candle-nut, stuck on skewers, that they may find their way in and out of the house without incommodation from those who sleep on the floor, sometimes to the amount of fifty or sixty persons. Nor was it unusual to get up and have provisions ready in the night; and some sit and chat, and tell stories, with which they are always delighted. We observed that those which regarded us, and our European manners and customs, less interested them than their own, as their minds were not enlarged to a capacity of comprehending the reports which were made, and these too often fabulous. One navigator told them, we had ships as much larger than his as that was bigger than their smallest canoes; that we had vessels which would reach from Otaheite to Ulietëa, about forty-five leagues; and of so vast a height,



that a young man going to the topmast-head grew gray before he came down again; that our round tops contained forests of fruit-trees bigger than the bread-fruit. Pomarre very earnestly pressed Captain Wilson to say if it was true; but though undeceived in this respect, they are as much staggered at hearing of a house of stone of ten stories, or a bridge over a river of the same materials, as wide as would span the narrow part of their valleys from mountain to mountain. Such gigantic ideas exceed the scope of their intellect; but whatever was related of the Marquesas, or Tongataboo, their inhabitants, country, manners, trees, canoes, was heard with the greatest avidity, and always drew an audience about the relator, beyond even their favourite national stories.

They lay not the least restraint upon their children from the day they are born; being the head of their families, they are indulged in every thing: they have their own amusements, called *heiva tama rēede*; as they grow up and advance to manhood these are generally abandoned; but none are controlled by any authority, and any one may continue in them if he pleases.

Though in some respects they are not at all delicate, yet in consequence of their frequent bathings, in the largest companies there is nothing offensive but the heat. Here, as elsewhere, there are some who make a trade of beauty, and know too how to make their advantage of it, having a number of pimps and bawds, nominal relations, who agree for and receive the price of prostitution; but if a person is the *tayo* of the husband, he must indulge in no liberties with the sisters or the daughters, because they are considered as his own sisters or daughters, and incest is held in abhorrence by them; nor will any temptation engage them to violate this bond of purity. The wife, however, is excepted, and considered as common property for the *tayo*. Lieutenant Corner also added, that a *tayoship* formed between different sexes put the most solemn barrier against all personal liberties. Our brethren who are returned, however,



think this not to be the case; or that they have, since his visit, degenerated. The women of quality allow themselves greater liberties than their inferiors; and many of the arceoy women pride themselves on the number of their admirers, and live in a fearfully promiscuous intercourse. Few children can be the consequence, and these are universally murdered the moment they are born. Yet, with all this, many are true and tender wives; their large families prove their sacred attachment to the individual with whom they are united; and our European sailors who have cohabited with them have declared, that more faithful and affectionate creatures to them and their children could no where be found. The history of Peggy Stewart marks a tenderness of heart that never will be heard without emotion: she was daughter of a chief, and taken for his wife by Mr. Stewart, one of the unhappy mutineers. They had lived with the old chief in the most tender state of endearment; a beautiful little girl had been the fruit of their union, and was at the breast when the Pandora arrived, seized the criminals, and secured them in irons on board the ship. Frantic with grief, the unhappy Peggy (for so he had named her) flew with her infant in a canoe to the arms of her husband. The interview was so affecting and afflicting, that the officers on board were overwhelmed with anguish, and Stewart himself, unable to bear the heart-rending scene, begged she might not be admitted again on board. She was separated from him by violence, and conveyed on shore in a state of despair and grief too big for utterance. Withheld from him, and forbidden to come any more on board, she sunk into the deepest dejection; it preyed on her vitals; she lost all relish for food and life; rejoiced no more; pined under a rapid decay of two months, and fell a victim to her feelings, dying literally of a broken heart. Her child is yet alive, and the tender object of our care, having been brought up by a sister, who nursed it as her own, and has discharged all the duties of an affectionate mother to the orphan infant.

They are very fond of dogs, and especially those with a bushy



tail, the hair of which they employ in their fine breast-plates; and the women often not only fondle the puppies, but suckle them at their breasts.

The women are not permitted to eat with the men, nor may they drink out of the same cup. Many kinds of food are utterly forbidden them; and those which they may use, are gathered and dressed by themselves, or by those feminine male associates who wait upon them, and live with them. If a man touch their peculiar food, they are obliged to throw it away. No representation of a woman is permitted at any of their morais.

But of all their customs, those marked with greatest horror are the infant murders committed in the arreo society, and of female children, too common out of it; their human sacrifices, and their abominable *marwoos*: these, with the wars so frequent, and the diseases which destroy the very principle of life, threaten to depopulate a country, fruitful as the garden of the Hesperides; and they must, if our labours do not succeed, become in the next generation extinct, without fire from heaven.

A practice of a kind so abominably filthy as scarce to be credited, was communicated by the Swede, and confirmed by one of the Otaheiteans who was present—that there had been a society at Otaheite and Eimēo, who, in their meetings, always ate human excrement, but that it had been suppressed by the other natives of Otaheite.

They have a mode of lulling themselves to rest: the husband and wife, when they lie down, take their pipe of three notes, which they blow with their nostrils; one plays whilst the other chants in unison with it; and this they continue alternately till they fall asleep.

Their generosity is boundless, and appears excessive: the instances our brethren record are surprising. Not only cart-loads of provision more than they could consume were sent in for the whole body, but individuals have received the most surprising abundance, without any adequate return even expected or suggested. To one of the missionaries



was given as a present a double canoe, with a travelling house, three large pearls, a fine seine, a beautiful feathered breast-plate, two large hogs, sandal wood, cloth, and fine mats in abundance, with various other things; and similar instances may be observed in the narrative.

They have not always regular meals; but usually eat as soon as they rise at daybreak. Some are very voracious, especially the chiefs. Pomarre hath eaten a couple of fowls, and two pounds, at least, of pork, besides other things, at a meal with us on board. The chiefs all live luxuriously: they only work for their amusement; have more wives than one amidst the scarcity of women; drink daily the yava; when they sleep are fanned and chafed by their women; and often sit up great part of the night at their heivas and entertainments.

They have a very similar way of expressing their joy as well as sorrow; for whether a relation dies, or a dear friend returns from a journey, the shark's tooth instrument, with which every woman furnishes herself at her marriage, is again employed, and the blood streams down. As our brethren signified their utter disapprobation of these self-inflicted cruelties, they prevailed with the natives to suspend for us, at least, such tokens of delight; and taught them to shake hands, or welcome us with smiles, instead of streams of blood.

Among the most uncommon customs, we may add the dishonour and disrespect paid to old age. The advanced in years are thrust aside, and receive little or no attention. Even the reverend Otey (formerly Whappai, and called by Vancouver, Taow), with his venerable white beard, the father of Pomarre, and the grandfather of Otoo, was scarcely noticed by them: they would hardly permit him to enter the cabin when on board; and unless the captain expressly called to him, they kept him alongside in his canoe. One of our old seamen was often the object of their ridicule. In discourse, when any thing refuse was mentioned, they called it "old man." At Tongataboo we noticed the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed a most respectful silence.



Their mode of salutation is very different from ours : they touch noses ; and wonder that we can express affection by wetting one another's faces with our lips.

In war they practise no discipline, and are under no obligation to fight longer than they like ; and it is much less disgraceful to run away from an enemy with whole bones, than to fight and be wounded ; for this, they say, would prove a man rather foolish than warlike. Except a man has killed an enemy, he is not esteemed a warrior ; and though they dread a scar as dishonourable, they fight with a fury bordering on madness, as they know the loss of a battle would be the loss of all their property, which, though of inconsiderable value, they are reluctant to be deprived of, not so much from any covetous desire of possessing, as from their priding themselves on their generosity, and having something to give ; and this they do with a grace that adds still more to the favour.

When a person of eminence dies, even if a child of the superior class, he is preserved, and not buried, unless he died of some contagious or offensive disease. They take out the viscera, and dry the body with cloth, anointing it within and without with the perfumed oil ; and this is frequently repeated. The person who performs this office is counted unclean, and may not touch provisions or feed himself for a month. The relations and friends who are absent, perform their part of the funeral rites at their arrival, each female presenting a piece of cloth to the corpse ; and they continue to dress and decorate the body as if alive, and to furnish it with provisions, supposing that the soul which hovers round receives satisfaction from such marks of attention ; they therefore not only take care of it thus, but repeat before it some of the tender scenes which happened during their lifetime, and wiping the blood which the shark's teeth has drawn, deposit the cloth on the tupapow, as the proof of their affection. Whilst any offensive smell remains, they surround the corpse with garlands of flowers, and bring the sweet-scented oil to anoint it.



If a chief dies, he is carried round the island to the districts where he had property, or where his particular friends reside; and the funeral ceremony is repeated: after a tour of some months, he returns to rest at the place of his usual residence. Some bodies are preserved like dried parchment; others, when the flesh is mouldered away, after lying on the tupapow, are buried.

The preserved corpses are called tupapow mūre, and kept above ground; and these, in war, are as liable to be taken prisoners as the living, and are as great a trophy as an enemy slain in battle. The man who takes the body assumes the chieftain's name; therefore, in time of invasion, these are generally the first things conveyed to the mountains, as a place of security: thither, also, they carry Captain Cook's picture, the loss of which would be esteemed as afflictive as that of a chief; and the conquerors might lay claim to the district allotted to him, according to their laws of succession.

The priests never pray over the dead, unless they die of some infectious disorder, and then they entreat him to bury the disease with him in the grave, and not inflict it on any other person when he is sent back as an *eatōa*. They throw a plantain-tree into the grave, and bury with him, or burn, all his utensils, that no person may be infected by them.

They bury none in the morai, but those offered in sacrifice, or slain in battle, or the children of chiefs which have been strangled at the birth—an act of atrocious inhumanity too common. When, at last, after the flesh is consumed above ground, they bury the bones, they often preserve the skull, as a precious relic, wrapping it in cloth, and keeping it with great care in a frame or box in their house, as a testimony of their affection.

When any friend, or a stranger, visits a family, he is received with the most cordial welcome. The master and mistress, and perhaps all in the house, call out, and repeat it, *Mannōwwa*, welcome; to which the visitor replies, *Harre minay*, I am coming: those of the



house answer, Yōurana t'Eatōoa, God blefs you ; to which the reply is, Tāyeeay, here, and then fits down. The occasion of his visit and his wishes are demanded by the master of the family, and answered with the greatest frankness. Instantly preparation is made of a pig, or fowl, to entertain the stranger ; and if it is more than can be eaten, it is put into a basket, and sent with him home : meantime, whatever he requests is given, if in the power of the host ; and if not, he sends round to his friends and neighbours to procure it : this also is accompanied with a present of cloth and perfumed oil, or something which hath cost them labour, as they say provisions come spontaneously, and are to be made little store of ; but what is manufactured, or obtained with toil, is best suited to be given or received as presents. If any person sneezes, they use the same salutation, God blefs you, yōurana t'Eatōoa.

They never return thanks, nor seem to have a word in their language expressive of that idea. Should they not meet with a cordial welcome, they would say so without scruple to the next person they visited, which would be highly disgraceful to the offender, as their established law of hospitality is to entertain all strangers ; and many make the tour of the island for months together, sure to find every where a cordial reception.

