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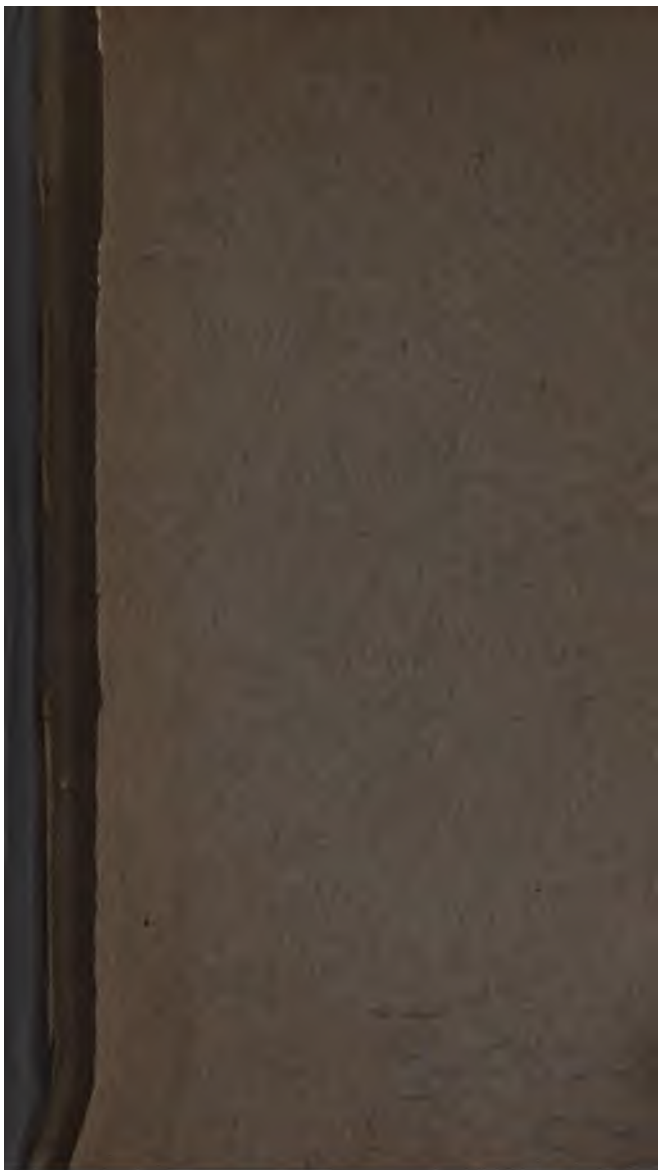
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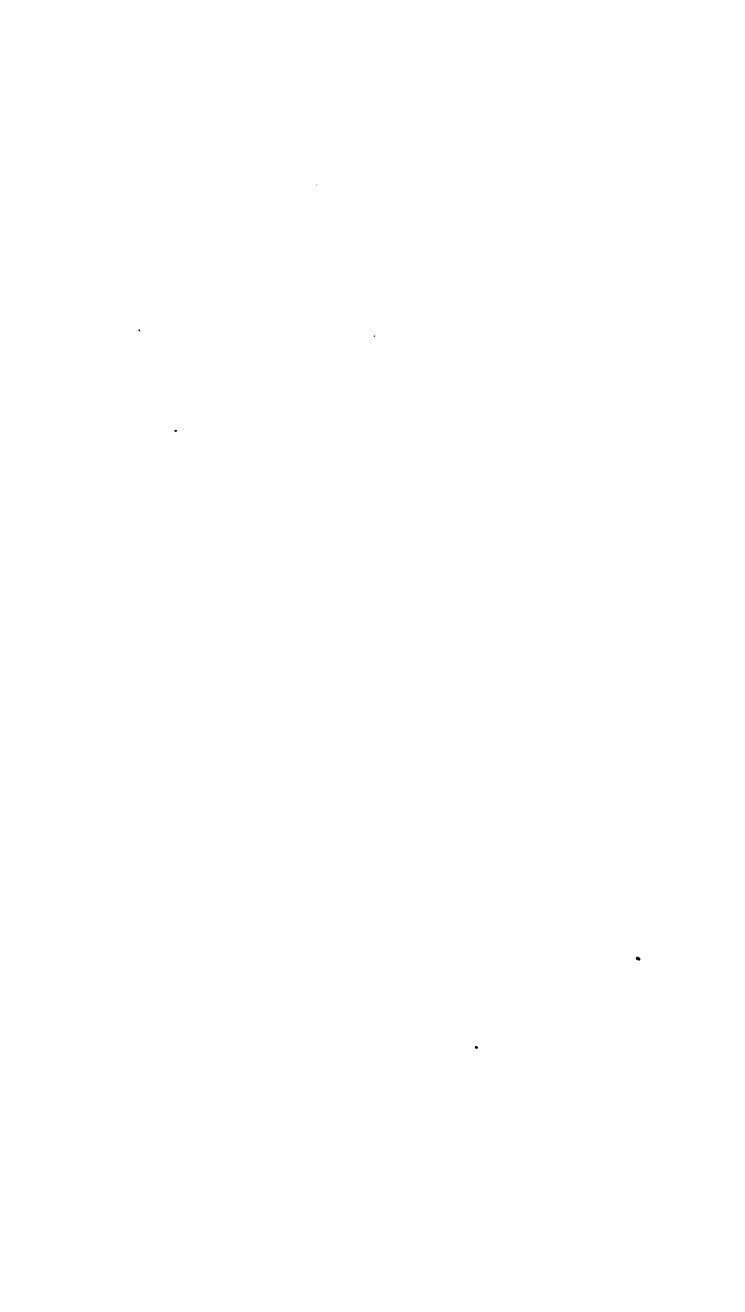
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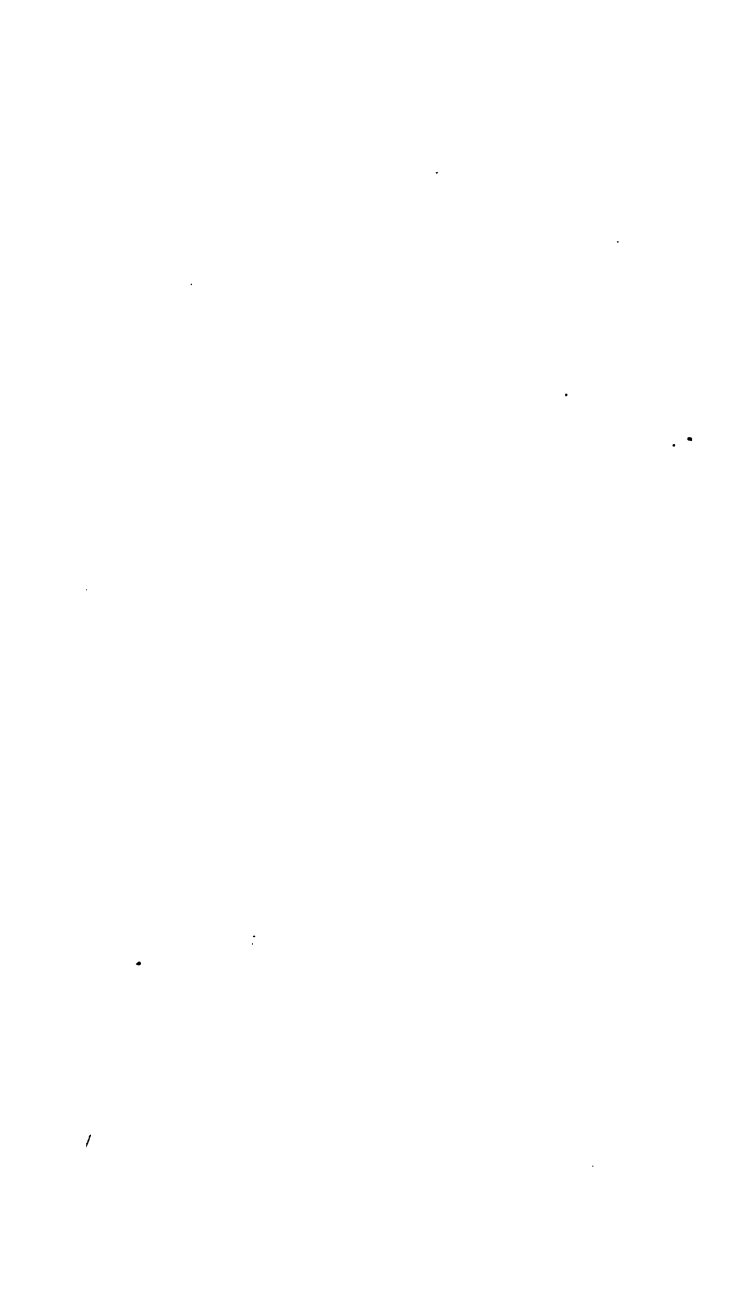




















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VOYAGE

ROUND

THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, AND 1804;

IN WHICH

the Author visited the principal Islands

IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN,

AND THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS OF

PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND.

BY JOHN TURNBULL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

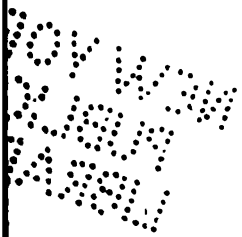
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1805.



PREFACE.

THE Author thinks it a duty which he owes the public to inform them, that when the following materials were collected, he had not the most distant idea of their being published. They were drawn up at first merely for the amusement and information of his private friends.

From the remoteness of the scene of action, and the novelty of the ob-

jects, he conceived they could not fail to be in some measure interesting.

As the present state of many of these countries is but very imperfectly known, the Author has been induced, through the persuasion of those friends, to lay them before the public.

Respecting the Brazils, our sentiments are given freely and without reserve.

The Cape of Good Hope is a subject which has so often been treated

of, that the Author has but little more than touched upon it.

The colony of New South Wales is daily becoming an object of greater importance to this country. In treating of this colony he has endeavoured to confine himself to such subjects as appeared to him to be most interesting, and but little spoken of by former writers.

The principal part of his observations are confined within the tropics, particularly the Society and Sandwich Islands, where the reader will perceive a wonderful contrast in

the genius and dispositions of the two nations. Whilst the Sandwich Islanders are making rapid advances towards civilization and a knowledge of the mechanical arts, the natives of the Society Islands, for whom nature may be said to have exerted her utmost efforts, by a strange perversion of her laws, have lifted up a high hand to counteract her intentions.

The following pages are full in detail of the present state of the missionaries; the Author having spared no pains to exhibit a full picture of the present state, and present character, of those islanders, to whose

improvement their benevolent efforts are directed.

Something remains to be said as to the style, and diction of the work ; upon neither of which the Author founds any pretensions, the greater part of his life having passed in the exercise of his profession, that of a seaman.

If he is intelligible without offence, and not barbarous with regard to his style, he is satisfied, and throws himself on the indulgence of a generous public.



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VOYAGES
IN THE
PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAP. I.

*Purpose of the Voyage.—Departure from
England.—Arrival on the Coast of
Brazil.*

THERE are few dangers and still fewer difficulties, which can deter men of enterprize from any pursuit which they consider as the means of independence. If the colder moralist in his abstract reasoning brand this desire with the name of a pernicious avidity, the practical philosopher, tempering the conclusions of his reason by the

modes of life, considers it in a more favourable point of view, hailing it as the grand moving impulse of commerce, and effectually the means of improving the whole condition of life.

Whilst second officer of the *Barwell*, in her last voyage to China, in the year 1799, the first officer of that ship and myself, had every reason to suppose from our own actual observation, that the Americans carried on a most lucrative trade to the north-west of that vast continent. Strongly impressed with this persuasion, we resolved on our return home to represent it to some gentlemen of well known mercantile enterprise. They approved of the speculation, and lost no time in preparing for its execution.

It was some time before we could find a vessel suited to the purpose of so long and perilous a voyage. A new ship, and built wholly of British oak, was

at length purchased, and the command of it given the above mentioned gentleman, whilst the cargo and trading part was entrusted to the writer. Having each of us as owners considerable shares, we were equally interested in the success of the voyage.

Having obtained the necessary permission of the honourable East-India Company, and compleated all our preparations, we proceeded to Portsmouth in the latter end of May 1800; and having here joined our convoy and the East-India Fleet, finally left England on the first of July to push our fortunes in regions but little frequented by Europeans. Here let us premise once for all that in the course of our voyage we shall not weary the patience of our reader by the technical extracts of our log book, such subjects affording as little variety, as utility to the general reader.

With fair winds and sanguine hopes, we soon reached the Island of Madeira. We were here left by some of our convoy. I had heard so many, and such picturesque descriptions of this Garden of the World, that I was anxious to visit it; and a fortunate opportunity presenting itself, I availed myself of it, and went on shore.

It was now ten in the forenoon of as bright a day as the meridian glory of a southern sun ever produced to cheer the heart of man. The vine-yards yet retained on their leaves some of the morning dew; the face of the island in many places was clothed with tropical shrubs: the orange, melloon, sugar-cane, and banana, gratified more than one sense by their hue and fragrance.

During the time I was on shore, I was much annoyed by innumerable

swarms of mendicant friars ; imploring my charity in the name of the Holy Virgin and all the saints of their calendar. Wearied with their importunities, and to procure my ease, I threw them some of the smaller pieces of the Portuguese money, but I had here reckoned without my host ; for my liberality only procured me other applications, and this in an almost endless succession. Why is this impudent mendicity thus not only tolerated, but sanctified as it were, by the laws of the country ? What effect must it have on the genius of the people ?

In the several quarters of the town I observed a multitude of petty shops, presenting no bad epitome of a negro market in the West-Indies ; being furnished with what every other market would reject with disgust, such as putrid fish, rotten cheese, and rancid

butter. Every thing was marked, as it were, with the peculiar characteristic of the Spanish and Portuguese possession; an indifference to filth or cleanliness, an invincible indolence, and a pride the more ludicrous, as contrasted with every circumstance which should induce a contrary feeling.

The island of Madeira, as is well known, is about nineteen degrees to the south of England, and in circumference between 120 and 130 miles. The climate is delightful, even the ease and indolence of the natives cannot render wholly ineffectual the bounty of nature. From my transient view of this island, I could not but indulge the wish that, in the event of a war between the two countries, the British arms would take possession of this and the neighbouring island, Porto Santo. If England is in want of any

colony, it is one where the industry of our countrymen might cultivate the grape. Indeed our haughty neighbours have long observed that, notwithstanding all our vast foreign settlements, we do not possess one island where the grape is successfully cultivated.

Leaving Madeira in the evening, we again continued our course to the latitude of 27 north, somewhat to the southward of the Canaries. His majesty's ship here left us, and we received new instructions, from the senior commander of the Indiamen. This gentleman was in fact the more disposed to accommodate us, as the superior sailing of our vessel rendered us no impediment to some of their heavier laden ships.

In this manner we continued to accompany the Indiamen to the latitude of eleven degrees north. Being in this

latitude wholly out of all danger from the cruizers of the enemy, and losing much time by the comparative tardiness of our companions, we at length hoisted our colours, and gave a salute of nine guns, in acknowledgement of the kindness of our commodore; and having received a polite return to our compliment, we parted, mutually satisfied. The Abundance store ship being bound to the Cape of Good Hope, took her leave at the same time; and as our destination was to the same port, we intended to keep her company.

It happened, however, in this, as in most other designs of the same nature, where the concurrence of so many circumstances are required. The Abundance was so heavy a sailer, that we were shortly compelled to separate. On the second day after this separation, we fell in with the homeward-bound

East-India fleet; consisting of twenty-two sail, and under the convoy of his majesty's ship Madras, of fifty guns. They sent a boat on board, anxiously enquiring the situation of affairs in Europe, in which we satisfied them to the full extent of our own political knowledge. We added a present of a small packet of newspapers; the value of which those alone will comprehend, who have been in the similar circumstance of a two years absence from their native land.

During the further progress of our voyage, we were so hampered by the southerly winds, as to have approached within two degrees and an half of the coast of Brazil. Our passage through the torrid zone was indeed singularly tedious; and the vessel, being new, and therefore unseasoned, was in a very leaky state.

These circumstances induced us to bear up for St. Salvadore; that the vessel might have the necessary repairs, previous to entering into the higher latitudes.

On our arrival in this port, various were the conjectures of the inhabitants as to our vessel and the design of our voyage; a circumstance which, in part, arose from the near resemblance of our vessel to a cutter brig. Some considered us as a French spy, on a reconnoitring voyage to the ports and coast; and none was more busy in diffusing this report, than a mongrel Irishman, the commander of a packet in the Portuguese service. The most general opinion was that, under the disguise of a merchantman, we were in fact a British ship of war, and had entered the port for no other purpose, than that of examining the number and

force of the Spaniards in the harbour. This story was as readily believed by the Spanish captains, who, to the number of seven, were in the port. Their terror removed every appearance of improbability; they imagined, that not less than 70 or 80 of our crew were concealed under our hatches, and resolved not to venture too near us. Strange revolution in the history of nations: the cowardice of these people is now as proverbial as their former valour. But thus it ever will be with all nations which some accidental circumstances in their political situation condemn to a long period of inaction; the national character, like that of the individual, losing all its energy in sloth. Let courage and military prowess cease to act, and it will shortly cease to exist.

These opinions soon reached the ears of the viceroy, and caused him to send

a message summoning us to the palace on the following morning. In the mean time an officer and a strong military guard were stationed on board; and, as if this was insufficient, a guard boat on each side of the vessel: it was thus impossible for us to move even a foot from our station.

As a very great indulgence, we were permitted to receive the visit of one of the officers of the Queen East-Indiaman, and thus learn the unfortunate fate of that ship; which, having caught fire, had burned to the water's edge, the whole cargo and many lives being lost upon the occasion. This gentleman was left at St. Salvadore to take charge of any treasure which might perchance be recovered, but, finding that such recovery was impossible, he had engaged his passage home in a prize belonging to a whaler, and

was now only detained by the terror of the prize-master lest, upon his leaving the harbour, the Spanish captains should execute their threats of reprisal. Our arrival here, therefore, proved a circumstance equally fortunate for each of those gentlemen; we were now more than a match for the Spaniards, and they were sufficiently conscious of it not to renew their threats.

In answer to our enquiries as to the circumstances of this capture, the prize-master informed us, that having fallen in with the ship on the coast of Brazil, they had given an immediate chase; and that the Spaniards, abandoning their vessel, and removing their treasure, thirty seven thousand dollars, into the launch, had made all dispatch towards the shore. With a foresight justified by the event, the captain of the whaler, disregarding the ship, fol-

lowed the launch; and having overtaken and compelled her to surrender without resistance, secured the booty, and returned to the ship. Of this they took quiet possession; and found her of no inconsiderable value, being laden with copper and hides. The vessel was ordered for St. Helena; but from some damage to her rudder, and other accidents, had been compelled to bear up for St. Salvadore.

