



A
VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, AND 1804:

IN WHICH

*The Author visited Madeira, the Brazils, Cape of Good Hope, the English Settlements
of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island:*

AND THE PRINCIPAL

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

WITH

A CONTINUATION OF THEIR HISTORY TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

BY

JOHN TURNBULL.

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VOYAGE HODGKINS WORLD

THE FIRST VOYAGE

OF THE "HODGKINS" TO THE NORTH POLE

BY JAMES HODGKINS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY J. HODGKINS

LONDON: 1895



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P R E F A C E.

THE Author still 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 objects, he conceived they could not fail to be in some measure interesting. And 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.

IN our first edition, we only took a transient glance of the Island of Madeira; but since its occupation by the British troops, it has excited a new interest, which it had never before possessed. Independent of our own observations, we have been favoured by

some recent information from a gentleman upon whose veracity the Author can fully depend, and by which he has been enabled more fully to describe its present state.

THE emigration of the Court of Lisbon to the Brazils, was a resolution without a precedent in modern times. The changes that have taken place in the political situation of Great Britain and that court, has given this country a peculiar claim and interest with the British public. We have therefore more fully enlarged our remarks upon this most delightful country, by unfolding the many advantages that Great Britain might derive, under her present circumstances, from a friendly intercourse with the Portuguese government, provided the immense resources of that country were called into action. We felt it our duty thus to enlarge, from a consideration of the aggrandizement of the French empire upon the continent, and also from the hostile disposition of the American government. In some instances, it might appear, that we have animadverted with severity, but justice required we should speak with fairness and impartiality.

THE Cape of Good Hope is a subject which has so often been illustrated, that the Author has given little more than some general observations.

THE colony of New South Wales is daily becoming an object of greater importance to this country: in treating of it,

therefore, he has endeavoured to confine himself to such subjects as appeared to be most interesting, and but little spoken of by former writers. In the present edition, he has stated his sentiments freely and without disguise, respecting the causes which have retarded the progress of this infant colony for some years past, in the proper application of its native energies.

As the Author spent much of his time within the tropics, he has paid particular attention to the Society and Sandwich Islands; those very tracts of land which the celebrated Cook explored, and whose account of the singular and simple manners of the inhabitants had excited much curiosity and tender interest. In these islands the reader will perceive a wonderful contrast in the genius and disposition 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 fatality, have lifted up a high hand to counteract her intentions.

THE Author has endeavoured to depict the distinguishing features of the history of those countries, and the changes which have taken place in their circumstances, to the present period.

THE following pages fully describe the benevolent efforts of the Otaheitean missionaries, some account of which was rendered ne-

cessary, that the Author might the more fully exhibit an accurate picture of the present state and character of those islanders, to whose improvement the mission was originally directed.

CONCERNING the French MSS. it was communicated to the Author, soon after the publication of the former edition, by a gentleman who was a passenger in one of those ships, and who, from the habits of intimacy and intercourse with the gentlemen composing that expedition, had the most ample opportunities of collecting the leading particulars of the voyage.

To give more efficacy to our remarks on the state of society in the South Sea and the Pacific Ocean, and to render our view the more comprehensive, we have inserted some observations and documents in the Appendix, relative to the state of New Zealand and the Fejee Islands, which tend to illustrate the present condition of their respective inhabitants.

LONDON, *April* 12, 1813.

CONTENTS.

VOYAGES IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAPTER I. <i>Purpose of the voyage.—Departure from England.—Passage to, and arrival at, Madeira.—Description of that island</i>	1
--	---

CHAPTER II.

<i>Departure from Madeira.—Passage to the southward.—Arrival at St. Salvadore</i>	14
---	----

CHAPTER III.

<i>Hostile jealousy of the Portuguese government.—Visit to the Viceroy.—Description of the city of St. Salvadore, its dock-yard, &c.</i>	19
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

<i>Trade.—Revenue.—Price of provisions, &c. &c.</i>	39
---	----

CHAPTER V.

<i>Departure from St. Salvadore.—Proceed to the southward.—Arrival and stay at the Cape of Good Hope</i>	59
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

Passage to, and arrival at, Botany Bay 67

CHAPTER VII.

*Stay at Sydney.—Population of that town.—General character of the settlers.—
Civil government.—Barrington.—Parties.—Qualities of the soil.—Taxes.
&c. &c.* 74

CHAPTER VIII.

*General character of the natives of New South Wales.—Singular talents for
mimicry.—Personal qualities and means of subsistence.—Punishment of a
criminal.—Bennelong, a New Hollander chief.—Singular customs.—Fa-
milies.—Marriages.—Curadgies* 87

CHAPTER IX.

*Departure from Port Jackson.—Norfolk Island.—Beauty and fertility of the
country.—The governor's encouragement of industry.—Price of provisions...* 102

CHAPTER X.

*Failure of the north-west speculation.—New resolution adopted in consequence.
Military establishment of Norfolk Island.—Population.—Phillip and Nepean
Islands —Inconveniences of Norfolk Island.—Blight.—Difficulty of access.
Intention of abandoning it.—Singular instance of a fugitive* 111

CHAPTER XI.

*Departure from Norfolk Island.—Passage to, and arrival at, Otaheite.—A
visit from the chiefs and missionaries.—Welcome reception.—Pomarre.—
Stay and occurrences at Otaheite* 127

CHAPTER XII.

Leave Otaheite.—Touch at Huaheine.—Visited by one of our countrymen, who recommends us to go to Ulitea.—Enter the harbour of Huaheine.—Visited by the chiefs.—Friendly Reception.—Departure for Ulitea 165

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrival at Ulitea.—Visited by the chiefs.—Pulpit claims our protection.—Chiefs and convicts conspire in a plan to cut off the ship.—Hostilities..... 162

CHAPTER XIV.

Continuation of hostilities by the inhabitants.—Discover the deserters.—Provisional escape..... 176

CHAPTER XV.

Leave Ulitea.—Pass Bollabolla without having any communication with the natives.—Intercourse with the natives of Maura 190

CHAPTER XVI.

Adieu to the Society Islands.—Ludicrous circumstance in the passage, between the Otaheitean natives and our seamen, on crossing the line.—Arrival at the Sandwich Islands.—Commerce.—Trading.—Desertion of our carpenter 194

CHAPTER XVII.

Departure from Whahoo.—Arrival at Attowaie.—Visited by the king and general of the island.—Tamahama's determination to invade them.—Friendly reception 204

CHAPTER XVIII.

Strong attachment of the natives to their present sovereign.—Desperate resolution of this man in case of invasion.—Departure for Onehow 213

CHAPTER XIX.

Leave the leeward islands, and proceed to windward.—Arrival at Owhyhee.—Commence trading.—Visited by Mr. Young 222

CHAPTER XX.

Enterprising spirit of the Sandwich Islanders.—Knowledge of our language. Dexterity in diving.—Desertion of the Otaheitean natives.—Tamahama's intention of opening a trade with China.—Extract from the Missionary Journal 231

CHAPTER XXI.

Hint to the Missionary Society.—Departure from the Sandwich Islands.—Passage to the southward.—Discover several islands.—Suspicious behaviour of the natives 239

CHAPTER XXII.

Critical situation.—Fortunate escape.—Visit the small island of Matia.—Inter-course with the islanders.—One of Pomarre's deputies exercising supreme authority.—Admiration of the natives on seeing us pump the ship.—Arrive again at Otaheite 257

CHAPTER XXIII.

Death of Pomarre's father.—Singular character.—Departure of the captain. Residence in Otaheite factory 268

CHAPTER XXIV.

- Misfortunes of an Otaheitean agent.—Intercourse with, and characteristic outlines of the royal family* 274

CHAPTER XXV.

- Arrival of Paitia and his sister.—Great festivities on the occasion* 284

CHAPTER XXVI.

- Long absence of the ship.—Melancholy intelligence of her fate.—Narrow escape of the crew.—Particulars of the ship during her absence.—Bad conduct of the sailors* 298

CHAPTER XXVII.

- Voyage to Eimeo.—Occurrences in that island* 308

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- Observations on Eimeo.—Inferior much to Otaheite.—Preparations for an expedition to Attahooroo* 316

CHAPTER XXIX.

- Arrival of a ship.—Death of Pomarre.—His character* 322

CHAPTER XXX.

- Critical situation of affairs in Otaheite.—Zeal of the Missionaries.—Stubbornness of belief in the chiefs and royal family* 329

CHAPTER XXXI.

- Mortality in the island.—Circumstances relative to the state of the Missionaries. Contempt of old age among the Otaheiteans* 334

CHAPTER XXXII.

Particular customs among the Otaheiteans.—Exclusion of the women from eating with the men.—Cleanliness, and attention to dress.—Ludicrous instance of simplicity amongst the natives.—Superstition of the Otaheiteans.—Employment.—Indolence.—Bay of Matavai.—Curiosity of the natives 337

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Food, and manner of cooking.—Utility of the bread-fruit tree.—Various methods of fishing.—Houses.—Furniture.—Form of government.—Influence of the priests 349

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Miserable state of the island.—Diseases.—Causes of the gradual decrease of population.—Trick played upon the captain.—General propensity to theft. Reception of strangers.—Evenness of temper.—Generosity amongst themselves.—Little jealousy with regard to their women 366

CHAPTER XXXV.

Stupidity of Otoo.—Otaheitean numerals.—Human sacrifices.—Horrid instance of treachery 378

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Passage to Port Jackson.—Touch at the Friendly Islands.—Intercourse with the natives.—Some account of their manners, customs, &c. &c.—Arrival at Norfolk Island 385

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Admiration of the Otaheitean boys on their arrival at Port Jackson.—Second residence there.—Improvements in that colony during our absence 402

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

<i>State of the country.—Grants of land to individuals.—Prices of labour.—Orphan school for girls, &c.</i>	418
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

<i>Character of the different descriptions of settlers.—Public orders, &c. &c.....</i>	434.
--	------

CHAPTER XL.

<i>General observations, &c. &c.</i>	446
---	-----

CHAPTER XLI.

<i>Latest state of the colony, &c. &c.</i>	455
---	-----

CHAPTER XLII.

<i>Conclusion.—And passage home in the Calcutta, by the way of Cape Horn</i>	464
--	-----

NARRATIVE OF LE GEOGRAPHE AND NATURALISTE.

<i>A voyage of discovery</i>	475
------------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX.

<i>Some account of New Zealand.—Character of its inhabitants.—Natural productions, &c. &c.—Destruction of the ship Boyd.—Description of the Fejee Islands.—Conclusion</i>	491.
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VOYAGES.

CHAPTER I.

Purpose of the Voyage.—Departure from England.—Passage to, and arrival at Madeira.—Description of that Island.

WHILST second officer in the *Barwell*, in her last voyage to China, in the year 1799, the first officer of that ship (Mr. John Buyers) 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, called the Margaret, mounting ten carriage guns, with two swivels, and a proportionate quantity of small arms, and built wholly of British oak, was at length purchased, and the command of it given to the above mentioned gentleman, whilst the cargo and trading part were intrusted 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 completed all our preparations, we proceeded to Portsmouth in the latter end of May 1800; and having here joined our convoy the Active frigate, and the East India fleet, proceeded on our voyage. On our way down channel, we hove too, off Falmouth, for the Abundance store ship, bound to the Cape of Good Hope, to join the convoy. At nine on the evening of the 2d of July, the Lizard Lights bearing N. half E. we finally left England, to push our fortunes in regions but little frequented by Europeans. Here let us premise, that in the course of our voyage we shall endeavour not to weary the patience of our readers by the technical extracts of our log book; such subjects, from their bareness, affording as little variety as utility to the general reader.

From this to the 12th, owing to calms and contrary winds, little progress was made. However, in the early part of the

morning of this day, being in latitude $41^{\circ} 45'$ north, and longitude $11^{\circ} 23'$ west, the wind began to freshen in the north-east; and towards noon it increased to a strong gale, sweeping the vessel along at the rate of eight miles an hour, under bare poles, whilst some of the heavier laden Indiamen were compelled to carry reefed top-sails. This favourable wind having now settled into a stiff gale, at eight on the morning of the 17th saw the island of Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras, bearing south-west by south. At noon the body of this island bore west, three-quarters south, distance five leagues. A very respectable naval officer, of long standing in the navy, informs me, that 28 leagues north and by west from this island, (Porto Santo) lies a sunken rock, even with the water's edge, extending from latitude $34^{\circ} 30'$ to $34^{\circ} 45'$, or five leagues from north to south, and three from east to west.

Although Porto Santo is low, compared to Madeira, yet in clear weather it may be seen at the distance of from twelve to fourteen leagues, and is easily distinguished from Madeira, from its peaked and uneven appearance. At four in the afternoon had a sight of the island of Madeira; but the commodore abandoning all hopes of reaching Funchal roads before dark, continued under sail till eight P.M. and then hove too, with the ship's head to the north-east, tacking occasionally till the morning. At day-light made sail, and run between the Desertas and the island, and the morning being fine and clear, and the island at

not more than six or seven miles distance, had a full and advantageous view of it.

The appearance of it is that of a continued mountain, extending from east to west, covered with a rich profusion of trees. As it is approached from the east is an opening resembling the segment of a circle, the concave part being opposed to the spectator. Amongst the trees which cover the surface, are the cedar, dragon, chesnut, orange, lemon, fig, citron, banana, and pomegranate trees; and the whole scenery having a never-fading verdour, is peculiarly refreshing to the eye, and the imagination. Perhaps our pleasure was the more heightened, by the striking contrast of the scene before us, with the country we had lately left, whose putrid and condensed atmosphere is so different from the spectacle which nature exhibits here. I had heard so many picturesque descriptions of this garden of the world, as it has been termed, that I was anxious to visit it, and a favourable opportunity presenting itself, I availed myself of it.

The attractive aspect of the city, which skirts the margin of the bay, the romantic scenery of its environs, the peculiar whiteness, and apparent cleanness of the houses, with the variety of plantations and evergreens, very sensibly impressed my imagination. Previous, however, to any intercourse, it is customary to receive a visit from what is termed a health-boat, in which is a medical gentleman, and one or more of the most re-

spectable inhabitants, to ascertain the health of the ship's company, the small pox being much dreaded here. Being satisfied upon this score, intercourse is immediately allowed.

Funchal, the largest and most populous town of the island, is most beautifully situated on the south side of the declivity of a hill, facing the sea; the houses rising gradually above each other, till they reach the summit of the first range of hills, where the prospect is bounded by another range, planted with vines and fruit trees, and adorned with country houses and gardens. From hence, looking towards the bay, another very interesting spectacle presented itself---a fleet of shipping under sail, an object which is always necessary to give any thing of picturesque effect to the ocean.

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 vineyards 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, melon, sugar cane, and banana, gratified more than one sense by their hue and fragrance. The spectator, however, has here likewise to encounter a disappointment which too frequently occurs from the nearer view of a scene which had appeared in very high colours at a distance. The external and internal condition of many of the houses but very ill accord; they are utterly devoid of all taste and convenience; no furniture but broken chairs and stools,

and a few vile pictures suspended against the bare walls. Instead of glazed windows are a kind of lattice, hung upon hinges, which they lift up and down as well as the craziness of the work will allow them. Some exceptions, however, must be made to this observation, as the houses of the English residents, and of the genteeler kind of people, are in good repair, and have the superior advantage of glazed windows. The streets, moreover, are narrow, and very much neglected; even the principal one, leading up the hill, was very much incommoded by large massy pieces of stone, deposited there by torrents of rain, which at some time or other had severed them from the mountains. These formed a perfect maze of zigzags, so as to hem in the passenger to a narrow space of each side. What concerned every body concerned nobody. No one thought of removing these nuisances, or forming any thing of a shore or channel. 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.

Religion here, as in all the other Portuguese settlements,

engrosses much of that time and attention which might be more usefully devoted to instruction and improvement. Many are the places which are set apart for this purpose; but the cathedral, which is situated upon a flat in the upper part of the town, is the only one I visited. It is a most respectable edifice, and contains many paintings, representing our Saviour, from his infancy to his sufferings; the holy virgin, and the saints of the holy church. It is indispensably necessary, in order to stand well with the natives, who are all rigid catholics, to behave with a reverential decorum, suited to the sanctity of the place; as a contrary conduct would draw upon the subject an instant resentment. We deem this hint the more necessary, as our countrymen are generally too free in this respect, and which frequently terminates unpleasantly.

At a little distance from hence is a public walk, with four rows of trees, at the end of which is the military parade, wherein are the public fountains. The convent of St. Michael is another striking object, uniformly built, and commanding a very fine prospect. The nuns who inhabit it employ themselves in making several curious articles, such as artificial flowers, baskets, and a variety of trinkets, &c.

The principal attention of the island has been directed to the cultivation of the vine. Other agricultural pursuits are neglected. The island does not produce half what is necessary for its own consumption, so that it is compelled to import grain and other

provision from all quarters. The Americans, in consequence, carried on a very active trade with them, supplying them with flour, beef, pork, fish, &c. as likewise timber, staves, &c. taking wine in return, the produce of the island. In consequence of the present hostilities, they must now look to Ireland for many of these articles. Here and there are to be seen a few patches of Indian corn, and other pulse. Their bread, however, is very sour and unpalatable, being, as in the West Indies, raised from leaven, instead of yeast. Most of the houses have their own ovens.

Besides the Portuguese money, the current coin in the island is Spanish dollars, half-dollars, pistorines, bits, &c. The copper coin is a vintin, value about three half-pence English. The dollars may be estimated at four shillings and nine-pence. The pistorine, a shilling, and the bit, six-pence. People intending to go there would do well to provide themselves with some of this coin, as in the exchange our silver coin loses considerably, and in some instances will be refused. Even guineas were attended with a loss. But since the occupation of this island by the British, many of these inconveniences have been removed. Still, however, they exist to a certain extent. They are now regulated by the price of bullion in the European, and particularly in the English markets.

This island has latterly been much frequented by invalids suffering under pulmonary and other complaints, much benefit having

been derived from the influence of the climate. The seasons are only two, summer and winter: there is no degree of heat and cold in the extreme; and there is an infinite change for the better in the society of the island, as every class of visitors may find a circle suited to their respective conditions. Mantua-makers, milliners, &c. have gone over in good abundance, and English fashions have partly supplanted the Portuguese bad taste. Scarcely a week passes but some vessel from Europe touches at the island, and thus gives an opportunity of communicating fresh intelligence on subjects in which these islanders feel great interest.

There is now an opera, and they have subscription balls once a fortnight, and sometimes oftener, to which the people of fashion and merchants resort; and those who before but knew each other slightly, are becoming more familiarized to one another. There are likewise accommodations for convalescents; and as the salutary effect of the climate becomes more known, and the resort of visitors more frequent, the calls of wealth will naturally attract the usual supply; and those who can pay for every thing will soon here, as in the English watering places, want for nothing. I would advise, however, that an English visitant should not expect too much from Portuguese civilization. He would do well, therefore, to take the best part of his kitchen with him, and even such of his furniture as is portable.

The peculiar excellence of the wines is in a great degree occa-

sioned by the care taken in selecting the largest and the best grapes for that of the first quality; the next best for those of the second quality. Some of these grapes are as large as an English plumb. The wine of the first quality, called Madeira Malmsey, is made from a vine imported by one of the Portuguese princes from Candia. A very small quantity of this wine is made, and it is of course monopolized for the best houses. The next sort is what is ordinarily drank in London for Madeira. The price of Malmsey in 1811 was as high as £80 *per* pipe. London particular, £60; and London Madeira £40. The wines of inferior quality are generally used by the populace.

The vineyards are enclosed with a kind of prickly pear hedges, myrtles, flowering shrubs, &c. and almost all the European and tropical fruits, are to be found in the gardens. The heats rendering frequent irrigation indispensably necessary, the proprietors of vineyards have wears conducted into them, whence they water them every day, or as occasion may require.

The island produces but very indifferent meat; the beef, compared to English ox beef, is a mere collection of sinews; yet bad as it is, since the occupation of the island by the English, its price is more than double to what it formerly was, being now from nine to ten, and even eleven pence *per* pound. There is very little fowl, few for sale, every one rearing his own; and the poultry, from the scarcity of corn, is tough.

The common people of Madeira have the Portuguese feature

and form, but mingled with the black and mulatto. Their eyes are very black, their hair curly, and from their intermarriage with the negroes, is in many of the native families crisp, stiff, and coarse. The gentry, having kept more amongst themselves, have a nearer resemblance to the Portuguese at home, and with their features and manners, retain much of their pride.

The diet of the people, perhaps from habits induced by necessity, is frugal to a degree; they live on their own sour bread, chesnuts, and vegetables, and a small pittance of meat or fish; and poison themselves, at least in the opinion of Europeans, by the quantity of onions which they take at every meal. Their drink is either water, or the very refuse of their wine. They are so poor, or so thrifty, that they consume nothing they can sell. Besides their wines, their articles of export are honey, sugar, wax, dragon's blood, &c.

This island is strong by nature, and respectably fortified; and an enemy would find it difficult to effect a landing, owing to a heavy surf, which is perpetually beating on the beach. Even in moderate weather those who land are carried on shore on men's shoulders. At present twelve companies of the royal veteran battalion, under the command of an English general, form the garrison, according to stipulations entered into between the British and Portuguese governments: added to this, in cases of emergency, there is a force of between two and three thousand militia.