When a chief, or stranger of rank, visits them from another island, all the men of his own station in life present their ootdoo, or peace-offering. He is seated in the house of strangers, several being erected for this very purpose, vast and spacious ; the chiefs of the district assemble round him, with a priest, who makes a long prayer, or oration ; and having several young plantain-trees, he ties a bunch of red feathers to one of them, and with a pig or fowl, lays it at the stranger's feet, who takes the feathers, and sticks them in his ear, or his hair. The priests of the inferior secondary chiefs repeat a like offering, and a feast is immediately provided, with presents of cloth, hogs, &c. If a ratirra visits, he will still find a more numerous body to receive him ; and though the feast may not be as sumptuous, there are



so many to welcome him of his own rank, that he may stay a month in a district, and visit round every day: indeed they are seldom in haste. Nor are the lower classes less hospitable according to their ability; and every where there is such plenty of food and raiment, that some of them continue wandering over the island for many years together, and never find lack of sustenance.

From one cause or another, they frequently change their names; so that a person absent from them a few years, would be at a loss to find out those with whom he was best acquainted, unless he met them. The names of places and things are continued, unless they happen to consist of syllables containing the king's name, in which case, during his lifetime, they are changed, but at his death the common name is resumed.

They have an aversion to compare the size of any food to a person's head, and regard this as a species of blasphemy and insult. A hand laid on the head would be a high offence. One of those seamen who resided on the island, a brute, in outrage of their customs, would carry provisions on his head, and was regarded with horror as a cannibal: they have even different names for the head of a hog, a dog, a bird, a fish.

If a man eats in a house with a woman, he takes one end, and she the other, and they sleep in the middle. If a woman has a child, the provisions for it must not come in at the same door with the mother's; but there is an opening like a window, through which they are received; and it would be reckoned beastly in the highest degree for her to eat whilst she is suckling her child. When they travel, their provisions must be carried in separate canoes.

The custom of uncovering before the chiefs is universal. We have introduced, however, it is said, a mode of evading it: if any man or woman be clothed in a shirt, or coat, of European cloth, or has a hat of our manufacture, he is not obliged to be unclothed: it suffices if he removes the piece of Otaheite cloth which is over his shoulders.



## SECTION VII.

*Amusements.*

THEIR life is without toil, and every man at liberty to do, go, and act as he pleases, without the distress of care, or apprehension of want; and as their leisure is great, their sports and amusements are various.

Of these, swimming in the surf appears to afford them singular delight. At this sport both sexes are very dexterous; and the diversion is reckoned great in proportion as the surf runs highest, and breaks with the greatest violence: they will continue at it for hours together, till they are tired. Some make use of a small board, two feet and a half, or more, formed with a sharp point, like the forepart of a canoe; but others use none, and depend wholly on their own dexterity. They swim out beyond where the swell of the surf begins, which they follow as it rises, throwing themselves on the top of the wave, and steering themselves with one leg, whilst the other is raised out of the water, their breast reposing on the plank, and one hand moving them forward, till the surf begins to gather way: as the rapidity of its motion increases, they are carried onward with the most amazing velocity, till the surf is ready to break on the shore, when, in a moment, they steer themselves round with so quick a movement as to dart head foremost through the wave, and rising on the outside, swim back again to the place where the surf first begins to swell, diving all the way through the waves, which are running furiously on the shore.

In the course of this amusement they sometimes run foul of each other, when many are swimming together; those who are coming on not being able to stop their motion, and those who are moving the



contrary way, unable to keep their sufficient distance, so that they are carried together by the rushing wave, and hurled neck and heels on shore before they can disembarass themselves, and get well bruised on their landing. The women are excellent at this sport; and Iddeah, the queen mother, is reckoned the most expert in the whole island. The children take the same diversion in a weaker surf, learning to swim as soon as they learn to walk, and seldom meet with any accident, except being dashed on the beach; but hardly ever a person is drowned. If a shark comes in among them, they all surround him, and force him on shore, if they can but once get him into the surf, though they use no instruments for the purpose; and should he escape, they continue their sport, unapprehensive of danger. This diversion is most common when the westerly winds prevail, as they are always attended with a heavy swell, which continues many days after the bad weather is abated.

Their amusements on shore are, throwing the spear, or javelin, shooting with bows and arrows, wrestling, dancing, and several other games; at all which the women have their turn as well as the men; but they always play separately from each other.

The javelins are from eight to fourteen feet long, and pointed with the fwharra, or palm-tree. These they hurl at a mark set up at the distance of thirty or forty yards, with great exactness. They hold the spear in the right hand, and poise it over the fore-finger of the left. At this game one district often plays against another, but never for any wager, only the district in which they play provides an entertainment.

Their bows are made of porow, and their arrows of small bamboos, pointed with tōa wood, which they fix on with bread-fruit gum. The bow-strings are made of the bark of the roava; with these they shoot against each other, not at a mark, but for the greatest distance. They never use this instrument in war; and the clothes they wear on this occasion are sacred to the game, and never worn at any other time. Since they have learned the use of more destructive weapons,



the guns, which they have procured from us, they are said to have become excellent marksmen.

They are dexterous wrestlers. When they challenge each other they strike the bend of the left arm with the right hand, and if left-handed, reverse it. The arm being bent, receives the hand on its cavity, and makes a loud report. The man who returns the clap, accepts the challenge, and throws both arms forward, as if to lay hold of his antagonist. The ring is immediately formed, and they close with each other. As soon as the struggle issues in the fall of either, he silently retires, nor incurs any disgrace, and the conqueror goes clapping round the ring. If they wrestle one district against another, the women always wrestle first, and the men succeed. At this, Iddeah, the queen-mother, excels; and when the party is won or lost, the women of the victorious district strike up a dance. Iddeah is usually mistress of the ceremonies, and appoints the number of falls which shall be made: the party which gains that number first, is adjudged the victor; and the vanquished expresses not the least dissatisfaction. In general, the women bear their foils worse than the men, and betray most signs of anger at being worsted.

They frequently exercise at quarter-staff; and are very expert at defending their head, and all other parts of their body: this they practise from their tenderest age. The science of defence is a chief object; for a wound in war confers no honour, but rather disgrace; therefore they always hide the scar, if possible.

They practise the sling for amusement, as well as employ it in battle, and throw a stone with great force and tolerable exactness. Their slings are made from the plaited fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, having a broader part to receive the stone: at one end is a loop for the hand, in order to keep the sling fast when they discharge the stone. In charging the sling they hold it round their shoulders, keeping the stone fast in it with their left thumb, and jumping, swing the sling three times round their heads, holding the left hand grasped on the



wrist of the right, and thus discharge the stone with a force sufficient to enter the bark of a tree at two hundred yards distance; the stone flying at an equal distance from the ground, like a bullet, all the way.

Their dances are various. The heiva is performed by men and women in separate parties. The women are most gracefully dressed, and keep exact time with the music during the performance, observing a regular movement both of hands and feet, though nothing resembling our dances. The heiva is usually performed by torch-light. The manner is exactly represented in Cook's Voyages. They generally dance under cover; but, by day, before the houses, unless it rains, having large mats spread on the grass. The women's dress is a long white petticoat of fine cloth, with a red border, and a red stripe about ten inches from the bottom; a kind of vest, or corset, made of white or coloured cloth, comes close up under the arms, and covers the breasts; to this they attach two bunches of black feathers at the point of each breast; several tassels of the same hang round the waist, and fall as low as the knees. Two or three red or black feathers on each fore-finger supply the place of rings. On the back, from the shoulder to the hip, are fixed two large pieces of cloth neatly plaited, like a fan or furbelow, and edged with red. Their heads are ornamented with the tamou, or vast braids of human hair wrapped round like a turban, and stuck full of fragrant and beautiful flowers, intermixed with beads and shark's teeth: our fine writing-paper was also sometimes applied in addition to these ornaments.

A master of ceremonies directs the movements of the dancers; and when the women retire, their places are supplied by a chorus, who sing with the music, or by actors, who perform pantomimes, seizing the manners of their European visitors, which they imitate in great perfection: not sparing the conduct of their own chiefs, when objects of satire; which serves as a salutary check and admonition; for if they are faulty, they are sure to be publicly exposed.

The houses in which the heivas are performed are open at the ends



and in front, the back being screened by matting of cocoa-nut leaves : round the ends and in front of the house there is a low railing of about a foot in height, within which the performers exhibit ; and without, the audience sit or stand : the area before the house and the floor are all covered with matting.

Any number of women may perform at once ; but as the dress is very expensive, seldom more than two or four dance ; and when this is done before the chief, the dresses are presented to him after the heiva is finished ; and these contain thirty or forty yards of cloth, from one to four yards wide.

The ponnara, or evening dance, is performed by any number of women, of any age or description, who chuse to attend at the place appointed, which is usually the cool shade. They are dressed in their best apparel, and their heads decorated with wreaths of flowers. They divide into two equal parts, about twenty yards distant, and placing themselves in rows opposite to each other, a small green bread-fruit is brought by way of a football. The leading dancer of one party takes this in her hand, and, stepping out about midway, drops it before her, and sends it with her foot to the opposite row, returning to her place ; if the ball escapes, without being stopped in its course before it touches the ground, they strike up the dance and sing, beating time with their hands and feet ; this lasts about five minutes, when they prepare to receive the ball from the other party who have stood still : if they catch the ball, they return it again ; if it escape them, the other party dance in their turn. After thus amusing themselves and the spectators for some hours, the ball is kicked away, and both parties strike up together. It is at this time they use the lewd gestures described by some of our voyagers ; but these only are practised by the young and wanton, who (says the reporter) are no more to be taken for the standard of manners than the ladies in the Strand, or the sea-nymphs at Spithead, would be specimens of our fair countrywomen.



## SECTION VIII.

*Provisions and Cookery.*

THE country abounds in every thing necessary for the sustenance of its inhabitants. They have multitudes of hogs, which breed rapidly, and some of a very large sort: dogs are highly relished; and rats are numerous and troublesome: common fowls are in great abundance. These, with the birds, constitute the chief of their animal food.

We had made an effort to increase their stock, but with little success. The mare only is yet alive at Ulietēa, but the horse is dead. In their wars the cattle were carried to Eimēo; the bull is destroyed, and the cows grown wild. The breed of sheep perished. They made attempts to dress the beef and mutton; but having no mode but burning them as the hogs, and baking them in their ovens, the hide was tough as leather, and the taste highly offensive: this made them neglected and despised. The goats have had better speed, but are disliked for their smell and the mischief they do the cloth plantations, and are so inferior to their hogs and dogs, as never to be eaten by the natives; they are chiefly driven to the mountains. The cats multiply, and are useful. We have lately endeavoured to repair the breed of sheep, and though the best ram died, there is a prospect of their increase under our care, unless destroyed by the natives or their dogs. A nest of rabbits has been produced, and they can hardly fail of spreading. We have ducks also, but they have not yet well succeeded. A bull sent to Eimēo would continue the breed, though the natives dare not approach the cows, which are grown wild on the mountains. The same fate attended the vegetables, which the former voyagers carried thither, as the animals. Not having patience to let them ripen, and



tasting them when green, they despised the grapes, and trod them under foot; and the pines had hardly a better issue: but the latter are now cultivated, and, under our care, will soon be a valuable accession to their stock of fruits. The Indian corn would ripen every three months, if they thought it worth their pains. Our brethren will probably greatly increase the number of culinary articles, though the natives have already abundance, and care not for any additions.