The Spanish captains in the harbour, as may be well imagined, felt a common interest in this event; and had accordingly threatened, and, I believe, actually resolved to unite their force together, and recapture the whaler's prize. The prize-master anxiously sought our protection. He added, what we had already learned from the officer of the Queen Indiaman, that a very strict intimacy, and a co-operation

not well suited to a neutral power, existed between the Portuguese and Spaniards; and that the English ships would be grossly deceived, if they entertained any confidence of a fair and equal treatment in any of the Portuguese ports on the Brazil coast.

The prize-master was now permitted to leave the port uninterrupted. As our boats passed and repassed, the Spaniards saluted us with a singular civility, at least as contrasted with the acrimony of the mutual abuse which passed between us.

CHAP. II.

Visit to the Viceroy.—Cursory Description of St. Salvadore.—Departure.

ON the following morning we were occupied some time in preparing for our visit of ceremony to the governor. Previous to our departure the vessel underwent a thorough search from the officers of the customs, and the guard boats. A black Creole of the island of St. Thomas, and a captain in the Portuguese service, received us on landing, and offering his services as an interpreter, in other words as a spy, conducted us to the palace. He had a medal suspended from one of his button-holes, which he informed us had been presented to him by the Prince of Brazil,

and of which he appeared not a little proud.

It struck me forcibly that this appendage was displayed solely with a view of striking us with his consequence. On our arrival at the palace, for thus is the residence of the Viceroy termed, we had to wait some time before his excellency could honor us with an audience, whether that the Portuguese ceremony thus required, or that a grand levee of officers was in the act of paying their morning respects. We were at length ushered into the drawing room, and the presence of the governor: he is said to be a member of the royal family of Portugal, and of a true Portuguese appearance and habits. He was dressed as a general in the service, and received us with the characteristic ceremony, and cold haughti-

ness, of the court of Lisbon. He addressed us in good English, and questioned us in a manner which appeared to indicate much suspicion.

Nothing could be more wearisome than the minute and jealous examination to which we were compelled to submit. Again and again were our papers, journal, and log-book, and every other document, examined as well by his excellency, as his attendant officers. The conclusion confirmed us in what we had heard of the unjust preference given to our enemies; *for whilst the Spaniards in the harbour were lading and unlading, as deliberately and as much at their ease as if they were in Cadiz itself,* his excellency informed us that we must make all our necessary repairs in four days, and at the expiration of that period leave the harbour. Remonstrance was useless, the order was absolute.

Some further circumstances occurred to convince me, that a clandestine intercourse, very prejudicial to the interest of Great-Britain in time of war, is maintained between the Spaniards and Portuguese; a circumstance so contrary to a fair neutrality, that I have no doubt that many of the ships from Brazil might be safely detained by our cruizers.

In the afternoon we received a hasty visit from our Creole linguist, to congratulate us upon a victory obtained on the coast over the French by some English ships. He urged us strongly to fire a salute according to the custom of the Portuguese upon similar occasions, but as his information was only general, we did not deem it entitled to this feu-de-joye.

This report, however, was afterwards,

confirmed. The *Belliqueux* and *Ber* convoy had taken two French frigates, and given chase to a third, a squadron that had much infested the Portuguese trade.

In our visits on shore we made the best use of the narrow liberty allowed us, and threw our eyes around us in search of such objects as usually attract the attention of strangers.

The city is large and populous, and appears divided by nature into an upper and lower town. The upper town is seated on the summit of an eminence: it commands an uninterrupted view of the bay and harbour of All Saints, the sea and clouds alone terminating the boundless prospect. The upper town is the seat of the viceroy, the civil and military officers, and principal merchants, whilst the lower town is for the most part occupied by inhabitants

of the inferior order, retail tradesmen, adventurers, and persons following mechanical trades.

The town of St. Salvadore, next to that of Rio Janeiro, is the most active with regard to its trade of any on the coast of Brazil. The commerce to the mother-country, considering the characteristic indolence of the Portuguese, is very brisk, and as the diamond mines require a numerous and constant supply of negroes, there is a considerable trade to the coast of Africa for this human merchandize. It must be confessed, indeed, that the diamond mines could not be worked without these slaves, but perhaps diamonds, however inestimable, are thus purchased at a price too high.

In the dock-yard a ship of 64 guns was on the stocks: it was built of the country wood, a wood too heavy per-

haps for this purpose, but undoubtedly much stronger than any European oak. The iron, pitch, and tar, I understood to have been brought from Lisbon, the policy of the parent-country requiring every thing wrought or manufactured to be imported from thence,—a circumstance but little felt as long as the paucity of workmen, and other sources of wealth to the adventurer, prevent the establishment of manufacturers, but should the industry of the colony ever increase, and the improvement of agriculture augment the stock of raw materials, the importance of this selfish policy will not remain long unintelligible.

Sunday, being a high festival in the Portuguese calendar, the captain and myself seized this opportunity to visit the Portuguese churches. We found them corresponding in every respect

both with the genius of their religion and the wealth of their settlement ; they were magnificently adorned, and the ornaments of the images appeared to us to be very valuable. We found moreover, and though sailors, with some satisfaction, that there was one country in the world in which religion was fashionable, the churches being crowded with all ranks of people, from the meanest slave to his excellency the governor himself. So pleasing and natural to the heart of man is true piety, that though protestants, and therefore having no predilection for his holiness the pope, we did not see this scene with indifference, and indeed it gave us a better opinion of them than any thing we had as yet seen amongst them.

It was not without great difficulty that we obtained a seat in the principal church. Our eyes were in some mea-

sure diverted from the preacher to the holy virgin, who, arrayed in gold and jewels, with the prince of Brazil on her right hand elegantly accoutred, perhaps intimating by this his being one of her avowed champions and defenders, occupied the most conspicuous corner of the church. The bishop of the province, the second man in this part of Brazil, was the preacher : his discourse, as far as we understood it by our interpreter, was eloquent, and the more so perhaps, as conscious of his high rank, and holy functions, he addressed himself chiefly to the great, and lashed their vices and impieties, in a style of vigour and freedom, which a more humble preacher would scarcely have ventured.

Upon conclusion of the church service the image of the holy virgin and her attendant the prince was carried in procession through the streets of the

city, the ladies saluting her from the windows and balconies, with garlands and chaplets showered upon her head. A theatric spectacle by no means unpleasing if the zeal of a mistaken religion be admitted as an excuse for its errors.

After having paraded the town in every direction, the holy lady with all her appendages was deposited in the next considerable church, there to rest till again wanted for a new feast, or a shower of rain. Through his seeming inattention to this sacred mummery, the captain was not looked on with a very good eye, his impiety called down upon him a severe reprimand. Not a street through which we passed but had one of these tutelary saints in some one or other of its most conspicuous parts, and thither in the evening assembled the populace in crowds, chaunting prayers or thanksgivings in the usual

monotony of the Roman Catholic choristry.

Every thing that we saw convinced us of the value of this settlement to the British empire in the event of a rupture between the two countries. In the course of years it is pretty evident that France or ourselves must possess the Brazils, for a nation so weak as the Portuguese, so fallen in the estimation of Europe, will not long be allowed this monopoly of an extent of country, which she is as little able to use as to defend. If France should anticipate us, as she doubtless will, conquest being the fundamental principle of a military government, she will gain a spoil which would more than compensate the loss of Malta and Egypt. Such an acquisition as this would be of more solid advantages to us as a commercial nation than all the

conquests of France: at all events should it fall into our hands it would be one means of securing a most honourable peace.

The day previous to our leaving the harbour, another Spanish vessel, heavily laden with near an hundred thousand dollars, and a rich cargo, arrived in the port. It will readily be believed that we most sincerely regretted that we had not left the port the day before, as we might then have saluted this rich vessel, and probably saved the Spaniards the trouble of forwarding their money home in Portuguese bottoms, a manœuvre which I very much suspect.

There evidently, indeed, existed at this time a very close political union between the two powers, whether from their geographical situation, as neighbours, both here and in the mother-country, or from the circumstance of their

being a *par nobile fratrum*, I will not take upon me to determine. I am convinced, however, that the fact existed at that time, and perhaps it is not saying too much to assert that it exists at this very moment.

The fourth day was now expiring, and with it the civility, or rather forbearance from hostility, of the Portuguese. The harbour-master came on board with orders from the viceroy not to return till he had seen us out of the harbour. We obeyed this peremptory command with no very good grace. It may be needless to say that our reception was not worse than that of almost every other English vessel which has happened to touch at their ports.

Being very much at a loss to account for a conduct so ill suited to a civilized nation, and towards the people of a country to whom, in the present state

of Europe, they owe the very existence of their empire, I took some pains to ascertain the cause. At length, being introduced to a major in the service, a veteran who had more knowledge than his brother officers, I learned that the political connection between England and Portugal, had not unfrequently involved the latter in broils with their neighbours and that it had thus become a point of policy to extenuate this jealousy by an appearance, and even a reality, of harshness throughout all their intercourse with us.

CHAP. III.

Arrival and Stay at the Cape of Good Hope.—Passage, and Arrival at Botany Bay.

THE southerly winds still prevailing, some days elapsed before we could clear the coast. During this interval, we had the satisfaction to make some return for the incivility of our reception by giving chase to as many Portuguese vessels as happened to fall in our way. The superiority of our sailing rendered it no difficult matter to us to overhaul as many as we could see, however arduous their efforts to escape us. They imagined us at any distance an enemy's ship, and nothing could be more ludicrous than their looks of

terror, as they were compelled to bring to, but when relieved they made a thousand congees, saying *stabon anglois*.

After having cleared the coast, we continued our course to the Cape of Good Hope. Our passage from the Brazils to this well known port had nothing beyond the ordinary occurrences in similar voyages, and which have been so often repeated, that we deem it needless to give them place here.

Suffice it, therefore, to say that we reached the Cape without accident, and from an agreeable voyage, almost without weariness. Upon our landing we were introduced by the port captain to admiral sir Roger Curtis, this gallant officer being at this time commander in chief of the squadron upon this station. The admiral received us with that welcome and politeness so characteristic of the British naval officer : he

enquired the news from England and the Brazils, and thanked us even for the inconsiderable intelligence we had to communicate. He said that he had several cruizers on the coast against the Spaniards, and expected that some of them might prove fortunate. He was anxious for the particulars of the engagement, but we were here as much in the dark as himself.

Our next introduction was to the governor, by whom we were received with equal politeness. My mind was too much occupied in the discharge of my duty to give much attention to the objects around me. But I was forcibly struck with the romantic situation of the town, embosomed as it were in a valley, the sides of which gradually ascend, till they reach the foot of the mountains, which like a natural wall encircle it on all sides. The houses are

almost all of stone and all equally clean : they are white or yellow washed, and from their cleanliness and the mildness of the climate, have all the appearance of being but newly-built. The inside is generally paved with flag stones brought from India for that purpose, and in so hot a climate their coolness is no inconsiderable acquisition. The inhabitants are composed of adventurers from every part of the northern world, and every circle of the German empire.

We had now been a fortnight at the Cape, and the Abundance storeship not having as yet appeared, nor any tidings of her reaching us, we began to entertain some apprehensions of her safety ; but intelligence at length arrived that, under distress for water, she had been compelled to put into Saldanha Bay. It had been our original intention to

have accompanied this ship to the Cape ; how much time did we save by the change of our purpose ! A hint, by the way, to ship-owners, who, without regard to the difference of sailing, and other circumstances, are positive in their instructions that their ships shall keep together, and thus not unfrequently redouble the expence of a voyage, and in a voyage of adventure almost always produce a failure. In these cases the discretionary power of the captain can never be too unlimited.

Our time passed so pleasantly at the Cape that we should not have regretted even a longer stay. Our intercourse with the town's-people was satisfactory on both sides ; we were received at once with the civility due to strangers, and the confidence which only exists between those of the same country. The

singular mixture of inhabitants has had one not unpleasing effect ; the characteristic singularities of the natives of different countries, whether by collision, or insensible and mutual imitation, are in a great degree polished away, and thus none of them are found to exist in any very repugnant excess. The Dutchman, indeed, still wears his hat in almost every assembly whether public or private ; and, in despite of every change of weather, the Frenchman of the Cape will still carry his umbrella ; but the Dutchman of the Cape is still another creature from his countryman of the Hague, and the Frenchman is here some degrees less frivolous.

The general character of the people, at least as it appeared to us, is made up of content, independence, and all those happy qualities which are the never-

failing scions of so fertile a root. Industry is here the certain means of fortune. There is commerce suited to every kind of capital, and a certain and profitable market for all produce and minor manufactures. Hence independence, and hence, (is it not needless to mention a result so inevitable?) cheerfulness, self-esteem, and social affection.

The usual parade of the people is the company's gardens, so called from having been the property of the Dutch East-India company, when in possession of this settlement. They are disposed with great taste, and from the advantage of the soil and climate have a greater collection of Asiatic and tropical plants, and in far greater luxuriance, than can be found in perhaps any other garden in the world. The residence of the governor is within this inclosure, amidst fruit trees and an aromatic

shrubbery, the beauty and fragrance of which is a gratification to more than one sense: in others of the gardens belonging to individuals, of which there are many, the town's-people spend their hours of relaxation. As to their amusements, suffice it to say, that, from their resemblance to our own, I had some difficulty not to imagine myself in England.

Our stay at the Cape had now been near a month, and it was necessary to obey the calls of business, and proceed on our voyage. We accordingly took leave of our friends, and getting out to sea proceeded with a favourable wind towards Botany Bay, the next point of our destination. Nothing occurred during our passage, except that the sailing of our little ship, not exceeding one hundred and twenty tons, surpassed our most sanguine expectations; she was, literally speaking,

half-way under water the whole way, but dived into it like an arrow, and rose to the surface without straining a rope yarn.

It was our intention to pass through the straits which separate Vandiemans Land from New Holland; a channel which, having been some time before discovered by a gentleman of the name of Bass, the surgeon of his majesty's ship the *Reliance*, had been thence called Bass's Straits. We made our first land after leaving the Cape in the latitude of thirty-eight. The wind at this time blowing from the eastward, we stood close towards the shore, and observed several columns of smoke arising from fires rather widely scattered on the main land. From the continuance of the easterly winds it was five days before we could gain our entrance, and for some days more we were compelled to

ply to windward. The wind at length shifting suddenly, and rendering it too difficult to weather the islands to the north, we bore up for Bankes' Straits, and in three days afterwards reached Port Jackson, being the third vessel that had ever attempted this passage.

On our arrival we found that we had a more numerous company than we expected, the following ships being in the harbour; his majesty's ship the Porpoise, the Lady Nelson surveying vessel, and the Royal Admiral from Europe, the Trimmer from Bengal, and Harbinger from the Cape; the three last being, with regard to this port at least, on the same speculation as ourselves. We did not see them with much satisfaction, having every reason to believe that a market, never very extensive, must now be glutted to the full. Our apprehensions were indeed too

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justly founded ; we had moreover the mortification to learn, that the colony was almost wholly exhausted of the grand pursuit of all adventurers—money. They were indeed as poor as possible, but as we found that they had still something, we were not yet wholly discouraged.

It is a precept as good in commerce, as in theoretic philosophy, to make the best of ill fortune, and where we cannot get all that we had hoped, to spare no efforts to get all that we can. If there is seldom any good so perfect as not to have its alloy of ill, so is there as seldom any disappointment so complete as to leave no nook of hope. It is a lesson that I have learned from experience, that if half the time and natural vigour which is usually consumed in lamenting a misfortune, was more wisely employed in seeking a remedy, there are few

disappointments which will not admit of alleviation.

These reflections induced a resolution which other circumstances confirmed. The season for the north-west speculation was advancing rapidly. The captain and myself agreed that, as the only alternative left, under the existing circumstances, I should continue at Port Jackson to dispose of the cargo in the best manner possible, whilst himself should proceed in the vessel upon the north-west speculation.

CHAP. IV.

Stay at Sydney.—Population of that Town.—General Character of the Settlers.—Civil Government.—Barrington.—Parties.—Taxes.

THIS resolution having rendered me a resident *pro tempore*, presented me with a favourable opportunity of giving some attention to the nature and circumstances of this often-mentioned, but little known, settlement. It is true, indeed, that the disposal of my cargo, as my chief business, occupied the greater part of my time; but I had still leisure enough to look around me, and an observation even more superficial would have engraved on my memory

objects of such daily and hourly recurrence.

It struck forcibly on my mind as one of the characteristics of the colony, that it is almost the only settlement in the world in which the residence of Europeans has produced absolutely no change in the manners, or useful knowledge of the natives. The inhabitants of Otaheite, as will be hereafter mentioned, have adopted our fishing hooks, and acknowledging the superiority of our tools, have almost universally laid aside their implements of bone. The Sandwich islanders are in many respects still more advanced in the knowledge and use of European commodities. It is not so with the natives of New Holland; they have gained nothing in civilization since their first discovery. They are still the same savages as in the time of Phillips and their first settlement.

The town of Sydney, the capital of the colony, and the seat of the government, is divided into two parts by a river, which empties itself into a cove named after the town. Sydney Cove has thus a double advantage, that of being well and plentifully provided with excellent water, and, at the same time, possessing an harbour which might contain with ease all the royal navy of Great-Britain. These twofold advantages rendered it much more eligible than Botany Bay, the original destination.

The peculiar circumstances which belonged to the first settlement of this colony, rendered it necessary to have storehouses erected for the reception of provisions, houses for the convicts, and barracks for the military, upon the arrival of the first settlers. These buildings, in different parts of the coun-

try most fit for cultivation formed the outlines of the present towns, of which the chief are Sydney, Paramatta and Hawkesbury. The adjacent country being parcelled out amongst such of the settlers as preferred this means of livelihood, others of a more mechanical and sedentary propensity, collected together in the villages, erecting shops, establishing trades, and becoming factors in the mutual exchange of commodities between the people of the country and the towns. From such beginnings the villages have increased to towns, and Sydney, according to the most accurate calculation I am enabled to make, has now a population of two thousand six hundred inhabitants. They may be classed under the following denominations.

Military and civil establishment 450

Convicts employed by the crown
in the public works, bridges,

batteries, and dock-yards, &c.	400
Taylors, Shoe-makers, Bakers, Butchers, Carpenters, and Masons,	250
Fishermen - - - -	20
People employed in boats, get- ting wood for shipping, bringing grain from the Hawkesbury sealers in Bass's Straits, chiefly employed on the water - - - -	350
Petty traders or pedlars who gain a livelihood by trading - - -	40
Women - - - -	600
Children . - - - -	450

The space occupied by the town is about a mile from one extremity to the other. With the exception of the store-houses and other public buildings, eight out of ten of the houses are only one story in height, and whether built at the first formation of the colony, or immediately afterwards, are for the most part composed of wattle and plaister,

and some few, but few indeed, of brick and stone. The absolute want of lime, or any sufficient substitute, except that made from shells, is an invincible impediment against more substantial architecture.