The government of the island, as heretofore, is conducted according to former usages, by a Portuguese governor, and magistracy acting under him.

The anchorage lies about one mile and a quarter from a high rock, separated from the main ocean by a narrow channel, of from 40 to 50 yards wide, called the Loo, or Lee rock, which is fortified so as to defend both the town and shipping in the bay against any sudden attempt or surprise from an enemy.

In summer, when the northerly winds prevail, a south-west current sets through the channel between Madeira and the Desertas; and in that season, when the weather is settled, they have regular land and sea breezes. The sea breeze sets in from south-west in the forenoon; and the land-breeze comes generally from the shore about ten o'clock at night; but sometimes it is not till three or four o'clock in the morning, before it commences.

The bay of Funchal being much exposed to southerly winds, if a gale suddenly arise from that quarter, all the shipping lying in this bay are obliged, for safety, to put to sea; and sometimes a considerable time elapses before they are able to regain their former anchorage, and communicate with the people on shore, in consequence of the heavy swell in the bay, against which the strongest cables and anchors would be but an insufficient security.

This island is reckoned about 37 miles in length, by 11 in

breadth; and, according to the latest estimate, its population may amount to 65,000 inhabitants, of which the town of Funchal, the capital, forms one fifth.

At noon the observed latitude on board was $32^{\circ} 34'$; thermometer 76. The Desertas are high barren rocks, except the north-westernmost, which is much lower than the others, lying between five and six leagues, in a south-east direction from Funchal. They are only frequented by fishermen, who have a few temporary huts thereon, and are easily distinguished from Madeira, from the flatness of their tops; they are very dangerous to approach too near in high winds, the current setting directly through them.

CHAPTER II.

*Departure from Madeira.—Passage to the Southward.—Arrival at
St. Salvadore.*

LEAVING Madeira in the evening, at sun-rise on the morning of the 23d, we saw the island of Palma, one of the Canaries or Fortunate Islands, bearing S. W. The wind at this time blowing a steady breeze from the N. E. enabled us to sail along its shore within the distance of a league, so that with the help of our glasses we could perceive the minutest objects.

Here again, as at Madeira, the aspect of the country was delightful, and the trees which covered the mountains, together with the general verdure of the island, proved inexpressible charms to the senses. The Spaniards and Portuguese, who led the way amongst the European nations to maritime discovery, have generally exhibited a sound judgment in the selection they have made for the places of settlement, these islands, no less abounding in substantial comforts, than excelling in natural beauty. The island-

ers are said to live to a great age under a climate so happy and so salubrious.

Upon opening one of the coves, we saw a small schooner under sail; stretching from under the land. This vessel, as soon as she saw us, made the best of her way to the land, running herself on shore, as if pursued by ten thousand enemies; and I have no doubt, that as many of her countrymen as saw her, congratulated her on her dexterous and hair-breadth escape.

At five in the evening of the same day, we saw the island of Ferro, the most western of all the Canaries, bearing S. E. about five leagues distance. This island was formerly reckoned the most western of the whole world, and indeed some navigators in the present day calculate their first meridian from thence.

On the following morning, having now caught the trade wind, the commodore made the signal for a boat from every ship with her letters for England. At noon the commodore left us, and we received fresh instructions from the senior commodore 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 the heavier ships. In this manner we continued to accompany the Indiamen to the latitude of eleven degrees, where the trade wind failed us; and being now wholly out of danger, from the cruisers 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 acknowledgment 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 6th of August, 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 only will comprehend, who have been in the similar circumstance of a two-year's absence from their native land.

In the latitude of seven degrees north, the winds became variable, and chiefly from the southward; so that our run seldom exceeded from twenty to thirty miles per day. According to known astronomical causes, these winds are influenced by the motion of the sun, inasmuch as when the sun is in its northern boundaries, they prevail considerably more to the northward than whilst he is nearer the equator. When in his southern circuit, it often happens that

ships cross the tropic of cancer before they can be fairly said to have caught a regular trade.

On some of these occasions, in calm and dark nights, it was really wonderful to see the myriads of fish with which the ship was encircled. The whole sea, as far as the eye could reach, was illumined with a glittering radiance, as if of a vast fire-work. The stores of the great deep appeared to the eye, as if thrown open to view; and all its animated creation, in their different variety of forms and sizes, cast up, as it were, on the surface of the waters. It seemed as if nature was opening her vast treasure-house, and inviting man to admire and adore the author of all being, by displaying his wisdom and goodness, even as exerted in the recesses of the deep.

This vast assemblage was doubtless caused by the bright shining of the ship's copper on the waters, which, like a fire in that element, had collected them in millions upon millions. Here were to be seen not only all varieties of form and figure, but even almost all contrarieties of nature, mingled together as offspring of a common family: the voracious shark, the tiger of the deep, with his diminutive jackall, the pilot ship, the albacore, bonetto, dolphin, flying-fish, &c. The glare of the ships bottom, as above mentioned, doubtless so stupified them, as to render them insensible of this unnatural confusion. We know this to be the case with birds, who are in the same manner to be collected by a light shining in the dark.

During the further progress of our voyage, we were so ham-

pered by the southerly winds, and a current setting us on the American coast, as to have approached within two degrees and a 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, previously to entering into high latitudes.

At midnight of the 29th of August, we saw the land bearing N.W. to W. and by N. distant four leagues, and hove too till the morning. At day-light we made sail towards the harbour, which lies in latitude $12^{\circ} 59'$ south, longitude $39^{\circ} 23'$ west.

The bay of All Saints may be approached by vessels without difficulty. Its entrance is wide and capacious, about nine miles across; and at a little distance having the semblance of an immense lake, extending as far inland as the eye can reach. Having proceeded some way, a fort named St. Antonio, situated on a peninsula on the right-hand side, presented itself, being a kind of advanced post for the defence of the harbour. From this fort, the first intelligence of the arrival of any shipping is conveyed to the town, by signal. The distance from hence to the town is between three and four miles, still on the right, and nearly the same to the place of anchorage. In this anchorage there is a choice of water, from 10, 8, 7, 6, and five fathoms, in clear ground, directly fronting the town of St. Salvadore.

Knowing the partiality of the Portuguese for pomp and parade, and thinking that it might render our reception so much more agreeable, as it seemingly added to our personal importance, we saluted the fort Do Mar, with nine guns; a fort isolated from the main, and mounting a double battery, for the protection of the port. They returned this salutation with five only.

CHAPTER III.

Hostile Jealousy of the Portuguese Government.—Visit to the Viceroy.—Description of the City of St. Salvadore, its Dock-yard, &c.

ON our arrival at this port, various were the conjectures of the inhabitants with respect to our vessel and the design of our voyage, a circumstance which in part arose from our near resemblance to a cutter brig. Some considered us as a French spy, on a reconnoitring voyage to the ports and coasts; and none were 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.

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.

Immediately upon our anchoring, the chief officer of a Brazil ship, lying in the bay, came off to us, and kindly offered his assistance to conduct us into a better anchorage. For this act of kindness, as it wanted the authority of the government, he was sent to prison, and not set at liberty till the day before we had sailed. One of the custom-house officers, accused of some inattention and defect of established rigour, was punished in the same manner. To what must this severity be attributed? To nothing but the jealous timidity of the government at this period, and to a habit of feeling,

and thinking, and acting, common to all despotisms; a contempt of individual liberty and rights, an under-valuation of every thing that is dear to the individual, compared with the slightest interest, or imagined interest, of the government.

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 inquiries 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, followed

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 re-capture 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.

On the following morning we were occupied some time in preparing for our visit of ceremony to the governor. Previously 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 honour 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 haughtiness 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 cruisers.

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 her 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 liberty allowed us, and threw our eyes around us in search of such objects as usually attract the attention of strangers.

This 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, which contains the wharfs, store-houses, and custom-house, is for the most part occupied by inhabitants of the inferior order, retail tradesmen, adventurers, and persons following mechanical trades.

The houses have lattice windows and balconies, but the streets in many parts of the town, are so narrow, that two neighbours in opposite balconies might almost shake hands. The population is estimated at from 90 to 100,000. The inhabitants may be classed into three divisions, whites, mulattoes, and blacks, of which the latter is by somewhat the largest.

In passing through the town, my attention was particularly taken by a row of cabarets, or small shops, very similar to Exeter Change, each having an assortment of gold, silver, and jewellery articles, diamonds, topazes, amethysts, chrysolites, and emeralds, infinitely more valuable for the materials than for the workmanship, a circumstance characteristic of this country, as distinguished from those of Europe. There was nothing of finishing, neatness, or scarcely polish; however fine might be the substance, they had a coldness, and a clumsiness, as if made of lead or pewter. In such of these articles

as profess an imitation of the human figure, they have no idea of carrying into them any of the skill of the statuary; they imitate them with about as much taste as the Chinese. They are lapidaries only fit for brick-work.

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 valuable, are thus purchased at a price too high.

In the dock-yard a ship of 64 guns, named the Principe de Brazil, was on the stocks: it was built of the country wood, a wood of a species of the Indian teek, and 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 manufactures; but should the industry of the colony ever increase, and the improvement of agriculture augment the stock of raw materials, the practice of this selfish policy will not long remain.

Like all other new and unbroken countries, there is a greater want of workmen, than of materials. If carpenters or shipwrights were in greater numbers, vessels might be very cheaply built, from the great abundance and quality of the timber. The forests of the Brazils are not excelled, perhaps not equalled, by those of Europe. The trees mostly used for ship-building are known by the country names of Sipipira, Peroba, and Loura, whilst the Brazil fir, the different kinds of cedar, &c. may be used for deck-plank, and the trees of the fir genus are well suited for ship masts, and are used for that purpose by the Portuguese. Experience, however, is the best test of the value of Brazil timber, and experience is much in its favour, as the Portuguese vessels, built wholly out of these forests, are infinitely more durable than English mercantile vessels.

The dock-yard, from its commodiousness, and still more from its capabilities of further improvement and enlargement, attracted much of my attention, indeed much more than any other object whatever. It is a large square area of ground, immediately fronting the water, enclosed on all sides; and its internal arrangements and accommodations are on a scale of magnitude and convenience which would not disgrace a similar establishment in Europe. There are houses, apartments, and lodgings for all the superior and under officers; the intendant of marine and master builders have respectable accommodations, and the blacksmith, and other inferior handicraftmen, are comfortably provided. On one of my visits to this yard, I experienced a civility which is not very usual in our Euro-

pean docks. Seeing me attentively observing the sixty-four gun ship, at that time building, they invited me, with the greatest frankness, on board, and accompanied me over every part of the vessel; which, as far as regarded the carpenter's work, was nearly completed. I deem it but justice to add, that this ship appeared to me a most complete, and well finished piece of workmanship; and, together with its neatness, to have a strength and substance, not to be excelled, and not commonly equalled in the European docks.—To add still more strength to that which was already strong, large riders or ribs were fixed inside the hold, running from the keels on to the lower gun deck. In fact she was as strong as wood and iron, combined with human art, could possibly make her; and I am persuaded that she would wear three times the age of one of our common contract ships. The Portuguese caulkers are, perhaps, the first in the world; for oakum, they make use of a fibrous bark, which they say is less subject to decay than that article. The common labourers in the dock I observed to be chiefly convicts, and others condemned to the works, as punishments for their civil crimes. No country in the world, is better situated for advantageously carrying on ship-building, if the inhabitants, seconded by the encouragement of the government, had the industry to avail themselves of their local advantages. European example and capital might produce a prodigious effect. The people require to be awakened.

The Brazilian planters would not want spirit to call forth all the possible produce of their soil, if there were markets for it when

raised. Interest is the principal incitement to industry: let there be but a demand, and it will instantly be followed by supply. It is in this manner that commerce administers to agriculture; and that a brisk trade, by animating and rewarding the industry of the cultivator, pushes the earth to its utmost possible productiveness. It is thus that the richest and most commercial countries are always best cultivated, and that the condition of the husbandman rapidly follows that of the merchant. It is from the same reason, that land in such countries, being productive, is always dear, that is to say, as to its apparent money-price. And from the like cause, in the northern countries of Europe, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, &c. commerce and agriculture are equally in the back ground.

Great use may likewise be made of the Indians, if there were due encouragement for their industry, by an extensive foreign demand for such objects as they could supply. They can fell trees as well, and perhaps better than the Portuguese Brazilians, and their labour would not be a fourth of the price. If they were encouraged by proper rewards, they would soon learn to saw the wood into suitable planks and beams on the spot, and thus render it portable to the rivers.

The conquests and influence of Buonaparte over that part of the continent from whence we derived our naval stores, has given him an advantage which may hereafter be of serious injury to the greatness, and even to the defence of England. In common prudence, therefore, the English government would do well to

look around them, and to take *measures in anticipation* against the evident designs of the French ruler, and the present temper of the American government. With these impressions upon my mind, I am persuaded that government could not do any thing better, than immediately to avail themselves of their actual relations with the Portuguese government, and either directly by their own influence, or through the medium of the Portuguese, apply themselves to building ships of war of Brazil timber, and in the Brazil docks. Almost every requisite may be found on the spot, and with respect to the cost, it would be infinitely less than in England. Land, labour, the operations of taxes, and the comparative scarcity of the principal material, are all very main circumstances in the high prices of Europe, and all of which are here wanting.

To put this plan practically into execution, it would be necessary to send out additional builders and artificers from England, the number of these workmen in Brazil being very few. The royal dock-yards might with much ease be enlarged, and with respect to exciting a spirit in the country, what would not British capital effect!

The narrow selfishness of the Portuguese government has hitherto blinded it to the value and importance of this settlement; but necessity, and a new state of things, seem now about to arouse it from that deep lethargy in which it has been buried for some centuries.

The address of Buonaparte to the Dutch deputies sufficiently declare his projects: "The day shall come when you are to conduct my eagles to the sea celebrated by the exploits of your ancestors. From this moment till that period, all the changes in Europe shall have for their first motive the destruction of that tyrannical and irrational system by which the English government have outlawed all trade, and subjected it to the arbitrary authority of English licences."

What must have been the feelings of the Prince Regent of Portugal upon learning the fate of the whole royal family of Spain, connected with him as well in nearness of blood as in community of interest? What must be his feelings at the dreadful misery which the fatal ambition of the enemy has brought on his own country? Must not his heart overflow with due gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of events at his fortunate and timely escape.

Indeed many of the best ships in the Portuguese and Spanish navy have been built in the Brazils or the Havannah. Should government deem it a point of indelicacy to make any proposal as to building our national ships in Portuguese docks, let them at least employ their influence that the carrying trade may be thrown open to individuals. And as a preparatory step, let our own high duty on foreign timber be removed. This is perhaps the most injudicious restriction in the whole code of our commercial jealousy. As to hemp, another article of naval equip-

ment, it may be cultivated here to any extent. A pithy question may here be put. From the present glut of the European market with sugar, cotton, &c. the Brazilians, like our West Indians, can find but a limited sale for this, their staple produce: might they not change their cultivation from sugar, &c. to hemp and flax? England could readily take it all.

Sunday being a high festival in the Portuguese calendar, the captain and myself seized this opportunity to visit the 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.

It was not without great difficulty that we obtained a seat in the principal church. Our eyes were in some measure diverted from the preacher to the holy virgin. She was arrayed in gold and jewels, with the figure of the Prince of Brazil, as large as life, on her right hand, elegantly accoutred, perhaps intimating by this his being one of her avowed champions and defenders, and 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 in their best attire, and exhibiting a rich profusion of jewellery, saluting her from the windows and balconies, with 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.

It is upon such occasions that the genius of these people are to be seen, even as in a mirror. The windows in London, on a Lord Mayor's day, were not more crowded than were those of St. Salvadore on this occasion.

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 mummary, 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, chanting prayers or thanksgivings in the usual monotony of the Roman Catholic choristers.

In no country in the world, not even in Spain and Portugal themselves, are the ceremonies of saints' days and festivals carried to greater excess than in Brazil. I think it may fairly be said, that at least half of the time of this people is spent in some way connected with religion. Every second or third day is a festival of some saint or other, which is celebrated with much pomp and solemnity, the procession being preceded by a vast number of the religious order, carrying church banners, images, relics, &c.

The sums exacted from the people by way of alms, for these several religious establishments, seem astonishing to an Englishman, with whom charity is at least voluntary, and importunes and implores, rather than vexes and commands. Not a day passes in St. Salvadore, but that some host or other of these sturdy mendicants parade the streets, squares, and market places, in fact every crevice of the town, demanding, not soliciting, a contribution towards the support of themselves, and those intrusted to their care. They have no respect whatever to any difference of condition or circumstances; rank and no rank, opulence and poverty, are to them the same; they go every where, and almost succeed every where; they use their sacred functions and characters as instruments of menace; and not unfrequently punish a refusal by a malediction.

The churches and convents are perhaps more acceptable to the people, because, in fact, they are almost the only places where the ladies of condition can go in perfect unrestraint. The unmarried ladies very frequently live together in the convents, and are sometimes persuaded to take the veil.

The ladies, however, when they can find time and opportunity, employ themselves very assiduously in making converts for the catholic religion. Our interpreter, one of the ship's company, who spoke fluently the Portuguese language, was much solicited to remain amongst them; being in great favour, by reason of a cross, and a representation of the crucifixion indented in his arm when he was formerly in Roman catholic countries. This external mark, which he was careful not to conceal, was to them a sufficient evidence of his faith, and should he have died in the country, would have insured him a Christian burial. His welcome was so much to his mind, that if we had not looked very sharply after him, he would most certainly have given us the slip, and fixed himself amongst them.

One afternoon, parading the streets with our black interpreter, passing a church, in the porch of which was a band of black musicians, he earnestly entreated us to gratify ourselves a few moments, by hearing some Brazilian airs, speaking, at the same time, in most exaggerated terms of their skill and science, and promising us a great treat. We suffered ourselves to be persuaded, and the interpreter, as a proof of their readiness, and knowledge

of all tunes, requested us to choose one, and to call for it, for that English, Portuguese, Chinese, &c. was all the same to them: and truly so it proved to be in the result, by their confusion of one with the other. We gratified our interpreter by calling for God save the King; upon which the black musicians, replying *Si, Si*, (i.e. yes, yes) immediately set up the celebrated Marsellois song. “ This is God save the King, with a vengeance!” said I: contradiction, however, was useless; they insisted that it was; and as I saw no purpose in arguing it, I let them have it their own way. An English gentleman, however, who was present, was rather indignant at the mistake, and saluted them with an English blessing or two, but which, being expressed in English, they understood as little as the song.

The climate of Brazil is perhaps the most delightful in the world; though hot, it is not that kind of moist heat, which, to use a poetic image, carries death and putrefaction on its wings; it does not call up the vapours and humours of the earth, to convert them into a circulating poison, which, infusing itself into men and animals, renders too many of these tropical climates but the abodes of death. The earth is covered with verdure; and the eternal spring of the poets seems here to have a real existence. All the vegetable creation answers to the fineness of the seasons; and it is not too much to say, that fertility seems here to have fixed her abode.

This beautiful country, however, blest by nature with every

capability of becoming great and opulent, possesses all these advantages in vain; they are rendered useless from the invincible indolence of the inhabitants. Nature in vain gives a fertile soil, if human industry be wanting to cultivate it.

We have already mentioned the richness of this country in all the materials requisite for ship-building and equipment; and it has very often suggested itself to me, that our government might turn this abundance to great advantage in the present eventful crisis of England and of Europe. Connected in interest, as well as in feeling, as are the British and Portuguese governments, the latter would not hesitate, upon the slightest intimation, to afford every facility to purposes of mutual advantage. Rice, for example, which is growing into general use amongst us, and which has gained a price proportionate to its demand and the present narrow supply, might be cultivated in Brazil in great quantities, and a hint, merely, would set the Portuguese government to work. The soil is peculiarly favourable for it, and the Savannahs, lying at the same time exposed to the sun, and being under water for three parts of the year, seem to call for such application of their fertility. For this article we have hitherto been indebted to America, the ports of which are now shut against us. In fact, in times of great scarcity, our settlements, both at the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales, have received very seasonable supplies from Brazil. For tobacco, too, we have had chiefly to depend upon America. The culture of

that plant might be carried to any extent. Our West India islands have been in the habit of receiving large supplies of beef and pork from the United States. Might not the Portuguese jerked beef be found a good substitute? In fact, Brazil has mines of wealth, far richer than all the mineral and metallic ores. Every thing, however, must be prepared, or, as it were, pointed out by ourselves. Brazil must, in every respect, be considered as a new country. We must sow before we can expect to reap. The maturer wisdom of this country, our greater knowledge of the nature of commerce and cultivation, must suggest the means to the Portuguese inhabitants and government; and the community of interest will insure us their cordial co-operation. No country under heaven, were its capabilities called into action by a prudent and encouraging system, is better suited than Brazil, both to render itself and allies great and rich. Situated, as it were, in the centre of the globe, and affording a safe and easy, or as the sailors call it, a fair-weather voyage, the passage may generally be completed in seven or eight months. The principal harbours are large and capacious, with the south-east trade wind blowing in, and a land wind to carry them out, when ready for sea. If we only look at our losses and speculations, of late years, to the Baltic and Canada, both in merchantmen and men of war; the loss of property and lives, chiefly from the dangers and difficulties of navigation; there can no doubt, we presume, remain on the mind of any one, of the vast comparative superiority of Brazil.