Fish they take of many sorts and in great plenty: and they have such a profusion of roots, fruits, and vegetables, as can scarcely be enumerated: the greater part growing spontaneously, and needing neither labour nor culture. The principal of these is the *ooroo*, or bread-fruit. This beautiful, useful, and highly esteemed vegetable seems peculiar to the Pacific Ocean, and is in its highest perfection at Otaheite. The tree is of the size of a middling oak, which in its branching it greatly resembles; the leaves, however, are more like those of the fig-tree, both in colour and substance: they are a foot and a half in length, of an oblong form, the edges deeply indented, and the ribs yielding, when broken, a white milky juice: from the bark, or stock, a strong black gum exudes, which serves them instead of pitch for the canoes, and as birdlime to catch the smaller birds; and which, by tapping, might be produced in great quantities. The tree is of quick growth, shoots again when cut down, and bears fruit in about four years. This most plentiful and nutritious food grows as large as a man's two fists. Its surface is rough like net-work; the skin is thin; the core but small; the intermediate part, which is eaten, white, and very like the consistence of the crumb of a new-baked roll. It is divided like an apple, and the core taken out, and then roasted in their oven, when its taste is very similar to the crumb of the finest wheaten bread, with a slight sweetness, as from a mixture of the Jerusalem artichoke. Besides furnishing the most nutritive food, and in the greatest abundance, this tree claims pre-eminence, as affording from its bark the most durable clothing; the wood being excellent for building, and for their canoes, having the singular property of



not being affected by the worms ; and the leaves are employed as wrappers for dressing their provisions. When the fruit is ripe they gather it in quantities, and form it into a sour paste called *mābie*, which will keep till the fruit is again in season. When gathered for this use, they scrape off the outward rind, and lay it in heaps to mellow ; a deep pit is then dug in the ground, and carefully lined with large leaves ; this cavity is filled with the fruit, and strongly thatched down with a ridge like a mushroom bed ; the whole is pressed close with stones laid over it : there it ferments and settles : when the fermentation is over, they open the pit, and put up the fermented fruit in fresh leaves, taking out the core, and storing it for use, as we cover up potatoes for winter. Some, previous to this process, cut out the core, which makes the colour whiter, but prevents it from keeping so long.

At this season also of the ripe bread-fruit, they make a large oven called *oppeco*. The chief, on this occasion, summons all his tenants and dependants to bring each a certain quantity of the ripe fruit, which on a day appointed, is lodged at his house, to the amount of fifteen or twenty hundred weight. They next repair to the hills for wood, and having collected each man his burden, they dig a hole eight or nine feet deep, paving it, and building it up with large pebbles ; this they fill with wood, and setting it on fire, when burnt out, and the stones thoroughly heated, they spread the embers on the bottom of the pit with long poles ; these they cover with green leaves and the bruised stalk of the plantain : the pit is filled with the bread-fruit, and covered with stalks and leaves at bottom as on the sides, and hot embers spread over them ; the oven is then thatched down thickly with grass and leaves, and the earth that was dug out cast over the whole. After two or three days it is fit for use, when they make an opening, taking out as much as they need, and stopping it again close. This paste makes a most nutritious sweet pudding, and all the children of the family and their relations feast on it eagerly. During this festive season they seldom quit the house, and continue



wrapped up in cloth : and it is surprising to see them in a month become so fair and fat, that they can scarcely breathe : the children afterwards grow amazingly. The baked bread-fruit in this state very much in taste resembles gingerbread.

This is repeated each returning season ; nor is it confined to the chiefs, as all may procure it who will be at the pains to provide the oven ; for he who has no bread-fruit of his own, or dependants to supply it, goes round to his neighbours with garlands, like our May-day ones, of a shrub called perepeere ; these are hollow, and capable of containing sufficient bread-fruit for his family : all of his own rank contribute to fill them ; and if he has hands sufficient to scrape them and fill the pit, each brings his portion ; if not, he leaves word when he means to call on them, and they prepare accordingly. If a chief wants bread-fruit, he sends his garlands round, and they are sure to come home full ; if he sends cocoa-nut leaves, they form them into baskets for the same purpose. But, without sending, he is sure to be supplied with bread-fruit, hogs, and fish, whenever wanted. The hogs are baked in the same kind of oven.

OOWHE, or yams. These grow wild in the mountains, from one to six feet long, and of different thickness. They are very good eating ; but being procured at a distance and with more trouble, in the bread-fruit season they are little sought after. These also are baked.

TARRO. The root is from twelve to sixteen inches long, and nearly as much in girth. It is cultivated in watered grounds, and the leaves make as good greens as spinach. They must be thoroughly dressed, or they occasion an unpleasant itching in the fundament.

OOMARRA. Sweet potatoe. These are in great abundance, but very different from those in the West Indies and America, being in shape like the English potatoe, of an orange colour, resembling the tomato, and, like them, growing on the stalk. They seem in taste nearest the Jerusalem artichoke.



YAPPE. A mountain root, larger than the tarro. It requires to be well dressed, as the raw juice is acrid, and sets the tongue and lips in a great heat, but when properly prepared is very good food.

PEEA. A root like potatoes, and of the nature of cassada. If dressed without proper treatment it is bitter, acrid, and unpleasant; to remedy this, they grate it on coral into a tray, and pour water upon it, which they decant next day, and repeat the ablutions for five or six days, stirring it up; by this means all the deleterious quality is washed away: they then dry it in the sun, and put it up for use. It resembles starch; makes, as flour, excellent pudding; and, mixed with water, forms a paste for joining and thickening their cloth.

MAPOORA is a species of tarro, growing wild in the mountains, and smaller than what is cultivated. The juice is acrid and hot; but, properly dressed as before, is used for food or paste, as the peea.

DIVVE, a common root, growing every where, large as a potatoe, but most like the turnip-radish. It is of a fiery pungent taste, but loses it by being kept all night in one of their ovens, by which also the mapoora becomes edible.

TEE. A root of no great size, growing in the mountains, sweetish, and producing a juice like molasses: when in want of other provisions, they dig it up and bake it. The leaves are used to line the pits for the māhie; and to thatch the temporary huts, in their excursions to the higher regions. They make use of these also to spare better clothes: with one of these leaves round their waists as a māro, and the plantain over their shoulders, they dress for fishing, or any dirty work.

EHUOYE. A kind of fern. It only grows in the mountains: the root when dressed is good food.—There is a variety of other roots growing spontaneously, but seldom used, except in a scarcity of bread-fruit, or during any stay in the mountains: then they dig up and dress the roots around them, to avoid the trouble of carrying provisions. As they are expert at killing birds, with which the hills



abound, and at catching fish, which the lakes and rivulets furnish in plenty, they seldom know want; though sometimes they are detained a considerable time in search of the sandal wood, dyes for their cloth, and sweet herbs and flowers for perfuming the cocoa-nut oil.

E'VEE, improperly called the yellow apple, is as large as a nonpareil, and of a bright golden hue; but oblong, and different in smell and taste from our apples, more resembling a peach in flavour, as well as in being a stone fruit. It has been compared to a pine-apple or a mango. It grows on a large beautifully spreading tree, three or four in a bunch; is propagated by seeds or suckers, soon produces fruit, and is in season a great part of the year. The bark furnishes also a transparent gum, like that on the plum-tree, called tapou, which they use as pitch for their canoes.

E'HEYAH is a fruit of a red hue, like the European apple in taste and substance, but more watery. It has a great singularity, of filaments hanging from it, which come from the core. This tree is about the size of a cherry-tree. These two, with another bearing red flowers of an unpleasant smell, are the only ones which annually shed their leaves; from the evee they begin to fall in September, and by Christmas the young leaves and fruit make their appearance; and the apples at Matavai begin to ripen in June. The heyah is ripe in November, and the leaves fall in January. The other trees remain in perpetual verdure, never losing their leaves altogether, but the young ones succeed the old as they fall. From these cider has been made by the mutineers.

Next to the bread-fruit in usefulness, and almost equal to it, is the HEAREE, or cocoa-nut, which affords both meat, drink, cloth, and oil. The husks are spun into rope and lashings for the canoes, and used for calking. Of the leaves they make baskets, bonnets, and temporary houses; and of the trunk, fuel.

The RATAA, or chestnut, is different both in size and shape from those of Europe. The fruit is flattened more as a bean, about two



inches and a half across, but much resembling a chestnut in taste, and is roasted like them.

Shaddocks, transplanted from the Friendly Islands by British navigators, and called by the natives OOROO PAPPAA, foreign bread-fruit, are in no estimation. The European visitors likewise have added pine-apples, lemons, limes, Indian corn, tobacco, ginger, &c. which however seem little valued by the islanders.

Of plantains they have fifteen different sorts: the maiden, ORAYA; the horse plantain, PAPAROA; the mountain, FAYE, &c. The generic name is mayyā. The faye grows only on the mountains, and differs much from all the other species, the stalk being of a raven or deep purple colour, the leaves larger, and of a deeper green. The fruit grows all round the top of the stock, which rises upright like a sugar-loafed cabbage, and closely wedged in by the side of each other; when ripe, the fruit is a reddish brown, and within a greenish yellow, and has something of the smell of paint; if cut when young, it resembles and smells like cucumber. Of these they make a pudding which tastes like gooseberry-fool, called POPOE FAYE. The root is as good as yam. Of plantains also they make a pudding, called tooparro, mixed with tarro and cocoa-nut, very like a custard. The cocoa-nut is grated on coral, and mixed with its own milk; this is wrung dry in a stringy kind of grass, that expresses the white juice, and leaves the substance of the nut behind: into this juice they grate the tarro, and mix the ripe plantain, tying the whole up in plantain-leaves made tough by holding them over the fire. These pudding-bags remain all night in the oven, and, when taken out, the preparation may be eaten hot or cold, and will keep for many weeks.

SAYPAY is another kind of nice pudding made of bread-fruit and cocoa-nut milk in the same manner; and often dressed in small quantities, by putting into it heated stones.

POE TARRO is made of the same materials, with the addition of the tender leaves of tarro broken into it.



POE PEEA is made with the gratings of the peca into the expressed cocoa-nut juice ; and, when well made, resembles a fuet dumpling ; though, if the peca be eaten in any quantity, it sometimes causes a giddiness in the head.

POPOE is a compound of baked bread-fruit and mähie, beat up together in a tray with a stone instrument, and eaten at every meal, mixed with water or cocoa-nut milk ; and sometimes is made of bread-fruit or mähie separately, according to the several tastes of the persons. In this state it much resembles flummery. With this our new-born infant is daily supplied by old Madam Pyetea, and thrives greatly. A multitude of inferior roots and fruits are edible, and might be improved by cultivation, but the immensity of spontaneous produce renders it unnecessary.

The cocoa-nut oil is made by grating the full-grown cocoa-nut kernel into a large trough ; after a few days digestion the oil begins to separate, which they gently pour off, and mix with it fragrant herbs, flowers, the farina of the blossoms of the fwharra, or prickly palm, and sandal wood, leaving the whole to macerate three weeks or a month, well stirring the ingredients every day. When it has acquired a strong perfume, the oil is wrung out, and put up into bamboos for use, and called manoe. There is a quicker method of extracting the oil, by exposing the nuts broken to the sun ; but the oil thus drawn is always rancid.

In preparing a hog for the table, they always either drown or strangle it : the latter is usually preferred. If the hog is large, they make two or three rounds of strong cord about his neck, and with a stick twist it till the breath is stopped, stuffing the nostrils and fundament with grass, when the animal quickly dies. They wet it all over, and surrounding it with dry leaves or grass, singe off the hair, scraping it with sticks and cocoa-nut shells, and a rough stone, till the skin is perfectly clean. With a split bamboo, or knife, they open the belly, and take out the entrails and coagulated blood, which they divide into cocoa-nut shells mixed with some fat of the cawl :



to this they put hot stones, and make a kind of black pudding, by way of whet, whilst the hog is baking. The hog being washed within, the maw cleaned, and the rest of the guts, the whole is placed in the pit, or oven, resting on its belly, and with it bread-fruit, yams, taro, &c. covered thick with plantain-leaves, hot embers, and grass, with the earth which was dug out heaped upon it till ready; which, in a hog of moderate size, requires at least two hours; if the pig is small, less than half the time will serve. The leaves are placed so carefully, that not a particle of earth reaches the provisions, either in going in or coming out. In the same manner they dress all their other food; and they like it well dressed, except their fish, which they prefer raw. Their cookery is simply baking or broiling, as they have no vessel of their own capable of bearing the fire. However, they lose nothing of the delicacy of their food in baking; and fish so dressed is preferable to being boiled.