Sydney, however, is in every respect well situated to become in progress of years a port of very active commerce. It already comprehends upwards of one-third of the whole population of New South Wales. The effect of the climate has been rather over-rated. It is chiefly visible in children born in the country of European parents, but it is not visible so much in any defect, as in a certain characteristic trait of countenance. These children differ nothing in size or stature from the common standard of Europe, but are invariably of one complexion, fair and with white hair. Out of eleven hundred children born in

New South Wales there is scarcely a single exception to this national, as we may call it, distinction. Their eyes are usually black and very brilliant, their disposition quick and volatile, and their loquacity such as might render them a proverb.

The settlers follow as much as possible the customs and manner of life of their native country, and are therefore liable to the same maladies with their countrymen of the same order. Intemperance, encouraged perhaps by the intensity and continuance of labour, so necessary in a new settlement, has many victims, and some have fallen a premature sacrifice to dysenteries, and complaints in the liver, the diseases of all new-settled lands.

Nearly one half of the whole population both men and women are Irish, many of them having been transported hither.

for their seditious practices. It is not too much to be dreaded that the evil of their treason is only removed to another sphere : thus far I will assert, that their transportation has not in any degree changed their principles.

Were an enemy to make their appearance in any force which should promise effect, I am persuaded that this part of the convicts, at least, would join them, and at the hazard of their lives facilitate the attempt, for they almost to a man consider themselves as martyrs suffering in a glorious cause. The French ships that touched there on discovery, and traders from the Mauritius, lead them to expect help from that quarter. There is indeed one security against any attack of this nature, the little value of the settlement to the conquerors. But if New South Wales is nothing in itself, like Malta it may have a relative

importance, which should render its security a matter of political consideration.

Should government continue to send out people of this description to this country, it would be highly necessary that the military establishment should be augmented, for at this time the corps was reduced to the peace establishment. Indeed the internal situation of the colony, and the circumstances of the civil government, require of themselves this augmentation, and unless it is made, the Irish transports, (I speak of what I am fully persuaded) will not hesitate to wrest the reins from the hand of the magistrate, for even in their present state they have evinced symptoms of restiveness. It is nothing to say in answer to this that the arrival of the first two or three ships would recall them to their duty. Their rebel-

lion would have previously had its course, and from characters of such desperate profligacy, and released from all restraint of law, the ruin must be as extended as the colony. Prevention is much more suited to wisdom and humanity than punishment.

The colonial government of this settlement as established by act of parliament, consists of a civil, a criminal, and a vice-admiralty court: the civil court answers to the common pleas and king's bench, and by the patent of the colony is to consist of the judge advocate, and two principal inhabitants chosen by the governor. The court, thus constituted, has authority to grant summons, capiases, and every other form of writ, together with letters of administration under the hand and seal of the judge advocate, and to be executed by the provost marshal. An

appeal, however, lies from this court to the governor, who sits in person on these occasions, and whose judgment, if the subject in dispute be under three hundred pounds, is final: if above that sum, the last judgment remains with the king in council.

The criminal court comprehends all felonies, treasons, and misdemeanors, and by the same patent, consists of the judge advocate, and six officers of his majesty's service by sea and land, who sit also by precept from the governor. An indictment is prepared against the prisoner, and evidence adduced for the prosecution in the same manner as in England, only, that the prisoner must plead in person, as no solicitor or attorney is yet allowed. The court pronounces the guilt or acquittal of the prisoner, and in cases where the exact punishment is not pointed out by the law,

gives a discretionary sentence. The decision is by the majority of the members, but in cases which extend to life and death, unless the court is unanimous, the sentence is delayed and reported to the king in council. Except in this case the sentence of the criminal court is final: the prisoner, however, may still apply to the clemency of the governor, with whom it lies either to put it in execution, or suspend, mitigate, or pardon according to his own discretion.

The vice admiralty court by the patent is to consist of the judge, and twelve sufficient members, planters, merchants, and seafaring persons; but should the circumstances not admit of this number, four and the judge shall be deemed competent. This court has jurisdiction over all felonies, piracies, and misdemeanors committed on the

high seas or harbours, within the limits of the government of New South Wales.

The police of the colony is invested in the magistrates who are appointed by the governor, one or more to each principal district. Under them, in every district, is a head and petty constable, and for the better preservation of order, a certain number of watchmen where the circumstances seem to require it.

The celebrated George Barrington held the office of high constable of Paramatta for many years, and in the faithful and vigorous discharge of his duty acquitted himself much to the satisfaction of the government. At this time, having absolutely lost the use of his intellectual faculties, he had retired on a small pension allowed him for former services ; he was emaciated and apparently in the last stage of hu-

man life, a melancholy instance of abused talents, and the force of remorse, and conscious sensibility, on a mind intended for better things.

Strange as it may appear, the multitude of law suits and litigations in this colony exceed all proportion to its population. There were not less than three hundred *capiases*, summons, and executions, to be brought forward at the next sitting of the civil court, and the fees of office to the provost marshal were said to amount to nearly three hundred pounds. Indeed the lawyers and publicans are the most profitable trades in the colony. One of these kind gentlemen of the quill had the modesty to charge me 4l. 6s. for writing half a sheet of paper, and in answer to my remonstrance, replied that he lost money by me. This fellow was a convict. Another of a different trade,

and a convict, demanded five shillings for some very trifling repairs of a lock, and being told by a colonist at hand that he had never charged him more than half the sum, the fellow replied that the lock belonged to a ship, and that it was his rule of trade to charge a ship double. Many instances of the same kind might be enumerated, but the character of the people may as fully be inferred from these.

In many of the convicts, indeed, so little, as to their moral reformation, is the effect produced by their transportation, and the habits of industry to which the regulations of the colony so wisely compel them, that many of them maintain a regular correspondence with their brothers of iniquity in England, and either continue in the colony or return, according as circumstances promise more or less success to their re-

entrance upon their former system of maurading. Indeed, should curiosity induce any one to visit New South Wales, I must recommend them to remember that they are in a country of convicts.

During the whole time I was in the colony, which was between five and six months, parties ran very high between the governor and the military officers, some of whom were sent home to England to stand their trial.

The colony at this time was suffering much both from the want of animal food, and all other sort of provisions. The Porpoise was dispatched to Otaheite for pork, and in the interim of its departure and arrival some Americans on the way to China touched at Port Jackson, and having on board an adventure of beef and flour sold it with great advantage to the government.

I heard it asserted by some of the best informed of the gentlemen of the colony, that this dearth is in some degree to be imputed to the false economy of the government ; the price of animal food, as fixed by the order of the governor, bearing no proportion to that of labour. The colony under another regulation in this affair, the price of sixpence for pork, for example, being advanced to eightpence, would be fully equal to its own consumption, as there is no local difficulty, or physical impediment, to the rearing a good and numerous stock.

Taxes and imposts are introducing themselves very fast into this colony. The greater part are imposed by the authority of the governor, and some by the general consent of the principal inhabitants. They are chiefly as follows.

	£.	s.	d.
Permission for shipping to enter the harbour -	0	15	0
Ditto to trade - - - -	0	10	0
Ditto to wood - - - -	0	10	0
Ditto to water - - - -	0	10	0
Clearance certificate - -	0	5	0
Pilotage - - - - -	7	0	0
Every package landed from a vessel - - -	0	0	6
Colonial boats, &c. for coasting trade - - -	0	5	0

These imposts are levied by the naval officer who is allowed 10 per cent. for collection. The whole amount of these imposts, expence of collection deducted, is applied to the benefit of the orphan-establishment of the colony, to which purpose is likewise applied the proceeds of all fines, and seizures, and a duty of 5l. on every victualler, or dealer in spirits, amounting to about

20 in number, for their several licences. Besides these imposts is one of one shilling per gallon on all spirits, and sixpence on every gallon of wine imported, the amount of both of which imposts is applied to the public works, the building of gaols, and making and repairing the high roads.

CHAP. V.

General Character of the Natives of New South Wales.—Singular Talents of Mimicry.—Personal Qualities and Means of Subsistence.—Punishment of a Criminal.—Bennelong, a New Hollander Chief.—Singular Customs.—Families.—Marriages.—Curadgies.

If such be the general character of the convicts, and in part of the settlers, that of the natives is equally unpromising, and if the settlement of New South Wales be ever fated to attain distinction as a civilized country, it must be by means very different from those of the civilization of the natives, or the example set them by our countrymen, the convicts.

These aboriginal inhabitants of this distant region are indeed beyond comparison the most barbarous on the surface of the globe. The residence of Europeans has here been wholly ineffectual, the natives are still in the same state as at our first settlement. Every day are men and women to be seen in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. In vain have the more humane of the officers of the colony endeavoured to improve their condition : they still persist in the enjoyment of their ease and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice upon this subject.

Is this to be imputed to a greater portion of natural stupidity than usually falls to the lot even of savages ? By no means : if an accurate observation, and a quick perception of the ridiculous,

be admitted as a proof of natural talents, the natives of New South Wales are by no means deficient. Their mimicking of the oddities, dress, walk, gait, and looks, of all the Europeans whom they have seen from the time of governor Phillips downwards, is so exact, as to be a kind of historic register of their several actions and characters. Governor Phillips and Colonel Gross they imitate to the life. And to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, officers in the corps, or even of the convicts, any cast of the eye or hobble in the gait, any trip, or strut, stammering or thick speaking, they catch it in the moment, and represent it in a manner which renders it impossible not to recognize the original. They are moreover great proficient in the language, and Newgate slang, of the convicts, and in case of

any quarrel are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuse.

But this is the sum total of their acquisitions from European intercourse. In every other respect they appear incapable of any improvement or even change. They are still as unprotected as ever against the inclemencies of weather, and the vicissitudes of plenty and absolute famine, the natural evils of a savage life. In their persons they are meagre to a proverb, their skins are scarified in every part with shells, and their faces besmeared with shell-lime and red gum : their hair is matted with a moss, and what they call, ornamented, with sharks' teeth ; and a piece of wood, like a skewer, is fixed in the cartilages of the nose. In a word, they compose altogether the most loathsome and disgusting tribe on the surface of the globe.

Their principal subsistence is drawn from the sea and rivers, the grand storehouse of nature in all the lands, and islands, of the Pacific and were it not for this plenteous magazine, the natives of these lands must have long ceased to exist. From this cause it is reasonable to infer that the sea-coast is much better inhabited than the interior. When a dead whale is cast on shore, they live sumptuously, flocking to it in great numbers, and seldom leaving it till the bones are well picked. Their substitute for bread is a species of root, something resembling the fern; it is roasted and pounded between two stones, and being thus mixed with fish, &c. constitute the chief part of their food. They have oysters of an extraordinary size, three of them being sufficient for any ordinary man. The rocks are covered with others of a smaller size, and which

may be had for the trouble of carriage, and the labour of knocking them off.

There are some of the natives, indeed, who have reaped some benefit from our settlement amongst them, having been induced by the manifest superiority of these European articles, to adopt our fishing hooks, and other tackle for this purpose. Most of the natives in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney are provided with these implements of their means of subsistence, which they either receive gratis, or purchase by the barter of fish and oysters. There are but rare instances of their settling to any of our employments. Indeed now and then, when the humour takes them they will occasionally assist in hauling the fishing seine or pulling the boats up and down the harbour; but as to agriculture, or any trade, they appear as

incapable of skill and application as the beasts of the fields.

They are by no means deficient in personal courage; in their pitched battles of one part of the country against the other, or one individual against the other, they display the most determined bravery on the occasion. They defend themselves against the spears of their assailants by opposing only a shield of thick bark; previous to their onset they join in a kind of song, and gradually increase their noise till they work themselves up into a frantic fury, their countenances being in the mean time convulsed, and every feature of their face expressive of the fury of their mind. The causes of their quarrels appear to arise from jealousy of their women, and one mode of retaliation is seizing on and ravishing them; the quarrel is at first confined to two indi-

viduals, but afterwards becomes more general. Never was more determined bravery displayed than by these people. Their spears are thrown with such force as to pierce their shields through and through ; but though they must suffer the greatest pain in the extraction of these weapons, such is their patience, or rather their absolute want of feeling, that they bear it unmoved, and never, or very rarely, fly from the field of battle.

Of one instance of flight I was, indeed, myself a spectator ; this was in a man condemned for some crime or other to exemplary punishment. A certain number of his comrades, about fourteen, were selected to inflict it, and arranged themselves around him in the form of a crescent, the poor fellow being allowed to defend himself from their spears with his bark shield in the best manner

he was able. They began, as savages usually do, with throwing their spears in every direction with the greatest impetuosity: The poor fellow parried them off most wonderfully, and had they been ranged in a right line before him, would have escaped most of them, but being ranged around him, he received many a grievous wound, and at last took to his heels flying into the town of Sydney, where he fell down and expired. There is another custom among them, when a person is killed, either by a pitched battle, or by an unlucky blow in a hasty quarrel, that the survivor is obliged to stand on his defence from a certain number of spears to be thrown by the relatives of the deceased. If he survives, the matter ends, but if he should be killed, his antagonist goes through the same ordeal.

The quickness of their eye and ear

is equally singular; they can hear and distinguish objects, which would escape an European. This circumstance renders them very acceptable guides to our sportsmen in the woods, as they never fail to point out the game, before any European can discover it. They are in general most accomplished marksmen; I have seen them bring down a bird not larger than a pigeon at the distance of thirty yards.

They sleep beneath the canopy of heaven for their covering, or under some hut as little sheltered from the rudeness of the wintry blast. In wet weather they retreat to the caverns in the rocks, and remain there, having lighted fires at the mouth, till the tempest is dispelled. They are said to be terribly afraid of visions and apparitions. Their canocs, composed of the bark of trees tied together in small splinters,

are the most miserable that it is possible to conceive; they are usually half-full of water, and nothing but the natural buoyancy of the materials could prevent them a minute from sinking. In this crazy craft a whole family may frequently be seen fishing; a fire of embers is usually in the midst of the vessel, and the fish they catch is thus dressed, or rather half-warmed, in the same instant in which it is caught.

Since the European settlements of the colony, they have, indeed, become bolder in their efforts for subsistence, and the out-settlers not unfrequently suffer much from their depredations. Theft is easier, that is to say, requires less labour and less patience, than fishing; and, if we may judge from their practice, potatoes and Indian corn are more to their taste than their ordinary pittance. There is fortunately one political advan-

tage to the government arising from this scantiness of food amongst the natives, the convicts have thus no temptation to desertion. Some of them have had the folly to try the experiment, but becoming sensible of their error by its fatal effects, have almost immediately returned, and surrendered themselves to their former slavery. If through terror of the punishment of their desertion some few have delayed to return, they have invariably either perished with hunger, or been murdered by the natives.

Upon the first settlement of the colony, all intercourse was much impeded by their jealousy of their new visitors. It was not without many friendly advances, and some artifice, that the governor could in any degree appease them, or induce them to venture among the settlers. One of their chiefs, Benne-

long, a warrior of great repute, it is said, was caught by a very singular expedient: having taken a liking to a sailor's jacket, it was offered to him without hesitation, and a sailor ordered to assist him in putting it on; the fellow obeyed, and by putting the back of the jacket in front, contrived to hamper the arms, and thus effectually secure the sturdy savage.

It is one thing however to catch, and another to civilize, a native of New South Wales. In vain did the governor lavish on him every attention, and every friendly office, clothing and feasting him daily; all his care was thrown away, for he made several attempts to regain his liberty but without effect. This man accompanied the governor to England, and was there exhibited as a specimen of the natives of New Holland, and treated with that favour and distinction which the good-humour, perhaps the folly, of

the fashionable world, lavish indiscriminately upon every novelty.

I heard another ridiculous anecdote, but the truth of which I will not too absolutely assert, though the ignorance of the natives renders it not incredible. Some fish belonging to the sailors of a ship in the harbour being boiling in a camp-kettle over the fire on shore, some of the natives observed them with a look of desire, and watching their opportunity, slyly put in their hands to take one out, and being thus as it were caught in a trap, betook themselves to flight, with looks of equal terror and astonishment, and roaring like so many wounded bulls. I can the more readily believe this, as I know from my own experience that except in their minickry they can scarcely connect two ideas together.

Whilst Bennelong, the Botany Bay chief, was in England, he was presented

to many of the principal nobility and first families of the kingdom, and received from many of them presents of clothes and other articles, which a savage of any other country would have deemed almost inestimable. It was not so, however, with Bennelong; he was no sooner re-landed in his own country, than he forgot, or at least laid aside, all the ornaments and improvements he had reaped from his travels, and returned as if with increased relish, to all his former loathsome and savage habits. His clothes were thrown away as burthensome restraints on the freedom of his limbs, and he became again as compleat a New Hollander, as if he had never left his native wilds. Indeed the same observation holds good with respect to the rest of his countrymen, for although they are continually craving for clothes, it is but seldom, very seldom, they appear in them a second time.

It must not indeed be denied, that Bennelong is somewhat advanced beyond his countrymen in European acquisitions, for he can occasionally converse with ease and even interest. The names of Lady Sydney, and Lady Jane Dundas, are often in his mouth, and he appears justly grateful for the favours received from these his fair patronesses. It is not displeasing to listen to his relations of the wonders seen by him during his abode in England. One incident in particular he relates with all the satisfaction of a favourite story: that of being at the house of a very respectable gentleman, and surrounded with numberless visitors of curiosity, an old gentleman, unmoved amidst the general eagerness, took no further notice of him than bestowing on him a single glance; and then helped himself bountifully to a pinch of snuff, and requested the company to pass the bottle,

which for some time had been quite neglected. This apathy, and inflexible gravity, seems to have made more impression on the mind of Bennelong than all the wonders and glitters of dress that he had seen that evening ; and from the pleasure he takes in relating this incident, he no doubt considers the old gentleman as one of the wisest men in the company, or perhaps in England.

The curiosity always attached to the character of a new people, will be admitted as an excuse for the introduction of Bennelong ; as this chief, as I have before mentioned, is his countrymen in epitome. He is so addicted to drinking that he would scarcely ever be sober could he obtain spirits, and whenever he is intoxicated is intolerably mischievous. On the return of his sobriety he repents, but his repentance has scarcely procured his forgiveness, before

the repetition of his offence again exhausts all patience. He is in truth a savage beyond all hopes of amelioration by any possible mode of culture, and was at the time of our sailing *sent to Coventry* as incorrigibly incurable.

A gentleman of great humanity made the trial of cultivating a young native boy and girl, beginning with them from their infancy, justly thinking that this early commencement gave the best promise of success.

They were accordingly strictly and anxiously attended, and supplied with food, clothes, and every thing either necessary to their comfort, or to the forming them to European habits; no sooner, however, upon their advanced age, were they restored to their free choice, and liberty of action, than throwing aside all their European improvements, and rejecting with disdain

all the habits of civilized life, they returned to their countrymen, and preferred even the famine of a savage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of a civil society. Numberless are the other examples of the same kind; indeed so many, as almost to induce a conclusion that a New Hollander is physically incapable of civilization. Their wild and roving nature will not admit them to settle to anything, or any place; a life of hunting and fishing, changing their place according to their caprice, or the dearth or plenty of their food, can only gratify their inordinate love of variety.