CHAPTER IV.

Trade.—Revenue.—Price of Provisions, &c. &c.

THE trade of Brazil, like that of all new countries, is rather rich, more from the fertility of the soil, the abundance of its mines, and the cheapness of its labour, than from its manufacturing industry, which, of course, is never found in an agricultural or colonial state of society. Brazil, therefore, carries on an astonishing trade in raw materials; and so much the more so, inasmuch as those materials are of such value. Gold-dust, diamonds, Brazil wood, satin and tulip woods, gums, balsams, and medicinal roots, together with cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, tallow, aqua-ardent, &c. are sent in great quantities to Europe, and paid for by European goods, or bills upon Europe. How much might this trade be increased, if the possible fertility of the soil was pushed to its capacity, by a skilful and industrious cultivation.

A good part of the cultivation of Brazil is by the slaves of the planters, and it must be acknowledged, that if any state of things

could justify the slave trade, the kind treatment which the Brazilian farmer gives them, would be one. The slaves in Brazil are treated almost as if children of the family; and the greatest interest is taken in having them baptized, and instructed, at least in the elements of the Christian faith. Might not a question be here put, whether the slaves are not infinitely gainers by the exchange of a barbarous liberty, for these advantages of instruction and certain protection. But that we may not for a moment advance a dangerous principle, let us be permitted to observe, that such a supposition would necessarily put the liberty of the weak always at the mere discretion and good intention of the strong, since a man would have then only to persuade himself that he made another a slave in order to better his condition, and thus satisfy his conscience at once. The Portuguese, however, have not as yet reconciled themselves to the abolition, and I am afraid they have found some such arguments as the above for its justification. The price of a slave, when I was there, was about thirty pounds: they were brought from the coast of Africa. The merchants of St. Salvadore were allowed to import their own slaves, and to my thoughts there seemed to be a tolerably brisk demand for them.

They have likewise a good coasting, or home trade, upon their own and the Spanish coast, and they carry on a lucrative commerce with the settlements and planters upon the Rio Grande, St. Sebastian, St. Catherines, &c. Their cargo outwards is usually rum, Manchester goods, hosiery, plated goods, and coarse hats, articles of

worked iron and steel from England and Germany, which they barter with the Spaniards in the Rio de la Plata, for square plates of copper, silver, gold, &c. But as these returns occupy only a space in the vessel proportionate to their greater value, they take their main cargo in jerk beef, tallow, and hides.

The manner of preparing this beef is by dividing it, when killed, into long slices, and steeping it in hot pickle for a certain length of time, from thirty to thirty-six hours, according to its thickness: it is then taken out, and dried in the sun, and smoking houses, and afterwards packed up in small parcels of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty pounds. This is an article of general consumption on board of ship, and amongst the lower classes of society on shore. Upon their return to port, their vessel becomes a kind of floating chandler's shop, where every one may be served out by retail, in as small quantities as he pleases, at the rate of about three-pence *per* pound.

The revenues of the government are very considerable; but, unfortunately for the prosperity of the colony, the government, instead of a prudent selection of articles of impost, seem only to look to one point, that is, to fill the public treasury for the current year, without any regard for the preservation of the stock: they fleece instead of shear; and cut down the tree to gather the fruit. This, indeed, is not peculiar to the Brazilian government; perhaps there are some governments nearer home, who, by taxes on raw materials, pig-iron, &c. do not shew much more consideration for the true

principles of political economy: a subject is not the most proper for taxation, because it is in general use; another point is always to be considered, whether an article of such general use be not likewise an article of general necessity.

One great source of their revenue is founded upon the most mischievous principles; it is the monopoly of salt and tobacco, &c. Government is thus at once a sovereign and a trader; that is to say, unites two characters which should be totally distinct. Where the sovereign is a dealer, there is no measure in the price, but his will; and what is still worse, where the subject of monopoly is an article of general use, as in this case, such monopoly of it will render the people a nation of smugglers. Hence a whole crowd of evils; in the first place a jealous, suspicious system of *espionnage* and police; and in the next, severe laws, and a general relaxation of morals, and all honesty and honour. Whoever has lived in a sea port, may form a tolerable judgment what will be the morals of a nation composed of smugglers.

The tax on salt, for instance, an article of the first necessity both to man and cattle, inasmuch as the latter, in particular, cannot live without it, and demand it, as it were, as regularly as water. By what perversion of policy, therefore, is it, that this article of such necessity is chosen as a subject of such heavy impost; the effects of which are to restrict and impede the farmer in bringing up cattle, and most certainly in salting any of it down for the American or European market?

Salt is as dear, almost, as silver: whence is this? Is it because of its scarcity? not at all: the reason is, the tax, and the monopoly of government. Salt, in fact, is in as great plenty in the Portuguese settlements, as the soil of the earth itself, and to be had as cheap as ballast; but the government renders it thus scarce.

The following are the main branches of the revenue:—

1. A fifth upon all the gold in Brazil.
2. A duty of fifteen *per cent.* upon all merchandise entered at the custom-house, and imported, except what is imported in Portuguese ships, which pay something less.
3. A small tax upon exports.
4. The great tythes, or ten *per cent.* upon the productions of the land. The great tythes, by the fundamental laws of all catholic countries, belonged, as a matter of course, to the pope, as the acknowledged head of their respective churches; but upon the first settlement of the colony of Brazil, an agreement was made between the pope of that day, and the reigning King of Portugal, that the king should support the clergy, by giving them a fixed stipend, and that, in compensation, his Majesty should have all the great tythes of the colony. In the process of things this has turned out a most beneficial bargain for the government; and most assuredly, if his holiness could have foreseen it, he would not have done his duty to his charge, had he consented to it. It is divided into farms, and which farms, like our turnpike trusts, and like many of the taxes under the former government of France, are put up to

auction, and let out to the highest bidder who can give the due security. Happily, however, both for the people and the collectors, it is not taken in kind; the farmers of it are contented with a composition, which is rated according to the number of slaves. Some idea may be formed of the probable amount of these great tythes, by one circumstance, namely, that one township alone was let to the contractors at from eight to ten thousand pounds *per annum*.

5. Monopolies, which are granted to individuals by the government, and which are of two kinds; first, where the government deems itself to be the sole and natural proprietor of the article or object of monopoly, such as salt and tobacco, &c. just mentioned; and secondly, where it allows an individual an exclusive, or at least a superior right over an article or object of common and general right: for example, permitting him to keep the only store in a village, to drive the only public stage or waggon, letting out of mules, the right of ferry, &c. These different kinds of monopoly are enormously profitable, but it must be confessed at a very considerable cost on the personal liberty of the subject, in the true interest of commerce and interior trade, and of course in the real and ultimate good of the public. The exclusive privilege of salt is thus farmed out to one individual, for between forty and fifty thousand pounds, and the farmer is considered as getting half as much more profit for himself. It is in this imprudent way, that this indolent and thoughtless government supplies its treasury, at

the expence of the public good. It might obtain, perhaps, double the amount, with less oppression to the public, under a wiser system. If kings and ministers are sometimes regardless of the sufferings of the subject, how very little of this sympathy is to be expected from farmer-generals, who of course have but one main point, that of making the best of the bargain. A proprietor will naturally feel some regard for the prosperity of what is his own; but will a rack tenant from year to year, be sensible of any feeling but that of making the most of the land. The Prince Regent is an amiable character; and I indulge very warm hopes that the country will attain to a very high pitch of prosperity, under his patriotic supervision.

6. A duty upon commodities going to certain provinces, such as oxen coming from the country to Rio Janiero, and articles going to the mining districts. A tax likewise on public ferries, and a tax on mules, and cattle, *per head*.

7. A most injudicious, I had almost said a most shameful tax, on every pound of butcher-meat sold in the principal towns; a tax calculated to destroy one part of agriculture, and to keep up the prices of the necessaries of life.

8. A very proper and moderate tax on spiritous liquors. In warm countries these kind of liquors can only be wanted for medicines, and therefore in such small quantities, that the tax on them will fall very moderately indeed on any individual. As to the general use of spiritous liquors in hot countries, it is only so

much burning poison to the blood. Brandy in the torrid zone ought to be forbidden, except in the medicine shops.

9. A tax upon houses, according to their actual rents, when rented, and to their computed value if inhabited by their proprietor. There seems no kind of objection to this tax, which, in one shape or other, is common in every nation in Europe; in England, we have it in a window tax; in other countries, it is fixed on every hearth: and as far as respects any consideration of political economy, it is of little consequence to what it is fixed, as long as it observes its due proportion to probable income, and prudent expenditure.

10. A mint stamp, or tax upon coinage, but which is here carried much too far. In England, where commerce and trade are properly understood, there is no tax whatever on coinage; the guinea in gold-dust, or standard gold, and the guinea in coinage, are current for the same. But in Brazil the government takes nearly thirty *per cent.* for its coinage; and if it receives, say thirty grains of pure bullion, for the purpose of coining it, it issues it out as a forty-grain piece.

The Portuguese laws, in many respects, are not severe. Executions are rare; punishment by torture, is forbidden. The principal fault is in the insecurity of personal liberty, and the difficulty of procuring what, in England, is termed a fair trial. Persons, for example, particularly foreigners, were liable to be arrested for trivial misdemeanors, or alledged irregularities; and when once in custody, were for a length of time forgotten. Smuggling, however, is considered almost as bad

as forgery in England, and punished with a rigour accordingly. The laws of debtor and creditor resemble those of Scotland: an insolvent debtor makes a cession of his goods to his creditor, and is thenceforth personally free. Fraudulent reservation, &c. is of course punished; and fraud in the contraction of the debt has likewise its limited penalty.

Fish of all kinds are in great plenty on the coast, and the Portuguese might have them in greater abundance in their markets, if their fishermen were more industrious, or put a cheaper price upon them; but indolence is so dear to a Portuguese, that when he parts with it, he is resolved to have his own price for it. They have fish of every sort, edible as well as non-edible; but the lower Portuguese are not very nice in their taste. Indeed, with respect to their diet, they are abstinent in the extreme. An Englishman used to the comforts of his own country, would find himself at a loss for almost every article to which he has been accustomed, even in humble life. Of cookery they know nothing, every thing is stewed into shreds and rags; the boy cooks on board our common merchantmen infinitely excel them. Mr. Murray's book on domestic cookery is much wanted here; but their sweatmeats and capillaire are most excellent.

Brazil does not so much abound in animals, and particularly of the fiercer kinds, as might be expected from its extent. The principal quadrupeds are leopards, tiger-cats, wolves, ounces, wild-boars, &c. In the woods are a good many sloths, an animal more

disgusting than mischievous. There are likewise a great many of the monkey-kind. Armadilloes may be found in every quarter; some of them about the size of a hedge-hog, and defending themselves in the same manner when attacked. From the genial nature of the climate, or rather, from the abundance of food, such of the domestic animals as escape into the woods, as horses, cows, &c. multiply exceedingly, and the woods are accordingly full of them. The quality of the horse and cow resembles that of the same animals in the Spanish settlements; round and small boned, but totally without beauty. When slaughtered for the market, the meat is insipid and tasteless, a circumstance which may be imputed to the manner of slaying of them. In the first place, to my own thoughts, they are not half bled. Their way of killing them rather resembles strangulation than the mode used in Europe; indeed, so much did I dislike it, that I betook myself to their poultry, which is excellent.

The following may be considered as the selling price of provisions, with some little variation, according to circumstances. Farina, a kind of casada flour, a dollar *per* bushel; beef, three-pence *per* pound; a bullock, from eight to twelve dollars, according to the size; a pair of Muscovy ducks, nearly the size of a goose each, a dollar; a turkey, a dollar; a young pig, from thirty-five to forty pounds, two dollars; Turkey corn, about five shillings *per* bushel; sugar, three dollars *per* arrove, thirty-two pounds; coffee, five dollars *per* ditto; tobacco the same; aqua-ardent, or new rum, made from the very

refuse of the sugar-cane, from fifty to fifty-five dollars *per* pipe; oranges, about five hundred for a dollar; sheep, mutton, or veal, I saw none.

It may be observed, that this is the town price; but in the country, provisions of all kinds may be procured at a price proportionable to their great abundance in a new and fertile soil, where the produce exceeds the markets, and the excess, as in the states of North America, is frequently converted into dung. It is easy for agriculturists in England to ask why the Brazilians, or why the Americans on the Ohio or Mississippi, do not pay more attention to their crops; why they do not break up more land, or endeavour, by the methods used in Europe, to procure larger returns? The reason is, because there are no markets. Why, for example, should a colonist trouble himself with ploughing, or digging ten acres, when he gets as much from five, as himself, his family, and his pigs and cattle require, and when there is no market for what remains, all his neighbours being in the same situation. This is the case in the country, and therefore provisions are astonishingly cheap; so much so, that some hundreds of boats are constantly employed in bringing provisions and other produce to the market of St. Salvadore from the adjacent country. Their fruits in particular, for variety, quality, and cheapness, exceed every thing of the kind I had ever witnessed.

The following articles, speaking generally, are best suited for the Brazil market. I do not say exactly at the present time, for I have reason to believe that the market is over-stocked.

Salt from the Cape de Verde islands; cloth of a second and inferior quality, with some stout blue and black of a finer sort, but the latter not too thin, as they have a notion that our thin cloths cannot be strong; common woollens, baizes, &c. cheap kerseymeres; iron and steel, and the Swedish iron has the preference over the English, being more malleable, perhaps from the nature of the earth; tamboured and coloured muslins, not too high-priced, and muslin handkerchiefs; cheap printed cottons; ginghams; in fact, a general assortment of coloured goods; hats of all sorts, particularly plaited hats, by reason of their cheapness; boots, shoes, our English leather being preferable to that manufactured in the Brazils, on account of its being better dressed and tanned; soap; common and finer earthenware, such as basons, pints and half-pints, jugs, plates, and dishes; cheap glass, such as cruets, goblets, &c. &c. sadlery; plated goods, such as candlesticks, these being now used instead of lamps; cruets and cruet-stands, snuffers, &c. &c. cheap furniture, that in fashion about forty years ago, in England, which are here esteemed grand; draft and bottled porter, Cheshire cheese, hams, pickles, &c. but all purchased in England at the lowest price; boxes of tin in plates; gunpowder and shot; stationary, but principally low-priced, some of it fine;

pens, wafers, wax, &c. salted provisions; India goods fit for the African market, a coarse and very cheap article, as they have a variety of these from their own settlements in India; cotton hosiery, coloured and plain; a few dozens of silk stockings; ladies shoes; fancy bonnets, with artificial flowers; thread lace, and some millinery dresses.

It is to be observed, however, that many of these articles are still supplied by the mother-country; and, as their factors and agents procure them at the lowest prices, our trade in them has of course to support itself against an active competition. Naval stores are in general demand, such as pitch, tar, canvass, cordage, &c. They are always too well informed of the markets of Europe to allow any great rise on the invoice price. In fact, as a general remark, we have to observe, that articles showy and cheap are best suited both to Portuguese and Spaniards, as they do not so much regard the quality as the cheapness.

On the embarkation of the Prince Regent for the Brazils, the writer of these pages, being at that time in England, was asked by some mercantile gentlemen, in what manner they should avail themselves of the glorious opportunity: the ports of the Brazils, said they, are opened to the British trade, and all colonial monopoly, all exclusive supply, is hereafter done away; we have only to send and sell. I replied, that as every merchant and trader in this kingdom would be all upon the same plan, there would probably be a greater supply than a demand; that the food would be be-

yond the capacity of the stomach, and that we should be for pouring a quart into a pint bason. I added that the frenzy of availing themselves of this opportunity, as they called it, was already so absurd, that not only an infinite quantity would be sent beyond the possible want, but that one half of what was sent would be entirely unsuitable. I reminded them of what is related of a young East India officer, who, happening to lay in his investment for Bengal, in the winter season, ordered a whole hogshead of skaits, for sliding, and applauded himself in the notion, that he had made a happy hit. It was to no purpose, however, that I gave my opinions and my cautions; they were wiser than me, and so they found themselves in the result. They never considered that the Portuguese merchants who accompanied the royal family from Brazil, took all their own goods and stock with them, and laid out every dollar to purchase more from those who resolved to remain, and take the chance at home. It was really a delusion against which the blast of an archangel's trumpet would not have prevailed. There were ten hats for one head, ten saddles for one horse, ten pair of stockings for one pair of legs; and, what is more ridiculous, a plentiful assortment of things, which, being peculiar to ourselves, and to our own customs and climate, not one of the Brazilians in a thousand had ever seen, or could guess the use of. The folly was as ludicrous as it was mischievous. Every one thought that he had hit upon some article peculiar to his own invention, something out of the common way; and it not unfrequently happened, that

all of them being on the same lay for something extraordinary, hit upon the precise same thing. I have somewhere heard a story, which, though perhaps an old one, I must be allowed to introduce: "A party of naval officers had returned from a foreign station, where they had been long detained; upon landing, they met a set of their companions, and were, on both sides, overjoyed to see each other. The congratulations ended, as usual, in an agreement to dine together, and that the dinner might have all possible variety, each of us, said the proposer, shall choose his own dish, on this condition, that no one shall communicate it to the other, and then we shall have a famous variety. No sooner proposed than agreed. Every one, therefore, set himself to think what he should order, so as to excel another in the novelty of his taste. The dinner at length appeared, and out of twenty guests, and twenty choices, lo and behold!—*eighteen legs of pork, and eighteen peas-puddings!*"

The arrival of the Prince Regent in Brazil, was hailed as the sure omen, and, as it were, the birth of its greatness and independence. The misfortunes of Portugal were totally immersed in what was gained to the Brazilians. They almost blessed that loss of the mother-country, which gave them the undivided care and possession of the royal family and government. Their voyage, before their arrival, was the subject of the constant prayers of their people, and nothing could exceed the joy with which they were received.

At Bahia the inhabitants testified the overflowings of their hearts,

by proposing to raise by subscription a sum of money equal to half a million sterling, for building a palace.

Ever since this very memorable and interesting event, every facility and indulgence has been given to British shipping and British subjects touching at any of the ports of Brazil, who are now placed nearly upon a level with the Portuguese. The great grievance under the former state of things was, the vexatious arrests upon suspicion, or slightest deviations from port-regulation; the exorbitantly high duties, amounting to almost a prohibition of intercourse; the arbitrary and irritating searches, &c. but all this is now done away with, and the ports of Brazil nearly as free to England, as those of England are to the Portuguese. That produce of the country is only excepted, which, by their own internal laws, belong to the crown, such as gold dust, diamonds, salt, tobacco, Brazil wood, &c. in all of which the crown either has a monopoly, or such heavy duties as render it, in fact, a partner with the actual proprietor.

Upon the occasion we have just alluded to, the house of Hope and Baring afforded considerable assistance to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, upon the invasion of that country by the French; and a heavy debt became thus due to those liberal British merchants. Upon the embarkation of the royal family for Brazil, the ministry of the Prince Regent of Portugal had a very considerable loan from the British government; and, as there is reason to believe, (though I cannot positively assert it) another from

the British merchants and Portuguese traders resident in England. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent appointed an administration, or board of royal contracts, resident in London, for the management of this loan; that is to say, for the payment of the interest of it, which he pledged himself to remit from Brazil. The loan, indeed, was called by the name of the Brazil loan. And for the purpose of liquidating the debt contracted with the house of Hope and Baring, his Royal Highness engaged to remit a quantity of diamonds from Brazil, which were to be sold by factors in England, and the produce to be paid to that house till the liquidation of their debt.

The form of this remittance is as follows: In the first instance, the captain and lieutenant of the frigate or ship of war by whom the diamonds are sent, sign an acknowledgment to the members of the diamond directory at Rio Janiero, certifying the quantity they have received. Upon their arrival in this country, the boxes are opened in presence of the captain's agent, as likewise of some partner of the house of Hope and Baring, and always of one of the directors of the bank of England. The diamonds are then regularly disposed of, and the produce paid over to the house of Baring and Co. and such payment is to be continued till the final extinction of their debt.

This honourable fidelity of the Prince Regent cannot but be acceptable to our readers, considering the close alliance between the two countries; and it must likewise considerably flatter our

national pride, or, to give it a better name, our national feelings, to reflect, that his Royal Highness has been thus generously assisted by an English mercantile establishment. What other kingdom in Europe, in the present state of the world, could produce merchants either willing or capable of thus assisting a sovereign prince? And we might almost add, what other continental prince has shewed an equal fidelity to his engagements.

In the commencement of the difficulties of the Prince Regent, upon the French invasion of Portugal, the ports of Lisbon, and all Portugal were blockaded by Admiral Cotton, and several Portuguese ships in consequence were taken, and sent into English ports. Upon the alliance of the two countries, the proceeds were divided by the English admiralty, under the desire of the Prince of Brazil, into two parts, one of which was paid over to the consul-general of Portugal, who was held bound, upon the respective demands of the lawful owners, to pay it over to them. The other portion, (supposed to belong to persons under the dominion of France) was delivered over to a commissioner, in order to await a final amicable arrangement between the two courts.