They make three meals a day when at home, and eat heartily; and nothing pleases them more than to observe a stranger eat with appetite. When at a distance from their usual abode, and great multitudes are assembled in one district, provisions cannot be furnished for all in proper season, and they content themselves with one meal a day; and when thus completely hungry they may well pass for voracious with those who have their regular meals, and are satiated with the plenty around them; besides, every one endeavours to procure abundance for the stranger, even though he should go himself with a hungry belly. The greatest part of their diet is vegetable, and it does not often fall to the lot of inferiors to have a regular supply of animal food. Whatever the sea produces they eat, affirming that nothing unclean can come from water.

In eating they sit cross-legged on the ground, or on leaves: they first make their offering to the Eatōoa (for this even heathens feel their bounden duty), then wash their hands, and begin stuffing their mouths full of bread-fruit, and dip their fish or flesh in a cocoa-nut shell of salt water, which is their salt-cellar. They are ever ready to



divide their provision with those who have none. Any place serves for a dining-room; they often squat down on the grass, or under a shady tree, and always eat separately, for fear of incommoding each other with their fly-flaps. Green leaves from the nearest tree afford them a table-cloth, and before them is a cocoa-nut shell of fresh as well as salt water.

Besides their hogs and poultry, their dogs are esteemed excellent food, and much preferred to goat's flesh, being fed wholly on vegetables; the goats, though numerous, we never saw them touch. Their fowls do not differ from our own; and in tenderness and flavour are nothing inferior.

They seldom plant bread-fruit trees, as they spring again from the roots wherever cut down; but they make large plantations of cocoa-nuts and plantain: a beautiful grove near One Tree hill was set by the hands of Pomarre and Iddeah. These plantations are usually the work of the chiefs, who generally excel the lower classes, whether in sports or ingenuity. The noble women are the principal cloth-makers; nor is it the least disparagement for a chief to be found in the midst of his workmen labouring with his own hands; but it would be reputed a great disgrace not to show superior skill. Like the ancient patriarchs, they assist in preparing and cooking food for their visitors.

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## SECTION IX.

### *Birds.*

THE number of the feathered tribe is very great. Beside the common tame fowl they have wild ducks, parroquets of various kinds, the blue and white heron, fly-flapper, woodpecker, doves, boobies,



noddies, gulls, peterels, sand-larks, plover, martin, men-of-war and tropic birds, with a multitude of others unknown to us. The mountains produce a great variety of a larger and smaller size, for beauty and for song; these are never seen on the low lands, nor near the sea.

The tropic-birds build their nests in holes of the cliffs; and as their long feathers are held in request for their *paries* and mourning dresses, they procure them in the following dangerous manner. From the top of the high cliffs, beaten by the waves beneath, a man is lowered down by a rope, seated across a stick: he searches all the holes from bottom to top, swinging from point to point by a staff he holds in his hand, and by the stones which project, or the shrubs which grow there. When he finds a bird on her nest, he plucks out her tail feathers, and lets her fly. When he can find no more birds, or is tired of the labour, he gives the signal to be drawn up. Dreadful as it may appear to be thus hanging thirty or forty fathom down, and four times as many to the bottom, few accidents ever happen; though the sport is often continued for many hours together.

They set a peculiar value on the shining black feathers of the men-of-war birds, which being birds of passage, they watch their arrival at the rainy season; a float of light wood is then launched into the water, baited with a small fish, as soon as they observe the bird approaching, whilst they stand ready with a long pole of sixteen or eighteen feet within reach of the float. The moment the bird pounces on the fish to seize it, they strike at him with the pole, and seldom fail of bringing him down; if they miss their aim, the bird cannot be again tempted to approach. The cock bird is most valuable, and a large hog will be sometimes exchanged for one.

The smaller birds are caught with the bread-fruit gum made into birdlime, and spread on sticks of bamboo. Those who frequent the mountains will often kill them with a stone thrown by hand. Use in this sport has made them fine marksmen; they point at the



bird with the fore-finger of the left hand, as if taking aim, and seldom fail of bringing him down, if at no great distance; but on the wing they as seldom succeed.

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## SECTION X.

### *Fishery.*

THEIR fishing-tackle consists of seines of all sizes, from five fathoms to fifty, and from one to twelve fathoms deep. They have lines and hooks of all sorts. These seines and lines are formed from the bark of a shrub called rōeva, which seldom grows larger than hemp, and looks like it when dressed. There are several other sorts of an inferior quality. They twist the filaments on their thigh with their hands, and wind up the thread into balls, some of two, some of three threads; but they seldom make their lines of more than two threads, even for dolphins; the three threads being more liable to kink and get foul, when of any considerable length; and as they always play the dolphin, are more apt to snap. Their hooks are made of pearl-shells, though they prefer iron, and form a nail into an excellent hook. Our hooks were highly esteemed by them. They have different sizes and different shapes for the different kinds of fish. Some are made to represent the flying-fish, others for putting on real fish, or what other bait the fish will take.

For the dolphin they fish in sailing canoes, at four or five miles distance from land. They never put out a line till they discover a fish, when they make sure of it, as they bait with flying-fish prepared for that purpose. When the dolphin is hooked they play him till spent, when they bring him alongside by degrees, and lay hold



on the tail, by which they lift him in, never depending on the hook and line. When they have got to the fishing ground they ply to windward. About fifty or sixty canoes from Matavāi are employed in this fishery during the season, which lasts about six months, as these fish follow the sun. While the sun is to the north they are scarce; when he passes the line, in great plenty. They spawn about March, and then the fishery ceases, and the canoes are otherwise employed, either in trading to the islands, or in fitting for the albacore and bonetta fishery, which next commences.

While the dolphin fishery lasts, numbers of large flying-fish are caught by the following means: a number of small white sticks, six or eight feet long, are prepared, and weighted with a stone to keep them erect in the water: to each of these they fix a short line and a hook of bone baited with cocoa-nut kernel. These they cast out into the sea as they are standing off at a distance from each other, and taking them up at their return, generally find a fish at every hook; so that if they have no success at the dolphin fishery, they do not return empty-handed; and sometimes bring in sharks and other fish.

To fish for AAHYE, or albacore, and the PARROA, or bonetta, they have a double canoe; on this a crane is fixed, at the head of which they have two lines made fast to a spreading fork, forming two horns, and at the back a rope. The heel is fixed in a roller on the fore part of the canoe, and all but one man are kept abaft to attend the back rope. The man who stands forwards baits the hook, and when they see a fish they lower down the crane till the bait touches the water. The man forwards keeps heaving out water with a scoop, and now and then casts out a small fish. The moment an albacore is hooked he gives the signal, and those abaft raise up the crane, and the fish swings in to the man, who is ready to seize him. Sometimes the fish is so large, and the canoe so light, that, without much care, the albacore carries it under water; yet seldom any other damage ensues than the loss of the hook and fish.



The PEERARA, or skipjack, is caught with a long bamboo and line; but from its size is more easily lifted in. Most of the other fish are taken with seines, which sometimes enclose turtle, or by hook and line in small canoes; and if they hook a large fish, they steer the canoe after him till he is spent, and then lift him in. In this manner they take the OOROA, or cavally, the EAVVA, or white salmon, and several of the larger sort. The canoe being light bears little strain, and the fish is soon exhausted. The MARARA, or flying-fish, are caught in seines of about twelve or fifteen fathoms long, and one and a half deep. With these they go out in small canoes, and shoot them round the fish; splashing the water and rapping the sides of the seine with their paddles till the fish dart into the net, and mesh themselves. If the weather is calm, and a number of canoes fall in with a shoal of fish, they join their nets, and surround them; then all leap into the water and dive, rising with a fish in each hand, besides those that are meshed in the nets. They then haul them in, take out the fish, and follow the shoal, proceeding in the same manner. Those who fish for the dolphin-bait continue out great part of the night, and the darker the better. When thus employed they sometimes meet the sword-fish, who strikes through the canoe, and repeats the stroke in two or three places before the sword sticks fast enough to hold him. They leap overboard immediately with a rope and running noose, and secure him; but must instantly hasten on shore, to prevent the canoe from sinking. They catch also sharks, though not very large, with the same noosed rope. The smaller fish take refuge under the canoe, and as the shark approaches they are ready to secure him. Quantities of fine rock-fish are caught in pots. They are also expert at diving after them, and the TOTARRA, or hedgehog-fish, which they seldom catch in any other way. This fish, when pursued, takes refuge under the coral rock; thither the diver pursues him, and brings him up with a finger in each eye. They sometimes continue under water an astonishing while, chasing



the fish from hole to hole, and rise with one in each hand. The weather must be calm for good sport, as the least ripple on the water darkens the bottom. In dark nights they employ torches to draw the fish around the canoes, and have lading-nets ready to scoop them up. When the fish come into shoal water to spawn, they strip coconut leaves from the stem, and knotting them on a line, sweep with them the reefs and shoal places, till they force them near the beach; when, with lade-nets or small seines, they take great quantities.

Besides these methods of fishing, they use two or three-pronged forks of toa wood, darting them at a distance from the beach, and when they strike a fish swim after it; others, with many prongs, are hurled amidst a shoal from their canoes, and sometimes strike two or three fish at once.

Whales are seldom killed, except now and then young ones which get entangled in the reefs, or are thrown over them by the heavy surf. When they discover one in this situation, they surround him with their canoes, and thrust into him their war spears; but often have their canoes dashed in pieces before they can dispatch him.

Their fish are numberless, of all sizes, sorts, and colours, common to tropical regions; and many which are peculiar to those seas, and for which no English names are known. Their fishing-tackle displays the greatest ingenuity, and can only be exceeded by their art in using it; in this no nation can vie with them. The fisherman builds his own canoe, makes his lines and hooks, and bait, and all the necessary apparatus. The hooks are ground with coral, from pearl-shells, bones, the tusks of boars, and sometimes of hard wood; and of different shapes and sizes, according to the nature of the fishery. Some are formed like our artificial flies, and serve for bait and hook together, and though not bearded seldom lose the fish once hooked; and notwithstanding the form to us appears most clumsy and rude, they will succeed, when we, with our best hooks, cannot.

The women who are not of the blood royal, or married to such, are



forbidden to eat turtle, whale, porpoise, shark, albacore, and dolphin. The turtle not being caught in any great plenty, and regarded as a sacred fish, is usually sent to the chief, and eaten at the morai.

The shell-fish are abundant; pearl and small common oysters, crabs, cray-fish, cockles, some of an enormous size, conchs, muscles, tigers, wrinkles of various kinds, wilks, clams, prawns, shrimps, sea-eggs, and shells of peculiar beauty; there are also land crabs, but seldom eaten.

During the rains they catch great quantities of small fry at the mouth of the rivers: they form a large net, or rather a vast bag, of the cocoa-nut husk sewed together, with a wide mouth to receive the stream, which is held open and secured by stones to the bottom. With cocoa-nut leaves stripped and tied together, called *rōw*, they sweep all before them into the bag-net, and catch bushels at a draught. Sometimes the women take each a bag-net and basket, forming a line across the river, and hold it to the bottom by their feet, and the mouth open with their hands; and when they have filled their basket, go home and dress them. They seldom return empty-handed, and the queen herself and her mother are as often engaged in this work as any others.