The very same unsocial propensity, unfortunate as it impedes their progress to civilization, exists amongst all the natives of the South Seas; whether being rooted by long and early habit, or that it is considered as a point of honour, and a proof of courage, not to desert

their natural soil. But, different even from the most savage people of these seas, the natives of New South Wales appear to want the smallest portion of natural modesty ; clothes are almost daily given to some or other of them, yet may they be daily seen naked in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta. To me, indeed, they appeared altogether the most stupid and insensible race of men I had ever seen.

They are wholly without any form of government, or any family, or individual, whom they acknowledge as their king, or chief. If there exists any superiority, it is that of personal strength or courage, and the only distinction they procure their possessor, is that of being more frequently summoned to assist in avenging the real or fancied injuries of his friends and neighbours. Their only divisions, as a people, are

into families which frequent or inhabit particular places, and are thus distinguished by the names of those places; thus the families living at Botany Bay are collectively called Widgal, those at Rose Bay, Cardagal, at Broken Bay, Camera Gal, and near Paramatta, Wan Gale. Colbe, one of their most reputed warriors, was a Wae-Gal, and Benne-long, a Wan-Gal.

They sometimes marry into other families, but seem to consider this union as unlawful between relations nearer than first cousins. They observe no particular ceremony in their marriages, though their mode of courtship is not without its singularity. When a young man sees a female to his fancy, he informs her she must accompany him home; the lady refuses, he not only enforces compliance with threats but blows:

thus the gallant, according to the custom, never fails to gain the victory, and bears off the willing, though struggling, pugilist. The colonists for some time entertained the idea that the women were compelled, and forced away against their inclinations; but the young ladies informed them, that this mode of gallantry was the custom, and perfectly to their taste.

The women appear to attach themselves faithfully to their husbands thus chosen: they are exceeding jealous of them, and it must be confessed not without just cause. From this source indeed flow the greater part of their quarrels; which usually commence with two or three individuals, and thence extend themselves to families, and the neighbouring tribes. In these instances, as before observed, their battles are furious beyond description, and seldom

terminate but in the death of many of the combatants ; they cast and ward off their spears with uncommon dexterity, and when in close quarter wield their massy clubs with the most determined courage. As they possess no other property, the women are at once the cause of the war, and the spoil of the victory. The injury to the women, however, usually terminates in a violence on their persons, which by a female native of Botany Bay, is not perhaps considered as a very serious evil.

Parturition seems here excepted from the general curse : the women on these occasions are seldom attended by any but their husbands, who assist her with a little water, and when nature has brought forth the child into the world, an office she performs with little difficulty, or suffering to the patient, in a few hours

after their delivery they return to the performance of their domestic duties. The child is laid in a basket on a bed composed of the bark of the tea-tree, and nursed with an anxious affection, very creditable to these savages. From their hard and scanty manner of living it is computed that little more than one out of four even arrive to the age of three years, a circumstance which accounts for the thinness of the population. The infant no sooner begins to use his limbs than he is instructed in throwing the spear; a bulrush, or other reed, being put into his hand for this purpose. Whilst the female child is in its infancy, they deprive it of the two first joints of the little finger of the right hand; the operation being effected by obstructing the circulation by means of a tight ligature: the dismembered part is thrown into the sea, that the child may be hereafter fortu-

nate in fishing. They have also a custom of extracting from the male children about the age of puberty one of their front teeth : this operation is performed very simply by their curradgies or wise-men, by knocking it out with a stone. This ceremony takes place every third or fourth year ; the youths of several adjacent districts assemble with their friends, and have a feast and dance upon the occasion. It is considered a good promise of the boy's, courage to exhibit an unshaken fortitude on this trial, and being their initiation in manhood, they are from this period allowed to fight their enemies and hunt the kangaroo. I have seen a dozen of them inflicting a supposed punishment upon one of their number ; the little fellows were equally as ambitious as the bravest warriors in the country could be to exhibit their heroism ; and the party punished defended himself

with the most determined courage, returning the spear of his assailants with double interest, for he was generally a picked hand.

But notwithstanding their natural courage, they stand in great awe of our fire-arms, a circumstance of very considerable consequence to the out settlers, as it checks the inroads they might otherwise be disposed to make, and which in a country like Botany Bay, and detached as these settlers are, it would be no easy matter to repel.

The curradgies are very old men, and in high esteem amongst this people: they cure their diseases, give their advice in matters of consequence, and are resorted to as umpires in their quarrels. They pretend to have the gift of prescience, and to hold communication with the spirits of their deceased friends. Some families pretend to

the inheritance of this gift of prophecy, but they gain no credit till advanced in years. If it is necessary in England that a witch should be an old woman, it is as necessary in Botany Bay that a curradgie should be an old man.

CHAP. VI.

Departure from Port Jackson.—Norfolk Island.—Beauty and Fertility of the Country.—The Governor's Encouragement of Industry.—Prices of Provisions.

THE markets continuing to become daily more and more glutted by fresh arrivals from all quarters, and amongst other unlucky circumstances an investment of government, to the amount of eleven or twelve thousand pounds, selling off at 25 per cent. upon the prime cost, rendered every thing completely at a stand, for if sales were dull before, they were now altogether stagnant. There was absolutely no money in circulation, as government received grain

in payment for the goods issued from their investment.

In these circumstances, and having before sent a small adventure to Norfolk island, and thence learning that there was some money in that settlement, I resolved to give it a trial in person, and collect the proceeds of my former adventure.

Here I was politely and hospitably received, but found that the government had again anticipated me, having already sent a part of their large investment for the use of this island, and disposing of it at the same under-rate of 25 per cent. upon the prime cost.

Upon my first arrival here, I was much delighted with the luxuriant appearance of this little spot, the whole face of the country being clothed with a deep green verdure, presenting a scene of the most exuberant fertility.

The circumference of the island is little more than fifteen miles, and considering this narrow extent it is equal to any country I have ever visited. I might venture even to add, that there are few, very few, which will bear any comparison with it. To speak without any exaggeration, the greater part of the country is but one uninterrupted hotbed; for with the sole exception of the edges of the mountains which overhang the sea, it would be difficult to find any one spot less fertile than another.

This island was colonized by governor Phillips, shortly after that of Port Jackson; the number committed to his charge being greater than he could easily support, he divided the refractory body into two parts, and sent the smaller and more profligate division to Norfolk island. It has henceforth been adopted as the ordinary practice, that the more

abandoned of the convicts, and such as have fallen under the sentence of the law a second time, should be transported to this island, a punishment which the narrow compass of the island renders much dreaded. This, however, is the only circumstance which could render it so, for as regarded in every other point of view, beauty of the country and fertility of the soil, it is infinitely superior to Port Jackson.

One very powerful circumstance which rendered this settlement a favourite with governor Phillips, is said to have been the general belief that the flax plant was a native of Norfolk island; an advantage which would have been inestimable had experience verified the report. In the point of climate the situation of this island is delightful and salubrious; the latitude is 29 degrees, and therefore the general state of the weather is seldom

in extremes, neither intolerably hot, nor excessively cold. Without the aid of any manure the soil yields two harvests in the same year : the first is of wheat, which being sown in April, or the beginning of May, is usually reaped in October ; the ground is then again turned up afresh and planted with maize, which is ready for pulling against the next wheat seed-time. I was moreover informed, that many of the farmers have practised this course of crops for a long series of years, and without having experienced any diminution in the productive powers of the land. Indeed so inexhaustible, even by the united efforts of avarice and ignorance, is this fertility, that the greatest labour of the farmer is to suppress the weeds, the luxuriance of which is a most fatal foe to these Sicilian harvests.

It would be an injustice not to ob-

serve that the industry of these people in general is very far superior to that of the settlers of Port Jackson, a circumstance which may perhaps be imputed to the greater fertility of the soil, as the success of his labours has invariably been found a very powerful impulse to the husbandman. There is only one circumstance which effectually impedes the prosperity of these settlers, their propensity to intoxication, which amongst them is not the intoxication of an hour or a day, but is continued sometimes for a week together. Were it not for this imprudence, many of them might have long ere this been in a situation of comfort and independance. But such foresight does not fall to their lot, and accordingly with all the fertility of their soil, and their double harvests, the greater part of them are in a state of poverty, and a poverty which no

one can pity, as the consequence only of their folly and vice. This remark indeed is not so general as not to admit of exceptions, for there are examples of the contrary, but they are so few as only to confirm the rule.

Indeed, the most constant and arduous labour is necessary to the successful culture of the land, for if remitted but for a very short time, it is a subject of reasonable wonder to see the luxuriance of the weeds which menace to choak the harvest. During my residence amongst them, the governor exhibited in his own person a noble example of industry, and unceasing attention to the improvement of agriculture. And further to encourage industry, it was his policy to cause it to be considered as the sole means of favour; and the rewards of government (and even in this country government has its rewards,

and power its influence) were distributed only amongst those, whose farms exhibited proofs of their industry, as those on the other hand were neglected and received with frowns, whose domains were those of Solomon's sluggard.

During the greater part of this gentleman's administration, he has been assiduously employed in bringing into cultivation for the purposes of government, extensive tracts of unoccupied land; as likewise in fencing in some low valleys, which by means of streams running through them have a most superior herbage. These valleys are used as a kind of open folds for the hogs of the settlement. Being allowed a daily portion of maize, these animals fatten in a very short time, and the governor of Norfolk island has thus been enabled to supply Port Jackson

with animal food, at a time when they were very much put to it for that article.

The ordinary price of pork in this island is 6d. per pound dead, or 4d. alive, but if the payment is made in spirits, it may be obtained for half that sum; for government very wisely having prohibited any distillation, the settlers will purchase spirits at almost any price. Wheat is eight shillings per bushel, maize four, Indian meal, five shillings, potatoes about six shillings and sixpence, onions from eight to ten shillings per hundred weight, a fowl eighteen pence, and a goose from five to six shillings. The quantity of land hitherto granted by the crown to a settler is nearly as follows: twenty-five acres to a convict whose time is expired and allowed to settle, thirty to a private soldier, and fifty to a non-commissioned officer.

These grants, however, are not made indiscriminately: they are given only to such as have recommended themselves by the sobriety and decorum of their general deportment, and are seldom obtained without the interest and recommendation of the superintending officers. Amongst the most respectable of these settlers, are some part of the crew of the *Sirius*, who, being shipwrecked on the island, and thence learning its fertility, preferred becoming settlers, to returning to their native country and former occupations. Several marines who went out upon the first establishment had the same indulgence: the remainder are those of the more industrious and better behaved convicts.

The aloe grows in great quantities spontaneously in many parts of the island, and many of the smaller plantations are fenced round with sugar-canes. It is

indeed the policy of the government to encourage the cultivation of this plant, and it is accordingly encouraged by bounties, and the favour of the officers. A cow, equivalent in this part of the world to thirty pounds, is promised to the first settler who shall produce five hundred pounds of sugar from the native cane. The island moreover produces an article which we have before mentioned as much wanted at Port Jackson, limestone of a most excellent quality. The vessels from Port Jackson not unfrequently return thither with this as their ballast.

The island produces many species of trees, but the pine is the most abundant. Some of this species are of an unusual magnitude, and were their quality correspondent to their growth, they might be very valuable for our naval purposes. But the pine of the South Seas, and

indeed of all the warmer climates, is of a very different nature to those of Europe; the pine of Norfolk Island is brittle, and therefore only fit for the purposes of building of household furniture, and other uses to which it is applied by the settlers.

The sea here, as in every other island of these seas, contributes much to the comfort of the inhabitants, for when the tranquillity of the weather permits the boats to venture beyond the reefs, their labour seldom fails to be rewarded by a most plentiful draught of fish. The soldiers when not on duty frequently employ themselves in this way: the fish are in no place more plentiful than around the coast of this island.

Many of the whalers being at this time simply in want of refreshments, very justly preferred this island to Port Jackson, as the supply was not only more

plentiful and cheap, but unincumbered with those formalities and delays so inconvenient to traders ; indeed some of the commanders being previously informed of this circumstance, waved all intercourse with Port Jackson. The Americans by some means have come to the knowledge of this and have passed Port Jackson, preferring refreshing at this island.

It was from the captain of a ship of that nation who happened to touch here, that we first learned that peace had been concluded between France and England, and in the same moment were informed of the glorious achievements of the British army in Egypt under the immortal Abercrombie, and his illustrious associates ; which in this little spot, the remotest of the British dominions, was received with the most enthusiastic raptures : to convince us that this

was no vague report, the captain produced a letter signed by admiral sir Roger Curtis, addressed to all commanders in his majesty's service, apprizing them of the circumstance.

CHAP. VII.

*Failure of the North West Speculation.—
New Resolution adopted in Consequence.—
Military Establishment of Norfolk Is-
land.—Population.—Phillip and Ne-
pean Islands.—Inconveniences of Norfolk
Island.—Blight.—Difficulty of Access.—
Intention of abandoning it.—Singular
Instance of a Fugitive.—Departure from
Norfolk Island.*

THE pleasing intelligence mentioned in the conclusion of the last chapter, was followed by news of a very different nature, and which much more immediately concerned me. Two days afterwards I received a very unexpected letter

from my companion, the captain of our vessel, that the north-west speculation had wholly failed, and had in consequence returned to Port Jackson; that under these circumstances he had come to a resolution to try Bass's Straits, and endeavour there to make up a cargo of skins, as our licence from the East-India company compelled us to visit China.

To expedite this business, the captain added that he had engaged ten supernumerary hands, whom he should land on King's Island in those straits; together with an officer well versed in the sealing business, whilst the ship should proceed to the Society Islands, being in want of provisions, as none could be purchased at Port Jackson at any price. It was now therefore necessary for me to prepare for my departure from Norfolk Island, after a residence of ten

months, a period which I did not pass very unpleasantly, all circumstances considered. If my account of this island is less full than the curiosity of a reader may wish; let it be remembered, that almost the whole of my time was occupied in business of a more immediate concern than minute enquiries upon this subject: I collected however as much knowledge as my intercourse with every respectable member of the colony enabled me to do, and if I have said little of its natural history, the strata of its soil, and new species of plants, I have only to plead in my excuse, that I visited it as a trader, and not as a natural philosopher; besides, as the vessels returning to Port Jackson had brought things to a point, it was necessary to attend to matters of greater moment.

The military establishment whilst I resided in the island consisted of a

governor, with the local rank of lieutenant colonel, and a sufficient number of officers to constitute on occasion a court martial. The corps under their command was composed of nearly one hundred men. The military duty is very easy, being nothing more than occasionally to assist the police, by whose activity alone almost every thing is here conducted. Considering the characters they have to deal with, two out of three being the most profligate and abandoned of men, their vigilance and decision can never be too much praised, as were they to remit their efforts, there would soon be an end of the government of the colony.

The number of inhabitants in this island has been variously stated, but by what appeared to me from a similar calculation to what I had made at Port Jackson, I am inclined to fix the popu-

lation at about one thousand. This number, however, includes the whole, men, women, and children; whether convicts, free settlers, or of the civil and military establishments.

Adjacent to Norfolk Island are two smaller islands, known by the name of Phillip and Nepean Islands, the former about half the size of Norfolk Island, and situated about six or seven miles to the south of it, wholly uncultivated, but abundant in herbage: that it might be rendered as useful as possible to the government, several hogs were turned loose, in the expectation that, in the process of time, they would multiply so as to form a convenient stock. It does not however appear that the event of this first experiment justified this expectation. The public spirit of the governor was as yet unexhausted, whilst I was resident in Norfolk Island; for with

the view of supplying Port Jackson, the demand of which is great, he was introducing a fresh stock of breeding sows, together with stock-keepers to attend the young, and Indian corn to bring them forward more speedily.

There was, however, one very serious impediment to this speculation of deriving any advantage from these islands. The passage from the one to the other, and from Norfolk Island to both of them, is attended with such constant danger, and insufferable difficulty through the greater part of the year, that it has proved the grave to many. During my stay, short as it was, the surgeon of the island was drowned in his return from a visit to a ship in the bay, another officer at the same time was dragged almost lifeless to the shore, the boat dashed to pieces, and the greater part of the crew dreadfully maimed.

Crossing the passage with a cargo of hogs, another boat was swallowed up, and with the exception of one man, the whole crew, to the number of eight, lost.

Nepean Island has evidently at some period of time been connected with Norfolk Island, from which it is at present scarcely a quarter of a mile distant. From every appearance I was led to conclude that it had been torn asunder by some violent convulsion of nature; a circumstance which, if any credit be due to natural historians, has produced many islands, both in the European and more remote seas. Hither are sent those of the convicts, whose more abandoned profligacy might otherwise corrupt their less vicious brethren, and are here employed in boiling salt; being occasionally only visited by the boats.

The communication between the islands, as I have before mentioned, is at all times difficult; but when the weather sets in bad, it becomes wholly impracticable, and was it not that the town of Sydney is guarded by a reef, a natural barrier of invincible strength, the whole town and the low ground on which it is built would long ere this have been irrecoverably inundated. The surf on the reef not unfrequently raises itself considerably above the tops of the houses, but being opposed in its further advance by this natural bulwark, the inhabitants behold its fury without terror.

This combination of unpleasant circumstances attending the intercourse of the islands, induced the governor to withdraw as many of the hogs as he could retake, and wholly abandon Philip Island.

The reader will collect from the foregoing circumstances, that with all its advantages, Norfolk Island has inconveniences which must detract infinitely from its value. In the first place, since the country has been cleared, or in other words exposed, a strong wind from the eastward frequently brings a blight, the effect of which is not unfrequently the general destruction of the harvest. And what must ever oppose its progress to any importance as a remote colony, is the circumstance of its being so difficult of access; being almost wholly surrounded by a reef, and barricaded as it were against all approach by a heavy mountainous sea. From this concurrence of bad weather, and a very bad shore, his majesty's ship *Sirius* was here lost. It has indeed not unfrequently happened that ships from Port Jackson have been beating off and on, unable to

advance, and unwilling to return, upwards of a month, and still as distant as ever from all possibility of communication with the shore. It was this circumstance of its difficulty of access, that occasioned the observation of a French navigator, who said that it was only fit to be inhabited by angels and eagles.

The want of an harbour, or roadstead for shipping, is much against it, as the bottom is covered with pointed fragments of sharp coral rock, which renders anchorage impracticable. The public spirit of the government has not overlooked this unfortunate defect, but all attempts have been hitherto in vain to apply a remedy. They have hitherto directed their efforts to the removal of a part of the reef intervening between the sea and a bay on the other side, capable of receiving vessels of one

hundred tons; but though they have attempted this project with unremitting earnestness, and expected to effect it by blowing it up, it has hitherto failed.

So invincible, and of such essential importance, is this obstacle considered, that in the failure of all attempts to remedy it, the colonists expect to be called upon to abandon the island, and remove themselves either to New Zealand, or some part of the main land of New Holland.

The captain having now landed his men in Bass's Straits, according to the resolution before mentioned, and being on his way to the Society Islands, called for meat Norfolk Island. I obeyed his summons, and I again joined the *Margaret*.