In June 1811 the Prince Regent of Portugal passed a most important order relative to the commerce of Brazil, whereby all ships coming from foreign ports, and entering those of his kingdom, or of the Brazils, were ordered, before being allowed to land their cargoes, to produce a statement of the same, the

license of the government, certificates of origin as to the manufactures, the clearances at the customs at the ports from whence they sailed, and certificates of the officers of the same, legalized by Portuguese consuls or their substitutes. This measure was directed to take effect nine months after the date of the order.

The order, (we state it thus at length, as of the utmost importance to be known to all traders, some of whom it may probably not have reached) — the order, we say, consists of a preamble, and two articles.

The substance of the preamble states the reasons of such certificates, &c. being required, namely, that different cargoes, and from different countries, had to pay different duties; some, as the English, having greater indulgences; and others, such as any ships actually belonging to Portuguese subjects, having still greater allowances; wherefore it became necessary to ascertain the actual ownership, growth, &c. and place of export, of the respective cargoes, in order that indulgences might not be collusively claimed.

The two following clauses contain the enactments which we have above given in substance: The first says, that all ships and cargoes coming from foreign ports, and entering those of the Brazils, shall present — 1. A bill of lading, in order to shew whether all the articles are landed, which were laden on board. 2. Licenses of the government. 3. Certificates of origin. 4. Clearances of the customs at the ports where laden. And 5. Ratifications and

testimonials of all the above instruments, by Portuguese consuls or their substitutes, resident at such ports; from all which documents must be derived the knowledge whether they are the merchandise of friendly nations, in order to their admission, or of English produce and industry, that they may pay only fifteen *per cent.*

The second article of the instrument respects Portuguese property, and requires the same documents, and an oath of the captain, to prove that it is as alledged; and therefore is entitled to the indulgences allowed thereon, viz. the payment of only ten *per cent.* duty.

The Spanish dollar and half ditto, are in general circulation all over the Brazils, their own coin is doubloons in gold, the double joe in the West Indies, half ditto, or joe, and a small piece, named a mill-rea or 1000 reas; the doubloon was estimated at three pound twelve, half ditto one pound sixteen; the mill-rea about five shillings and nine-pence; their silver coin is two patuckas, about three and eight-pence; one patuck, one and ten-pence; their copper coin is two vintin, pieces about three-pence; one vintin, three half-pence.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from St. Salvadore.—Procedure to the Southward.—

Arrival and stay at the Cape of Good Hope.

THE great number of Spaniards frequenting the harbour at this time, determined us on putting in force our letter of marque against them; and as our ship's company was but few in number, we augmented them by taking on board some of the unhappy sufferers of the Queen, from whom we had the most pressing solicitations. On quitting the harbour we gave chase to every sail that came in sight, but though we brought too several, they all proved Portuguese. Having received a present of some fish from a large fishing boat from the Abrolhos, bound to St. Salvadore, the captain and myself dined on them. In about an hour and a half, the captain was seized with a most violent griping and reaching: shortly afterwards I was myself seized exactly in the same manner, only in a more violent degree. Every part of

the system was so convulsed, that nature must have given way in a very few hours had it continued in the same excess. At no period of my life did I experience such excruciating agony: it was full a week before I recovered.

On the 15th of September, at noon, cape Frio in sight, at the distance of four leagues, sounded in thirty-two fathoms, soft muddy bottom. At this time a strange sail making her appearance, we gave chase, but she proved to be a Portuguese brig from St. Catherines, bound to Bahia.

On the 25th, at five P. M. saw an island bearing S.W. and by S. distant eleven or twelve leagues. Not seeing any other island near it, we at first imagined it to be a new discovery, till, at seven P. M. we discovered one of the other islands of Trista de Acunha. Its latitude is $37^{\circ} 8'$, and longitude, *per medium* of three lunar observations, $11^{\circ} 56'$ W. On the following day, as we were pursuing our course to the south-east, Trista de Acunha bearing W. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distant twenty-five leagues, we passed over the south-west end of a shoal, which appeared to us to be dangerous. Its situation is latitude $37^{\circ} 22'$ south, longitude $10^{\circ} 42'$ west. We are induced to mention this circumstance, as it may be of use to future navigators in those seas.

Some of our readers, perhaps, will recollect, that in 1811, an American adventurer of the name of Lambert, with some followers, and such means as they could scrape together, took possession of this island, (Trista de Acunha), it being then

uninhabited, intending it as a place of seasonable refreshment for vessels bound to the south seas; this gentleman being greatly in want of assistance, has lately applied to the governor of the Cape of Good Hope for his patronage, through the medium of his agent at that settlement. He has declared that he would endeavour to afford refreshments to whatever vessels might pass in that track of sea; and that whenever the sanction of the British government should be known, the necessary assistance being given him, he would most solemnly declare himself allied to that government; and, by permission, display the British flag on the island, reserving, however, always to himself the governorship, provided an equivalent could not be agreed upon.

Lord Caledon, with the true characteristic benevolence of a Briton, had granted to his agent a small vessel, to carry from the Cape five industrious families, who had requested leave to emigrate thither: also a few black cattle, sheep, goats, &c. with such other small necessities as might conduce to the growth and production of the island.

On the 7th of November, at noon, we saw the land about the Cape of Good Hope, bearing E. by S. distant five or six leagues. At sun-set the land off the Cape bore E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. the Sugar Loaf E. by N. distant seven or eight miles. A small low island, at the entrance of Table Bay, called Robin Island, N. E. by E. At eight, A.M. Green Point bore W. and the Lion's Rum W. S. W.

distant two miles. At noon brought the ship to an anchor in Table Bay, in seven fathoms, Cape Town bearing W. S. W. distant half a mile.

Upon our landing we were introduced by the port captain to Admiral Sir Roger Curtis; that gallant officer being at this time the 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 inquired 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 mountains in the immediate vicinity of the Cape are of a great height, and may be said to be the colonist's barometer, as the state of the clouds ascending or descending, are sure indications of the weather. 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.

The small-pox is more dreaded amongst this people than the plague amongst us, and to guard against it, as the surrender of the colony allows them their own local customs, an officer of health is appointed to examine and report the state of every vessel previously to any intercourse. An old lady in whose house I lodged related to me, that she remembered, about sixty years ago, the arrival of a vessel, which introduced this malady, and which carried off hundreds upon hundreds. The town's-people, to avoid this dreadful visitation, fled to the country in all directions, and remained there till it had exhausted itself by destroying its own food. The introduction of the vaccine inoculation will be of inestimable benefit.

We had now been a fortnight at the Cape, and the Abundance store-ship 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 expense 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 pleasing 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.

Though the land in the vicinity of the Cape is mountainous, and otherwise not very good, yet here, as well as in the mother country, the industry and ingenuity of the Dutchmen have overcome the disadvantages of nature. Under his laborious hand the colony not only produces sufficient for itself, but likewise abundantly supplies all the ships that visit it. How different is this from the Brazilians, where the bounty of nature is counteracted, and rendered almost fruitless by the indolence and inertness of man. Fuel is here a very scarce article, having no trees in the neighbourhood. It is the labour of one slave to supply a family with that article, which is merely a kind of brush-wood.

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 other gardens belonging to individuals, of which there are many, the town's-people generally 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 an affectionate leave of our friends on the evening of the 7th of December 1800.

CHAPTER VII.

Passage to, and arrival at Botany Bay.

FOR the first ten days after leaving the Cape, we had, with some little variation, fair winds and moderate weather; but at midnight on the 18th, being in latitude $40^{\circ} 14'$, longitude $35^{\circ} 40'$, we experienced a very strong gale of wind, accompanied with showers of sleet and hail stones, from the west. It gradually increased to such a degree as shortly afterwards to become a most tremendous hurricane, the sea running mountains high, and making fair breaches over and over the vessel, so as to render her situation occasionally perilous in the extreme, and requiring, on our parts, not merely the exertion of all our skill, but even in some degree of our courage. This gale continued with great violence till towards noon of the 19th, when it began to moderate a little; and towards the evening of that day, settled into a steady breeze at W. S. W. when we again spread our canvass, and proceeded on our voyage.

By the 25th of December we had got so far to the eastward, as the longitude of $62^{\circ} 20'$, latitude $39^{\circ} 30'$, where we again encountered another very severe storm, the sea running mountains high, and threatening the destruction of the ship, and every one on board; but, by the blessing of Providence, and the substantial strength of the little vessel, we sustained but a small portion of injury, either in our hull or rigging, to what might have been expected from similar circumstances. In running down our easting, whenever to the southward of latitude 40° , we generally found the weather so severe and tempestuous, and the seas so mountainous and heavy, that our small vessel might be said to be perfectly smothered in them. But by edging away a degree or two to the northward, we found a considerable change for the better. If at any time the wind slackened in the northern quarter, we had nothing more to do but to haul into a higher latitude, and then we had always as much as the vessel could contend with.

It may be remarked here, that, during the remainder of our voyage, we endeavoured to keep in the latitude of 38° .

For the three following days the weather became more moderate, so as to enable us to carry all sail. During this time we availed ourselves of the opportunity of giving the vessel a thorough cleaning, a service she much wanted, by reason of her excessive working, and the penetration of the water, owing to the heavy waves. When the weather would permit, coffee, sweetened with molasses, was served out to the ship's company for breakfast; and

when the severity of the weather prevented it, an additional quantity of liquor was served out to them; we neglected nothing in our power to keep up their health and spirits.

On the 27th the weather being moderate, as above stated, our longitude, as observed at night by the moon and star Pollux, gave $67^{\circ} 22'$ E. by the time-keeper $67^{\circ} 17'$, variation *per* azimuth 25° west, amp. $24^{\circ} 57'$, being the greatest variation we had experienced since we had left the Cape.

On the 30th, during the day, passed several patches of sea-weed, drifting to the south, the wind at this time being at N. N. W. detached, no doubt, from the island of St. Pauls and Amsterdam, to the neighbourhood of which we were fast approaching.

On the following day, the appearance of approaching land increased; the sea-weed becoming in greater quantity. We passed to the southward of St. Pauls, at the distance of 80 miles, thick hazy weather, with drizzling rain.

No occurrence worthy of any particular remark took place during the remainder of our passage towards the coast of New Holland. The wind generally inclining to the northward, brought fair weather, so that we were sometimes enabled to carry steering sails.

On the 26th of January 1801, being in latitude $38^{\circ} 21'$, had a sight of the coast of New Holland; the extreme bearings of the land from S. 60° E. to N. 45° W. We observed several columns of smoke arising from fire which appeared to us rather widely scattered on

the main land. Our variation had now decreased to $2^{\circ} 50'$ and 3° E. Shortly after, the wind dying away to nearly a calm, we wore the ship's head round towards the sea, inasmuch as it was our intention to pass through the straits which separate Van Diemen's Land from New Holland, a channel which, having been discovered by a gentleman of the name of Bass, the surgeon of his Majesty's ship *Reliance*, had been thence called Bass's Straits.

From the 26th to the 30th the wind was almost totally against us, varying from E. N. E. to E. by S. 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, during which time we passed thousands and thousands of seals, so tame, as almost to encircle the ship. The wind at last shifting, and rendering it too difficult to weather the islands to the northward, at seven P. M. on the 4th of January 1801, we bore up for Banks's Straits. At half past three the south side of Banks's Straits $S. \frac{1}{2} W.$ the north side $N. \frac{1}{2} E.$ At five P. M. passed through the Straits, Cape Baron bearing $N. W. \frac{1}{2} W.$ distant five miles, being the third vessel that had ever attempted this passage.

This circumstance of the wind blowing so long and so steadily from the eastward, at this season of the year, is, we think, a most conclusive argument, that a passage into the Indian ocean may be made with great ease, thereby avoiding many dangers which lie in the Straits to the northward and eastward of New Holland.

The discovery of these Straits is of the most essential service in

two points of view; that is to say, either to vessels bound to New South Wales, or to ships which, being too late in the season for China, are obliged to make the eastern passage. They are thus enabled to avoid that tempestuous weather which generally attends them in rounding the south cape. Already has a whole fleet of China ships, under the convoy of a sixty-four, passed through these straits, without the smallest accident. The greater importance of this discovery may be further estimated by the profitable employment it affords to the colonists of Port Jackson. The seals, as we have before mentioned, greatly abound there, and have been found in such immense quantities, as to give employment to a number of speculative men; and several of these adventurers may be said to have made their fortunes by it. And as one discovery leads to another, an animal called the Sea-elephant, was a short time afterwards found there, many of them yielding from sixty to eighty gallons of oil each, greatly superior to the common whale oil. Limestone has also been found, an article much wanted at Port Jackson.

Settlements have also been formed in several quarters in these straits. In 1802, a colony was formed at Port Hobart, on Van Diemen's Land, under the direction of lieutenant Bowen of the royal navy, who was in 1804 relieved by lieutenant-colonel Collins, the historian of New South Wales. When I left the colony, in 1804, Port Dalrymple was likewise surveying, and a settlement established there, also under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Paterson of the New South Wales corps.

To return, however, to our voyage. On the 5th of January our longitude by sun and moon gave $150^{\circ} 16'$ E. At five A.M. on the 7th, cape Banks bore W. S. W. distant six miles. At eight A. M. the column on the south head, which points out the entrance to Port Jackson, bore N. and by W. distant half a mile. At this place is stationed a corporal and party, for the purpose of communicating by signal, the intelligence of the arrival of any vessel, to the colonists of Sydney, whose distance from this is between six and seven miles. A pilot, in general, is in attendance here. At nine brought up in Neutral Bay, a place appointed by the port regulations, for ships to anchor in, previously to their entrance into Sydney cove, and to make their report to the governor. At half past two got under way, and at half past three came to an anchor in this most beautiful bason of water, in seven fathoms, in most excellent holding ground, and within half pistol shot of the shore, without one sick person on board.

This harbour is secured against every wind, and even the London, West India, and Blackwall docks, though accomplished with such enormous expense, and justly the pride of the metropolis and kingdom, do not exceed this natural port for safety; so effectually, and so cheaply does nature sometimes execute what requires the most painful exertions of human labour. Ships of any dimensions requiring any repair in their bottom, may heave down, keel out, with the greatest security, along side the rocks, the water being sufficiently deep to afford this.

The latitude of the entrance into this harbour is $33^{\circ} 50'$ S. longitude $151^{\circ} 25'$ E. rise and fall of the tide between five and six feet.

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 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 expect, 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 for 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 would be few disappointments that could 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, 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, which he did on the 9th of March 1801.

CHAPTER VII.

Stay at Sydney.—Population of that Town.—General Character of the Settlers.—Civil Government.—Barrington.—Parties.—Qualities of the Soil.—Taxes, &c. &c.

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 among 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 governor Phillips, and at 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 a harbour which might contain with ease all the royal navy of Great Britain. These two-fold 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 store-houses 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 country 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 establishments	450
Convicts employed by the crown in the public works, bridges, batteries, dock-yards, &c.	400
Tailors, Shoe-makers, Bakers, Butchers, Carpenters, and Masons'	250
Fishermen	20

People employed in boats, getting 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
But, since the publication of our first edition, the population, by the latest accounts, is estimated at nearly	5000

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 all the 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 manners 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.

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 too much to be dreaded, that the evil of their treason has only been removed to another sphere: thus far I 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 at least this part of the convicts 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 here on discovery, and traders from the Mauritius, led them to

expect assistance 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 be made, the Irish transports, (I speak of what I am fully persuaded), will not hesitate to wrest the reins from the hands 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 recal them to their duty: their rebellion would previously have 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.

Since this period the New South Wales corps has been removed, and the forces composing the garrison at present consist of the 73d regiment, Lachlan Macquarrie, esq. who is now governor, being their colonel.

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 summonses, capias, 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 sea-faring 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. But he was now a meer living skeleton; he was emaciated, and apparently in the last stage of human life. Having absolutely lost the use of his intellectual faculties, he had retired on a small pension allowed him for former services, a melancholy instance of abused talents, and the force of remorse and conscious sensibility operating on a mind capable of better

things. This extraordinary character finished his course on the 28th of December 1804.

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*, summonses, 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 £4:6s. 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. According to the Botany Bay cant phraseology, "shipping is a good mark to shoot at." Many instances of the same kind might be enumerated, but the character of the people may be fully estimated from the above.

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 in 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 marauding. 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 six and seven months at this period, parties ran very high between the governor and the military officers, some of whom were sent home to England to stand trial; whilst others were ordered (as a punishment) on duty to Norfolk Island.

The colony at this time was suffering greatly both from the want of animal food, and all other sorts 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 many of the best informed of the gentlemen of the colony, some of whom had been eye-witnesses of every change which had taken place in it from its first establishment, that this dearth was solely to be imputed to the false economy of the government; the price of animal food and dry provisions, as fixed by order of the governor, bearing no proportion to that of labour. The colony, under wiser and better regulations, would be equal to its own support; for instance, the price of six-pence

per pound for pork, as fixed by the governor, being advanced to ten-pence, and wheat ten shillings *per* bushel, as formerly, the colony would be fully equal to its own consumption, as there is no local difficulty or physical impediment to the rearing a good stock of these articles of the first necessity.

Indeed, previous to this impolitic measure, the colonists had been for some years nearly independent of the mother country for these essential articles of sustenance. The seeds of all the ill-blood that has existed ever since may be traced from this date. There had indeed been grudges of an old standing between the government and the governed, which this tended to augment, till at last it broke out into actual rebellion.

The land in the neighbourhood of Sydney, to the extent of eight or ten miles to the westward, is, with some exceptions, a light mould mixed with sand: about Paramatta it becomes somewhat deeper, and mixed with clay, but seldom produces more than from twelve to fourteen bushels *per* acre. In the town of Paramatta the governor has a large commodious house; and several officers of the civil establishment reside here: in this place are also good military barracks, erected for a detachment of sixty men. There are few free people residing here, the greater part of the inhabitants are convicts, who keep in cultivation some adjacent lands belonging to the crown.

About twenty miles west of Paramatta, is the Hawkesbury settlement; and on the road about four miles from Paramatta lies

Yongabie, a settlement where the government keep their principal flocks of sheep and cattle, and a number of convicts for the cultivation of about four hundred acres of land belonging to the crown, producing at an average, twenty bushels *per* acre.

From this place are roads leading to Penant-hill, Berkham-hill, and Castle-hill, districts containing tracts of tolerably good land. The Hawkesbury settlement is fully six miles long; the governor has a cottage here, and there is good barracks for a small detachment of troops; the farms are situated on each side of the river, which is capable of admitting vessels of two hundred tons up to the governor's cottage, a distance from the sea of about forty miles, but by the windings and turnings of the river, is upwards of one hundred and twenty. The banks of this river are composed of a rich black mould, from eight to ten or twelve feet deep; this, however, only extends within a few chains of the bed of the river, and appears to have been formed from its frequent inundations. Beyond this, the country around appears to be a stiff land, composed of sand, earth, and clay, and improves much by cultivation. Higher up the river is the settlement of Richmond-hill, where the land appears the same, but subject to the same inconvenience of inundation. On the head of a creek arising out of Botany Bay, and terminating in a small river named George's river, and about eight miles from Paramatta, are several farms, yielding from fourteen to eighteen bushels *per* acre.

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 follow:

Permission for shipping to enter the harbour, 15s. ditto to trade, 10s. ditto to wood, 10s. ditto to water, 10s. clearance certificate, 5s. pilotage £7; every package landed from a vessel, 6d. colonial boats, &c. for coasting trade, 5s.

These imposts are levied by the naval officer, who is allowed ten *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 five pounds on every victualler or dealer in spirits, amounting to about twenty in number, for their several licences. Besides these imposts is another of one shilling *per* gallon on all spirits, and six-pence on every gallon of wine imported, the amount of both of which imposts is applied to the public works, the building of goals, and making and repairing the high roads.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Character of the Natives of New South Wales.— Singular Talents for 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 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 in the convicts; any cast of the eye, or hobble in the gait; any trip, or strut, stammering or thick speaking; they catch it in a 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 attendants on a savage life. In their persons they are meagre to a proverb, their skins are scarified in every part, and their faces besmeared with shell-lime and red-gum; their hair is matted like a moss, and ornamented, as they call it, 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 a few 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 hooks, and other tackle for fishing. Most of the natives in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney are provided with these implements for procuring their 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 field.

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 another, they display the most determined bravery. 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 fire 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 individuals, but after-

wards 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, indeed, I was 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, by throwing their spears in every direction with the greatest impetuosity: the poor fellow parried them most wonderfully, and had they been ranged in a right line in front, he would have eluded 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 in a pitched battle, or by an unlucky blow in a hasty quarrel, 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 survive, 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 totally escape a 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, with their spear, bring down a bird not larger than a pigeon at the distance of thirty yards.

They sleep in the open air, with only the canopy of heaven for a covering, or under some wretched hut, affording but little shelter from the rudeness of the wintry blast. In wet weather they retreat to caverns in the rocks, and, having lighted fires at their entrance, remain there till the tempest has ceased. They are said to be terribly afraid of visions and apparitions. Their canoes, 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 placed in the middle of the canoe, and the fish they catch are thus dressed, or rather half-warmed, at the same instant in which they are taken.