They have also the same methods practised with us, of running a dam across the river where it is shoal, and leaving only sluices open, where the bag-nets are fixed: they go above, and plunge and beat the water, to drive the fish into the net; though to this they have seldom recourse till the waters are low, and the fish become scarce.

When they angle they stand in the sea up to the shoulders, using a long bamboo fishing-rod, and catch numbers of fine fish, particularly the *māvoy*, or sea-chub, with others of a delicious kind, as the white mullet; the red are usually caught in seines, and used as bait for the albacore and bonetta.

There is a fish of the conger eel kind which is poisonous, and affects them as sometimes muscles do us in England, but in a greater degree, producing vast swellings in the body, hands, and feet, and



even depriving the limbs of sense and motion : they have, however, found out a medicine which in a few days expels the poison. An Englishman ate of this fish without inconvenience, whilst a native who devoured what was left was almost raving mad, his limbs swollen, inflamed as in the scarlet fever, with excruciating pain, and his eyes rolling as if they would start from their sockets : yet, after ten or twelve days, he recovered, by a preparation of herbs ministered by a priest with many prayers. This kind of fish is about twenty inches long, the fins edged with green, the skin of a brownish hue, and called by the natives *pūkhe*, *pīrre*, *rōwete*. It is caught about the reefs, and some are not poisonous, though they know not certainly how to distinguish the good from the bad. There is also a small red crab, no bigger than a horse-bean, so very deleterious, that it always kills the person who eats it. The *hōotdo*, like our *coccus indicus*, is sometimes used by them to intoxicate and poison the fish ; but this never injures the person who feeds upon them.

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## SECTION XI.

### *Trees and Shrubs.*

THEIR trees exhibit the greatest beauty and variety ; two are particularly remarkable for their flowers and fragrance. The *TEAYRE* has milk-white flowers, of a delicate smell, something like jasmine : with these they adorn their hair, being very fond of perfumes. The tree is large, and covered with flowers ; it grows in the low lands, and is cultivated with great care. The other is a native of the mountains, and called *BOOA* ; it bears a light yellow flower of singular beauty and scent, with which the women form bandeaus for



their hair. They have many other flowers of less fragrance. The tobacco planted by Captain Cook is spread over the island, the natives being particularly fond of the red blossom it bears. All sorts of sweet-smelling flowers would be highly prized by them. They have a variety of sweet herbs, which they employ in perfuming their cloth and their oil; one sort, a kind of mint, they call *MABOOA*. The tomanoo nuts afford also a perfume when pounded; they mix them with water, and steep their cloth in it, and for many days it retains a powerful scent, but by degrees it is lost.

*YOUTE*, the *morus papyrifera*, the cloth-plant, or Chinese paper mulberry: there are two kinds in use, the one called *MYERRE*, the other *POOROW*. This they carefully cultivate, fencing the plantations with a ditch, to prevent the hogs and goats from having access to them, especially the latter, which do much mischief by barking them, and are therefore tied up, or driven into the mountains. The plants of this tree shoot up like osiers, and when about ten or twelve feet in height, and three inches in circumference, they are cut down and carefully stripped of their bark: of this their finest white cloth is made. The rind being taken off, is carried to the water, the outer cuticle scraped off carefully, and well washed, till the sap and slime are separated from it; they wrap this in plantain-leaves, and leave it for three days to digest, by which time it becomes clammy and fit for working into cloth. The bark is next spread of a regular thickness on the beam where it is to be beaten, about eight inches wide, and they begin with the grooved beetle to spread it out to a proper breadth and equal thickness in every part. A number of plantain-leaves are laid on the ground, and on these the cloth is spread to bleach in the early morning dew for several days, removing it as the sun grows high: when perfectly bleached, it is dried, and rolled up in bundles for use. This cloth is called *hōoboo* and *parrawyē*: if they wish it to be clouded, they break the outer bark with a stone, and wrap the sticks in leaves for three or four days before they bark them.



They mix also the inner bark of the tender branches of the bread-fruit tree with the cloth-plant, and prepare it in the same manner. If a chief, or man of property, has cloth to be made, he sends the mulberry-plants in bundles to his tenants, and they mix them with the bread-fruit branches, and bring home the cloth when prepared. If he needs a piece of very large dimensions, he tells them when he shall set about it: on this day the women of the district assemble with their beetles, each bringing a quantity of materials; and the ground being covered with plantain-leaves, they place their work in a line, and set to it all together, beating time to a song given out by one of their principal helpers; and when they strike up, make a vast noise, two hundred sometimes being employed on one piece of cloth four fathoms wide, and forty fathoms long.

Their cloth is made of a variety of colours, black, white, and several shades of crimson, yellow, gray, and brown. The black is dyed with the sap of the mountain-plantain, or under the roots of such cocoa-nut trees as grow in wet and swampy grounds, where they lay the cloth to soak for a day or two, then dry it, repeating the process till it becomes a deep black, when it is washed in salt water to fix the colour. This is called *oōwery*. The brown is dyed or tanned with the bark of several trees, especially the *tōa*, which gives a fine bright colour, heightened by the sun. The bark is scraped with a shell, and after lying to infuse in water, and wrung out, the cloth is dipped in the infusion, and spread in the sun to dry, repeating the operation till it becomes a fine bright brown, called *hēere* and *powhēere*. The yellow is extracted from turmeric or *rēya*, which grows here in great abundance, the country being over-run with it, and capable of furnishing any quantity, as well as of *pōohey*, *āva*, or ginger. The gray is the natural colour of the cloth when unbleached; after being half worn it may be dyed brown, and lined with white, by passing two cloths together; this is called *hōpaa*. The red is produced from the *māttde* berry.

When the brown cloth is worn out they bark the branches of the



bread-fruit, and mix the old brown cloth with the new bark, beating them together, which makes a mottled piece: this they dip in a light yellow prepared from the root of a shrub called *nōno*, which gives it a beautiful appearance; they line it also with white, and infusing perfumes in the yellow dye, call the cloth *opotta potta*: they have yet another kind of cloth called *marra*, made of the mulberry bark, half beaten: this consists of several layers of irregular thickness, for upper garments. At this the *arreoies* are peculiarly expert, though it is reckoned women's work, and requires skill and nicety in the joining, to prevent the part pasted on from stiffening the cloth: this they paint with a beautiful crimson called *māttde*, extracted from a berry growing on a tree of the same name. The expressed juice of the berry they mix with the leaves of another tree called *tōw*, and imprint sprigs and leaves on the cloth by wetting them with this juice, and impressing them on the cloth according to their fancy. The berries of the *māttde* are brown when ripe, of the size of a floe; and being gathered, they nip them between the thumb and finger, expressing a yellow drop or two, which they sprinkle on the leaf of the *tōw*, by hitting one hand against the other: two or three drops suffice for a leaf. When the berries are all nipped, and the leaves wetted, they are worked with the hands in a wooden tray, sprinkling water on them till a beautiful crimson colour begins to appear, when they express the dye from the leaves, and throw them away. They lay on the colour with a small brush of stringy fibres, made of a rush called *mōoo*, like a camel's hair pencil.

There are other trees from which cloth is made, but the process is the same in all. Sometimes they paste together pieces of different colours, cut into curious shapes, in which display of taste the *arreoies* excel.

The women, with their feminine male associates, make the cloth; the men provide the materials. The beam on which the bark is spread is about twelve feet long, made of a hard wood called *marra*, squared to six or eight inches, and finely smoothed on the upper side. The beetles are formed of *toa*, about fourteen inches long, and two



and a half square. The sides are grooved of four different sizes, as the cloth is to be made of a finer or coarser thread; the handle is round; the beetle is called ayey; the beam, tdootdōoa.

TDOOTDOOA, a large tree like the chefnut, bears a nut flatter, and very oily. It will not burn well till a little scorched in the oven, when it is strung on the rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, and affords a tolerable light. The bark of the root of this tree also affords a light brown dye, and the stock is good fuel.

The fruit-trees have been mentioned under the article of provisions; it remains only to describe the principal trees on the mountains.

TOA is a large tree, the wood so exceedingly hard as to be wrought with the greatest difficulty, even with the hardest iron tool. The best axe is presently spoiled, as if cutting against stone; yet of this they form their war clubs, spears, cloth-beaters, and, what is marvellous, with their own miserable tools of stone and bone. Their clubs are from four to six feet long; and their spears from fourteen to eighteen feet. The bark affords a brown dye.

TOMANOO, a vast spreading tree: out of this they form their canoes, pillows to sleep, and stools to sit upon, pudding dishes, and trays, all wrought with infinite labour out of the solid wood. The grain resembles walnut, and will take a high polish. It bears a seed, or rather nut, which is used with other ingredients to perfume their cloth; and is applied externally for wounds, and internally, for the ill effects arising from eating some kinds of fish.

MARRA, a large tree: the wood hard; and when young, white; when old, brown. It is of a fine grain like box, and used for building canoes; it also makes paddles for war canoes, cloth beams, axe and adze helves and handles, &c.

FWHYFWHY grows to the size of an oak, its grain resembling the white oak, and is used for canoes, chests, and planks for various uses.

AMAI, a close-grained wood, resembling mahogany, has a sweet smell: it bears a pod not unlike the scarlet bean. The tree is



large, and used for canoes, and also for all tool handles. When planted in the morais, it is there called roāva, and its leaves are employed in their religious ceremonies. The substitute and ambassador of a chief always carries the branch of this tree in his hand, to give weight to the message he delivers, this being regarded as an emblem of truth; and he that bears it is heard and received as if the chief himself were present.

TUOV. A large tree, the wood hard, and used for common and war canoes, for smooth planks on which to scrape the cloth-plant, and many other uses.

POOROW resembles our elm, and is employed in building canoes, rafters for houses, and paddles; the inside bark makes washing-mats, ropes, and lines: some of these mats are very fine, and worn in wet weather.

EYTO. A very large tree, the wood a reddish brown, like mahogany, nearly as hard as toa, and used in many parts of the canoes. The bark affords a brown dye for cloth, nets, and lines; and, though only steeped in cold water, the colour never washes out.

TERROTAYA, a hard white wood, very tough, forms the outriggers for canoes, railing for houses, and all such kind of fencing, and is preferred on account of its durability.

EAJE, the yellow and brown sandal wood, grows in the mountains, but is scarce; being precious, its growth might be encouraged by planting, or perhaps a more careful examination will discover a greater abundance.

HOOTDOO. A large spreading tree, the wood not hard, employed in building canoes; bears a large nut, thick in the middle, and tapering at each end. It will intoxicate the fish, when mixed with bait, so that they rise to the surface, and may be taken by hand, but is not often used.

TOW. A low tree, with wide spreading branches. The wood is white and soft; of this they make scoops for bailing the canoes.



The leaves, with the mattd berry, form the beautiful scarlet dye. The flower has a fragrant smell.

MATTDE is about the size of a cherry-tree; the berries are as large as the floe, or wild grape; when ripe, of a deep brown. The bark makes lines, and thread for seines; it also affords a species of cloth, and very fine white matting.

NONO, a small tree, bears a fruit like four lop. The inside bark of the root produces a fine light yellow dye.

EAWWA. The wild floe tree. The bark, when young, yields the fine gray cloth called oraa, the most serviceable and valued of all their manufactures. The branches hang down and take root again, forming a cluster, as a trunk of enormous size.