I cannot, however, take my leave of Norfolk Island, without relating a singular instance of solitude, which happened in that island about eight years

One of the prisoners belonging to the out-gangs, being sent into camp on Saturday, to draw the weekly allowance of provision for his mess, fell unfortunately into the company of a party of convicts, who were playing cards for their allowance, a thing very frequent amongst them. With as little resolution as his superiors in similar situations, after being a while a looker-on, he at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take a hand; and in the event, lost not only his own portion, but that of the whole mess. Being a man of a timid nature, his misfortune overcame his reason, and conceiving his situation amongst his messmates insupportable, he formed and executed the extravagant resolution of absconding into the glens.

Every possible enquiry was now made after him; it was known that he had drawn the allowance of his mess, and

almost in the same moment discovered that he had lost it at play ; search upon search however was made to no purpose. However, as it was impossible that he could subsist without occasionally marauding, it was believed that he must shortly be taken in his predatory excursions. These expectations, however, were in vain, for the fellow managed his business with such dexterity, keeping closely within his retreat during the day, and marauding for his subsistence only by night, that in despite of the narrow compass of the island, he eluded all search. His nocturnal depre-dations were solely confined to the supply of his necessities ; Indian corn, potatoes, pumkins, and melons. He seldom visited the same place a second time ; but shifting from place to place, always contrived to make his escape before the theft was scarcely discovered,

or the depredator suspected. In vain was a reward offered for his apprehension, and year after year every possible search instituted ; at times it was considered that he was dead, till the revival of the old trade proved that the dexterous and invisible thief still existed.

In the pursuit of him, his pursuers have often been so near him, that he has not unfrequently heard their wishes that they might be so fortunate as to fall in with him. The reward being promised in spirits, a temptation to which many would have sacrificed their brother, excited almost the whole island to join in the pursuit ; and even those whose respectability set them above any pecuniary compensation, were animated with a desire of hunting in so extraordinary a chase. These circumstances concurred to aggravate the terror of the unhappy

fugitive, as from his repeated depredations he indulged no hope of pardon.

Nothing of this kind, however, was intended; it was humanely thought that he had already sustained sufficient punishment for his original crime, and that his subsequent depredations, being solely confined to necessary food, were venial, and rendered him a subject rather of pity than of criminal infliction. Of these resolutions, however, he knew nothing, and therefore his terror continued.

Chance, however, at length accomplished what had baffled every fixed design. One morning about break of day, a man going to his labour observed a fellow hastily crossing the road; he was instantly struck with the idea that this must be the man, the object of such general pursuit. Animated with this belief, he exerted his utmost efforts to seize

him, and, after a vigorous opposition on the part of the poor fugitive, finally succeeded in his design. It was to no purpose to assure the affrighted wretch that his life was safe, and that his apprehension was only sought to relieve him from a life more suited to a beast than a human creature.

The news of this apprehension flew through the island, and every one was more curious than another to gain a sight of this phenomenon, who for upwards of five years had so effectually secluded himself from all human society. Upon being brought into the camp, and the presence of the governor, never did condemned malefactor feel more acutely ; he appeared to imagine that the moment of his execution approached, and, trembling in every joint, seemed to turn his eyes in search of the executioner. His person was such as may

well be conceived from his long seclusion from human society; his beard had never been shaved from the moment of his first disappearance; he was clothed in some rags he had picked up by the way in some of his nocturnal peregrinations, and even his own language was at first unutterable and unintelligible by him.

After some previous questions, as to what had induced him to form such a resolution, and by what means he had so long subsisted, the governor gave him his pardon, and restored him to society, of which he afterwards became a very useful member.

Upon relating this circumstance to the captain, he informed me of a similar instance which had fallen within his own observation, as he returned from his voyage to the north-west. In order to recruit his stock of fresh water, he had been compelled to stop at one of

those solitary islands, with which the surface of the South Sea is every where studded, and not one half of which, however fertile or beautiful, have any other inhabitants than the usual marine birds.

After the watering was completed, which occupied them two days, the boat was dispatched to another part of the island, abounding in the cocoa-nut and cabbage-tree, articles of which they were equally in want. The party had no sooner landed, than scorning the ordinary method of gathering the fruit, they took the much shorter way of cutting down the trees. They were all in the usual spirits of men who touch at land after the long confinement of a sea voyage; a period of time, perhaps, in which the natural spirits reach their highest degree of elevation.

Their mirth however had not long continued when it was interrupted, and

converted into terror, by a most hideous noise. The whole party were aghast with terror in the expectation that some land or sea monster, to which their horror gave a suitable form and magnitude, should rush amongst them. Some were for leaving the island, and betaking themselves to the boat; whilst others, with stouter courage, recommended silence, till they should listen more attentively.

The sound approached, exclaiming to them in horrid exclamations, and good English as they thought, to desist. The whole party were now panic-struck; they were now persuaded it could be nothing but a supernatural being warning them from his sacred domain, and that instant death, or some horrible punishment, would attend their disobedience. It must be confessed, indeed, that an occurrence like this was too much

for the courage of a party of English sailors, who are no less proverbially cowards in all encounters with spirits, than they are unassailable by any emotion in the presence of an enemy. A council of war was accordingly held upon the spot, and after some *pros* and *cons* it was finally agreed to stand by each other, and not take to their heels before the enemy appeared.

The spectre at length advanced, a savage in appearance; he addressed them in good English, reproaching them for their unprovoked trespass on his premises. The party were at length convinced that their monster was no other than a man; who, according to his own account, and conjectural reckoning, had been left on the island by a ship about four months preceding: the reader will readily conclude he had not received this punishment for his good behaviour.

His beard had never been shaved since the first moment of his landing, and had he racked his invention to add to the horror of his appearance, he could have made no addition. His raiment was all in rags, and his flesh as filthy as a miner who had never appeared above the surface of his mother-earth.

The first enquiry was of course how he came to be left on the island with every probability of perishing; a question to which he could return no very satisfactory answer. The next question was as to his mode of living, to which he replied somewhat more intelligibly, that the principal article of his subsistence was the cocoa-nut, fish, and land and sea crab; that one time he had the good fortune to kill a wild hog, but for want of salt to preserve it, he could make it last but two days.

After some further intercourse, some

of the party accompanied him to what he called his house, which was built in a particular shape, three posts being sunk into the ground, and inclined towards each other, so as to form a complete half of a regular bisected cone. The roof was doubly and trebly matted over with the leaves and smaller branches of the cocoa-nut tree, but the house altogether appeared more like a dog-kennel than a suitable abode for a human being. The household furniture indeed in every respect corresponded with the dwelling, consisting of a something which was perhaps once a trunk; a flock bed as dirty as if in the course of trade it had passed through all the cellars of Rag-fair; an axe, a pocket-knife, a butcher's steel, and four gun flints. In this situation, four hundred miles from any human being, and an almost immeasurable distance from his native

country, this fellow seemed so contented with his condition, that he appeared to have no wish to depart; and the first proposal that he should accompany them to the ship seems to have proceeded from our men.

When the proposal was made to him, he paused for some time, and at length made a demand of wages, which, as expressive of his indifference, would doubtless have justified them in leaving him to his fate. At length, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded, but still seemed to consider the convenience mutual, or rather that we were the party obliged.

They could never procure from him any satisfactory account as to the cause of his being left on the island, but they never entertained any doubt that it was no slight crime which could provoke his captain and his comrades to such an

exemplary punishment. Indeed his subsequent conduct was such as to justify this conjecture ; for instead of any gratitude to his deliverers, he was found to be such a mover of sedition amongst the ship's company, that for the preservation of good order in the ship, it was thought prudent to leave him at Port Jackson.

The captain found the above-mentioned island a place of reasonable refreshment, abundant in cocoa-nuts and cabbage-trees ; a supply inestimable to them at this time, as they now had been upwards of four months without any vegetables whatever. The sea moreover was so abundant in fish, that they caught not only enough for the ship's crew at the time, but salted down a good quantity for a sea stock.

CHAP. VIII.

Arrival at Otaheite.—A Visit from Chiefs and Missionaries.—Welcome. — Reception.—Pomare.—Stay and Occurrences at Otaheite.

LEAVING Norfolk Island with a fair wind, and, its usual attendants among sailors, high spirits, we made the small island of Maitia, situated about a degree to the eastward of Otaheite, the sovereignty of which it acknowledges. At sunset we were visited by three natives in a canoe, who amused us with their songs and dances: these men are considerably above the common standard of Europeans. Their courteous and

ingly artless behaviour impressed with a very favourable opinion of the manners of Maitia. They brought presents of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas; endeavouring to induce us to remain with them till the following morning, by the promise that we should then see others of their country and receive hogs, and every other commodity which their island might produce. They doubtless conceived such allurements as these were desirable, and would induce us to prolong our stay; but upon the approach of night we continued our courses. The natives were doubtless much disappointed as they had expected to draw considerable advantages from a larger intercourse.

The produce of this island may be obtained at a much cheaper rate than the same articles in Otaheite, the natives

of Maitia being contented to receive in barter others of comparatively inferior value. This island is only about four miles in circumference, but the land is high enough to be seen at the distance of fourteen or fifteen leagues. The inhabitants are estimated at about one hundred and twenty.

Continuing our course during the night, with a moderate breeze, the trade-wind of the South Seas, we found ourselves by day-light under the island of Otaheite. The natives, having already discovered our vessel, were assembled in great numbers on the reefs which extend along the shore, viewing the ship as it passed along with the most attentive curiosity; the island exhibiting to us an appearance equally beautiful and picturesque. At half an hour past ten A. M. we came to an anchor in Matavai Bay, where we found his majesty's ship

Porpoise, Lieut. Scot, collecting hogs for the colony at Port Jackson in New Holland. On the beach we perceived the wreck of his majesty's colonial brig, Norfolk, which having been sent hither on a similar business, about eight months before our arrival, had been unfortunately driven on shore, in a violent gale of wind.

As soon as the vessel was anchored, we were visited by the master of the Porpoise, who gave us an account of a very destructive war which for a considerable time had prevailed in the island, said to be excited by the oppressive and tyrannical government of the family of Pomarre. During this conversation some of the missionaries settled in Otaheite came off to congratulate us on our arrival, with captain House, formerly commander of the Norfolk, and a landscape painter, sent hither from Botany.

Bay for the purpose of taking views and making drawings of objects in this island. These gentlemen confirmed the account of the war in the country, adding that the general dearth in consequence of its ravages, would render it impossible for us to procure any considerable supply of pork, which it was supposed was the object of our touching in the island. That it had not been without great difficulty, that enough had been obtained to supply the ship's company of the Porpoise. It must be confessed that, in the very commencement of our enterprize, this information was sufficiently discouraging.

The ship had not been long in this station when the king Otoo, with his consort Tetua, came alongside in separate canoes, both dressed in the Teboota, appropriated for the use of the royal family, and other females of the first

distinction. This part of dress is merely an oblong piece of cloth, having an opening in the middle, to be passed over the head, and hanging down before and behind, but open at the sides, allowing the wearer to move with great freedom. The queen had besides a piece of country cloth wrapped round her waist, and her hair dressed with a sort of bonnet made of the leaves of the cocoa-tree. She appeared to be about twenty-four years of age, with good features, and in size above the ordinary standard of British ladies: she was employed in the humble office of bailing the water out of her canoe. She and Otoo were cousins, and her sister was married to Terenaveroa king of Tieraboo, Otoo's brother; following the patriarchal system in this respect, marrying their nearest relations. This lady at our first interview was somewhat reserved, but upon bet-

ter acquaintance became more familiar. The king appeared in his Teaboota and Marra; this last being a narrow piece of cloth passing between the legs and round the middle with the ends folded inwards, pins being unknown in that part of the world: these two articles constitute a compleat Otaheitan dress. He remained a long time in silent admiration, gazing at every thing he saw, with an air at once stupid and forbidding. The unusual stupidity of his look and manners at this his first interview, was doubtless the effect of an immoderate use of the Ava, a plant which produces an intoxication similar to that of the opium amongst the Turks. In our subsequent conversations we found him to be lively and entertaining, and fond of questioning us on such different subjects as might be supposed to interest a curious, and therefore intelligent, sa-

vage. Such were, In what direction lay Pretanee (their name for England), where Botany Bay, where the country of the Spaniards, where America, and Owhy-hee; which seemed to be the chief foreign countries of which he had any knowledge: Whether in England there were many fine women; many *Tata poo puey* or men of the muskets, and whether muskets and gunpowder were in abundance in our country—the article of religion was not once touched upon, nor any inquiries whatever made relating to it.

From the confined circle of their ideas, it was impossible to give them any conception of the arts, the manufactures, the wealth, or resources and enjoyments, of Europeans: besides, they are fully persuaded that their own is the first country on the face of the globe, although they set so high a value on

many of the tools, instruments, and other useful articles, of Europeans, as not unfrequently to seek them at the hazard of their lives. A variety of circumstances have combined to impress the minds of these people (whose information we must naturally suppose very limited) with an idea that their country is superior to every other: such as the late settlement of the British missionaries in Otahcite, the voyage of captain Bligh thither to procure the bread-fruit tree, and the frequent visits to their country by vessels of different nations.

The king being very desirous to obtain some of our Ava, that is, spirituous liquors, we gratified him with a small quantity in a cocoa-nut shell which was handed down to him in his canoe. On receiving the present he said aloud, *My ty te tata, My ty te pabie*—very good men, very good ship; and with this

compliment in his mouth took his leave of us to pay a similar visit, and with a similar purpose, to the Porpoise. We afterwards learned that his majesty was somewhat too much addicted to the use of such liquors, and that he would go all lengths to procure them. His farther Pomarrie was not yet returned from the expedition against his enemies in another part of the island. It may be necessary here to observe, that by the laws of Otaheite the son, immediately on his birth, succeeds to the dignity of his father, the father from that instant becoming only administrator for his child. Otoo, therefore, was king; and Pomarrie, his father, regent.

We found the report of the missionaries of the dearth prevailing in the island too true, for we had as yet been able to procure no fresh provisions, except a pig sent to us by one of the missionaries.

Although the ship was surrounded with canoes, and our decks covered with natives, secretly encouraged to come on board by our seamen, notwithstanding positive orders to the contrary, there was not one pig brought for sale, and only a very small supply of other island provisions, owing to the war which had occasioned great devastation in the country.

About this time the king's mother Edeah appeared alongside; in a canoe, attended by her favourite, a chief of the island Huaheine, a man of a most savage figure and manners. This lady had been for some years separated from her husband Pomarrie; but had not on this account suffered any diminution of power or respect in the country. These two personages came on board our ship with their characteristic frankness, and were treated by us with all possible at-

attention, having learned from the gentlemen of the mission, that Edeah still enjoyed such influence in the state, that her favour might be essentially useful to us, as we had every thing to fear from her resentment. No pains therefore were spared to gain her good will; she and her favourite chief were conducted to the cabin, and there entertained with grog, tobacco, &c. &c. Several presents were offered her, on which she seemed to set very little value; but expressed great eagerness to possess a *Pu puey* or musket. (What a contrast of character between this lady and our fair countrywomen)! This however we thought most prudent to withhold at present, as we were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with our company, nor with the state of matters on shore. This queen dowager and her paramour however continued to drink, and interchange

tobacco, until it was nearly impossible for them to leave the ship, each seeming equally delighted with their entertainment. The attendant was so well pleased, that on taking leave he urged the writer of this narrative to accept him as a *Tayo*, or intimate friend: a civility however he declined in the way least likely to give umbrage.

Towards the close of the day a number of young females resorted to the ship, dressed in a manner very suitable to their purpose, that of attracting admirers. Their complexion was olive, but with various shades of darkness. Their head-dress consisted of a neat little bonnet made from the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree split into small pieces; some of these were of a green, others yellow or straw-colour. Their hair was ornamented with white flowers resembling our lily, and highly scented

with sandal wood perfume and coconut oil. Their drapery was composed chiefly of two pieces of cloth of the country fabric, one wrapped round the body, and another thrown gracefully over the shoulders and descending to the middle of the leg. Their feet were uncovered, agreeably to the universal custom of all ranks in the country. The colours and quality of their dresses were very various, probably to suit the taste of the wearers; but none of them wore the Tiaboota or Teboota. Many of these ladies rowed their own canoes, managing them with a skill equal to that of the men, who were in general dressed in the Marra and Tiaboota, but of a coarser stuff than those of the great personages we had before seen. Their countenance expressed much good nature and cheerfulness, and their deportment was affable and

courteous. Some of the men wore their straight black hair flowing loose upon their shoulders, others again had it tied in a knot on the top of the head; in this differing from the women, whose hair was generally cut short behind. Their whole appearance was clean and comfortable.

Pomarric, having by this time learned our arrival, hastened to welcome us to his country, doubtless in the hope of receiving his share of presents, as it had been reported that our cargo was of uncommon value. His approach with two canoes, was conducted with many formalities. When he came alongside, he ordered his arrival to be announced in due form, and refused to come on board until we were all in readiness to receive him with due respect. On entering the ship, he presented to me a plantain leaf, the Otaheitan token of peace and friend-

ship, and behaved on the whole with much affability, mingled with a certain feeling of his former dignified rank.

It has been before observed, that according to the singular custom of Otaheite, Pomarre, formerly king, was now only regent, Otoo his son being king; though the regal power, whatever it may be, was exercised by Pomarre. This custom of the son disinheriting the father, is one of the most curious of the fundamental laws of the Otaheitan government. In a country more civilized, a more certain source of civil wars, a divided government, and of every crime which must arise from the opposition of ambition to natural duty, could not have been well contrived; but Otaheite is as yet the country of nature.

We cannot take our leave of this custom, without recommending to some future navigator to examine into the

antiquity, and probable cause, of its origin; as it appears to us, and has before we believe appeared to others, that the very existence of such a singular custom is evidence of a very different state of the Otahcitans to that which they now present. Amongst customs, there are some which are those of nature, and are therefore common under different modes perhaps, but in substance still the same to all. There are others which derive their origin from more complex sources; such is that of which we now speak. Is its source to be sought in their religion, or their history?

We were too well acquainted with the advantages to be derived from the influence and favour of Pomarrie in the country, to neglect gratifying his wishes, as far as prudence and other circumstances allowed us.

The writer was particularly distin-

guished by Pomarrie, who embraced him in the country fashion, that is, by touching noses ; after which, Pomarrie squeezed him gently all over the body, and swaddled him up in a quantity of cloth, so that he could with difficulty move his limbs, being literally musket proof. Pomarrie informed him that this was the practice in his country in making a *Tayo* or *Friend*, at the same time giving his own name to his newly adopted *Tayo*, whose name he took to himself in exchange. When these ceremonies were gone through, Pomarrie began to examine every object around him, often expressing his admiration with loud and energetic expressions of *my ty, my ty* (very good, very good). He requested that we would pay him the compliment of firing a few guns, to shew the natives the respect we entertained for their regent, and late king.

Our compliance with this request drew from him similar demonstrations of his satisfaction, and a proposal that some of his bravest warriors might be permitted to discharge the guns themselves, to shew us that they were not afraid of such formidable instruments of destruction.