Since the settlement of Europeans in this 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 advantage to the government arising from this scantiness of food amongst the natives, the convicts have thus no temptation to desert. 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 punishment for desertion some few have not returned, 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 a suspicious fear 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, Bennelong, 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 secured 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 thrust 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 mimicry, they can scarcely connect two ideas together.

Whilst Bennelong, was in England, he was presented to many of the principal nobility and first families of the kingdom, and received numerous presents of clothes and other articles, which a savage of any other country would have deemed 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 complete 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 on his lips, and he appears justly grateful for the favours received from these his fair patronesses. It is not unpleasing 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 inquisitive visitors, an old gentleman, unmoved amidst the general eagerness, took no further notice 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 glitter of dress that he had seen that evening; and from the pleasure he takes in rela-

ting this anecdote, he no doubt considers the old gentleman as one of the wisest men in the company, or perhaps in England.

The singularity always attached to the character of a new people, will be admitted as an excuse for the introduction of Bennelong; this chief being, as I have before mentioned, an epitome of his countrymen. He is so addicted to drinking, that he would scarcely ever be sober could he obtain spirits; and whenever intoxicated, he 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 entirely incorrigible.

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 for their comfort, or to the forming them to European habits; no sooner, however, were they restored to a free choice and liberty of action, (at the age of twelve years), than, throwing aside all their European improvements, and rejecting with disdain all the habits of civilization, they returned to their countrymen, and preferred even the famine of a savage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of

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 any thing or in 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, being either rooted by long and early habit, or 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 be completely destitute of any idea of natural modesty; clothes are almost daily given to some or other of them, yet they may 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 the 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 distinguished by the names of those places: thus, the families living at Botany Bay are collectively called Wid-Gal; those at Rose Bay, Carda-Gal; at Broken Bay, Camera-Gal; and near Paramatta, Wan-Gal; Colbe, one of their most reputed warriors, was a Wae-Gal; and Bennelong, a Wan-Gal.

They either bury or burn their dead; in both cases they commit to the grave or the pile, the arms and utensils of the deceased, viz. spears, fishing-tackle, canoes, &c. even the very name is consigned to oblivion, which they take care never after to mention: the name-sake, (*Tomelai*) of the deceased assumes, for a time, the name of *Bou-rang*, which appears to be the general appellation for those in such circumstances, and signifies that they are at present destitute of a name, their name-father being dead. This title they retain till they become the name-sake of another person. Indeed there have been instances of burying the infant, when very young, with its deceased mother, upon symptoms of their being unable to save it. The colonists have not been able to ascertain whether these modes of funeral obsequies are rendered to any particular description of persons, they appearing optional with the friends of the deceased.

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 com-

pliance 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 exceedingly 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 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 hurl and ward off their spears with uncommon dexterity, and, when at close quarters, 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 violation of 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 them 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 patients, in a few hours after 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 arrive at even the age of three years, a circumstance which accounts for the thinness of 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 fortunate 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 Curadgies 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 boys' courage to exhibit an unshaken fortitude on this trial, which being their initiation into manhood, they are from this period allowed to fight their enemies, and hunt the kangaroo. I have seen a dozen of them, in their play,

inflicting a supposed punishment upon one of their number; the little fellows were equally ambitious with the bravest warriors in the country to exhibit their heroism; and the party punished defended himself with the most determined courage, returning the spears of his assailants with double interest, for they generally select the most expert among them for this game.

But notwithstanding their natural courage, they stand in great awe of our fire-arms, a circumstance of very considerable importance 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 Curadgies 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 Curadgie should be an old man.

CHAPTER IX.

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

Under 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, to collect the proceeds of my former adventure, I left Sydney expressly for that purpose, on the 25th of August 1801.

As the vessel in which I went passenger was a whaler, who had not yet wholly completed her cargo, and the captain intending on his passage to Norfolk Island to take advantage of any opportunity that might occur for accomplishing this, I expected to derive much amusement and some insight into the whale-fishery.

No sooner had we got clear of the harbour of Port Jackson than one of the ship's company was stationed at the mast head, on the look out for whales, and relieved hourly by one of his comrades during the whole day. If any of them descried a shoal of whales, or even a single one, a shout was given, which, in a manner, exhilarated the whole crew, who, being on shares, felt the deepest interest on the occasion; and almost in an instant were three boats launched, filled with every instrument requisite for attack. The ship on such occasions was, as it were, literally deserted, the cook, cooper, and a few boys, being only left behind; it was the business of one person to make occasional signals to the boats if the fish were at a distance, or if they changed their course.

They rowed towards the fish with astonishing velocity, the captain in one, the first mate in the second, and second mate in the third boat, placing themselves in such situations as to intercept them in whatever direction they might take; but, after being absent for a whole day, and sometimes almost out of sight of the ship, they returned without any success, not a little chagrined, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

At Norfolk Island 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 its size, 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 hot-bed; 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

its narrow compass 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. But little, however, of that plant is to be found in this island. There is a kind of sedge which grows in some swamps, in the manufacture of which three or four profligate females, as a punishment, were employed at Cascade Bay; but the returns are so trifling, when compared with the labour, as hardly to deserve notice.

In 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 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 cropping for a long series of years, and without having experienced any diminution in the

productive powers of the soil. 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 enemy to these Sicilian harvests.

It would be an injustice not to observe that the industry of these people in general is very far superior to that of the settlers at Port Jackson, a circumstance which may perhaps be imputed to the greater fertility of the land, 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 independence. But such foresight does not fall to their lot, and accordingly, with all the fertility of the 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 own folly and vice. This remark, however, is not so general as to preclude 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 the destruction of 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 (for even, in this country, government has its rewards, and power its influence) were distributed only amongst those whose farms exhibited proofs of industry; and those on the other hand were neglected and received with frowns, whose domains bore the semblance of 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 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 distressed for that article. These islanders feed their pigs on Indian corn in its original state: the time for confining them to fatten is at ten or twelve months old, and the quantity consumed for the purpose is from eight to ten or twelve bushels.

The ordinary price of pork here is six-pence *per* pound, dead, or four-pence, 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 six-pence; 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 go-

vernment to promote 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. This 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, measuring from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty feet in height, and from eighteen to twenty feet in circumference, 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 from those of Europe; the pine of Norfolk Island is brittle, and therefore only fit for house building, for making household furniture, and for other common purposes.

The sea here, as in every other island of these seas, contributes much to the comfort of the inhabitants, for when the tranquility 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.

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 cheaper and more plentiful, 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 to refresh 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 brave 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.

CHAPTER X.

Failure of the North-west Speculation.—New Resolution adopted in Consequence,—Military Establishment of Norfolk Island.—Population.—Phillip and Nepean 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 skilled 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 eleven 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 inquiries 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 naturalist; 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; for, were they to relax in 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 that I had made at Port Jackson, I am inclined to fix the population 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 names 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 the 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 them, and Indian corn to bring the young forward more speedily.

But there was one very serious impediment to our deriving any advantage from these islands, viz. the passage from the one to the other, and from Norfolk Island to both of them, being attended with such constant danger, and insufferable difficulty, through the greater part of the year, that it has proved a 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, were 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 of rocks, 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 farther 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 Phillip 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 steep rocks, and barricaded as it were against all approach by a heavy mountainous sea. From the concurrence of stormy 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 the 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 or eagles.

The want of a harbour, or roadstead for shipping, is much against it, the bottom being 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 to apply a remedy have been hitherto in vain. They have endeavoured to remove 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 eagerness, by the use of gunpowder and every other practicable means, 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 on to abandon the island, and remove themselves either to New Zealand, or some part of the main land of New Holland.

This resolution was partly carried into effect in 1805. The convicts and major part of the military were removed either to Port Dalrymple or the river Derwent. The following are the indulgen-

cies held out by government to settlers, who, of their own free will, shall prefer Port Dalrymple to Norfolk Island.

First.—Every settler who holds a grant of land in his own right may remove from Norfolk Island to Port Dalrymple, or to Hobart Town on the Derwent.

Second.—Such persons are to deliver their live stock to the commandant, and on producing his certificate, the same, or an adequate quantity, will be replaced at Port Dalrymple, or Hobart Town.

Third.—Such part of the dead stock, comprehending ploughs, carts, harrows, &c. may be put on board the ship in which the intended settlers shall embark; or any quantity of tools which they may leave in possession of the store-keeper of the island, will be returned to the proprietor in addition to those which he will be allowed on producing the store-keeper's receipt to lieutenant-governors Paterson or Collins.

Fourth.—The lands of the before-mentioned description of settlers being surrendered to government, the parties will thereby become entitled to grants at Port Dalrymple or Hobart Town in the following proportion:—Four acres for every acre which they may have brought under cultivation at Norfolk Island, and two for every acre of waste: they will be further entitled to rations for themselves, and every individual of their families during the term of twelve months after their arrival at either of the above places, together with the labour of two convicts during the same term, and such further assistance as new settlers are accustomed to receive.

Fifth. — As the present and future reduction of the civil and military establishment, and the prisoners, will do away a considerable part of the expense incurred on account of the island, less demand will consequently exist for the settlers' overplus grain; but it is understood that any quantity of pork, for salting, will be received from individuals at the proper time of year, provided salt and casks can be obtained, and which, there is every reason to believe, will be furnished them from hence, in addition to the salt which may have been made on the island.

Some few of the settlers have still continued to remain on the island, in their former farms, rather than undergo the fatigue attending the breaking up a new soil. They are occasionally visited by vessels from Port Jackson, or ships employed in the whale-fishery, where, after being a long time at sea, are in want of refreshments for the crew, of which this island affords an abundant supply.

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 me at Norfolk Island, and I again joined the *Margaret*. I cannot, however, take my leave of this place without relating a singular instance of solitude which happened about eight years ago.

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 fre-

quent amongst them. With as little resolution as his superiors in similar situations, after being awhile 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 inquiry 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 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. But these expectations, were in vain, for the fellow managed his business with such dexterity, keeping close within his retreat during the day, and marauding for his subsistence only by night, so that, in despite of the narrow compass of the island, he eluded all search. His nocturnal depredations 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, contrived to make his escape before the theft was 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 search, his pursuers have often been so near, that he has frequently heard them express their desire of falling 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 prosecution. 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 anxious and 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 his 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. On being brought to the camp, and into the presence of the governor, never did a condemned malefactor feel more acutely; he imagined 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 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 by him unutterable and unintelligible.

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, (the Cocos) 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 fully 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 on the spot, and after some *pros* and *cons* it was finally agreed to stand by each other and remain firm till the enemy should appear.

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 the 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 from 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 inquiry 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, a few 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, 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; the first proposal that he should accompany them to the ship seems to have proceeded from our men.

When the proposal was made, he paused for some time, and at length made a demand of wages, the exorbitance of which, coupled with 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 not 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, it was thought prudent to leave him at Port Jackson.

The captain found the above-mentioned island a place of seasonable 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.

The great scarcity that had prevailed at Port Jackson for such a length of time in every article of food, rendered it indispensably necessary for us to husband, with the greatest care, our dry provisions, as we had yet a very long voyage in view. Under this impression, an idea suggested itself to me of trying the Indian meal as a substitute for biscuit, but knowing that it would only answer on a small scale, I ordered five hundred weight to be baked. It answered exceedingly well, and was very palatable, but not adapted for keeping any length of time; I therefore took on board fifty bushels of the corn

in cobbs well dried, and had a platform built on purpose for its reception on board, and in fine weather had it brought upon deck to air, having at the same time taken on board two pair of hand millstones to grind it down, as occasion might require; the loose part of the corn that had been shaken off in its removing was carefully cleaned and immediately ground into meal, the sailors being the millers. With this they had a kind of pottage made for breakfast, and the cook was ordered to bake the remainder into a sort of pudding, which answered instead of bread; and, from being fresh ground, was really pleasant. As a substitute for animal food, I employed some soldiers when off duty to catch fish, and had two hogsheads of them salted down. This, with plenty of potatoes and melted hog's lard which I procured at the island, was served out three times a week, and thus we were enabled to husband our resources against any contingency.

We have stated the above circumstance merely as a hint to future navigators in those seas, who, like ourselves, may be put to their shifts; probably it may be useful to them.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Norfolk Island.—Passage to, and arrival at, Otaheite.—A Visit from the Chiefs and Missionaries.—Welcome Reception.—Pomarre.—Stay and Occurrences at Otaheite.

LEAVING Norfolk Island on the 9th of August 1802, with a fair wind, which continued for about a week, during which time we had proceeded as far to the eastward as the longitude of 179° West, when the wind, settling steadily for some days at east and east and by north, had thrown us so considerably to the northward, as to bring us in sight of Macaulay's Island, situated in latitude $30^{\circ} 10'$ south, and longitude $179^{\circ} 2'$ west. Nearly in this very spot the captain of our vessel, on his passage to the north-west in 1801, experienced the same tantalizing winds; for, intending to touch at Otaheite to refresh the crew, on his way thither he found the winds so very different to what he had reason to expect, and, instead of blowing from the south-east, they were frequently at east and by north, and east-north-east, so that, instead of making Otaheite, as was intended, it was with great difficulty the vessel could fetch Ulitea. Under the present embarrassing circumstances, the captain and the

writer came to the resolution of throwing the ship's head about to the southward, so as to get into a current of westerly wind, and to continue in the course of about the latitude 34° , till we were some degrees to the eastward of the Society Islands previous to our edging away to the northward. This I would particularly recommend to all captains of ships bound from Port Jackson to the Society Islands. Captain Cook lost a whole season by being hampered hereabout in the manner just described. There may be instances of passages having been made under different circumstances, but, from the above statement, I think I am justified in surmising they are very rare.

This island is uninhabited, well covered with wood, but very steep, being almost perpendicular. Sailing along the northern shore, I discovered a narrow slip of sandy beach, which led us to believe that turtles might probably frequent it, as those animals are known to resort to such unfrequented parts; but as we had no time to lose, we stood to the southward, passing, at a short distance to the eastward of Curtis's Isles, two meer rocks rising considerably above the water, but without the least shadow of vegetation, and frequented apparently by an immense number of sea fowl, the whole surface of them appearing as if completely stucco'd, or white-washed by their dung: the sea at this time was breaking against them with considerable violence.

On the 23d of September 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 na-

tives in a canoe, who amused us with their songs and dances: these men are considerably above the common standard of Europeans. Their courteous and seemingly artless behaviour impressed us with a very favourable opinion of the islanders of Maitia. They brought us presents of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and bananas; endeavouring to induce us to remain with them till the following morning, by the promise that we should then see others of their countrymen, and receive hogs, and every other refreshment which their island might produce. They doubtless conceived that such allurements as these were irresistible, and would induce us to prolong our stay; but upon the approach of night we continued our course. Their disappointment was great, as they had expected to draw considerable advantages from a longer intercourse.

The produce of this island may be obtained at a much cheaper rate than that of Otaheite, the natives being contented to receive for it, in barter, articles 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 exhibit-

ing to us an appearance equally beautiful and picturesque. At half an hour past ten on the morning of the 24th of September 1802, we came to an anchor in Matavai Bay, situated in the latitude of $17^{\circ} 29'$ south, and longitude $149^{\circ} 36'$ west, where we found his Majesty's ship Porpoise, lieutenant 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.

The entrance into this bay is between a reef and a sunken rock, named the Dolphin, in consequence of that ship striking upon it. The distance between the two is about two-thirds of a cable's length. In sailing into the bay, the best way is to keep as close to the weather reef as possible; and this you may the more easily do, as the wind is in general blowing from the east. My reason for this precaution is, that in still weather there is no appearance of this rock; but on a change of wind to the northward, the sea breaks upon it with such violence, as to occasion a very heavy swell in the bay; to avoid which, ships should haul close upon a wind, immediately on rounding the reef, in order to fetch as high up in the bay as possible, where they will find a choice of water from eight to ten or twelve fathoms. If the ship were to make a tack or two, keeping the lead a going, so much the better; the want of this precaution is said to have occasioned the loss of the Norfolk.

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 Mr. Lewin, 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, and 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 at the island; adding, that it was with difficulty enough could be obtained to supply the ship's company of the Porpoise. It must be confessed that, in the very commencement of our enterprise, this information was sufficiently discouraging.

The ship had not been long at anchor, when the king Otoo, with his consort Tetua, came alongside in separate canoes, both dressed in their *teboota*, a dress appropriated for the use of the royal family, and 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 Terenave-roa king of Tieraboo, Otoo's brother; following the patriarchal system in this respect, of marrying their nearest relations. This lady at our first interview was somewhat reserved, but upon better acquaintance, became more familiar. The king appeared in his *teboota* and *marra*, this last being a narrow piece of cloth passing between the legs round the middle, with the ends folded inwards: these two articles constitute a complete Otaheitean dress. Otoo remained a long time in silent admiration, gazing at every thing he saw, with an air at once stupid and forbidding. The unusual dullness 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 opium amongst the Turks. In our subsequent conversations we found him to be lively and entertaining, and fond of questioning us on such subjects as might be supposed to interest a curious and intelligent savage; such as—In what direction lies Pretanee, (their name for England)? Where, Botany Bay? Where, the country of the Spaniards? Where, America and Owhyhee? (these seeming 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, the 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 Otaheite, 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, spiritous liquors, we gratified him with a small quantity in the shell of a cocoa nut, which was handed down to him in his canoe. On receiving the present he said aloud, *my ty te tata, my ty te pahie*—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 any length to procure them. His father, Pomarre, 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 Pomarre, his father, regent.

We found the report of the missionaries of the dearth prevailing in the island to be too true, for we had as yet been able to procure no fresh provisions, except a pig sent to us by one of them. 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 provisions, owing to the late 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 Pomarre; 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 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 *poo puey*, or musket. 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, till they were nearly incapable of leaving the ship, each appearing to be 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 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 of a yellow or straw colour. Their hair was ornamented with

white flowers resembling our lily, and highly scented with the perfume of the sandal wood and cocoa-nut 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, being the universal custom of all ranks in the country. The colours and quality of their dresses were various, probably to suit the taste of the wearers; but none of them wore the *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 *teboota*, but of a coarser stuff than those of the great personages we had before seen. Their countenances 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.

Pomarre, having by this time heard of 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 Otaheitean token of peace and friendship, 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 remarkable of the fundamental laws of the Otaheitean 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 Otaheiteans to that which they now present. Amongst their 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 Pomarre, to neglect gratifying his wishes, as far as prudence and other circumstances allowed us.

The writer was particularly distinguished by Pomarre, who embraced him in the country fashion, that is, by touching noses; after which, Pomarre 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. Pomarre 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, Pomarre 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.

Pomarre 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 Pomarre 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 Pomarre 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 Pomarre 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, locking-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 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 Pomarre. 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, it is but of short duration. We were truly happy to arrange matters in so amicable a way with this Otaheitean 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.

Pomarre'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 company with strangers; as, according to the customs of Otaheite, he would have disgraced himself by moving 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 waited upon him in person. His questions were as numerous, and for the most part as insignificant, as usual; yet some of them argued a considerable strength of mind, and a great warlike propensity. He inquired 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 to know its component parts, and whether they might not be found in the soil of Otaheite. Among other questions were these:—Was my royal master a larger man than him? Had he a comely countenance? Was his dress elegant? (and sundry particulars respecting her majesty, and the ladies of rank in our country); Whether our armourer could make muskets? And how I liked Otaheite? Such was the curiosity of Pomarre 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 among our ship's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had short woolly hair. The Otaheiteans seemed to think the deep colour of the skin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

The Otaheiteans, 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 in 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 Otaheitean flute. The Scottish bag-pipe animates them to rapture, they are never weary of listening to its dissonance.

It was this music that Pomarre 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 Pomarre; 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 Pomarre took a very affectionate leave, and returned on shore. Some time afterwards he sent us a present of a couple of hogs, with bread-fruit, coconuts, 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 at a loss for supplies; for 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 commenced 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 term. 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 from 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 may 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 assailed him with all the blandishments and natural endearments, which, to feeling minds, is the most irresistible 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, cleared him gradually of his customers. It was in vain that they made him their *tayo*, enveloping him in cloth, and affecting jealousy if he showed a preference to any one in particular; the fellow was inexorable, and as deaf as his fire-gun. Finding themselves thus disappointed, they now changed their language, 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 to the last. Having discovered the grindstone, they laid close siege to it, and were conti-

nually employing it to sharpen their tools and instruments; and would soon have reduced it to a skeleton, (both 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, coconuts, 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 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 the language of the country, he would put an end to her existence for having, as he said, taken to herself a little more than her due share.