EVAVYE, the silk cotton, grows in great abundance, about the size of a rose-tree; but the natives never gather the pods, nor make any use of it.

ROA, a small shrub, like hemp; the bark, when cleaned and dressed, answers the same purpose, and makes, when spun, the strongest lines and cords.

OHHE, the bamboo, a most useful tree, grows in abundance on the hills, rising to the height of sixty feet, and of considerable thickness, though not very strong. They use them, when full grown, for vessels to hold their oil, plain or perfumed, salt water, and any other liquids. They make good fences for houses: split fine, they serve for carving-knives; are used for fishing-rods, for hooking down the bread-fruit, for cases, quivers for arrows, flutes, and a variety of other things. Of the smaller sort their arrows are made.

AEEHO, or reed. With these, fences are made; they serve to lay under the thatch and support it. They grow very thick on the mountains, and are sometimes set on fire, to clear the ground.

The OPORRO, or red Chili pepper, like the tobacco, is spread over the island.



EOWTAY is a shrub about the size of a rose-tree. It bears a red fragrant flower, with which they deck their hair. Inwardly it is taken as a medicine for sore eyes, a common disorder among the children. When beat up in popoe, or pudding, it gives a tartness, to many very agreeable.

FWHARRA. The prickly palm. The leaves are six feet long, and four inches broad, with sharp prickles on the edges, and down the rib in the middle. This forms their thatch, the leaves lapping over each other, and sewed on the reed with the stem of a cocoa-nut leaf. The sharpened rib of a hog supplies the place of our thatcher's needle. The seed of this tree is formed by an assemblage of nuts, of the shape of pine, of a yellow colour when ripe, and having a fragrant smell and taste. The blossom, which is of a buff colour, and full of farina, highly perfumed, is a chief ingredient in scenting the cocoa-nut oil. The tree flourishes on the most sandy barren soil: the outside circle of wood is very hard, and furnishes points for their javelins; the inside is soft and spongy. The roots rise above ground, and support the stem like shores, standing thick round the bottom. The leaves furnish matting for the canoes, and mats for their heivas; some of the latter are ten or twelve fathoms long, and two fathoms wide.

PAAPA. A species of the former, but without its prickles. Of this are made the finer mats, on which they sleep, and sometimes wear them in wet weather, or in the water.

PIRREPIRRE is a small shrub, of a balsamic quality, not unlike gum cistus. From the bark the matting of the finest texture is made for their māro, or fashes.

OPORRO VYE NOOHE. A fine shrub remarkable for its growth. The root, in taste, not unlike liquorice. The colour white. The stock shoots up about eighteen inches, and then branches off into a kind of crown: when it dies to the stock, it is renewed by another shoot yearly.

EAY EAY. A running shrub, or vine. From this they form their baskets to catch shell-fish, and others called pureta. It is used



in thatching to fix the palm-leaf to the rafters, for railing to their houses, and for lashings, that are more durable than cord.

YAVA is a shrub, whose root is peppery and hot: as it furnishes their only intoxicating beverage, it is cultivated with great care. The preparation is disgusting: several women have each a portion given them to chew, of the stem and root together, which, when masticated, they spit into a bowl, into which some of the leaves of the plant are finely broken; they add water, or cocoa-nut liquor: the whole is then well stirred, and begins quickly to ferment, when it is strained or wrung out in the mooro grafs, or cocoa-nut fibres, and drank in cups of folded leaves. It is highly intoxicating, and seems for a while to deprive them of the use of their limbs: they lie down and sleep till the effects are passed off, and during the time have their limbs chafed with their women's hands. A gill of the yava is a sufficient dose for a man. When they drink it they always eat something afterwards, and frequently fall asleep with the provisions in their mouths: when drank after a hearty meal it produces but little effect. After some continuance of yava-drinking, the skin begins to be covered with a whitish scurf, like the leprosy, which many regard as a badge of nobility: the eyes grow red and inflamed; and the soles of the feet parched and cracked into deep chaps, as some lips in winter. On the discontinuance of the practice, however, the skin soon becomes smooth and clean, and they grow fat, though few are found who deny themselves the use of it. This vice is confined mostly to the chiefs and their followers; the common people can seldom procure such an indulgence.

TOE, or sugar-cane, grows here spontaneously, of a size equal to any in either Indies, and if cultivated, would be much larger and richer; but the natives make very little use of it, except to chew a piece as they are travelling; and when it gets high, they often set it on fire, to clear the land.

HOO ERRO TOOMO, the cabbage-tree, grows in the mountains, but to no great size. The natives seldom eat it. The leaves resemble



fern, and form a circle round the top of the tree, the cabbage rising in the middle. The tree is about thirty feet high; the bark rough, and hanging down like the scales of a fish from top to bottom.

Among the herbs there is a kind of creffes which furnishes an agreeable salad. Radishes, calliloo, and all our culinary vegetables, are now cultivated; but the Otaheiteans are partial to their own produce, and little relish what we have brought them, regarding them as curiosities, rather than of any utility.

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## SECTION XII.

### *Canoes.*

THEIR canoes are of different sizes: they are narrow, and have outriggers, or are doubled by lashing two together. The *war canoes* are always double, from sixty to ninety feet long, about three feet wide, and six in depth: the stern rises from twelve to twenty-four feet high. They are strongly secured by cross pieces, firmly bound, and extending over both sides, being fifteen or twenty feet in length. The canoes themselves are from four to six feet asunder; on these a stage is erected for the warriors: in the stage there are scuttle-holes for paddling. Each canoe is paddled by sixty or a hundred men; and the largest capable of carrying three hundred persons. On the fore-part a breastwork of plank is raised about four feet high; at this the spearmen are posted; behind them the slingers, with piles or baskets of stones; and every paddler has this weapon. Their attacks are made with great fury, running on board their adversary, and sparing none but those who attend the lashings. The vanquished can only save their lives by jumping into the sea, and swimming to the canoes not closely engaged. The canoe taken, is carried off by the conquerors in triumph. Such was the fate of great part of Otoo's



fleet, the present Pomāre, soon after Cook left the island, and the loss hath never since been repaired: there are not, at present, five large war canoes at Otaheite. Happily the island of Eimēo becoming subject to his son's government, and Iddeah and Māne Manne, since the death of Motuaro, having the chief authority there, the king hath little to apprehend from invasion, as he was most easily vulnerable from that quarter.

The war canoes differ from common ones in construction, having high bows, on which are carved rude images of men; and their sterns run up tapering, sometimes to twenty-four feet, and ornamented with the like figures: the bottom is sharp; the sides rounding in towards the top in the midship frame, like the print of a spade on a pack of cards. They are built of short pieces about six feet each, except the keel, which seldom exceeds three pieces, of twenty or thirty feet long, and sometimes is formed of two only. The short pieces are lashed together securely with sinnet made of cocoa-nut fibres; the seams are calked with the same, and payed with the bread-fruit gum; but a heavy sea opens the seams, and makes them leaky; and they have no methods of clearing the water but by bailing with scoops, so that five or six hands are thus constantly employed at sea; and in port they are hauled up on dry ground, to prevent their sinking. The bread-fruit tree plank is preferred for durability; for though not a close-grained wood, the salt-water worms will not touch it, a property which few others of their woods possess.

In building the canoes, they use fire to burn out the inside of the tree, and smooth the sides with coral and sand; but those who have iron tools prefer the method of cutting them into shape, and hollow, as far more expeditious. They prepare their pitch for paying the seams, by wrapping the gum of the bread-fruit tree round candle-nuts stuck on skewers of cocoa-nut leaf ribs: these being lighted, the pitch drops into a tray of water, and squeezing out the aqueous particles, they spread it on the plank edge, and lay the cocoa-nut husk beaten fine over it; then smear it with pitch, and fit on the next



plank, pressing it powerfully with ropes and levers, and securing it in its place with lashings.

The war canoes, and those sacred to the Eatōoa, are built by a general levy: the chief issues his orders to the towhas, they to the ratīrras, who call upon their tenants, the manahoune, for hogs, cloth, oil, &c. to support the carpenters who are sent to the work. They first examine the hills, and pitch on the proper timbers: the ratīrra on whose land it is found, sends men to cut it down, and hew it in the rough, under the carpenters' direction, that it may be the easier removed, as it is sometimes at a considerable distance. When the timbers are collected, they are laid under the shed where the canoe is to be built: a feast is then made to engage the favourable assistance of the Eatōoa; and being very acceptable to the workmen, they hold one before the tree is cut down, another at the commencement of the building, and on making fast every course. When the first strake or bottom is completed, there is a great entertainment and offering, and so on till the whole is finished, when the festivity is greatest, and the canoe for the Eatōoa dressed out with cloth, breastplates, and red feathers, and a human victim is offered. The offerings for the war canoes are only hogs, &c. which are brought to the morai of the chief in whose district it is built; there the priests strangle them as usual, and clean them, smearing them over with their own blood, and placing them on the fwhatta, or altar, with young plantain-trees, and long prayers: the entrails and guts are cleaned and eaten at the morai. Sometimes the hogs are dressed before they are offered on the altar; there they are left to putrefy, or be eaten by birds which frequent these places; the heron especially, and the woodpecker. These birds are respected as sacred, and never killed, as it is supposed the deity descends in them, when he comes to the morai to inspire the priest, and give an answer to their prayers.

The canoe offered to the Eatōoa, finely dressed, is drawn up to the morai with all the sacrifices and oblations; there the eye of the dead victim is first offered to the king, with the plantain and prayers, and



the body interred in the morai. The hogs are killed and offered as before, and the priests take the cloth and decorations, which are presented to the young king.

Considering the greatness of the work, and the beauty of the execution, it is astonishing how, without the knowledge of iron, without rule or compass, with a stone adze only, the leg or arm bone of a man sharpened for the purpose of chisel, gouge, and gimlet, with coral only and sand, they can carve so neatly and finish so smoothly; our most ingenious workmen could not exceed them. To cut with such instruments, out of the hardest and most solid wood to form planks, not more than two out of a tree, and build vessels capable of carrying three hundred persons, must require such endless labour and perseverance, as makes it wonderful how they should ever be finished.

The war canoes differ in construction, as well as size, from the fishing and travelling canoes; these latter being low for paddling, flat-sided, and consisting commonly of but one broad plank fixed on the tree hollowed out, with a raised stern. On the bow a plank projects about six or eight feet, on which a platform is laid, and a travelling house erected, which can be carried on shore and serve for a temporary abode: sometimes only an awning is spread, and here the passengers, or the persons of most dignity, are seated. The sterns are broad, and, according to the nobility of the owner, raised and ornamented, some to fourteen feet high, of carved work, representing men supporting each other on their hands, tier upon tier, and surmounted by a piece of carved work, of three or four feet round, and hollow, something like a Gothic tower. These, according to their bulk, are paddled by from four to twenty men, and can be rowed single, or made double, as occasion requires.