Pomarrie was not less than six feet four inches in height, remarkably stout made, and well proportioned. His son Otoo is upwards of six feet two inches high, and equally well made. In the train of followers, was a dwarf only thirty-nine inches high, full grown, and duly proportioned in every respect, his age between three and four and twenty. At this time Pomarrie seemed to labour under a general debility, occasioned by the fatigues of the war, now brought to a termination; for which happy event the English missionaries in the island

had this day celebrated a public thanksgiving; and in the evening one of their number came on board our vessel, to exhort their countrymen on the occasion.

On the day following, we received another visit from the greater part of the royal family, so that it became now necessary to distribute our presents, in order to secure the good understanding already begun. Nothing was so acceptable to them as fire-arms, for they considered every thing else as useless trifles. We accordingly gave to Pomarrie a blunderbuss, with which he seemed to be much delighted; and to his son, the reigning king Otoo, who lay a little way off from the ship, in his canoe, we offered a musket. This distribution was not, however, relished by Otoo: being now a greater man than his father, he insisted on his right to the blunderbuss,

and Pomarrie was compelled to content himself with the musket. All this in conformity to the customs of Otaheite. Matters being thus accommodated between these two chiefs, a fresh difficulty arose in making an acceptable present to the queen dowager Edeah. Whatever was offered to her, cloth, looking-glasses, scissars, even axes, she rejected with disdain, making us understand that she was as capable as any man in the country of making use of fire-arms. We had indeed been informed by the missionaries, that she was not less expert as a warrior than as a politician ; and that her resentment was much more to be dreaded, than that of her late husband Pomarrie. We therefore explained, that the articles we had presented to her, were such as would have been eagerly preferred by our fair countrywomen, and concluded by giving her a musket.

With this she was perfectly satisfied, and left the ship in great good humour: for it must be acknowledged, that if the anger or resentment of this people be easily excited, they are but of short duration. We were truly happy to arrange matters in this amicable way with this Otaheitan Semiramis, who was as tenacious of her privileges as the proudest beauty in Christendom: it was moreover evident, that every member of the royal family, notwithstanding their consanguinity, was governed by separate and personal interests.

Pomarré's visit being what he called one of friendship to his Tayo, he desired to be accommodated with a bed, as well for himself as for a supplementary wife, who attended him in the double capacity of mistress and servant. It was his practice to be fed by this lady, or some other trusty attendant, when in compa-

ny with strangers ; as, according to the customs of Otaheite, he would have disgraced himself by carrying his hand to his mouth. We found however, afterwards, that on shore he was not so scrupulous on this point of etiquette. During the afternoon, that he might see how much I considered myself honoured by becoming his Tayo, I showed him all possible attention, and in person waited on him as his servant. His questions were as numerous, and for the most part as insignificant, as usual ; some them argued a greater strength of mind, and a more warlike propensity. He enquired repeatedly, if any of us were acquainted with the art of making gunpowder ; and as he had learned from the mutineers of the *Bounty*, that it was a composition, and not the farina of a vegetable as supposed by other savages, he demanded its component

parts, and whether they might not be found in the soil of Otaheite :—Was my royal master a larger man than him, had he a comely countenance, was his dress elegant, and sundry other particulars, respecting her majesty, and the ladies of rank in our country ; and whether our armourer could make muskets, and how I liked Otaheite. Such was the curiosity of Pomarrie, and his female attendant, that the whole afternoon was employed in minutely examining every object around them. They were particularly struck with the sight of two American negroes in our ship's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had short woolly hair. The Otaheitans seemed to think the deep colour of the skin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

The Otaheitans, in common with

other savages, are passionately attached to music; every feature of their face, and member of the body, bear testimony to its impression, and are no inconsiderable arguments of their sensibility and social affection. The music of the country is not more perfect than that of the other southern islanders, consisting only of four notes, and these not the most harmonious of the gamut. Their intercourse with Europeans has much improved their natural taste; but they still prefer that of our musical instruments, which most nearly approaches the Otaheitan flute. The Scotch bagpipe animates them to rapture, they are never weary of listening to its dissonance.

It was this music that Pomarré now requested, expressing his wish by the intelligible mimicry of the motion of his elbows, and the breathing of his nostrils. Taptain Toote, (captain Cooke)

as he said, had often entertained them with this instrument.

It was not in our power to gratify Pomarrie ; but one of the blacks struck up a tune on the violin, while the other, a native of Brazil, with a Spaniard on board, performed the fandango. This with songs, reels, and country dances, from others of the ship's company, entertained our guests for the evening, in a way seemingly much to their taste ; and in the morning Pomarrie took a very affectionate leave, and returned to the shore. Some time afterwards he sent us a present of a couple of hogs, with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas, &c. ; and repeated the same civility at different times ; by which, however, in consequence of the returns on our part, he was by no means a loser. Without this sort of intercourse, we should have been sometimes in difficulty for supplies ;

as, though the vessel was surrounded with canoes, but very few hogs were brought off.

As the success of our voyage depended in a great measure on the exertions of our armourer, the first confusion of our arrival and bustle of visiting was no sooner over, and the intrusion of the inhabitants become less frequent, than a forge was set up, and the armourer made to commence his work. Their wants were innumerable, and what with repairing their tools, making new handles to their axes, and new axes to their handles, we should have found occupation enough, though our stay had been protracted to twice its actual length. But our own business required nearly the whole of our time; and though we did not refuse to become their Tayos, we had learned in Europe, as well as our Tayos in Otaheite, that charity begins at home.

It is indeed no easy matter to withstand the smooth insinuating manner of the natives, particularly when it is considered that strangers are so deeply interested in preserving a general good understanding, and that this can be done only by a perpetual round of trifling favours and services. This had been practised by other navigators before our arrival; and once begun, must be continued by all who shall follow them. However well this might suit ships on astronomical pursuits, or voyages of discovery, it by no means corresponded with our more commercial views; we were therefore compelled to adopt some measures to rid ourselves of this incessant interruption. It was accordingly settled, that when the natives should repeat their importunities, they should be regularly referred to the armourer alone. This man had been bred

a blacksmith at Stockton, had afterwards served some campaigns in the army as a farrier, and in other respects was well qualified to treat with the natives. They accordingly assaulted him with all the blandishment, and natural endearment, which to minds of benevolence is the most resistless kind of flattery. It was a matter of astonishment to many of us, that the fellow could maintain his purpose. He had one answer, however, for all; that his fire-gun, as they called his bellows, could do nothing, until certain dues were paid; and these, being rather heavy, ridded him gradually of his customers. It was in vain that they made him their Tayo, enveloping him in cloth, and affecting jealousy at his preference of each other; the fellow was inexorable, and as deaf as his fire-gun. Finding themselves thus disappointed, they now changed their lan-

guage, calling him *ahow tata, ahow tata*, "very bad fellow, very bad fellow," words they had picked up from former English visitors.

With the rest of the ship's company, however, the natives had much more success, as each man had his friend or Tayo, who paid his court so assiduously and insinuatingly, as to leave the poor fellows scarcely a rag to wear. On continuing the voyage, almost the whole of our crew were thus obliged to be completely clothed anew; some of them to content themselves with the cloth of Otaheite. Although the armourer, as it had been concerted, could seldom agree in terms with the natives, I occasionally interceded for them, and by these means retained their favour and good will to the last. Having discovered the grindstone, they laid close siege to it, and were continually employing it to sharpen their tools

and instruments; and would soon have reduced it to a skeleton, the top and sides being continually at work, had not positive orders been given that no person should touch it without special permission. Having by these and similar means introduced something like a regular system into our intercourse with the natives, matters proceeded more smoothly; the principal people sending us off bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, fish, &c. and we making the best return in our power by having them frequently on board to dine with us.

At this time I had the charge of the ship, whilst the captain was employed on shore in superintending the salting of provisions, and other necessary business. It so happened that for one hog procured by him, five were obtained, and at a cheaper rate, on board the ship; the natives being generally the dupes of their

own eagerness for gain, and concluding that they were sure to make the most advantageous bargains when they trafficked with the people in the vessel.

One day we had Edeah and her favourite chief to dine on board ; not that they cared for our food dressed after our own manner, but because they knew that unless they ate with us, they could hope for none of our ava and tobacco, for which they both ardently longed. That we might not appear to be *perre perre*, niggardly and stingy, qualities they very artfully affect to abhor, they were suffered to indulge to their fullest wishes. After a very short interval they renewed their calls for more ; this was set before them, but the division of it had nearly occasioned a very serious quarrel between the lady and her attendant, who started up from table, and with the most savage fury swore in their

country language he would put an end to her existence for having, as he said, taken to herself a little more than her due share.

The effects of the liquor on the two guests were very different ; for while the man became mad and furious, the poor queen dowager appeared silly and childish. She burst into tears and trembled with fear, as her companion grew outrageous and desperate. Just at this time Pomarrie came on board to have some work done at our forge, and hearing the noise below, was touched with compassion for Edeah his former consort ; but unwilling personally to interfere, he beckoned to me to go down and endeavour to arrange matters, without his appearing to know any thing of the business. This was done ; but it was only by a promise of a little more spirits on condition that peace should

be restored, that the fury of the savage could be restrained from breaking out in some desperate act. Poor Edeah however still affirmed that he would take some other opportunity to reproach her for the imaginary offence. The glass again went round to the great satisfaction of our company, and we at length succeeded in getting the lady and her companion out of the ship; for which Pomarrie afterwards repeatedly expressed his gratitude. We were happy to be relieved from this party on another account: in visits of this sort, the ship was literally covered with natives in their train, prying into every corner, eyeing us through the windows and skylight, and frequently intruding into the cabin, with the most troublesome curiosity. Edeah either entirely forgot what passed on this occasion, or perhaps was ashamed of it, as she never after-

wards took the least notice of the business. All the members of this family were indeed extremely eager to obtain spirits; and, with the exception of Pomarrie, all equally outrageous and brutal when intoxicated. Pomarrie had a brother much younger than himself, who was in the habit of treating his wife, even before us, with the utmost contempt; but even on those occasions always refrained from blows. Excepting in these two instances, the women appeared to be treated with as much kindness as in more polished countries; and even those instances were rather occasioned by the excess in drinking, than by the natural dispositions of the people. This man was greatly emaciated by the constant use of the ava or yava root; his understanding seemed also to have suffered from this practice. His skin was covered with scales, his eyes

were sunk in his head, and his general appearance indicated speedy dissolution. This ava or yava is a root of a hot intoxicating quality, which soon benumbs the senses; the preparation of it is extremely offensive; the root is well cleaned, and being split into small pieces, and well masticated by some of the chief's attendants, on whose sobriety dependance can be placed, the liquor is discharged into a wooden dish, and mixed up by the finger with a due proportion of the milk of the cocoa-nut or water, to adapt it to the palate. The compound is next strained through a number of cocoa-nut fibres, and served up in a small bowl of cocoa leaves, holding from a quartern to half a pint. This precious beverage is then considered as a peculiarly delicious treat for the royal family, and the great chiefs of the country. We saw fragments of this

root, which is *carefully cultivated*, and almost the only one that is so, upwards of forty pounds; and, in spite of the nauseating process of its preparation, some of our sailors absolutely drank of the juice with as much eagerness as any native of the island. This luxury however they could only procure in small portions, from those who considered them as very particular friends.

From their extreme desire to procure spirituous liquors, and other intoxicating substances, and the dreadful effects they produce on them, the introduction of liquors by Europeans, or an acquaintance with the art of distilling, would infallibly be the destruction of the country. The importers and distributors of such pernicious articles would, unless protected by a military force, speedily become the victims of their own imprudence, and of the avidity of the inhabi-

tants for obtaining the *ava Britannee*, a general name they employ for all sorts of European spirits. As a proof of this destructive passion it may be here mentioned, that the benevolence of some of their European visitors having planted the vine in Otaheite, and explained in part its future utility if allowed to remain unmolested, the avidity of the natives broke through all restraint, and the grapes were plucked off before they were ripe. Not relishing the fruit equally with their own *ava*, they foolishly imagined that the spirit was in the root, and endeavoured to extract it by a similar mastication. Finding their efforts useless, they revenged their disappointment by treading it under foot.

The effects of their inebriety were really horrible. Otoo the young king was so furious in his fits of inebriety, that I am persuaded he would make no

scruple of killing his subjects, out of mere ferocity. The indisposition contracted by Pomarre during the campaign, appeared daily to encrease, so as to excite in him alarms for his safety. As a last resource he instructed the missionaries to request of us the favour that two guns might be fired from the ship; to appease, as he said, the anger of his God, by whom his illness was doubtless inflicted in punishment of some offence. With this singular request we readily complied, (but doubted very much its efficacy) not only to gratify Pomarre, but to oblige the gentlemen of the mission, lest they should have appeared remiss in their application to, or not be held by us in that estimation which was requisite to impress a favourable notion of them on the minds of the natives. This was not the sole occasion in which the natives took advan-

tage of our regard for the gentleness of the mission, to obtain from us favours which they could not have expected by their own personal applications. Few days passed in which one request or another was not preferred to us through this channel; until at last an intercourse of this sort became equally embarrassing to the missionaries and ourselves. We cannot omit in this place to do justice to the amiable manners, and truly christian deportment of these men, who, like the apostles of old, foregoing all the comforts of civilized life, and a life at least of tranquillity in their native land, have performed a voyage equal to the circumnavigation of the globe, and, like the dove of the ark, carried the christian olive over the world of waters. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy Master, they have

to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind.

During our short stay in this island I laboured assiduously to acquire some acquaintance with the language, and was assisted in my efforts by some natives whom I had taken on board, as our company was by no means strong. These natives were utterly ignorant of the English language, excepting the two words *yes* and *no*, which they so frequently misapplied, that, to carry on our commerce, we were compelled necessarily to exert ourselves to the utmost to gain some knowledge of the dialect of Otaheite. The natives on board, six in number, had heard such flattering accounts of the Sandwich Islands from some visitors from thence, that they were eager to go thither, and accordingly accompanied us on the voyage, a circumstance which furnished me with

continual opportunities of making advances in their language.

It has already been mentioned that a ruinous war had lately prevailed in Otaheite. This, as far as we could learn by the Europeans resident on the island, had been occasioned by the unusual oppression of the several members of the royal family, and particularly by the son of Pomarre, the young king Otoo, who, it was reported, set no bounds to his haughty domineering disposition. His administration has at all times given extreme offence to the inhabitants of the district of Attahooroo, who considered him only as an usurper, and were constantly disposed to resist his measures, and throw off his yoke; their district furnished a certain and secure refuge to the malcontents of the other parts of the country. The Attahoorians had besides a private cause for discontent,

which was, as I was informed, the assassination of their high priest. Being a very superstitious race, and singularly attached to the worship of their divinities, the priests are naturally held in the highest estimation and respect, as intermediate agents between the gods and the worshippers. It is well known that the morais, which serve the double purpose of places of worship and receptacles for the dead, are regarded with the utmost veneration by all the Otaheiteans. Amongst those, the morais of Attahooroo were considered to be in a peculiar manner pre-eminent, and afforded a safe retreat to criminals of all descriptions. In one of these was preserved the grand image of their god *Oro*, a divinity of the first rank. In this morai the great assemblies of state were held, human sacrifices occasionally offered, and other religious and solemn rites performed.

In this holy place, the custom of the country required that the new king Otoo should undergo certain operations, circumcision, &c. previously to his being publicly recognized by the state. Hitherto he could only enjoy some peculiar privileges, such as to walk on certain spots allotted for his use, &c. his installation at Oparree being considered as only partial and preparatory to that to be performed amongst the Attahoorians, one of the most warlike tribes in the island, who constantly refused to acknowledge his authority. Open hostilities and secret intrigues and negotiations had been alike insufficient to procure for Otoo this favourite divinity; and Pomarre and Edeah were equally interested in the success, and grieved with the failure of their attempts, which had encouraged the inhabitants of certain other districts to imitate the resist-

ance of those of Attahooroo. Otoo having repaired to Attahooroo, on a great religious solemnity, thought he saw a favourable opportunity of obtaining the object of his wishes, and quite unexpectedly ordered a number of his attendants to seize the god, which was instantly executed, and the image carried off in triumph. The Attahoorians, however, not inclined to part with the object of their adoration so tamely, were speedily in arms, and overtaking the plunderers, an engagement took place, in which several of Otoo's party fell, and the precious palladium was retaken. In the warfare of savages every thing is usually, indeed almost invariably, decided by the event of a single battle; they have no towns, nor armies in reserve, to check the further progress of the conqueror; they have only to betake themselves to their canoes, and in an

other settlement seek a refuge from their enemies. Their usual caution here deserts them, they venture into the main sea, and are not unfrequently overtaken by winds which drive them to lands which, but for such occurrences, might have remained unpeopled. Such are the second means by which an all-wise Providence works his ends, and nothing is made in vain, the most remote islands being thus inhabited. This remark cannot but be strongly confirmed by the resolution of the party of Otoo upon this defeat, as it was not without the greatest difficulty that they could be persuaded to remain in the island. They believed their affairs wholly ruined, and that no safety remained but in flight. The missionaries, however, at length prevailed, and Pomarrie and Otoo consented not to leave their native country.

The victorious Attahoorians, however, instead of pursuing Pomarre's party, were satisfied with the victory itself, and were content to reap no other fruit than the immediate gratification of the natural passion of savage conquerors, that of revenge. Their cruelties on the persons of all who fell in their way were horrible, and they committed a general ravage in the immediate territories of their enemies; but here they had the wisdom to terminate their career. They knew, that to attack Matavai was to venture against an enemy superior to themselves, an enemy who would no longer remain neutral when provoked to action by self-defence.

The missionaries had indeed converted their dwelling house at that place into a sort of fortress, having procured the guns of the Norfolk, which, as already

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mentioned, had been wrecked on the shore; and their guns being planted on the upper story of the house, and having laid in a large supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other necessaries, they were enabled to withstand a more vigorous siege than that of the Attahoorians. Happily for Pomarre, the crew of the Norfolk, and other European residents in the island, in number about thirty, and all accustomed to the use of fire-arms, espoused his cause in this extremity. On this, indeed, as on former occasions, himself and family were solely indebted to his European allies. With his acquisition of Europeans, he now retaliated the cruelties of the Attahoorians on their persons, and after much time consumed in parleying, a peace was concluded between the hostile parties. However, the Attahoorians kept possession of their idol, the bone of contention,

and still maintained their independence as before.

The Europeans, however, have accused Pomarre of a breach of his engagements, that chief having, like other men in similar circumstances, probably stipulated many things neither in his power nor perhaps in his intention to perform. This peace, or rather truce, for it was no more, being concluded, and being merely the result of necessity, the adherents of Otoo stifled their resentment against the Attahoorians, in the hope of some future opportunity to gratify their revenge, and obtain the object of their desires. Such an opportunity presented itself some months afterwards, as shall in due time be related.

CHAP. IX.