The effect of the liquor on the two guests was 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 Pomarre 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 that peace could be restored, and the fury of the savage restrained from breaking out into 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 Pomarre 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 sky-light, 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 afterwards 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 Pomarre, all equally outrageous and brutal when intoxicated. Pomarre 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 forbidding; the root is well cleaned, and being split into small pieces, and well masticated by some of the chief's attendants, on whose sobriety dependence 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 pound weight; 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 spiritous 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 inhabitants for obtaining the *ava Pretanee*, 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 intoxication, 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 increase, so as to excite in him serious alarms for his safety; and, 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 advantage of our regard for the gentlemen 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 the intercourse became as embarrassing to the missionaries as to 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 tranquility 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 Otaheitean dialect. The natives on board, six in number, had heard such flattering accounts of the Sandwich Islands from some former visitors, that they were eager to go thither, and accordingly accompanied us on the voyage, a circumstance which furnished me with continued 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 particu-

larly 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 a usurper, and were constantly disposed to resist his measures, and to throw off his yoke: this district furnished a certain and secure refuge to the malcontents of the other parts of the country. The Attahoorians had, as I was informed, another cause for discontent, which was, 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 particular privileges, such as to walk on certain spots allotted

for his use, &c. his installation at Oparree being considered only as 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 resistance 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, and 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 another 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 that 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 Pomarre 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 mentioned, had been wrecked on the shore. With these guns being planted on the upper story of the house, and having laid in a large supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-

nuts, and other necessities, they were able 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 this 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. But the Attahoorians still kept possession of their idol, the great bone of contention, and 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 to obtain the object of their desires. Such an opportunity presented itself some months afterwards, as shall in due time be related.

CHAPTER XII.

Leave Otaheite.—Touch at Huaheine.—Visited by one of our Countrymen, who recommends us to go to Ulitea.—Enter the Harbour of Huaheine.—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 thirty leagues to the north-west. While we lay off the mouth of the harbour, we were agreeably surprised at the approach of a large double canoe, carrying a pendant and red flag. We concluded that the king, the admiral, or some other great chief was on board; but when it came alongside, we discovered that the stranger was no other than one of our former ship-mates, a half-

witted restless fellow, who had for some time past resided in the island.

Indeed, there does not occur a greater difficulty to 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, in general, temptations too powerful to sailors exhausted with the fatigue of so long a voyage: add to this the women; then the difficulty of retaining our seamen against so many attractions will excite no further surprise.

From the dress and appearance of our former shipmate who deserted from the ship on her return from the north-west, 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, being 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 despatch 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. Although the treatment he received from his old shipmates

was not calculated to increase the respect of the natives in the canoe, yet we 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 here, but to go on to Ulitea: but, being so near the harbour, we resolved to look in, having no great opinion of the veracity of our visitor. We were kindly and courteously received by the chiefs, who cheerfully exerted themselves to procure us a proper supply of 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 dashing style in 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 thus 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 shoulders. 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 guests 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, *Yoor 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 fore part, 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 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 breath, drawing their mouths in contrary directions, and twirling their arms and fingers with some order, and great regularity. 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 whose exertions to amuse had been so arduous. Goods of different sorts 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 feastings, 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 by-standers.

This harbour, Owharrow, is large, spacious, and perfectly safe from all winds, being defended by a reef of rocks, the natural barrier to most of the harbours in those seas. The low land next the water has a most beautiful appearance, abounding with bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, 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 dependence 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 Seas. 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 exactly similar; but the men of Huaheine appeared in general to be 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, hoping 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.

CHAPTER XIII.

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

HAVING made the necessary inquiries as to the chief object of our voyage, and finding that it would be but of little advantage to continue longer 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 security. Navigators will do well to have this peculiarity 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 Pomarre 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 Pomarre in stature, he was less corpulent, and, in the general contour of his person, did not appear to possess the same portly 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 soon employed herself 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 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 Otaheitean 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 island by Mr. Bass of the *Venus*, (the intrepid discoverer of the straits so named), who being a part owner and supercargo of this vessel, had, like ourselves, come to an overstocked market at Port Jackson; and, in order to make the most of a bad business, had entered into a contract with the government for supplying the settlement with a certain quantity of pork at a stated price; and in return for his voluntary service on board that ship, had received from the above-named gentleman, such articles as he conceived might be useful to him on the island. Amongst these articles were a musket and a double-barrelled 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 pur-

pose had been discovered to him by the Otaheitean 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 Otaheitean, 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, 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, (our visitor before mentioned), 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 Otaheitean girl with some provisions, as a peace offering, they withdrew. Pulpit now bent all

his thoughts on making his escape; and, an opportunity soon occurring, 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 a refuge in our ship.

This poor fellow's story appeared strange in itself, and to us quite inexplicable, having 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.

Yet all our endeavours to secure the good offices of this man, in collecting 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 express engagement of again returning 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 in the South Seas 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 mischievous policy of these petty chiefs. They have heard of the signal services rendered by Europeans to Pomarre 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 Gauntey, and William Andrews, seamen; the three last were Botany Bay convicts, and had tempted to their party two Otaheiteans 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 relying on his gratitude for our innumerable presents, and his apparent friendship, I had no doubt of the success of my embassy: but in this I found myself to have much mistaken the character of the Uliteans, 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 a 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 Seas, the frequent 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 book-making, 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 people, 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 them at such an 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 objects of our search had most probably sought refuge in Huaheine or Bollabolla; and these islands being independent 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 their 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 still another artifice; it was impossible for them to secure the deserters, 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 the crew, the best seaman we had on board, 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 captain 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 providentially that there was not a breath of wind stirring, otherwise the ship must have speedily gone to pieces, 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 one 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 have 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 began 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 and their skins converted into tebootas, or jackets, &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.

CHAPTER XIV.

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

OUR fears were 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 in 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 increase, and they continued unceasingly to assail us with stones and fire-arms, 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 often before heard from others, that the fury of savages in battle is incredible, and bears no resemblance to that of a civilized people under the same circumstances. They forcibly recal to mind the fables of heathen mythology; they appear possessed of demons; a rage 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 for mischief were equal to their fury, they would be totally 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 to escape the destruction that threatened 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 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, the 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 even then have procured an easy victory.

Fortunately the weather was yet calm, but what little wind there was, came in from the sea, and we had too much reason to fear it might increase in the same direction as the day approached. The ship riding 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 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, boarding-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, (the number of their muskets, as we learned before the onset, being about fourteen), betook themselves to the mountains which overhung the ship, and thence annoyed us by discharging vollies 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 than even the menaces of the islanders. 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, the firing, as if by mutual consent, had ceased on both sides; and our people, who had been on their legs for nearly forty hours, were allowed to take some refreshment, and one half of them to lie 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 shortly afterwards a favourable opportunity for weighing the anchors, and warping the ship far-

ther off from the shore, presented itself. The boat was manned afresh, and the attempt made, when a well directed fire suddenly commenced on it a 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 to our former state of peril.

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, so desperate was our condition, we saw no means of safety. 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 appalled the spirits of the whole crew, who judged naturally, and perhaps rightly, that this canoe was only the forerunner of many more, and all equally bent on our destruction.

The canoe advancing within a mile of us, we fired a three-pound 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 towards 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 making a discharge over their heads—the humane practice made use of by Captain Cook. It is not till some signal example has been made, by the death of one or more of their ringleaders, that their savage rancour can be subdued, 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 deter

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 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 others 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 further right to punish, than what was indispensably 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-cartridges, 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 severely from the recoil of an overloaded blunderbuss in the beginning of the affair, when the swivels were dismounted.

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 an opportunity of getting away unperceived in the night. That our operations might not be discovered, we muffled the pawls of the windlass, and began to heave away upon one anchor at a time; when this was done, we got the long boat a-head, 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 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, 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 Otaheitean wife likewise 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 too 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 it 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 penetrating 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 inclination, 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 surprised 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 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 avail themselves of every opportunity to 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 Otaheiteans. 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 Bolla-bolla; and this continued hostility must be confessed to be a very bad 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 king made us a visit, but with so little appear-

ance 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 also, we paid equal attention to 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 off 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.

CHAPTER XV.

Leave Ulitea.—Pass Bollabolla without having any communication with the Natives.—Intercourse with the Natives of Maura.

THE hazards we had just experienced at Ulitea were so fresh in our minds, that although we passed near the island of Bollabolla, we made no attempt to open any intercourse with the inhabitants, who have the character of being daring pirates. They are said to have been originally such men as for their crimes had either fled or been banished from the surrounding islands. They are considered to be numerous, the bravest warriors in all the Society Islands, and are a great terror to the Uliteans. The island of Bollabolla is distant from Ulitea about six leagues, and may be easily distinguished from the other islands, by a very lofty double-peaked mountain, which in good weather may be observed at the distance of fifteen leagues. The eastern side, as we sailed along it, had a very sterile appearance, and the island is not reputed so fertile as Otaheite or Ulitea. As we made no stay, we can say nothing from our own experience, but that the distinguishing characteristic of these islanders, according to the report of their neighbours, is a most savage ferocity; a circumstance consistent with their reputed original, that of having been fugitive criminals.

Our next station was the island called Maura or Mobidie, being the most leeward and smallest of the Society Islands. It is only about fourteen or fifteen miles in circuit, and appears to be surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which render the approach to the shore very difficult. We were told, however, by the natives, that the lee side furnishes a good harbour for shipping; a circumstance, if true, not known to our navigators, as in every account of their southern voyages it is stated that this island has no harbour. It is surrounded, in the same manner as the neighbouring islands, by one of those perilous coral reefs, which render even the harbours of the Society Islands a very insufficient security, and indeed none at all when the wind blows with any violent degree of strength from the sea. The east side of the island produces cocoa-trees in great abundance, and the bread-fruit here was much larger, and of a better quality, than any we had seen in the other islands to windward: hogs, moreover, some of which we procured, were much cheaper than in the other islands. The inhabitants appeared to us to differ in no material respect from their neighbours; and, from what was related to us on our return to Port Jackson, their disposition seemed to be of the same kind. When his majesty's ship the Porpoise was here, the natives formed a scheme to cut off her boat, in which were the master, the surgeon, four seamen, and two marines, all armed; but happily the plot was discovered in time to be prevented, by the surgeon, who was acquainted with the language of the island. The object of the natives, had their design succeeded, was to get posses-

sion of the fire-arms in the boat; and such is the eagerness with which they covet those instruments of destruction, that there is no hazard they will not run, no crime they will not perpetrate, to obtain possession of them. It must be confessed, indeed, that local circumstances give these articles a value, the temptation of which cannot be resisted by a common portion of honesty: a dozen of muskets might enable them to repel, nay, perhaps subdue, their neighbours; and if their ambition thus overleaps every common restraint, it must be lamented that there are other nations, more refined, who are not a whit behind them in this respect.

Here we found a chief of Otaheite, who for some misconduct, (rebellion) had been driven into voluntary exile. This man's case served to confirm me in an opinion previously formed from observation, that the natives of Otaheite did not differ from those of the neighbouring islands so much in their personal character and dispositions, as in the nature of their government: and that the greater part of that seeming gentleness of manners for which they have been remarked, must be imputed rather to the power and authority of their king or principal chief, than to their natural habits: this at least was certainly the case under the administration of our friend Pomarre. And here again we had further proofs of the preference constantly given by the natives to articles of use, above others of mere ornament: beads, trinkets, looking-glasses, &c. were held in no estimation, comparatively with knives, hatchets, muskets, or other instruments, to the utility of which they were no strangers. During

our short stay among these islands, we had an opportunity of seeing two men who presented a most loathsome appearance. They were lepers, and seemed to have entirely lost their original skin, appearing as if they had been completely scalded from head to foot. These wretched beings, so much the object of abhorrence, as well as of compassion, in our eyes, were highly respected by their fellow islanders, as they were priests, and both of them considered men of no common sanctity.

It is indeed one of the most singular traits amongst these savage nations, that their religion is not only tinged with, but apparently altogether composed of, such ideas as the nature of man most powerfully abhors. Their idea of a God, is not that of a beneficent being, the common parent of nature, and the creator and protector of man: such is not the god of the Society Islands. On the contrary, the being they worship, is the being they fear, the being to whom they impute the destruction of their canoes, and the danger, the diseases, and deaths of their chiefs. Their diseases, and particularly those of their priests, are sacred, as being the immediate effects of the power they worship. These two lepers could not have been more revered, had they been prophets.

From this general character, that their deity is the offspring of their fears, may be induced the whole system of their mythology, and the attributes of their divinities. Hence it is, the idea of horror being connected with deformity, the representations of these gods are usually either wholly shapeless or frightful.

CHAPTER XVI.

Adieu to the Society Islands.—Ludicrous circumstance in the Passage, between the Otaheitean Natives and our Seamen, on crossing the Line.—Arrival at the Sandwich Islands.—Commerce.—Trading. Desertion of our Carpenter.

LEAVING Maura, we bade adieu for the present to the Society Islands, and now shaped our course for the Sandwich Islands. This voyage furnished no occurrences out of the common order. The seamen, in their manner, amused themselves by representing to the natives of Otaheite on board, the dangers that awaited them in crossing a certain part of the sea, meaning the equinoctial line, where they would certainly be harassed by infernal spirits rising out of the water. These stories had a powerful effect on the poor strangers, who had moreover for some time been extremely uneasy, and impatient to see land once more; and appeared most sincerely to regret their imprudence in embarking on a voyage to which they could discover no bounds. So great was their terror at the moment, that I am persuaded, had any land been in sight, they would have attempted the shore by swimming; but as there was no chance of success in this way, they were compelled to submit to their fate:

and their terror furnished an inexhaustible fund of amusement to our mischievous sailors.

In their distress, they applied to me to be informed as to the truth of what the sailors had said; and on being undeceived, gave a scope to their joy in the most extravagant manner, leaping and hallooing about the deck, as if their minds had at once been relieved from the most dreadful apprehensions. It was however out of my power to prevent the operation of shaving, &c. usually performed by seamen on persons crossing the line for the first time, which is considered a privilege too great to be easily surrendered.

As this ceremony is of long standing amongst sailors, and though somewhat ridiculous, yet, when well acted, is sufficiently amusing, we shall so far trespass upon the patience of our readers, as to insert a description of it here:

On this very important occasion, one of the most comic characters (the uglier the better) amongst the ship's company, is selected to represent Neptune. This point settled, the next is to choose a suitable retinue of attendants to act as tritons, sea-horses, mermaids, &c. as the circumstances of the case will admit of. From amongst these, a kind of committee is chosen to arrange the embellishments and decorations suitable for the occasion: such as painting, perfuming, powdering, &c. &c. Invention is at this time at its utmost stretch who shall excel most in metamorphosing themselves into such extravagant characters, so as not to be recognized; this arrangement creates an inconceivable stir and bustle—no peeping

behind the scenes at this very interesting moment; if any one but their own party should venture, it is at his peril. The important moment at last arrived, and an important moment it is to all, Neptune (as if really issuing from the watery element) from behind a screen hanging across the fore part of the ship, and where all this mighty bustle and preparation has been so long carrying on, with a voice as of an infernal, demands through a speaking trumpet, "What ship is that, what is the Captain's name?"—At this instant, down drops the screen, and Neptune with his attendants is seen arrayed in all his pomp and majesty, seated on a triumphal car, (generally a gun-carriage, with a grating run across it), holding in one hand a tremendous whip, and in the other a fish gig or pair of grains as a trident, and having his queen Amphitrite on his left. They are welcomed on board in due form by one of the officers, and requested to visit the quarter-deck. Upon this invitation being given, Neptune lays about him with his whip, which so quickens the speed of his statesmen, privy-counsellors, and coach-horses, as often to upset the charioteer and the chariot, with the two exalted characters it supported.

On arriving upon the quarter-deck, Neptune immediately enters into a very interesting conversation with his old friend the captain, knows him extremely well, remembers him since he was a boy, &c. The captain, out of respect and politeness, invites him to partake of a glass of wine, liqueur, or grog. Amphitrite looks somewhat sulky at this, and rates her husband about getting tipsey, and then

being in an ill humour, and being in his airs. Neptune is about to become very indignant with her, even threatening her with a box on the ear for daring to utter a syllable whilst he is so deeply engaged; however, recollecting himself, he thinks it the better way to recommend her to follow his example; which this paragon of beauty, like her husband, and every thing that is amiable, accedes to with some little entreaty. This smart altercation being settled, Neptune then proceeds in his speech, (not the most eloquent and harmonious), and upon its conclusion gives orders, that his young visitors, who have all this time been confined under hatches, like so many devoted victims, may be produced forthwith, to undergo their examination, and receive their future instructions for life. This order is generally issued so audibly and so forcibly, as to reach the ears of the novices; and excites in their minds, at the moment, the idea, that after all the terrible rattling and clattering which had so long preceded it, the dreadful catastrophe is now about to take place. Neptune's police officers and body guard, armed with his authority, immediately proceed to put their master's orders into execution. The party being brought upon deck one by one, (for fear of a mutiny), is blind-folded, and placed upon a large tub of water, with a stave, or piece of wood laid across it. An oath, something resembling the Highgate one, is administered to him in the most solemn manner; after which, Neptune's barber proceeds to lather his beard, with an odoriferous unguent, or mixture of pig's dung, cook's fat, thick soot, tar, &c. &c. all beat

up together, and then immediately applies his razor, (an old iron hoop cut into fifty notches) with so little ceremony or mercy, as often to tear the very flesh. This operation being nearly finished, one of the by-standers, and they are all ready enough upon the occasion, trips the stave from under him, when down he plunges into the bottom of the tub. At this moment the whole of the ship's company are pouring upon him such a deluge of water, so that if he were immersed into the very bottom of the ocean, he could not be more completely inundated. The wetting scene becomes general for some time, till Neptune thinks proper to order forth a fresh subject, who undergoes the same operation; the party just shaved being the most forward in assailing his old acquaintance and fellow prisoner. The whole of the operation being gone through, a tub of grog is served out to the ship's company; and after two or three hours hard work, scraping and scrubbing, to put themselves once more into the shape of human beings, the remainder of the day is spent in mirth and hilarity, and every means in their power used to raise the wind for a further supply of liquor.

We could discover that the whole of this business had made a deep impression on the minds of the Otaheiteans, and that they promised themselves much pleasure in recounting their adventures to their countrymen on their return, when the tale would doubtless receive numerous additions; for these islanders are naturally fond of the marvellous, and are not very scrupulous in embellishing the accounts they give of any extraordinary events that fall in their way.

The wind was so scanty during the whole of the passage, that it was with difficulty we made Whahoo, an island subject to Tamahama, the great chief of the Sandwich islands, on the 17th December 1802. Here we opened a trade with the inhabitants for salt, which we found much scarcer and dearer than we had expected. The increased price was occasioned, not only by the scarcity, but by the frequent intercourse the natives have with Europeans and Americans, from whom they have learned to affix a proper value to the productions of their country, and their bargains discover a knowledge and acuteness very uncommon.

The Americans in particular carry on a most active trade with these islands, supplying them with property at an easy rate in exchange for provisions, and, unless I am much deceived, will do more than any other nation in raising them to an eminent degree of civilization.

In order to accommodate the natives in bringing off their articles for sale, or rather barter, we kept the ship as close as possible in with the land: but then we were beset with such numbers of men and women, that our vessel could not have contained a quarter of our visitors, had we been disposed to admit them on board. To prevent this embarrassment, we resolved as much as possible to assume the appearance of a ship of war; and therefore dressed six seamen in soldier's uniforms, and made them walk the deck under arms, and kept our colours and pendant always flying. These precautions we had reason to believe were not unnecessary, for it was

in this island that the captain and the astronomer of his Majesty's ship *Dædalus* lost their lives in an affray with the natives. The exemplary manner in which their murder was revenged by Captain Vancouver, has been very beneficial to all navigators who, since his time, have touched at the island. A few similar instances of justice would have more efficacy in ensuring the safety of our intercourse with this people, than any of those wanton and ill-judged cruelties which, under the circumstance of the slightest quarrel with the natives, are but too commonly practised.

They showed the utmost eagerness to get on board the ship; but when all their attempts were opposed, and themselves forced back into their canoes by our new-made marines, they at last contented themselves with lying at a little distance, conversing with our Otaheitean natives. After some time, appeared one of the deputy chiefs of the island, under Tamahama, whose approach created no small stir and bustle among the other islanders in their endeavouring to open a passage for him. But as many of their canoes were crowded and entangled together, they were in the hurry run down by the canoe of this great man, who took not the least notice of the disasters he had so wantonly occasioned; or rather, who affected this cavalier behaviour, with the intention of impressing us with a high idea of his rank and consequence in the country. The poor natives, recovering their canoes, cleared them of the water, got into them again, and remained near the ship, without expressing the smallest dissatisfaction or complaint on account of the tyrannical treatment

of the chief. When he was received on board, he immediately commenced inspector-general of all commodities brought off to us for sale; and at last, whether justly or unjustly I know not, he seized an old man whom he charged with offering for sale some salt belonging to the king. The old man was so alarmed at this charge, that he seemed ready to expire with terror; so that we interposed in his behalf, and on our account he was pardoned and set at liberty. Whilst he was on board, he released us from the embarrassment of our numerous visitors: seemingly resolved that we should be troubled with no other impertinence but his own. He commanded the canoes to remove to a greater distance, and issued his mandates in a tone of authority which would not have disgraced a bashaw. He appeared to entertain an equal indifference to any mischief he might cause; for as many of his countrymen as were in any degree tardy in obeying his mandate, he saluted with stones from our ballast, which maimed not a few of them.