They have still smaller double canoes, and single ones with an outrigger for common use. Those designed for sailing have some one mast and some two, whether the canoe be single or double: this mast is fixed with shrouds and stays; the sails are made of matting



long and narrow, and have a kind of sprit laced up and down the after leech, and reaching one third higher than the mast-head, forming a bow from the height of the mast upwards, and keeping the weather leech of the sail tight from the mast-head to the sprit-end, to which a long pennant made of feathers is usually fastened; and the lower part is extended on a bamboo boom, to which the sprit is securely lashed; and here also the sheet is made fast. In the single canoe the mast is placed nearly before the midships; in the double the foremast is raised in the one, and the mainmast in the other, at nearly one third each. The war canoes have their masts and sails in the same manner; on the mast there is a kind of basket-work like a funnel. The single canoes, when rigged for sailing, are raised with a washboard of ten or twelve inches above the gunwale; and on the top of this, opposite to the outrigger, is a stage about two feet wide, and running about ten or twelve feet along the side of the canoe: this is made of planks well lashed to the spars which support them, and to this they bring the shrouds. The outrigger is generally two thirds the length of the canoe; at the extremity is fixed a float as long as the canoe, and kept in the same direction as the keel by a smaller outrigger placed near the stern: but as these are not always exactly parallel and nicely adjusted, they impede the velocity of the canoe, which seldom sails above five or six knots an hour. As they have no method of reducing their sail at the head, being only able to cast it off at the foot, and roll up a part, they are driven to the greatest inconvenience when overtaken by bad weather, and frequently dismasted, overfet, or blown off the coast, and heard of no more. When a squall comes on, they luff the head of the canoe to it; and if she is likely to fall off, they jump overboard, and hold her head to windward till the gust of wind is passed; then get in, and pursue their course. When overfet, their first care is to lash every thing fast, and tow the canoe round with the mast-head to windward; and having a line fastened to the sprit-end, they get all hands on the



float of the outrigger, and hauling the head of the sail out of the water, swinging off with their whole weight, and the wind getting under the sail rights the canoe: two or three continue in the water, and hold her head to the wind, and when clear they proceed on their voyage. This accident frequently happens on returning from fishing; and so little danger do they apprehend from being thus overset four or five miles from land, that they never think of assisting each other; nor do those who are in the water call for any help, though sometimes they lose so much ground, as to be obliged to run down to Eimēo or Ulietēa.

Their canoes convey them to the islands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite. Tethuroah, one of the nearest, is the property of Otoo and his family, distant about eight leagues north from Point Venus; it consists of ten small islets, surrounded by a reef ten leagues in circumference. These can only be approached in calm weather because of the surf, and then only by small canoes, which are hauled over the reef: thither the king sends his most valuable property in time of war or danger. As these islets are not approachable by war canoes, they afford an impregnable fortress. To prevent the inhabitants from casting off his authority, Otoo suffers no bread-fruit or vegetable food of any kind to grow there, but cocoa-nuts and taro-roots for the convenience of the chiefs who go there on a visit. These islands abound with fish, which they bring to Otoo, and load back with provisions. The fish he uses himself, and distributes to his friends. About forty sail of canoes are thus employed, besides those used at home in fishery. The Matavāi canoes also, when not engaged in the dolphin fishery, make frequent voyages to Tethuroah, carrying provisions, and bringing back fish and cocoa-nut oil in exchange; and a fine fish sauce, called tyeyro, made of cocoa-nut kernel at a proper age grated, and mixed with picked shrimps. This is put into baskets to digest for a day or two, when it resembles curd, acquires an agreeable tartness, and is fit for use; mixed with salt water it is an admired sauce, not only for fish, but for pork and fowls. The cocoa-nut



must not be fully grown, for it would turn oily and become rancid. The same sauce is made in great quantities at Otaheite, and a basket of it always accompanies a present of fish, or a baked hog.

Maitēa is subject to a chief of Tiaraboo, and about twenty-seven leagues distant eastward. The communication is by a large war canoe, which makes a voyage or two annually, taking advantage of the north-westerly wind to go thither, and of the trade-wind to return. From this island they chiefly obtain their pearls and pearl shells, with dishes and stools of taimanoo, and other articles. Tapiuhe, famous for pearl, lies farther on in the same direction. In return for what they receive, they carry nails and such iron-work as they can spare; and this passes in exchange to more distant islands.

### SECTION XIII.

#### *Diseases.*

TILL the Europeans visited them, they had few disorders among them; their temperate and regular mode of life, the great use of vegetables, little animal food, and absence of all noxious distilled spirits and wines, preserved them in health. The case at present is wofully altered.

Their most common complaints are coughs, colds, and intermittent fevers, partly brought on by the changes of weather, and partly by the mode of bathing, to which they habituate themselves, often reeking with sweat. They sometimes undergo a temporary insanity during the wet season, when the sun is vertical, probably from being exposed with their bare heads to his perpendicular beams: this disorder attacks them usually when the bread-fruit ripens, and is attended with boils on the skin, which carry off the disorder, and the person once recovered is affected no more; though with some it continues a



longer season than with others. Theague sometimes is fatal, as they have no medicine which is effectual for its cure. They are subject to vast ruptures, occasioned by too great exertions in wrestling, jumping, and lifting. The glands behind their ears often swell and suppurate, leaving large scars like the king's evil; to these they make no application but washing; and when we would have persuaded them to lay on a poultice, they objected, as they must not pass the sacred ground with any thing on their heads, or above their shoulders; and there is no confining them to the house as long as they are able to stand on their legs. As it is their fixed opinion, that no disease affects them but as a punishment inflicted by their Eatōoa for some offence, and never brought on themselves by intemperance or imprudence, they trust more to the prayers of their priests than to any medicine. Nature, however, and their good constitutions, perform wonderful cures. One man had received a musket-ball, which passed through his breast and shoulder-blade; another had his arm broken by a ball; a third received it as he was stooping; it passed through his thigh, entered his breast, and came out behind his collar-bone: several others were dreadfully smashed with stones; one had his upper jaw broken inward, with the loss of six or seven teeth, and a part of the bone: and yet all recovered surprisingly soon, without any application. All bandages they abominate, and cannot bear the smell of the dressings of a wound; flying always to the water when any thing of this kind affects them, and grating sandal wood on the part, to take off the offensive fetor. If they happen to have a leg broken, it usually kills them, not so much from the fracture itself, as from their efforts to crawl to the water, from which nothing restrains them: this often brings on inflammation and mortification, where there could be else no danger. Some bear the scars of the jagged stingray spear passing through their bodies, and are recovered. A broken arm is sometimes completely restored by bamboo splints, as it admits of their going about with it in a sling.

Our surgeon, in his visits to the different parts of the island, adds



to this catalogue the elephantiasis, which he observed of a most prodigious kind, one man's leg being swelled as big as a youth's body ; yet he continued going about. There is hardly one of the chiefs but is affected with cuticular diseases, and many like lepers from head to foot, occasioned by drinking the yava ; yet they regard this as an honourable distinction, calling it the yava skin rather than a disease. Many have, in the rainy season, considerable inflammation in their eyes, and their children are often subject to a tetters eruption, which continues for a long while. A few have been found affected with the itch, whether a communicated or an endemial disease is not certain. But of all plagues that most fatal to society, the venereal, has been communicated to them, probably by Europeans, and it has spread grievously, one in four being supposed affected with it : many most miserable objects, with foul and horrid ulcers, carious bones, loss of limbs, and in the last stage of consumption, presented themselves. Of these was the brother of the high-priest Māne Manne, worn to a skeleton by the discharge of a venereal ulcer in his neck, which affected the organs of respiration, and left little hopes of relief. Many are separated from their families in a shed or outhouse, nor suffered to touch provision of any kind but what is brought them ; their dearest friends and relatives shun them ; they are not permitted to bathe near any person in the river ; and though they are not left to starve, they are abandoned to rot alive. Many refused all medicines, and would submit to no applications ; others took them with great avidity. The benefit received in many cases by the mercurial ointment caused great wonder in the natives ; and in the hands of a skilful man cannot fail of rescuing many from death and misery. This fatal and disgusting disease, being most prevalent, especially claims our compassion, though the natives are so careless, and averse to all confinement, that it is the hardest task in the world to engage them to follow proper directions. We are using our utmost efforts to have some of our brethren under the best tuition, for the purpose of attaining medical skill, especially to be acquainted with



the properest methods of treating this foul plague, and have hope of five or six who will have some medical information, and be particularly conversant with this subject; and who may be capable of affording effectual relief to such as will submit to the necessary regimen.

They attribute others of their maladies to an European origin, and suppose every vessel which hath visited them has left them some new diseases; among these they reckon the dysentery from Vancouver.

It was difficult to persuade them to take medicine, except in syrups, of which they are fond; though some submitted to swallow the bark in cocoa-nut liquor, and got rid of their intermittents.

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#### SECTION XIV.

##### *On the comparative State of the Islands.*

IT may not be unacceptable to pass in review a few remarks on the comparative state of the different islands where we have begun our missionary attempts, as from the manners and character of the people, and the nature of their governments, some conjecture may be formed respecting the hope of succeeding in our endeavours to civilize and impart to them the blessings of Christianity.

Hereditary succession appears the established custom at Otaheite, and Otoo sovereign; his chieftains, though supreme in their several districts, owing him paramount obedience, and apparently at present unable to control his authority, and in a state of general subjection. At Tongataboo an oligarchy seems to prevail, at the head of which is a monarch of the Futtasâihe race, to whom all pay homage; yet another person, under the title of Dugonagaboola, has the chief power and authority, commanding the army by sea and land: whether



this office be hereditary or elective is not ascertained. Toogahōwe, though not the eldest son, on the death of Tibo Moomōoe, assumed the government; his acknowledged warlike character probably removed every competitor. Besides these, other chiefs seem possessed of great power. In Ohitahoo, the only island of the Marquesas which we visited, the chief seems possessed of less power than was exercised in both the others. Tongataboo resembles most the government of Japan, where the sacred majesty is a sort of state prisoner to the captain-general; but at the Friendly Islands Futtafāihe has great authority, though Dugonagaboola seems as superior in command as he acknowledges himself inferior in dignity. Thus Tacitus describes Germany as possessed of a monarch hereditary, *propter dignitatem*, and a great general, *dux*, elected, *propter virtutem*, on account of his courage and military skill. In these islands strong traits of the ancient feudal system appear.

In their persons, the men of the superior rank all seem a larger race than ourselves, or the common people. At Otaheite they were softer featured, more full and fleshy; at Tongataboo more muscular, and affecting a more stately gait and superiority; at Ohitahoo, though complaining of hunger, they were sufficiently plump, and much more tattooed all over, and distinguished by dress and ornaments.

The women at the Marquesas, for beauty of feature, symmetry of form, and lightness of colour, far exceeded the other islands. At Otaheite and Tongataboo very few were seen who had pretensions to beauty; they were generally large, their features masculine, their colour deeper, and many very disgusting: yet at Ohitahoo the females appeared in the most abject subjection, whilst at Otaheite some enjoyed distinguished dignity, without particular prohibitions as to food; and those who were under restrictions seemed not so enslaved, and at liberty to change their husbands if they pleased. At Tongataboo some were held in highest reverence, and Futtafāihe himself paid one elderly woman the same expression of homage which he received from every other chieftain.



In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior: their canoes are larger, more numerous, and better formed; their clubs and carvings more curious, their land better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed: while the despotic rule at Otaheite, in many instances, and the insolent demands of the arreo society, tend to destroy all industry. Respect for the chiefs is every where great, but appeared least at Ohitahoo.

In manners, the Society islanders seem the most dissolute, and the arreo society the sink of lewdness and cruelty. In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomōoe, and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they greatly differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

In their propensity to theft they too much resembled each other, though the Friendly islanders seemed the most daring. With respect to the disease which makes the most fatal ravage, the Society islanders are much the most generally infected; fewer at Tongataboo; and at the Marquesas it is happily yet unknown.