*Leave Otaheite.—Touch at Huabeine.—
Visited by one of our Countrymen who
recommends us to go to Ulitea.—Enter
the Harbour of Huabeine.—Visited by the
Chiefs.—Friendly Reception.—Departure
for Ulitea.*

WE had now been about a month in Otaheite, collecting hogs, but had procured only a small stock in proportion to our wants and expectations; we therefore resolved to leave this island and touch at that of Huaheine, to learn what supplies might be there procured, if on our return from the Sandwich Islands the same scarcity should still prevail in Otaheite. Leaving Otaheite on the

following day we arrived at Huaheine, after a run of nearly 30 leagues to the N. W. While we lay off the mouth of the harbour, we were agreeably surprised at the approach of a large double canoe, as carrying a pendant and red flag. We concluded that the king, the admiral, or some other great chief was on board; but when the canoe came alongside, we discovered that the stranger was no other than one of our former shipmates, a half-witted restless fellow, who had for some time past resided in the island.

Indeed there does not occur a greater difficulty to all European ships in the South Seas than that of keeping their crew together, such is the seduction of that life of indolence, and carelessness, which the several Islands hold out. The beauty of the country, particularly that of Otaheite, and still more the facility

with which the necessaries of life may be procured, are temptations too powerful to sailors exhausted with the fatigue of such a long voyage. Add to this the women, and the difficulty of retaining our seamen against so many attractions will excite no further surprise.

From the dress and appearance of our former shipmate it was difficult to distinguish him from the natives. Our seamen were not sparing in their jests and ridicule; to all this, however, he appeared quite callous, and entirely contented with his situation; for, having no property in the island, he was in no danger of ill treatment from the inhabitants. The fellow had doubtless assumed airs of importance on the sight of our vessel, and had no doubt persuaded the chiefs to dispatch him in this splendid manner, representing that the presents he expected to receive from us

(to be afterwards distributed amongst them) would be proportioned to the rank we should suppose him to enjoy in the country. However, the treatment he received from his old shipmates was not calculated to encrease the respect of the natives in the canoe: we however made him a present of a few trinkets, that he might not return entirely empty-handed. In fact, the seamen had very little to spare, so well had they been stripped by their Tayos at Otaheite.

This man advised us not to stop in this island, but to go on at Ulitea: being so near the harbour however we resolved to look in, as we had no great opinion of the veracity of our informer. We were kindly and courteously received by the chiefs, who exerted themselves cheerfully to procure us a proper supply for all our wants: for which we made

an ample recompence. One of the chiefs wore an old hat, and a counterpane of British manufacture round his body instead of a marra. Another had an old blue coat, with large yellow buttons, tied round him with a piece of country cord. The coat was so small that it did not meet by some inches in front; and the sleeves, by far too tight for him, scarcely covered his elbows. These were two of the most considerable men in the island under the regent; and they had dressed themselves in this manner in the hopes of ingratiating themselves with us. After anchoring, we immediately set up our forge to continue our repairs, and were again overpowered by the visits of the natives, some to avail themselves of it by the repair of their tools, and others from an equally troublesome curiosity, having never before seen such an apparatus.

But the armourer, strictly adhering to the plan followed at Otaheite, of a rigid demand of his dues, soon lost the good opinion of the natives, and we were relieved from their importunities.

We were honoured with a visit from the principal lady in the island, who was so corpulent that it was with much difficulty she could be brought upon the deck. This lady, we were told, exercised the sovereignty in the minority of the young king her grandson, who accompanied her, but, being under age, could not enter the ship. He was dressed in a sort of pelisse of red baize, not worn on every occasion, fitted up for him by our old shipmate Joe, and sowed with white thread little finer than our ship-twine; he had no other mark to distinguish him from any of his subjects, excepting that he seemed to be treated with attention, and carried on men's should-

ers. Two of the king's sisters came off at the same time, but lay at a little distance without coming on board: they were about nine or ten years of age, and the king a year or two younger. The old lady had a number of fine women to attend her, who seemed enraptured with the different articles of British manufacture. We entertained our guest with some tunes on the violin, which seemed to give them unusual pleasure; and when evening came, they took their leave apparently well satisfied, thanking us with much natural politeness for their reception, and wishing us a good voyage, saying in their country language, *Toor Anna Te, Eatooa*, May God preserve you.

On the following day, we were treated by the natives with a grand dance. The performers and their attendants came off in procession, in a large double

canoe having a platform or stage erected across the forepart, on which the dancers and musicians sat. This canoe was accompanied by a great number of small canoes, filled with natives to behold the entertainment prepared for the strangers. The women were dressed in a sort of long bell hooped petticoat of their own cloth, ornamented with a purple border. What answered the purpose of a hoop was a couple of stuffed pads bound round the waist to support and distend the petticoat; round the body was wrapped a large quantity of cloth, fastened with bandages; and opposite to each breast was placed a bunch of black feathers. They wore also a kind of turban adorned with a variety of flowers. A master of the ceremonies presided in the dance, and directed all the movements, which were not always of the most delicate nature. The music

consisted of two drums made from a log of wood hollowed out in a cylindrical shape, and covered at the end with a piece of shark skin, tightly braced down the side. The musicians make no use of drum-sticks, but employ their fingers, and sometimes their hands, so as to be heard at a considerable distance. They beat slowly at first, as a signal to prepare for the dance; and as the music becomes more rapid, the dancers quicken their motions. Flutes also were used on the occasion, having only three holes or stops, one of which is of such a size as to admit of the performer's applying his nostrils to fill it. The dance required very great exertion in the women to keep time to the music by expiring and inspiring their breaths, drawing their mouths in contrary directions, and twirling their arms and fingers with some order and great re-

gularity. Those who excelled in these contortions and gestures were the most applauded. So eager were the performers to gain the approbation of the spectators, and so violent were their exertions, overloaded with clothing and straitened with bandages, that many of them seemed at length ready to sink under the violence of their efforts. The director of the dance exerted himself to encourage them to a further continuance of their labour, which to us appeared a kind of cruelty; and induced us at length to interfere, apparently much to the satisfaction of the performers. Our people were so much pleased with this entertainment, that they applied to me for some articles to bestow on the ladies who had worked so severely for their amusement. Goods of different sorts, to the value of three pounds, were accordingly furnished, and

instantly distributed amongst the actresses; and thus an acquaintance was mutually formed, which in some instances grew into a close intimacy.

During this exhibition, some of the men were amusing themselves by a sport of their own; three of them getting into a vessel formed like a wooden dish made use of at great feasting, their weight sinking it in the water to within an inch of the brim. In this situation they whirled it round and round, by means of their paddles, with incredible velocity, till they fell into the water, when they again renewed the sport, to the no small amusement of the bystanders.

This harbour on the inside is large, spacious, and perfectly safe from all winds. The low land next the water has a most beautiful appearance, abounding with bread-fruit, cocoa, and other

trees. The island of Huaheine, in proportion to its magnitude, appeared far more abundant than Otaheite; though in Huaheine, as in Otaheite, the whole hope and dependance of the islanders seemed to be in the fertility of that narrow slip or border of land, which surrounds the whole island next to the water: this border is common to most of the islands of the South Sea. The island, however, as seen from our ship, had nothing of the beauty of Otaheite; and even its novelty could not cheat us into this opinion.

The language, customs, and manners of the two islands, seemed to be very similar; but the men of Huaheine to us appeared to be generally stouter made, and the women fairer and of better features, than in Otaheite. It was in this island that captain Cook left Omai, who had been carried to England in

1774 by captain Furneaux. It was hoped that his treasures might here be in greater safety than in Otaheite, where the dexterous address of the inhabitants would in a short time have wheedled, if not plundered him, out of every thing he possessed.

CHAP. X.

Arrival at Ulitea.—Visted by the Chiefs.—Pulpit claims our Protection.—Chiefs and Convicts conspire in a Plan to cut off the Ship.—Hostilities.

HAVING made the necessary enquiries as to the chief object of our voyage, and found that it would be but little advanced by any further continuance in Huaheine, we took our leave of the friendly chiefs, and directed our course for Ulitea, a much larger island, about eight leagues to the westward. We found the anchorage here in many places dangerous, being on a bottom of coral rock, against the sharp edges of which the strongest cable is a very insufficient secu-

riety. Navigators will do well to have this distinction, characteristic of the South Sea anchorage, always in their memory.

As soon as the ship had anchored, we were visited by the king attended by some of his chiefs, who all came on board with the greatest frankness ; the king being under no such restraints as Otoo at Otaheite, having gone through all the ceremonies requisite for the complete enjoyment of his dignity. Having been much struck with the commanding appearance of Pomarrie at Otaheite, I had requested him, upon our more intimate acquaintance, to permit me to take the measure of his height, on the pretence of informing my countrymen of the majesty of his figure and deportment: in fact, such was my intention. To this he readily consented ; but our cabin not being sufficiently high to allow

him to stand erect, I placed him under the ship's sky-light, and there made a mark with a knife.

The stature of the king of Ulitea, measured in the same manner, was not inferior to that of his brother sovereign, and he appeared equally flattered with the cause assigned for our curiosity, that of gratifying our countrymen upon our return. But though equalling Pomarrie in stature, he was less corpulent, and altogether he did not appear to us of equal personal dignity. His name was Tomaqua, and that of his queen Teerimonie.

This lady possessed agreeable features, was shrewd and penetrating, and appeared to enjoy great influence over her husband. The royal dame was soon very busy in making Tayos or friends amongst the ship's company; a practice not disdained by those of even the first rank,

when it can promote their interest. This familiarity with all ranks of strangers, they consider to be perfectly compatible with the greatest jealousy of their station, and dignity in their intercourse among themselves.

At Ulitea we were surprised with the appearance of another of our countrymen, a man of the name of Pulpit; he came off with the king, and was accompanied by his wife as he called her, an Otaheitan girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, dressed in a piece of black cloth of British manufacture, wrapped round her body by way of a marra. After some hesitation, this young woman was allowed to come on board with her husband. The poor fellow was no sooner upon our deck than, with a wildness of look and gestures which evinced his sincerity, he uttered an impassioned exclamation of gratitude to heaven,

“ that he had escaped out of the hands of these savage murderers.” In answer to our demand of an explanation, he informed us, that but a very short time before, himself and wife had been compelled to preserve their lives by flight, escaping with difficulty from Huaheine to Ulitea; that he had been landed in this latter island from the brig Venus, and in return for his voluntary service on board that ship, had received such articles as he conceived might be useful to him on the island. Amongst these articles were a musket and a double barrell'd gun, which so powerfully worked on the minds of the natives, that finding all other means and artifices to get possession of them ineffectual, they at last resolved to murder him, and in that manner procure the whole of his little property. This their horrible purpose had been discovered to him by the

Otaheitan girl; who understood the language, and overheard their consultations upon the subject. Rendered desperate by this information, he resolved to lose his life, rather than suffer himself to be plundered of every thing by which life in such a situation could be rendered supportable. He was therefore continually on the watch against his foes, and was faithfully assisted by the young Otaheitan, who was well aware of the fate awaiting her in the event of her lover's murder. This course of life continued for some days, until being at last overpowered by incessant anxiety, watching, and fatigue, Pulpit was surprised by a party of natives, his property pillaged, and his person seized, and led away as a sacrifice to some of their divinities.

He was conducted about half a league from the spot, expecting every moment

to be his last. The natives however began to dispute amongst themselves respecting the treatment he was to receive; when an elderly lady who seemed to possess much authority among them, and who had constantly opposed all sanguinary measures, threatened to leave the island if they persisted in their designs. Her remonstrances appeared to have great influence with the natives: they therefore desisted from their project, and conducted him back to his former place of residence, which was now entirely stripped. Being an ingenious man, they made him promise to repair some muskets belonging to themselves; and having supplied him and the Otaheitian girl with some provisions, as a peace offering, they withdrew. Pulpit now bent all his thoughts on making his escape; and, an opportunity soon presenting itself, he availed himself of a dark night to seize one of their canoes, and,

accompanied by his heroic wife, made the best of his way to Ulitea. Here again not finding himself comfortably situated with the islanders, he had taken the present opportunity to seek for refuge in our ship.

This poor fellow's story appeared strange in itself, and to us altogether inexplicable, as we had been received in Huaheine with such apparent welcome; but as his situation in the island was very different from ours, in force, and on board ship, we could neither wholly credit nor reject what he reported.

From the account given by Pulpit of the inhabitants of Ulitea, they seemed to be much of the same character and natural habits with those in Huaheine; it was therefore impossible to prevail on him to return to the shore. "Take me to the Sandwich Islands," said he with the utmost earnestness, "or to any other place,

only leave me not here to be murdered." He was therefore suffered to remain on board, as well as the young female from Otaheite; nor was it long before we had good reason to be satisfied that his unfavourable character of these islanders had neither originated in malice, or a disordered imagination; both of which, we had previously suspected, might have influenced him in his narrative.

When this affair was settled to our satisfaction, a party of us went on shore, and were welcomed by the king, and other chiefs, as hospitably as in any of the other islands we had visited. The king and his consort, moreover, spent the greater part of their time with us, and particularly requested to be allowed to sleep in a bed on board. Our success in the island depending chiefly on his good will, we indulged him in whatever

he desired. He was constantly invited to take his seat at our table, was fed by one of his near relations, and otherwise treated with every attention and respect; the whole ship was open to him, and no restraint opposed to the gratification of his curiosity however troublesome and impertinent.

All our endeavours, however, to secure the good offices of this man in forwarding our business of laying in provisions, proved ineffectual. In the course of his visits to the ship, he formed an acquaintance with some convicts, several of whom, from the desertion of as many of our own crew, we had been compelled to take on board at Botany Bay, under the engagement of returning them whence we had taken them. These desperadoes, however, had formed other resolutions: they had secretly resolved to avail themselves of the first opportunity

to escape, and seek a settlement more congenial to their wishes in some one of these islands. The absolute indolence which such a life held forth, the spontaneous fertility of the earth, and the plenty and facility of the women, were irresistible attractions to these wretches. It was not a very difficult matter for these fellows, long versed in roguery, to make a dupe of the sovereign of Ulitea. He rendered a willing ear to their magnificent promises, and doubtless expected, with such generals and ministers, to extend his conquests to all the adjacent isles. Ambition is one of those qualities in which the islanders of the South Sea may rival the most civilized nations of Europe. The convicts had the cunning to know and avail themselves of this weakness of the savage chief.

The seduction of European sailors, indeed, has of late become the mischie-

vous policy of these petty chiefs. They have heard of the signal services rendered by Europeans to Pomarrie in Otaheite, and therefore employ every art to seduce seamen to abandon their ships, and to reside amongst them. As a necessary part of the plan concerted between the convicts and the chiefs, our vessel was to be cut off from her anchors, and being thus driven on shore, the ship's company was to be murdered, and the ship to become the prey of the conspirators. Our guns, small arms, and ammunition, would have been peculiarly precious to men in their circumstances.

In the night before our intended departure from Ulitea, it was discovered that the following persons had deserted from the ship, viz. David Clark, an apprentice, Thomas Smith, a cooper by trade, Timothy Gaumley, and William Andrews, seamen; the three last

were Botany Bay convicts, and had tempted to their party two Otaheitans who had come with us from that island.

This project had, doubtless originated with some of the chiefs of the island, who had acted as Tayos to one or other of the deserters. As soon as the discovery was made, which was about two in the morning, I went singly on shore, that I might request the king to use his utmost authority to have our people restored; and counting on his gratitude for our innumerable presents, and his apparent friendship, I had no doubt of the success of my embassy. In this, however, I found myself to have much mistaken the character of the Uli-teans, who, of all virtues, have the least claim to that of gratitude; such is the famed virtue of savages. Why will theory thus fatigue itself to raise speculations which the experience of a moment must demolish?

When I stated to the king and chiefs what had happened, with a dissimulation worthy of a courtier he expressed the utmost surprise, accompanying it with a declaration that the men had certainly not landed near them, nor been seen by them on shore. We had good reason however afterwards to believe, that the deserters had passed his house about half an hour before I landed, and that they were at that very time in the immediate neighbourhood. I found myself here somewhat critically situated, being surrounded at this unseasonable hour of the night, by perhaps an hundred of the islanders in this one house, whilst another in the neighbourhood was occupied by the principal chief of the island of Oataha and his warriors.

I cannot here enough recommend to all voyagers into the South Sea the fre-

quent perusal, and almost constant attention, of such of those able navigators as have visited these parts before them. The almost endless voyages, and charts of pretended originality, which deluge the town, are of little other use, than to gratify an idle curiosity; and many of them being the fruits of vanity or ignorance, or the still less pardonable craft of bookmaking, have produced effects of mischief scarcely credible but where known. It is not so with the voyagers into the South Seas: many of them were men of genius, and all of them men of industry. Their experience is a security for their professional knowledge, as their public situation and rank for their veracity. They may be relied on with the most implicit confidence, as well in their charts and drawings, as in their account of the habits.

and manners of the islanders they visited.

Had I on this occasion recalled to my mind the treachery and artifice of these islanders, as related by captain Cook, and the strong measures that great man was compelled to employ to keep them within proper bounds, and prevent them from favouring desertions amongst his men, I should most probably not have ventured to land in the midst of these natives at such a hour, and without being properly accompanied. But so eager was I to recover the deserters, that the imminent danger of the attempt never occurred to me.

Whilst I was in conversation with the king, the commander in chief or generalissimo of the two islands entered from the other house, and with every mark of surprise and regret at our loss, suggested that the object of our search had

most probably sought refuge in Huiahinie or Bollabolla, and these islands being independant of Ulitea, neither the king nor himself had any authority which could compel their surrender. They assured me, however, that if the deserters were still in Ulitea, they should be restored to us without delay, and nothing demanded of us in return, but a recompence suited to the trouble of their search for them. This recompence, it was said, must be a musket; this being the highest of the coin current between us, and therefore invariably demanded by them for any unusual exertion.

It was in vain for me to remonstrate, that had any of these people secreted themselves in our ship, they would have been returned without any such demand, and that this conduct was what I had little expected from the former

friendship of our mutual intercourse. The whole of the assembly now arose as by one spontaneous motion, and I found myself surrounded on every side, a circumstance that did not much please me : I thought it therefore most prudent to come to their terms, and promise them the desired musket. So well do these gentlemen, these children of nature, understand their own interest, and the most effectual means of securing it.

Here again another difficulty was started ; for the chiefs declared that as they could not depend on our promises, they must have the musket in their possession, before they took any steps in the business. I accordingly gave them one, as I saw that they very well understood the advantage of our relative situation. Nor were their intrigues yet exhausted, they had yet another artifice ; it was impossible for them to secure the deser-

serters who were probably armed with knives and other weapons, unless they were furnished with more fire-arms, &c. By this time I had learned that the men were actually concealed in a house, a short way up the country, and mentioning this to the natives they did not attempt to deny it; but observed that as they had now received their reward, the deserters should without fail be restored to us, only that, to prevent accidents, it would be the most prudent method to seize them when asleep the following night. Finding nothing farther could be effected, I returned to the ship. Here again another difficulty awaited me; on entering the ship I found one of my fellows, the best seaman in the ship, haranguing the rest of his ship-mates, recommending them to abstain from their duty till the rest of the crew were restored. However, upon

instantly adopting strong measures, that is to say, applying loaded pistols to his head, and informing him at the same time in a determined tone that another word should be his last, this spark of mutiny was suppressed, and, the orator and his abettor being punished on the spot, good order was restored.