Nor did the natives appear to oppose any resistance, but submitted, as if to an acknowledged authority, without murmur or reluctance. In these islands, indeed, obedience is understood as well as tyranny, and the despotism and wantonness of command in the chiefs is only equalled by the correspondent timidity and submission of the people. Philosophers are much mistaken who build systems of natural liberty. Rousseau's savage, a being who roves the woods according to his own will, exists no where but in his writings.

Although we could not but abhor the despotic conduct of this chief, yet to it we were indebted for the clearing of the ship from crowds of natives, who were endeavouring on all hands to come on board. He had some friends with him, however, whom he requested leave to introduce to us, and to whom on his account we shewed what civilities appeared to be proper.

We remained only about a week at this island, salt being so scarce that we were obliged to remove the ship to several different places to glean what could be found. When our business was over, we settled our accounts with the chief just mentioned, who was receiver-general for the king. He then left the ship, and, to our astonishment, was accompanied by every native, taking to their paddles, and making for the land with all possible speed. One canoe, the one which had brought off one of Tamahama's naval captains, alone remained. We inquired of this person the meaning of the sudden departure of his countrymen, but he declared he was totally ignorant of the cause, and either would not, or could not, give us any satisfaction. Being apprehensive of some treacherous project against us, either on the part of the islanders or their chiefs, it at first occurred to us to secure the person of this officer as a pledge for our safety; but on further consideration of the difficulties to which this step might expose not only us, but other European navigators hereafter, we judged it most prudent to set him at large.

As soon as he had left us, beginning now to suspect the true cause of the hasty departure of our visitors, I made inquiry amongst our

people whether they had not found means to steal some articles belonging to the ship; and from their general precipitation and flight, my mind suggested to me that the theft was of no ordinary nature. It was some time before I could procure a satisfactory answer; but it was at length discovered that our carpenter had secretly conveyed himself into one of the canoes, and had thus been carried on shore.

Such is the difficulty, nay almost impossibility, of maintaining the necessary complement of men in these voyages, that I could almost recommend that no one should make the attempt, unless, as in a king's ship, he can support his authority by martial law. Nothing, as we have before mentioned, can withstand the seduction and artifices of the southern islanders; women, and a life of indolence, are too powerful for the sense of duty in the minds of our seamen. Had we relaxed our efforts for a single moment, our ship would have been deserted.

The acquisition of such a person was of inestimable value to Tamahama, and there seemed to be little doubt that, conscious of the value of their prize, they would defend it with their utmost efforts. Our force, moreover, was wholly inadequate to compel them to restore him; and in endeavouring to recover one, we should have run the risk of losing many more by similar desertion. From these and other reasons, we thought it more prudent to put up with our loss; although of a person whom we could so ill spare.

CHAPTER XVII.

Departure from Whahoo.—Arrival at Attowaie.—Visited by the King, and General of the Island.—Tamahama's determination to invade them.—Friendly Reception.

ALTHOUGH the island of Whahoo is one of the most fruitful in the dominions of Tamahama, and that the natives supplied us with an abundance of all necessary articles, yet the demands of the sellers were much higher than we had either reason to expect, or could indeed afford. The natives have so far profited by their intercourse with navigators, as to value the produce of their country more than at what they had hitherto rated it.

One of these islanders had the modesty to demand the ship's main-sail in barter for four hogs. In all their bargains, they would have their choice of whatever articles they wished in exchange, and as much of these as they wanted; no business could otherwise be done, and they returned with their wares to the shore. We were therefore obliged to confine our dealings to what was indispensably requisite for the use of the ship and crew.

Here we were informed that the king Tamahama, attended by the greater part of his chiefs, was at present at Mowie. It is the wise policy of this chief, that all those who possess any authority or in-

flence in the country, should accompany him in his progress through his dominions, that he may have them constantly under his eye, and not leave them exposed to the seductions and conspiracies of his rival chiefs. These are continually in pursuit of the means of throwing off his yoke, and rendering themselves independent, as well of him and of each other, as of their former king.

For this precaution, moreover, he assigns his own experience; that, once being absent on an expedition to a neighbouring island, an insurrection was fomented in his absence, and that it was not without much difficulty he could restore his authority. Since that time he has never given the chiefs the same opportunity: it is the chiefs alone he dreads, for he observes, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the lower order, whilst separated from the chiefs. From further information received here, Tamahama seems to be making rapid progress in his schemes of aggrandizement. After having defeated the rightful sovereign of this island of Whahoo, and all the kings of the other islands to the eastward, he has forced him, after many ineffectual struggles, to take refuge in the island of Attowaie. Thus the sovereign authority over all those islands remains in his family, and his power and riches, from his intercourse with shipping, was hourly increasing. He was at this time making great preparations to exterminate the fugitive king, even from his place of retreat. So intent was he on this invasion, that the chief anxiously demanded of us our next destination, and whether we intended touching at Attowaie. He was urgent to ob-

tain a passage for himself and another, to act as spies. We excused ourselves in the best possible way, observing, it much depended upon circumstances; and thus cleared ourselves of the importunities of these emissaries of this Alexander of the Sandwich Islands.

Upon leaving Whahoo, we directed our course to Attowaie, off which island we arrived on the 26th of December 1802; but the wind was so unfavourable, that we could not weather the southern part of the island; we therefore stood along close under the north shore, proceeding slowly, to give the natives an opportunity of guessing the object of our visit. It was not long before some of the islanders came off to us; they requested us to anchor until they should return, and inform their countrymen of our arrival upon their coast.

Amongst these islanders, the arrival of a European vessel is an event of the first political importance; an event in which king and people are equally concerned. The Otaheiteans received us with the satisfaction of friends; but the Sandwich islanders have reached more than one gradation higher in the scale of civilization, and, understanding their own interest, consider their European visitors as the importers of new arts, and new skill and industry, into their country. The voyage of Vancouvre has made a most eminent and permant change in the situation of these islanders. They have taken a leap, as it were, into civilization; and if their progress keep any pace with the vigour of their first start, they will not be long considered as savages.

In the interval of waiting the arrival of our promised visitors, we fitted up our temporary marines, and made every other preparation that might make a favourable impression on the minds of the natives. As soon as it was made known on shore that a ship had appeared off the coast, with an intention to stop and take in supplies, the commander-in-chief, or generalissimo, was dispatched to welcome us in the name of the king.

This personage appeared in a most beautiful canoe, upwards of fifty feet long; he seemed to be overjoyed at our arrival, and apologized, on account of the lateness of the hour, for his master's not waiting on us in person.

He was particularly inquisitive respecting the situation of affairs at Whahoo, and the state of the preparations made by Tamahama for the threatened invasion of the island. We explained to him, that however painful it was to us to be messengers of disagreeable tidings, we could give him no encouragement to hope that Tamahama had laid aside his project; for that every thing seemed to show his determination to attempt it as speedily as the necessary preparations would allow. This the chief said he already had learned, and was now grieved to have the news confirmed by strangers, who had no possible interest in deluding him.

It was easy to see how much this information affected him, for, from that state of extreme gaiety and communicativeness which he displayed on first stepping on board, he suddenly became si-

lent and melancholy. He was a near relation to the king, and had steadily adhered to him in all his misfortunes. They were now cooped up with a small body of faithful followers, but were firmly resolved to oppose to the utmost the attacks of Tamahama.

May the efforts of their courage and patriotism give an awful lesson to their ambitious conqueror, that courage in a good cause, animated by despair, is sufficient to overbalance a great inequality of force! Tamahama is no unworthy imitator of his European original. His haughty tone to his enemies, and his genius and spirit of enterprise in creating resources which did not before exist, may not unjustly bring him into a comparison with the present French emperor.

To change the gloomy current of our visitor's thoughts, we exhibited to him some articles of British manufacture; he commended them indeed, but with the carelessness of one whose mind was possessed with objects of a more immediate interest. He inquired frequently whether we had on board any fire-arms and gunpowder, in the expectation that we would furnish him with at least a small supply of each. This, however, we thought proper to decline, informing him, that our stock was far from being sufficient for ourselves, under the numberless occasions we might have for self-defence, before we could either return to our own country, or procure further supplies.

In the evening, when the captain was examining some charts of

those seas, the chief looked earnestly over him, and begged that their island might be pointed out to him. This was done, and he expressed great pleasure in finding that even their little corner had not been omitted. When night came on, the chief requested that some covering might be provided for the natives who attended him; which was readily complied with, as we had an abundant stock of cloth of the manufacture of Otaheite. This was extremely well received, and presented to our Otaheiteans an opportunity of pointing out, with no little satisfaction, all its good qualities, as well as of displaying to the strangers the vast wealth and power of their own sovereigns, Pomarre and Otoo; the main point of their eloquence being to prove the prodigious superiority of Otaheite over all other quarters of the world. The long voyage they had accomplished in our ship, and Neptune's ceremony, was not forgotten; and on this they valued themselves highly, as giving them an infinite advantage over all other islanders.

The chief retired early to rest; but his attendants and their new friends from Otaheite (whose language, complexion, and manners, bore a strong resemblance) were too highly delighted with each other, to be prevailed on to part until after midnight.

The exiled king of these islands bears a character infinitely superior, in a moral point of view at least, to that of his more powerful rival Tamahama. The fidelity of former dependents in

a season of misfortune and fallen power, is surely no doubtful testimony of the virtues of a conquered king; and the moral goodness of such a man, if measured according to this standard, is great indeed. He appeared to be loved almost to adoration, and his authority, from affection, seemed to be increased almost in the same proportion as his actual power had become diminished. Is it not a phenomenon in politics, that the greater part of the unhappy revolutions, revolts, and conquests which have taken place in the world, have generally happened under such kings? Is it not disgraceful to human nature, that we are thus inclined to avail ourselves of that confidence and lenity which always characterise power in the hands of a benevolent monarch?

On the following morning we received a visit from this good king, and were welcomed very heartily by him to Attowaie. His skin was covered with a greyish scurf, probably occasioned by the immoderate use of the *ava*. Although at Otaheite we had met with very severe cases of the same distemper, yet this loathsome disease had made a greater progress on him, than on that of any other person we had before seen. He also laboured under a great depression of spirits, and could not refrain from complaining of certain reports propagated by some Englishmen settled under his enemy Tamahama, which had prevented several vessels from touching at his island for refreshments. He declared himself to be a fast friend of the English; and produced very fa-

vourable certificates of his conduct, from several captains with whom he had had dealings.

From some Englishmen who had followed his fortunes for several years, this unfortunate chief had acquired such an acquaintance with our language, that he was able to understand and answer any plain question we put to him.

This appeared the more extraordinary, as, notwithstanding their greater opportunities, the progress made by the Otaheiteans in our language is so trivial, that even the proper names of those with whom they were best acquainted, are hardly to be known in their mouths. The king was as anxious as the other chief had been, to receive accounts of his enemy's motions; and equally distressed with the information we afforded, as being fully aware of the inevitable consequences of an attack by Tamahama. He brought off a present of yams, plantains, and a couple of hogs, assuring us that every thing in the island was at our disposal. He professed a high regard for the British nation; and as a proof of it, had taken to himself the name of *King George*, and to his children, who were numerous, he had given those of the present royal family of England, beginning with the *Prince of Wales*, and descending to the youngest branch of the family. In this distribution, however, some irregularities had taken place; as his information had been procured from the English residing with him, who were not over-accurate in their genealogical know-

ledge. His conversation repeatedly turned to his want of fire-arms and gun-powder; but we contrived to avoid making any engagements on this subject.

Observing the deep despondency into which the king's affairs had thrown him, our humanity revolted at the idea of suffering him to have any spirits or intoxicating liquors; a present he doubtless expected, though he had the singular modesty to make no mention of it.

The dilemma in which I had been involved at Otaheite with Edeah and her gallant, made me ever afterwards very cautious in this respect with the natives of these islands. Their passions are naturally impetuous; and when fed by the fuel of strong liquors, acknowledge no restraint. There is no punishment adequate to the wickedness of the wretch who would import a cargo of spiritous liquors into the Sandwich or Society Islands; it would in every respect be tantamount to the wilful administration of an equal quantity of poison, as the extent of the evil would only be bounded by the destruction of the whole of the population.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Strong attachment of the Natives to their present Sovereign.—Desperate Resolution of this man in case of Invasion.—Departure for Onehow.

THIS unhappy man, who, from every thing we saw and heard, is well deserving of a better fate, had already suffered so much from the ambition and power of Tamahama, that he was now about to adopt one of the most extravagant resolutions that can be conceived.

The Europeans who had attached themselves to his fortunes, some of whom were carpenters, blacksmiths, &c. were now, with their offspring, a numerous body. As their last resource, they were constructing a vessel suited to the attempt of a long voyage, and in the event of the expected invasion, they proposed to escape from the island, and seek a refuge from the cruelty of their enemy in some one of the islands which they have heard are interspersed in the main sea. They are wholly ignorant of the method of measuring a ship's course, or of the other necessary branches of navigation. A compass, indeed, they possess. Their intention in the first place is, to steer to the westward, in the

hope of reaching some part of the coast of China; or, by keeping upon a wind to the southward, to fall in with Otaheite, or some other of the Society Islands. Dreadful alternative! and in fact the case is desperate, for they are well aware that resistance is in vain when once invaded. Perhaps, in the whole catalogue of human misery, there is not one more poignant, and more the object of pity to a generous mind, than that of a whole people thus becoming the victims of the ambition of one man, and, to satisfy his lust of conquest, expelled from their native home. The most pathetic pieces of poetry in any language, are the lamentations of the Spanish Moors upon their expulsion from Spain. The love of country is never understood, till we consider it as lost or endangered. I cannot speak of this unfortunate people without a melancholy involuntarily seizing on the train of my ideas.

Extravagant as this scheme of emigration may appear, in a people so destitute of the proper means of putting it in execution; yet it is not improbable that by such enterprises, in different periods of time, the most distant islands may have been peopled, and a similar language and mode of life established in quarters which seem to have no possible means of intercourse.

In Otaheite the same means have not unfrequently been proposed for escaping from the fury of a victorious foe; as in the case of old Pomarre, who in his distresses has repeatedly applied to European navigators to convey him to some distant spot.

where, removed from the attempts of his rivals, he might live free from danger.

Even our sailors were much affected by the unhappy situation of this chief, for he was by far the most intelligent native of these seas; and the ardent affection of his dependents and subjects was an ample testimony of his worth.

During our stay in the island he never left the ship, but ordered whatever we wanted to be brought off to us, and was obeyed with the greatest cheerfulness and punctuality. As he had made such a progress in the English language, his conversation was at once entertaining and instructive to us; and had his mind been more at ease, and his affairs in a more prosperous situation, a very advantageous connection might have been established between us.

His presence on board encouraged the islanders to bring off considerable supplies of salt, so that in a short time we made great progress in our business. When the labours of the day were over, we entertained the king, with his relation the general, and the other attendants, with a dance and song, performed by our Otaheitean natives, in which Pulpit's young wife bore a principal share. As the women of the Sandwich Islands are generally of a coarse masculine appearance, and nut-brown complexion, this young Otaheitean, who was a very good sample of her countrywomen, passed for a beauty in this place. The king was himself pleased to term her a *very pretty girl*. On this occa-

sion he took an opportunity of informing me, that he had sent an ambassador all the way to Otaheite, to negotiate with Otoo for a wife; and observed, as we had come from thence, he expected the messenger would have embraced that opportunity of returning in our ship with the object of his mission. Indeed, previous to our leaving Otaheite, this man had solicited a passage home, having been unsuccessful in his application to Otoo; we assented to his wish, but the night previous to our departure he swam on shore from the ship, thus forgetting his duty and allegiance to his sovereign, through the preponderating influence of Otoo, who had seduced him from a declining cause.

The king's attendants were resolved not to be outdone on this occasion; and displayed their ingenuity in the same way, exerting themselves to the utmost for the entertainment of the company. At last our own tars, that they might contribute their proportion to the delights of the spectators, produced a violin; and one of them, who was an excellent dancer, performed a hornpipe in such perfection, that all the strangers joined in acknowledging that our music and our dancing were far superior to their own. We perceived with pleasure that these amusements seemed to afford a temporary relief to the unhappy king; he seemed for a moment to forget his cares, and participate in the satisfaction of his subjects. Would that we could have effectually dissipated his anxiety!

As soon as we arrived on the coast of this island, we found it necessary to employ every precaution to prevent any further desertion from the ship; and being persuaded that we might count on the fidelity of Pulpit, whom we had taken on board at Ulitea, and who had already rejected all the offers of the king, who earnestly wished to retain him as an assistant, we admitted him into the cabin mess, whilst his Otaheitean lady ate with our cabin boy. This separation was not occasioned by her attachment to the customs of Otaheite, where the sexes always eat apart; but in fact, the behaviour of this poor female being not always governed by what is considered correct propriety in Europe, she was not altogether the most desirable companion at our table.

In the course of my stay at Attowaie, we had many opportunities to observe the dispositions and conduct of the king. One night, the wind increasing to a storm, we were driven out of sight of the island, and were two days in regaining our station. All this time the king expressed the greatest concern for his family and friends on shore, without seeming in any degree alarmed for himself. On returning to our former situation, it occurred to the king to make an experiment of the regard really entertained for him by the natives. When the first canoe came alongside, the king concealed himself in the cabin, directing one of his attendants to say that we had landed him on the island of Whahoo, and delivered him up as a prisoner to the authority of his grand enemy Tamahama. This canoe, belonging to the king himself, was loaded with provisions for his use;

amongst which were some young dogs, esteemed in these islands a peculiar delicacy, and therefore kept for the tables of the great alone.

Not seeing their master upon the deck, the islanders inquired earnestly how and where he was: being told he was now a prisoner in Whahoo, they laughed heartily at the supposed jest; but as all their countrymen on board agreed in a serious repetition of this assertion, they were struck dum with astonishment and grief. Never was affection, never was the fervor of genuine loyalty, more strongly impressed, than on the countenances of these honest subjects of an unfortunate king. It was gratifying to a generous mind to witness this affectionate testimony, as well of the fidelity of the subjects, as of the worth of the chief. This was no flattery; it was the generous, the honourable impulse of an honest nature.

After some time, they recovered themselves so far as to renew their inquiries, with looks aghast with terror. They eagerly demanded how this disaster had happened; at the same time condemning themselves for suffering him to remain on board the ship, and be exposed to such a misfortune. When their despair was wrought to the highest pitch, the poor king, who witnessed the whole scene, could no longer contain his feelings; but running upon deck, showed himself to the natives, reproaching them kindly for so readily believing that we could have so betrayed him into the hands of enemies. The sudden transition from grief to joy produced the most lively and affecting change on these faithful crea-

tures. We could not however so far recover them from their fears, as not to entreat the king to leave the ship, that he might not be again driven from the island, and exposed to some serious accident. To this he good-naturedly agreed; and was preparing to leave our vessel, when a large double canoe came alongside with a European on board.

His errand was to acquaint the king, that a report having reached the island of his having fallen into the hands of Tamahama, the inhabitants were become disorderly, and that nothing but his appearance amongst them could restore tranquillity. The good king now appeared, and it must be confessed with good reason, much happier than before; he seemed to collect new hope from this testimony of the love of his people, and to forget all his danger in the pleasing reflection that he was thus beloved. I am persuaded that, animated with love for their chief, had the numbers of this good people been even in a small degree more proportionable to that of their enemy, even the warlike Tamahama would not have found them an easy conquest. But their strength is too unequal to indulge any expectation of even safety in resistance. They have indeed but one resource left, that of flight in their new-built ship; and desperate, and apparently chimerical as this is, it promises more success than the chance of war.

His immediate departure being now indispensable, I inquired what we could do to express our sense of his many favours? To this he answered, that if we really were his good friends, we would supply

him with whatever we could conveniently spare of iron, canvass, and other necessities for his new vessel.

Having a good stock of iron, I furnished him with as much as he thought sufficient for his purpose, together with some carpenter's tools, axes, &c. crowning our presents with a few looking-glasses, a quantity of English cloth, and a small supply of gunpowder.

These articles this good man accepted with the most affecting demonstration of genuine heart-felt gratitude; and entering his canoe, he requested us on our return home to mention his hard fate to our countrymen; he concluded with pouring out benedictions upon us, and at length, having finished his adieus, he rowed for the shore with the greatest despatch.

The melancholy fate of this chief, his strange reverse of fortune, and the dismal prospects still awaiting him, joined to the goodness of his conduct and character, had completely inlisted us on his side; and we could not but earnestly hope, that he might in the event triumph over his grand enemy Tamahama.

We almost regretted that Captain Vancouvre had ever touched at the island of Tamahama; as from his assistance principally had this chief obtained that addition to his former strength, which, improved by his uncommon talents, had enabled him to become a conqueror and usurper. Had Captain Vancouvre foreseen the consequence of his encouragement of this ambitious man, I am persuaded he would have received the advances of Tamahama in a very different manner; but we are all blind instruments in the hands of

an overruling Providence, and it is some consolation that all this is not without some purpose of good, though it may exceed our powers to comprehend it.