As to native fertility, all the islands, with prudence and culture, would furnish abundant supplies; but as the natives labour little, and trust to the spontaneous productions of the earth chiefly, all suffer at certain times of the year, when the bread-fruit is out of season, a temporary scarcity. At Ohitahoo it amounted to hunger; the māhie was disgusting; and the very animals were pinched for want of food, though no where did the bread-fruit trees appear more flourish-



ing. At Tongataboo, the chiefs, to secure plenty, changed their abodes to other islands. At Otaheite the greatest profusion of native productions appeared, notwithstanding the horrible waste committed at their feasting, and by the arcey society; and want is seldom known. The border of low land teems with plenty of bread-fruit, evee, and cocoa-nut. At Ohitahoo there is no low land; at Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive. But after visiting all the other islands, Captain Wilson observes, that he was forcibly struck, at his second visit to Otaheite, with the superior politeness of their manners, their singular cordiality of address, and their visible improvement during that small space in the scale of civilization in dress as well as behaviour: and taking into the account its amenity, the salubrity of the climate, the plenty of fine water, spontaneous productions of the earth, the rich and most romantically picturesque appearances of the country, he felt the justice of the title given to Otaheite by one of the navigators, as the Queen of Islands.



## ARTICLES OF FAITH,

OR

## PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION,

DRAWN UP BY THE COMMITTEE OF EIGHT PERSONS CHOSEN BY THE BODY  
OF MISSIONARIES, ON BOARD THE DUFF, AT SEA.

ART. I. *Of the Holy Scriptures.*

THE Holy Scripture is contained in the Old and New Testaments,  
as under :

Genesis	1 Kings	Ecclesiastes	Obadiah
Exodus	2 Kings	Song of Solomon	Jonah
Leviticus	1 Chronicles	Isaiah	Micah
Numbers	2 Chronicles	Jeremiah	Nahum
Deuteronomy	Ezra	Lamentations	Habakkuk
Joshua	Nehemiah	Ezekiel	Zephaniah
Judges	Esther	Daniel	Haggai
Ruth	Job	Hosea	Zechariah
1 Samuel	Psalms	Joel	Malachi
2 Samuel	Proverbs	Amos	
Matthew	2 Corinthians	1 Timothy	2 Peter
Mark	Galatians	2 Timothy	1 John
Luke	Ephesians	Titus	2 John
John	Philippians	Philemon	3 John
The Acts	Colossians	Hebrews	Jude
Ep. to Romans	1 Theſſalonians	Ep. of James	Revelations.
1 Corinthians	2 Theſſalonians	1 Peter	



Such is the revelation of God's purpose, mind, and will, and given by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; it containeth all things necessary to be believed concerning God, creation, providence, the fall of man, his recovery, and the final end of all things: therefore the truths contained therein are to be received and believed; and nothing should be believed by any, or enforced upon any, as necessary to salvation, faith, or practice, but that which it expresseth, or may be proved thereby.

ART. II. *Of God.*

There is but one only living and true God, who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure Spirit, invisible, without body or parts, immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, infinitely just, almighty, and most wise; the creator, maker, and former of all creatures, the preserver and governor of all things, visible and invisible; and in the unity of the Godhead there are three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

ART. III. *Of the Fall of Man.*

God having created man in his own image, in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, with dominion over the creatures, entered into a covenant of life with him, not only for himself but for all his posterity, upon condition of perfect obedience, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil upon the pain of death; which covenant he brake, being seduced by Satan to eat of the fruit of that tree; and, having thereby lost the image of God and all communion with him, he incurred his wrath and curse both in this life and in that which is to come; in which ruin his whole race became necessarily involved, having this his first transgression most justly imputed to them, and deriving from him a nature wholly corrupted and depraved.



ART. IV. *Of Free Will.*

Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which is good and well-pleasing to God; but yet mutable, so that he might fall from it. But by his fall into a state of sin, he hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so that as a natural man, being altogether averse from good, and dead in sin, he is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

When God converts a sinner, and translates him into a state of grace, he freeth him from his natural bondage under sin; and by his grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good.

ART. V. *Of Christ the Mediator.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, co-equal and co-eternal with the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man; who, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of the Father; and not only made reconciliation, but likewise purchased an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven for all those whom the Father hath given to, or chosen in him.

ART. VI. *Of the Holy Ghost.*

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God; whose office, in the economy of salvation, is to convince, regenerate, and convert those whom the Father gave to Christ in his eternal purpose, and make them partakers of all the benefits of the covenant of grace, both in time and eternity.



ART. VII. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth making intercession for all his people until he return to judge all men at the last day.

ART. VIII. *Of Predestination and Election.*

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath decreed, by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ (not for any thing foreseen in them, but according to his eternal purpose and grace) out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

ART. IX. *Of the Justification of Man.*

Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone.

ART. X. *Of Good Works.*

Good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretence of good intentions: although good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after



justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgments, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; in-  
somuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree is discerned by its fruit.

ART. XI. *Of the Law of God.*

The moral law doth for ever bind all, as well justified persons as others, to the obedience thereof; and that not only in regard of the matter contained in it, but also in respect of the authority of God the creator who gave it: neither doth Christ in the gospel any way dissolve, but much strengthen this obligation.

Although true believers be not under the law as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified or condemned; yet it is of great use to them as well as to others; in that, as a rule of life, informing them of the will of God and their duty, it directs and binds them to walk accordingly; discovering also the sinful pollutions of their nature, hearts, and lives; so as examining themselves thereby they may come to further conviction of, humiliation for, and hatred against sin; together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ, and the perfection of his obedience: it is likewise of use to the regenerate to restrain their corruption, in that it forbids sin; and the threatenings of it serve to shew what even their sins deserve, and what afflictions in this life they may expect for them, although freed from the curse thereof threatened in the law.

ART. XII. *Of the State of Men after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.*

The bodies of men after death return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls (which neither die nor sleep) having an immortal substance, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and



glory, waiting only for the full redemption of their bodies : and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Beside these two places, for souls separate from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none. At the last day, such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed ; and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be again united to their souls for ever.

The bodies of the unjust shall, by the power of Christ, be raised to dishonour ; the bodies of the just, by his spirit, unto honour, and be made conformable to his own glorious body.

ART. XIII. *Of the last Judgment.*

God hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness, by Jesus Christ, to whom all power and judgment is given of the Father ; in which day not only the apostate angels shall be judged, but likewise all persons that have lived upon earth shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words, and deeds ; and to receive according to what they have done in the body, whether good or evil. The end of God's appointing this day is for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the wicked and disobedient ; for then shall the righteous go into everlasting life, and receive that fulness of joy and refreshing which shall come from the presence of the Lord ; but the wicked who know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into everlasting burnings, and be punished with eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

ART. XIV. *Of the Church.*

The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the head thereof ; and is the spouse,



the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel (not confined to one nation as before, under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.

Unto this catholic visible church Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world; and doth by his own presence and spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto.

There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; neither hath any temporal prince, secular power, or civil magistrate, any right to exercise any authority over her; neither needeth she any establishments from them, being founded upon Him who is the rock of ages; so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her; and the Highest himself shall establish her.

The visible church hath, in subjection to Christ her head, power to chuse bishops, or pastors, and deacons, to act in their several offices. The church likewise hath power to depose both ministers and deacons, if it be found necessary for truth and conscience sake; to admit members into church fellowship; and, in case of misconduct, to exclude them from her communion; but if the cause or reason of deposing the one or excluding the other is removed, then she hath power, and ought to re-admit them into the same church fellowship.

#### ART. XV. *Of the Officers of the Church.*

Christ, in the riches of his love and care towards his church, hath appointed in it to be of perpetual standing use, as what will be needful to the church throughout all generations to the end of the world; 1st. Pastors or bishops, that should be settled in different churches, to take a peculiar care of them, to preside, watch, and rule over them.



in the Lord ; and to administer ordinances of worship and discipline, as well as to preach the word to them ; who are to be solemnly set apart to their important office by fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands, by one or more persons who have been regularly called and ordained to the ministerial office. 2d. Deacons ; unto whose office belongs the actual exercise and application of the bounty and benevolence of the church unto the poor that are planted therein ; and to provide for the table of the Lord ; and who are to be ordained to their trust by prayer and imposition of hands.

ART. XVI. *Of the Ordinance of Baptism.*

Baptism is an ordinance of the Lord Jesus Christ's institution in his visible church, to be continued till the end of time, and is a visible sign of inward and spiritual grace, is an initiating ordinance to the fellowship and communion of the church, and is to be administered to believing adults and their children, and them only : the mode of administration to be that of pouring or sprinkling, and is to be done by a minister of the word of God, lawfully called and ordained thereunto.

ART. XVII. *Of the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper.*

The Lord's Supper is an ordinance of the New Testament, wherein, by giving and receiving bread and wine, according to the appointment of Jesus Christ, his death is shewed forth ; and they that worthily communicate feed upon his body and blood, to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace ; have their union and communion with him confirmed ; testify and renew their thankfulness and engagements to God, and their mutual love and fellowship with each other, as members of the same mystical body ; and is to be administered by one who labours in word and doctrine, properly called and ordained thereunto.



ART. XVIII. *Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.*

The Lord's day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary calling may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes. The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation or resting all that day from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining from all worldly words and thoughts: that all the people meet so timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship, and not depart till after the blessing.

ART. XIX. *Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.*

The ordinances in a single congregation are, prayer, thanksgiving, and singing of psalms or hymns, the word read (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read), the word expounded and applied, catechising, the sacraments administered, and dismissing the people with a blessing.

ART. XX. *Of Marriage.*

Marriage is of divine appointment, instituted by God at the time of man's innocency, for the procreation of children to be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and to the praise of his holy name, for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continency might marry, and keep themselves undefiled. This was practised in the Jewish church, countenanced by Christ, and recommended by the apostle as honourable among all. Therefore marriage is to be between one man and one woman only; and they such as are not within the degrees of



consanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God; and the persons are to be of years and discretion, fit to make their own choice, or, upon good grounds, to give their mutual consent. Then the persons about to enter the state of marriage are to signify their intentions to the minister residing nearest to their respective abodes three weeks before their intended consummation of marriage, that he may publicly declare their intentions three successive sabbaths in the congregation, to the end that if there be any lawful objections against the persons entering into that holy state, it may be set aside; but if no objection appears, then the day being appointed (which we advise not to be the sabbath), and a competent number of witnesses assembled, the minister, after a solemn prayer to God and a suitable exhortation, is to proceed as follows: viz. first directing the man to take the woman by the right hand, and say these words, “I, M. do take thee, N. to be my married wife, and do in the presence of God and before this congregation promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.” Then the woman shall take the man by the right hand, and say these words: “I, N. do take thee, M. to be my married husband, and I do in the presence of God and before this congregation promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.” Then without any further ceremony the minister shall in the face of the congregation pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God’s ordinance; and so conclude with prayer.

ART. XXI. *Of the Burial of the Dead.*

Christ hath no where in his word commanded any ceremony to be made use of over a deceased person, either previous to, or at the interment; such as singing, praying, &c. Therefore it seems most consistent that the dead body be in a decent manner conveyed to the place appointed for public burial, and then immediately committed to the earth. Yet it is the duty of every Christian friend earnestly to



endeavour to improve the bereaving dispensation, by meditation and conferences suitable thereto.—And it is likewise incumbent upon the pastor of the congregation to endeavour to speak a word in season to survivors, suitable to the occasion.

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*The Form of Signature as follows :*

We whose names are underwritten do, in the presence of God and each other, acknowledge and believe all and every one of the above articles are agreeable to and consonant with the word of God; and are, through divine assistance, resolved to promulgate and teach the truths contained therein among the heathen; and purpose, by the same grace, to live conformable thereunto, to the glory of God, until death.

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