A whole day had been lost in this fruitless negotiation : about half an hour past ten o'clock at night, I was aroused from my sleep by the voice of the captain who then held the watch, exclaiming, *Turnbull, our ship is on shore, the ship is on shore.* Jumping instantly out of bed, and running upon deck in my shirt, I found there was no wind to affect the ship ; and it being too dark to see the shore, I sounded and found upwards of twelve fathoms of depth, and no sensible motion of the ship or water : I was persuaded therefore that the cap-

tain was in error, that his anxiety had overpowered his vigilance, and given reality to the object of his imagination. Examining the cables, I found them both lying slack on the deck, which confirmed me still more in the idea that the captain was mistaken: but the seamen being commanded to haul the cables, the first pull brought the ends of both of them on board. It is impossible to describe the general sensation produced by this discovery, that our cables were cut, and we were drifting on shore. Another anchor, having an iron stock, was immediately ordered to be cleared away; but such was our alarm and confusion, that it was not till after repeated trials, that we effected the stocking of it. The old adage, the more haste the less speed, was never more truly verified. It happened very providently that there was not a breath of

wind stirring, otherwise the ship must have gone to pieces very speedily, for she now lay with her broadside against a reef of coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints, having twelve fathoms of water on the outside. In addition to these circumstances, we had every thing to dread from the designs and practices of some of our crew, who were as little to be trusted as the savages on shore. It therefore demanded all our skill to keep their minds in proper order, and to maintain due authority in so critical a situation, and particularly into whose hands we trusted fire-arms. It is but justice to say, that as far as we could judge from appearances, our representations and precautions on this trying occasion had the happiest effect.

It was fortunate for us also, in this distress, that for some slight offence

given by individuals of the crew, the natives had threatened to murder them, whenever an opportunity should offer itself. The apprehensions of these men were now extreme, and by communicating their fears to the other seamen, and persuading them that one common lot awaited them without distinction, they united all hands in the common effort of endeavouring to rescue the vessel from her present very perilous situation. It is indeed a remark which even my own experience has suggested, that however discontented from other causes, there is a generous sentiment in an English seaman which, in cases of difficulty and danger, retains them to their duty and fidelity. Thus it has not unfrequently happened, that symptoms of a mutiny on board our vessels has been restrained by the appearance of an enemy, when all as unanimously united to

defend their officers, as they had before conspired to resist their authority.

Having bent the remaining part of one of the cables, about thirty fathoms, to the anchor, it was carried out in the long boat to eighteen fathoms water, and the ship hauled seven or eight fathoms off from the reef. Whilst this was doing, we suddenly heard a loud and clamorous noise amongst the natives on shore, and seemingly close under the ship's stern; the wretches were rendered outrageous by the disappointment of their hopes, the ship being now visibly moved from the rocks. They had hitherto maintained a profound silence, in the expectation that her bulging would give the signal for the commencement of their plunder. They now begun an assault with stones in such quantities, and with such force, that in the hopes of intimidating them,

we were compelled to discharge some swivels and muskets over their heads. This however produced a volley of musketry from the natives stationed on different points of the shore. We now found it necessary to have recourse to our great guns, commencing a brisk fire; with what success we knew not, as they still kept up an irregular discharge of musketry in various directions, though we continued to play on those quarters whence their fire seemed to proceed. Their noise and clamour remained unabated, and we could discover, by the fury of their menaces, both their hopes of ultimate success, and the fate that awaited us in that event. Some of us were particularized as set aside to be roasted, whilst others were to be flayed alive to make tiaboolas, or jackets, of their skins, &c. with many similar expressions, which were not without a

salutary effect in encouraging the resistance of our sailors, who, of all things, seemed to entertain the greatest horror of being roasted.

CHAP. XI.

Continuation of Hostilities.—Discover the Deserters.—Providential Escape.

OUR fears were however now considerably abated, having succeeded so far in getting the ship afloat ; but we were still very close to the shore, and the water being too deep for us to ride with safety with so short a scope of cable, we were still very far from being safe.

That we might however neglect no means of security which our circumstances allowed, we got another anchor from the hold, and stocked and bent to it the remainder of the other cable, still keeping up our fire of musketry, and occasionally discharging a great gun. When

this second anchor was run out to the last inch of cable, all on board felt as the condemned malefactor who receives a reprieve when on the eve of execution. The fury and menaces of the savages on shore seemed to encrease, and they continued to assail us with stones and fire-arms without ceasing, their numbers by this time being considerably augmented.

As day light was now approaching, we hoped to be enabled to dislodge them from their shelter ; and menaced in our turn an effectual revenge ; of this, however, confident in the safety of their posts, they appeared to entertain no apprehension. Our threatenings seemed only to call forth fresh attacks and new defiance of our power. We now learned the truth of what we had before often heard from others, that the fury of savages in battle is incredible, and bears

no resemblance to that of a civilized being under the same circumstances. They forcibly recall to the mind the fables of heathen mythology; they appear possessed; a fury more than human seems to flare in their eyes, and convulse their souls. But I will not attempt to describe what no words can convey. I will only observe, that if their courage and talent of mischief were equal to their fury, they would be invincible.

Seeing we could bring about no accommodation with these blood-thirsty savages, for such their treachery and infuriate menaces but too clearly proved them, we had but one expedient for withdrawing from the destruction that awaited us: this was to take advantage of the present calm, and warp the ship out to sea; or at least so far from the shore, as to have nothing to dread from the musketry, or other assaults

of the natives. We should thus gain time to consider and arrange our future resolutions.

Having previously, therefore served out a portion of spirits from the small stock we had now remaining to every man on board, we endeavoured to render them sensible of the danger. There was not indeed much necessity for these efforts to animate their courage, their terror of being roasted or flayed alive had more effect on them than could have been produced by the most powerful eloquence. To avoid this fate they would not have hesitated to have mounted a breach, their defence was in good earnest, and had our ship been wrecked on the shore, I am persuaded the savages would not have procured an easy victory.

The weather was fortunately still very calm, but what little wind there was, came in from the sea, and we had

too much reason to fear that it might encrease in the same direction as the day approached. As the ship rode with her stern towards the shore, it became necessary to take every precaution for the defence of this vulnerable point; and the swivels on the stern having been dismounted on the first fire, we brought up two of our great guns, but, upon the approach of day light, we had the mortification to discover that the natives seemed to be but little afraid of what we could do against them. They were sufficiently acquainted with the use of guns to watch our motions on board, and when we were ready to fire, they suddenly skulked behind the rocks or trees, which were in great numbers along the shore, so that we found our fire only wasted our stock of ammunition, and instead of removing our enemies seemed rather to encourage their

attacks. The trees and clefts of the rocks likewise served them for another purpose, which in the hands of better soldiers might have been of most fatal effect to us. Resting their muskets on these supports, they took a most deliberate aim, and must have inevitably killed us one by one, had they possessed but the most common knowledge of the use of their arms : but, fortunately, their awkwardness was more than a sufficient balance to their other advantages.

Their fire, however, was not without effect, it did great damage to our rigging, boardings, nettings, and boats, and many of their shot lodged in the hull of the ship. So intent were they on our destruction, that such of the natives as had no fire-arms, their muskets being as we learned before the onset about fourteen, betook themselves to the

mountains which overhung the ship, and thence annoyed us by discharging volleys of stones, many of them of incredible size. Their firing and assaults slackening a little about ten in the forenoon, we judged it to be a favourable moment for weighing the anchor, and carrying the ship farther out to sea, and accordingly manned the boat with volunteers for this service. The natives, however, as soon as they discovered our motions, recommenced their fire, directing it chiefly at the boat, and this with such manifest danger to the men, that they were compelled to give over the attempt, and return to the ship for protection. At this time we could discover two of our former shipmates as active as the most furious of the savages; and, so hateful is treachery, this circumstance irritated us more powerfully than even the menaces of the islan-

ders. It is my opinion, that had we recovered these fellows by the success of our arms, we should not have had authority enough to restrain the crew from executing summary justice on their treason. The boat being returned to the ship, we again renewed a fire of round and grape shot, but with little effect, as they still kept close under cover, and harassed us greatly in our operations.

In an hour after all firing, as if by mutual consent, ceased on both sides, and our people, who had been on their legs for nearly forty hours, were allowed to take some refreshments, and one half of them to lay down at a time; thus relieving each other by turns. We had every reason to expect that the attack would be soon renewed, and with so much the more vigour, as the interval and noise of the guns must collect to the spot the greater part of the islanders.

Nor had we any hopes that the new recruits would effect any change in the disposition of their countrymen, except that of animating them to a renewal of their efforts to seize a prize, the possession of which would equally enrich the captors, and render the island an overmatch in strength for any of their neighbours.

We had not at this time the least prospect of getting out of our critical situation, but in a short time afterwards a favourable opportunity for weighing the anchors, and drawing the ship farther off from the shore, presented itself. The boat was again manned, and the attempt made, when a well directed fire suddenly commenced on it the second time; our people were again compelled to relinquish their plan, and once more betake themselves to the ship. Never was a situation more alarming than was

ours the whole of this day. We had learned that the natives intended to draw together every canoe they could muster, and fall upon us under cover of the night, whilst their companions on shore were to swim off, and assist in one grand attempt to board us, or by cutting our cables a second time, reduce us again completely in their power.

The fate preparing for us in the event of defeat was horrible beyond the conception of civilized beings, for the revenge of these savages is only equalled by their fury. The murderer of Henry IV. of France did not suffer greater torments than were prepared for us upon the completion of the victory, which the savages promised themselves; nor were their hopes without some reasonable foundation; for, to confess the truth, we saw no means of safety, so desperate was our condition. At this

time a large double canoe was discovered coming round a point of land, from the windward side of the island, crowded with natives. The sight of this evidently appaled the spirits of the whole crew, who judged naturally, and perhaps rightly, that this canoe was only the first of many more following, and all equally bent on our destruction. The canoe advancing within a mile of us, we threw a three pounder shot across her bow, which threw the natives into such disorder, that many of them jumped into the water, and swam on shore, whilst their companions remaining in the canoe, changing their direction, paddled back as fast as possible to the nearest land. A second discharge from the same gun, double shotted, went through and through them; they evidently now betrayed both fear and astonishment, and throwing themselves

overboard, swam for the shore, leaving the canoe in the charge of a few old men, who strained every nerve to reach the land.

By the imprudence of a few Europeans, fugitives from some of the ships which have at different times visited these islands, our fire-arms have lost much of their salutary effect upon the fears of the natives; and we can no longer restrain their insolence, or more atrocious offences, by the mere act of presenting our arms, and making a discharge over their heads—the humane practice of captain Cook. It is not till some signal example is made by the death of one or more of their ringleaders, that they can be made to abstain from their savage hostility; a circumstance necessary to be understood, in order to vindicate a conduct which

would otherwise appear cruel and wanton.

This was the only good opportunity that presented itself of making the natives feel the effects of our cannon, as they had here no shelter; and our success, it was hoped, would discourage them from any fresh attempt, at least by water; for it suited neither our circumstances, nor our inclinations, to continue hostilities. It was a maxim invariably acted upon by us in our short intercourse with these islanders, that there was a degree of justice, and natural right, due even to savages; and that the circumstance of our being beyond the reach of law, did not put us beyond that of moral obligation. Had this practice existed amongst other of their European visitors, the islanders would have entertained more respect, and perhaps a more effectual terror, than

they appear to hold at present. But to some men, impunity is a most fertile source of crimes. Whatever might have been our indignation at their treachery, we considered it as giving us no farther right to punish, than as far as was necessary for our defence. This was, however, decisive ; all firing ceased, and little noise was heard on shore.

It was now four in the afternoon, and we were all fully employed in making every preparation to repel the grand attack expected in the night. Each man was furnished with twelve rounds of ball-cartridge, and twenty-four pistol bullets. Our muskets, being thirty in number, were well cleaned and fresh flinted ; the great guns and swivels were double-shotted and filled with old iron ; and blunderbusses and cutlasses distributed on the deck, to be ready for service at a moment's notice. And, as much

as possible to prevent the stones thrown by the natives from doing us injury, awnings were spread over the deck, and every other precaution taken to enable us to sell our lives at the dearest rate, and defend the ship to the last extremity. During all these operations, our worthy captain was suffering most severe pain, from firing off an overloaded blunderbuss in the beginning of the affair, when the swivels were dismantled.

About half-past six in the evening, the wind, which had hitherto blown from the sea, shifted gently round to a land breeze, furnishing us with a most favourable opportunity for getting away unperceived in the night. That our operations might not be discovered, we muffled the pauls of the windlass, and began to heave away upon one anchor at a time; when this was done, we got the long boat ahead, hove short on the

second anchor, and carried out the first to the last inch of cable. We then got up the second anchor, and carried it out to sea in the same manner ; and in this way our hopes began to revive, having the prospect of getting well off the shore, or perhaps out to sea, before day-light should discover our motions. So deeply were the minds of all on board impressed with a sense of our situation and danger, that in all this time not a whisper was heard in the ship ; we were even in terror lest the uncommon brilliancy of the stars should discover the passing and repassing of our boat, as it passed backwards and forwards in weighing and carrying out the anchors.

In all these transactions we received signal services from poor Pulpit, whom we had taken on board here ; for he was an excellent marksman, and was well aware of what his fate would be, should he fall again into the hands of

the Uliteans ; he therefore fought like a lion, resolved never to yield but with his last breath. His young Otaheitan wife *Uewise* behaved like a heroine, carrying powder to the men, and exerting herself to the utmost in every way in which she could be useful ; at the same time that she seemed to regret that so much ammunition should be expended, one half of which would have rendered her the wealthiest lady in all her native country.

Notwithstanding all our difficulties, by the blessing of providence on our strenuous exertions, we succeeded in getting some sail set before our motions were discovered by the natives on shore. The wretches, seeing the ship under sail, hailed us with a most hideous and savage howling, mingled with mutual reproaches and upbraidings for not keeping a better look-out, as the ship would now be for ever lost to them.

By this time, nearly two in the morning, we had moved off far enough to be out of their reach ; but the weather becoming thick and dark, we came to with both anchors, and stood on our guard until day-light. We now thought it might be possible to recover the anchors we had lost ; but the chief mate coming to the quarter-deck brought a message from the ship's company, requesting they might be allowed to weigh the anchors and get under sail, lest we should be caught by the wind from the sea, and again be thrown into the hands of this treacherous and savage people. This proposal was agreed to ; as it must have been extremely difficult, however desirable, to recover our anchors. When we had now fairly escaped without the harbour, and were about hoisting-in the boat, one of the men, in hawling her from under the

counter, perceived a long thick rope towing astern, which was fastened to the rudder five or six feet under water, and was most probably the very rope by which the natives had drawn the ship on shore, after they had cut her cables.

In looking back to the history of these islanders, we find their general character to be a compound of mischief and dissimulation; the latter quality seems to be ingrafted in their very nature. The magnitude and force of captain Cook's ships, one would naturally conceive, would have been sufficient to have intimidated them in the weak and defenceless state in which he had first found them; this, however, did not deter them from trying some of their manœuvres with his people, by encouraging them to desert, and afterwards concealing them as much as was in their power. This they might be certain could not escape the penetrat-

ing eye of that great man, and must consequently draw upon them his just indignation. The captain was thus often under the necessity of acting contrary to his best inclinations, as well in order to prevent such practices in future, as to recover his own men. Even in this way they seemed to be equally qualified on the part of retaliation; for had their schemes succeeded, they would have surprized captain Clark, and Mr. Gore. They intended moreover, if possible, to have seized captain Cook himself; and they doubtless supposed the odds would then have been considerably in their favour. He wisely and prudently, however, put it out of their power, by keeping close to the ship whilst negotiations were pending.

Before we leave Ulitea, it is proper to observe in general, that after Otaheite it is the most considerable of what are

called the Society Islands. It is connected with the neighbouring island of Otaha in the closest political alliance; and the chief or king of Otaha, who generally resides in Ulitea, is the commander in chief of the inhabitants of both islands in time of war, and seemed to possess much more power and influence in Ulitea than the king himself.

Strangers who may have occasion to touch at either of these islands, ought to be much on their guard in their intercourse with the natives; for we are but too well warranted by experience to assert that they are in general cool, designing, and knavish; capable of cherishing the most diabolical schemes, under the most deceitful and specious appearances. There is no method, not even excepting assassination, they will not employ to accomplish their views, when their interest is to be promoted. From

their continual attempts to seduce the crews of European ships to settle among them, and in particular from the number of convicts permitted to assist in navigating vessels which have been at Botany Bay, and who seldom fail to avail themselves of this opportunity to desert, and settle amongst a people whom they are equally willing and able to instruct in every species of villainy, from all these and other considerations, I must confess, that in my opinion there is a great probability of these islands becoming in no great length of time, nests of lawless plunderers and pirates.

The chiefs of this island are said to be nearly allied to the royal family of Otaheite. We have already said that the general manners and customs of the inhabitants are the same. The Uliteans indeed have less of that social benevolence, as well towards each other, as in the reception of strangers, which has

ever been remarked as distinguishing the Otaheitans. Perhaps this may be in some degree imputed to the greater frequency of their wars ; they are indeed always at war either with each other or with the natives of Bolabolla, and this continued hostility must be confessed to be a very ill nurse to the social affections.

The custom of the son disinheriting the father exists here as at Otaheite, accompanied by circumstances still more degrading and unnatural. From the birth or at least the manhood of the son, the whole authority of the father vanishes ; and however great or powerful he might have been before, he now becomes a petty chief. The father of this chief made us a visit, but with so little an appearance of rank or influence, that had he not been pointed out to us as such, we should not have known him ; he

had absolutely nothing about him which could lead to any suspicion that he was above the meanest of his countrymen.

We moreover received a visit from the mother of the queen ; she brought with her two hogs, and lamented, with an appearance of sincerity, that it was beyond her power to be more liberal. However these illustrious personages had sunk in the estimation of the natives, we received them with a distinction suited to their former quality, and they seemed much flattered with this reception. In our presents we had equally our attention upon their rank.

To judge from what afterwards came to our knowledge, we lost nothing by this liberality. The queen's mother, and the wife of the general, as we learned upon our return to Otaheite, remonstrated strongly against the perfidy of their countrymen in endeavouring to

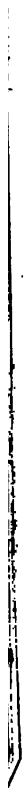
cut out our ship. The Uliteans, however, lent a deaf ear to their advice, and sternly commanded them to concern themselves with their own affairs.

It was by these freebooters that Omai was plundered of all his property ; for shortly after his settlement in Huaheine, the Uliteans made a descent upon that island, and his property became the spoil of the victorious invaders.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

T. GILLET, Printer, Salisbury Square.





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