We had now procured a good stock of salt, but not sufficient to answer our purpose; and having come so far, we were very unwilling to return without the completion of our plan. We had now no resource left, but to return to one or other of the islands under the command of Tamahama. We were already aware of the difficulty of procuring ship provisions in the islands belonging to this chief, not only on account of the high price required by the natives, but that no articles would be received in exchange, save only such as the sellers should think proper. To obviate these difficulties as much as possible, we bore up for Onehow, the other small island still remaining faithful to the rightful king of Attowaie; who, previously knowing our intention, offered to accompany us in person; but it appearing more prudent that he should remain for the present where he was, he despatched a messenger before us to Onehow, informing the natives of our intended visit, and directing them to treat us with every attention, and supply our wants.

This notice produced its full effect; for on our making the island, the natives flocked about us, furnishing abundance of yams at a very moderate rate: we there also laid in a small addition to our stock of salt. Here, as at the other islands, all were eager to be admitted on board; but the notion of our ship being a man of war, and the formidable appearance of our marines, kept them in awe.

We received none in the ship but one of the king's deputies, and, through the interest of this great man, two other chiefs. We found, from the language of these persons, as also of the other natives, that they were stedfastly attached to their lawful king, and determined so to remain, although they had but little hope of being able to withstand the attacks of their common enemy Tamahama.

CHAPTER XIX.

Leave the Leeward Islands, and proceed to Windward.—Arrival at Owhyhee.—Commence Trading.—Visited by Mr. Young.

HAVING in the course of four days collected about three tons of yams, an invaluable treasure to us in such circumstances, we set sail to the eastward for Owhyhee, and there renewed our intercourse with the natives, who, as has been already mentioned, were complete masters of their business. Every article we wanted was at least three times, and many of them six times the price they might have been procured for at the island we had just left.

Soon after our arrival, we received a visit from our countryman, Mr. Young, who had resided there for fourteen years past; from whom we had a confirmation of the particulars respecting Tamahama communicated to us at Whahoo, and of his erecting a royal residence at Mowie, and, above all, of his fixed determination to attempt the conquest of the two other islands, of Atto-waie and Onehow.

His palace is built after the European style, of brick, and glazed windows, and defended by a battery of ten guns. He has European and American artificers about him of almost every description. Indeed his own subjects, from their intercourse with Europeans, have acquired a great knowledge of several of the mechanical arts, and have thus enabled him to increase his navy, a very favourite object with him. I have no doubt that in a very few years he will erect amongst these islands a power very far from despicable.

The circumstances of this enterprising chief were greatly changed since the visit of Captain Vancouvre, to whom, as to the servant and representative of the king of Great Britain, with much formality and ceremony, he had made a conveyance of the sovereignty of Owhyhee, in the hopes of being thus more strongly confirmed in his authority, and supplied with the means of resisting his enemies.

His dominion seems now to be completely established. He is not only a great warrior and politician, but a very acute trader, and a

match for any European in driving a bargain. He is well acquainted with the different weights and measures, and the value which all articles ought to bear in exchange with each other; and is ever ready to take the advantage of the necessities of those who apply to him or his people for supplies.

His subjects have already made considerable progress in civilization; but are held in the most abject submission, as Tamahama is inflexible in punishing all offences which seem to counteract his supreme command.

It was only in 1794 that Captain Vancouvre laid down the keel of Tamahama's first vessel, or rather craft; but so assiduously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object, the establishment of a naval force, that at the period of our arrival, he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to seventy tons; some of them were even copper-bottomed.

He was, however, at this time, much in want of naval stores; and, to have his navy quickly placed on a respectable footing, would pay well for them. He has also between two and three hundred body-guards to attend him, independently of the number of chiefs who are required to accompany him on all his journies and expeditions.

In viewing this man, my imagination suggested to me, that I beheld, in its first progress, one of those extraordinary natures which, under other circumstances of fortune and situation, would have

ripened into the future hero, and caused the world to resound with his feats of glory. What other was Philip of Macedon, as pictured by the Grecian historians!—a man who overcame every disadvantage of slight resources and powerful rivals, and extended the narrow sovereignty of Macedon into the universal monarchy of Greece, and the known world.

Some convicts from Botany Bay, having effected their escape to the Sandwich Islands, rendered themselves at first serviceable to Tamahama, and, in recompence, were put in possession of small portions of land for cultivation. On these they raised some sugar-canes, and from them at last contrived to distil a sort of spirit, with which they entertained each other by turns, keeping birth-days and other holidays; until Tamahama, finding that such festivities greatly retarded his work, made some gentle representations on the subject.

This lenity, however, producing no good effect, but the drinking, idleness, and quarrels among the new settlers seeming rather to become more frequent than before, and their insolence being carried so far as to insult and mal-treat many of the natives, Tamahama gave the strangers to understand, that in their next fighting-party he would make one of the company, and see who could best acquit himself on the occasion. This hint produced the desired effect: the Botany Bay settlers were soon brought into complete submission, and a due sense of their situation.

These particulars were collected from Mr. Young; a man of strict veracity, who, having been long in the country, had the best oppor-

tunities to know the truth. He has been long in the confidence of Tamahama, whose fortunes he has constantly followed from the beginning, and who gives him daily proofs of the sincerity of his attachment. He added, that, for several years, Tamahama had adopted it as a rule, to request from all Europeans who touched within his dominions, a certificate or testimonial of his good conduct towards them; but that now, considering his character for honesty and civility to be established, he no longer deems such certificates of any importance.

Tamahama's ardent desire to obtain a ship from Captain Vancouver, was in all probability first excited by the suggestions of Young and his countryman Davis: but such was the effect of this undertaking, that Tamahama became immediately more sparing of his visits on board the *Discovery*; his time being now chiefly employed in attending to the carpenters at work on this new man of war, which, when finished, was named the *Britannia*. This was the beginning of Tamahama's navy; and, from his own observations, with the assistance of Messrs. Young, Davis, &c. he has laboured inflexibly in improving his marine force, which he has now brought to a respectable state; securing to him not only a decided superiority over the frail canoes of his neighbours, but the means of transporting his warriors to distant parts. Some of his vessels are employed as transports in carrying provisions from one island to another, to supply his warriors; whilst the largest are used as men of war, and are occasionally mounted with a few light guns. No one

better understands his interest than this ambitious chief: no one better knows how to improve an original idea. The favours of Vancouvre, and his other European benefactors, would have been thrown away on any other savage; but Tamahama possesses a genius above his situation.

His body-guards, who may be considered in some respects as regularly disciplined troops, go on duty not unfrequently with the drum and fife, and relieve each other as in Europe, calling out, "all is well" at every half hour, as on board of ship. Their uniform at this time was simply a blue great coat with yellow facings.

Among other things which Tamahama has learned by intercourse with Europeans, he has acquired a relish for our spirits, so that some navigators have exchanged their rum with him to very good account; sometimes, when his stock of liquor is exhausted, he employs the Europeans settled in his dominions to extract spirits from the sugar-canes, which grow there of an excellent quality. When Tamahama means to relax from his serious occupations, he invites his own wives, and those of his chiefs, to share in his regale of spirits, which in its operation seldom fails to create disputes and even quarrels among the ladies, to the great entertainment of the master of the feast, and the other male guests.

In order to accomplish his ambitious views, a more extraordinary instance of subduing the savage passions is hardly to be met with than in this man.—After the intercourse of shipping had become

more frequent, Tamahama became immoderately fond of spiritous liquors. Being then in the first vigour of life, and excelling as much in agility and bodily strength, as in warlike exploits, he was so peculiarly mischievous when inflamed with liquor, that Young and Davis, as well as his own people, had good reason to apprehend the effects of his inebriety.

Under these apprehensions they had made frequent attempts to escape from the island, but Tamahama had taken his measures so prudently, that their attempts were invariably frustrated in the very moment of their execution. In one of his moments of sobriety and confidence, Tamahama demanded of them—"What could induce them to these repeated efforts to leave him, when they were treated so kindly, and were daily receiving from him whatever he had to bestow?" "That is true," replied they, "but our lives become endangered as often as you are inflamed with spirits—you are then no longer master of yourself." Tamahama acknowledged the justice of this reproof, and made an engagement on the spot, that for the future he would never exceed a certain fixed and very moderate quantity; and to this engagement he most inviolably adhered. Such instances of self-conquest are rarely seen, even among the most polished nations of Europe.

The natives of the Sandwich Islands are in every respect much more ingenious, and much farther advanced in the knowledge of the useful arts of life, than those of Otaheite. It is true, that the former are excelled by the latter in the manufacture of cloth; but the spears,

the clubs, mats, calibashes, fish-hooks, and other implements of the Sandwich islanders, are far superior to similar articles made in Otaheite, whose inhabitants are not much regarded by their northern neighbours. The natives of Bollabolla, on the contrary, are esteemed by the natives of the Sandwich Islands as the bravest and most expert warriors of the Society Islands; every thing being good, according to their adage, that comes from Bollabolla. A number of the Sandwich islanders have at different periods passed to Otaheite, where they find every encouragement to settle, from the young king Otoo, who, from their superior skill and warlike disposition, generally prefers them as the attendants on his person.

During our stay at Attowaie, (one of the Sandwich Islands), we observed the king and his fighting general made use of spitting-boxes inlaid with the teeth of their enemies slain in battle; and this practice, joined to other circumstances, observed at the time of their being discovered by Captain Cooke, leads to the belief that human beings were not unfrequently their food. Indeed they were confessedly cannibals at the time of their discovery.

The Sandwich Islands are extremely well peopled, all circumstances of their nature and fertility being considered: and the women, according to Mr. Young's account, are said to be more numerous than the men; whereas in Otaheite the women are not reckoned to amount to more than one tenth part of the population.

The striking difference in the population of these two spots may in a great measure be imputed to the absence from Ohwyhee of the

horrid practice of infant murder. This increased population of the Sandwich Islands has had one good effect; it has compelled the natives to exert themselves in assisting nature by the more careful cultivation of the soil, and other branches of industry. The tarra, yam, and sweet potatoe, are productions common to all the islands; but are found in the greatest plenty in those which lie to leeward, and are cheapest in Attowaie and Onehow, from whence we took on board three tons of yams, and twenty hogs; articles which would have cost a considerable sum in any of the islands subject to Tamahama. These islands also produce most of the tropical fruits; melons, shaddocks, pompions, plantains, and bananas, are here in great abundance. They likewise furnish Indian corn, but not in a great quantity. The sugar-canets are here of excellent quality. The mountain plantain is of the greatest service to the natives; for with these, some cocoa-nut water, and a little *mahie* (a sour paste made of the bread-fruit when ripe), well beat up together, they make a dish called *pop poye*, eaten by all ranks, from the king to the lowest of the inhabitants. The same food is universally used in Otaheite.

CHAPTER XX.

Enterprising spirit of the Sandwich Islanders.—Knowledge of our Language.—Dexterity in Diving.—Desertion of the Otaheitean Natives.—Tamahama's Intention of opening a Trade with China.—Extract from the Missionary Journal.

THE Sandwich islanders in the territories of Tamahama, frequently make voyages to the north-west coast of America, and thereby acquire sufficient property to make themselves easy and comfortable, as well as respectable among their countrymen; to whom, on their return home, they are fond of describing, with great emphasis and extravagance, the singular events of their voyage. Several of them have made considerable progress in the English language; their intercourse with the Anglo-Americans, and the navigators from Britain, having given them the opportunity, of which they have so eagerly availed themselves.

Such is the astonishing assiduity of these people, and such their eagerness to improve their condition, by imitating the callings of the Europeans, that it is not unusual to see some of them exercising the trade of a country blacksmith, having for an anvil a pig of iron kentlage, obtained from some ship; a pair of goat-skin bellows, made by himself or some of his countrymen;

and his charcoal fire; making articles suited to the wants of his countrymen, or repairing and mending such as stand in need of it, with an ingenuity surpassing what might be expected under such circumstances.

The canoes of the Sandwich Islands far surpassed any that we had seen in other parts of the world; not only in solidity and strength, but in the neatness and skill of workmanship. These canoes are so well calculated for speed, that we have seen the natives work them along, with their short paddles, at the rate of eleven or twelve miles an-hour, and fairly run them under water.

Though they have these excellent canoes in abundance, the natives, both men and women, often dispense with the use of them, and swim to vessels approaching the island, with no other support than a thin feather-edged slice of wood: with these they play a thousand tricks, tumbling and plunging under water, then rising to the surface and plunging again, like so many inhabitants of the deep.

Their fondness for the water is indeed singular. They may at times be seen extended and lolling indolently on the surface for the whole day, without any occupation, and as much at their ease as if it was their native element. Instances are very rare, I believe, of the Sandwich islanders being drowned; and their boldness and dexterity in diving is perhaps unrivalled in any part of the world. Some of them, who were employed by us to assist in certain operations in the ship, would dive in fifteen fathoms

water, and clear the cable, however entangled in the pointed rocks at the bottom.

I have heard from Mr. Young, that Tamahama, in the early part of his career, being one day on board a vessel, requested an anvil of the captain, an article of which he stood in great need. To have a specimen of the spirit and skill of the natives, Tamahama was told that he should have one on condition that his divers should bring it up from the depth of ten fathoms. To this he instantly agreed, and the anvil was thrown into the sea. Tamahama immediately sent some of his people down after it, expecting to raise it without difficulty; but they found it somewhat too heavy. Unwilling, however, to abandon so great a treasure, they continued their efforts, and, after long and repeated exertions, succeeded in rolling the anvil along the bottom of the sea, for about half a mile, relieving each other alternately till they gained the beach, and were received by their countrymen with the loudest applause.

These, and similar exertions, although never declined by the divers, are often attended with dangerous consequences to their health. On their re-appearing on the surface, we observed their faces to be greatly swelled, their eyes red and much inflamed, and blood discharging profusely from their nose and ears. In a short time, however, they recover their usual state, and are ready to repeat the same exertion, and incur the same or greater injury. The only precautions employed by them on these

occasions, are to close the apertures of the body, as if to prevent the entrance of the water.

To show their wonderful expertness in diving, they would sometimes go aloft to our top-gallant yard, then plunge into the water, pass under the ship's bottom, and again appear on the opposite side tumbling and sporting like so many water-fowl. We once attempted to turn this qualification to advantage, by employing some of the natives to nail parts of the copper sheeting on the ship's bottom. They would remain not less than three or four minutes under the water, come up to the surface to breathe, and return to their work. This, had we not witnessed, we should not readily have believed.

Both sexes are strong, hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue. During our stay amongst them, the natives of Otaheite on board, struck probably with the lively manners of the people, and the appearance of the country, availed themselves of a dark night to slip down the ship's side, and swam unperceived to the shore. They soon, however, discovered that they were not in Otaheite; for, in the Sandwich Islands, none are permitted to be idle, but all must labour for a subsistence. This kind of life was not to the taste of the Otaheiteans; they embraced the first opportunity to return to their native island, and arrived there soon after our return. With them likewise returned to Otaheite our carpenter, who, as has been mentioned, had deserted from us a short time after we had reached the Sandwich Islands.

An intercourse between these islands and Otaheite may be of signal service to the latter island, as the natives of the former are well acquainted with the cultivation of the ground, and many other useful and ingenious arts to which the Otaheiteans are almost entire strangers. Since the discovery of the Sandwich Islands by Captain Cook, who so unfortunately lost his life on one of them, (Owhyhee), the natives, who constantly lament his untimely fate, have made rapid progress in many mechanical arts; and in the course of a few years more, they confidently hope to be in a condition to open a trade with China in vessels of their own construction, and navigated by their own people.

They are already well acquainted with the trade on the north-west coast of America; and from thence they may draw many articles to make up a cargo for their own country, or the neighbouring islands to the westward.

It may naturally be asked—What articles of commerce or barter can be possessed by the Sandwich islanders, a people just sprung from nature? The answer is at hand; they are able to furnish fire-arms, gun-powder, hardware, and cloth of different sorts; of all which Tamahama has accumulated more than is required for their own consumption.

These have been acquired in exchange for labour and refreshments supplied to the shipping who have touched there; particularly such as are engaged in the trade to the north-west parts of America. When the cargoes of these last are completed;

they readily part with such articles as remain, at a very low rate, rather than be incumbered with them during the remainder of their voyage. Besides the above-mentioned articles of foreign introduction, the Sandwich islanders possess the *sandal wood*, pearl oyster shell, and some pearls, all articles of high value in the China market: but one difficulty still remains to their accomplishment of this object, which is the want of hands to navigate their ships on voyages of such length and intricacy. Fortunately, however, for these enterprising people, they have now resident among them several Europeans and Anglo-Americans, men of ability and knowledge; such as Mr. Young, Mr. Davis, Captain Stewart, &c. &c. For twelve or fourteen years before our visit, these gentlemen had employed themselves successfully in instructing the natives, and their extraordinary chief Tamahama, in many useful arts, and particularly in that of navigation from island to island; so that many of the inhabitants have thus become brave, hardy, and not inexperienced sailors.

In the commencement of their trading expeditions, the Europeans would no doubt be intrusted with the command; but the islanders, from their ardour to learn, and capacity for instruction, would soon be in a condition to take the charge of the vessels and cargoes. It may perhaps be supposed that the king would be unwilling to intrust these vessels, property, and persons, to the Europeans and Americans residing among them, lest they should carry them to some distant part of the world, and then either

wholly abandon them, or appropriate the profits to their own advantage: but of this there is little danger; as, independently of the good conduct hitherto evinced by these strangers, and their consequent good character in the islands, almost all of them have married in the country, and have a numerous offspring, to whom they are powerfully attached; and have besides renounced all idea of ever returning to their native land.

This barter, or carrying trade, between China and the north-west coast of America, would soon enrich the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands; and their wants and desires for the luxuries, as well as the conveniences of life would speedily increase; and an opening would thus be made for introducing the arts, manners, improvements, and knowledge of civilized Europe.

In the first edition of this work, what we have related, and what we have further to add respecting this extraordinary character, Tamahama, excited much curiosity at the time; and though we have to acknowledge ourselves under great obligations to the Reviewers, for their very favourable report of us, yet one of them, although in very polite terms, was pleased to insinuate a wish for a confirmation of our accounts. It gives me pleasure that I have it in my power to oblige him.

The following extract from the Missionary Journal, will be found to confirm all our leading points.

“ SANDWICH ISLANDS.—The Missionaries at Otaheite were informed, by the captain of a vessel which arrived there in August

“ 1806, that he had lately been at the Sandwich Islands, of the
“ prosperity of which he gave a pleasing account. There are two
“ Europeans there, whose names are Davis and Young, who
“ have resided on the island of Owhyhee, &c. near fifteen years.
“ These men are the king’s confidants, and, through their abi-
“ lity and fidelity, have had the principal direction of his affairs.
“ They have made great advances towards civilization. The
“ king is not at all oppressive, as every man pays a regular tribute
“ or tax out of his produce, &c. to the government; the rest he
“ enjoys without any fear of being plundered by the king or chiefs.
“ The king, it is said, has upwards of two thousand stand of arms.
“ He has built several vessels, and one of about 70 tons. He has
“ a fortification round his house, mounted with ten guns. He
“ has also about two hundred disciplined native soldiers, who do
“ regular duty night and day. He has upwards of twelve thousand
“ dollars, and other valuable articles in proportion, deposited in
“ storehouses, which he has collected from ships by regular trade.
“ How happy should we be to add, they have also the privilege of
“ hearing and knowing the joyful sound of the gospel!”

Respecting the guns mounted on Tamahama’s battery, they are those formerly belonging to a vessel that was lost on a reef off Whahoo many years ago, but fished up by the dexterity and perseverance of Tamahama’s most expert swimmers. The captain of this vessel, at the time of which I am now speaking, commanded a ship in the north-west trade, and, like ourselves, had

been unsuccessful. He wintered there, and was at Whahoo at the same time with us. He used several arguments with Tamahama upon the subject of the guns, the one demanding, and the other as absolutely refusing to deliver them up, after they had been so long in his possession, and recovered at the expense of so much trouble and risk. This gentleman hoped, at least, that Tamahama would be induced to allow him some refreshments, as a kind of equivalent; but to this Tamahama as sternly objected: and at last, the only condition on which he could obtain refreshments was, by disposing of two barrels of gun-powder. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good. Tamahama knew that he had the powder, and this was his way of extorting it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Hint to the Missionary Society.—Departure from the Sandwich Islands.—Passage to the Southward.—Discover several Islands.—Suspicious Behaviour of the Natives.

THE Missionary Society might perhaps find it answer their purpose, to turn their attention to that quarter where, in my humble opinion, their benevolent efforts are more likely to prove success-

ful than in Otaheite. The Otaheiteans are indeed apparently softer in their manners than the northern islanders, but they are far behind the latter in their skill in the arts of life, and in their desire to acquire instruction of every kind.

Indeed, from certain events that took place on their being discovered, and particularly from the lamented fate of the great Cook, the Sandwich islanders have generally been regarded as a race of savage barbarians. The truth, however, is, as has been already noticed, that many of the horrible practices of the more amiable Otaheiteans, such as infant murder, &c. &c. are unknown amongst them; and the fatal accident which befel Cook, is to this day deeply and generally deplored.

In a conversation with Mr. Young respecting the melancholy fate of Captain Cook, I asked him how the Sandwich islanders felt after the first transports of anger had abated respecting this great man. His answer was, that as they at first considered him as immortal, according to some of their rude notions of a superior being, they most fully expected that he would, in some shape or other, re-appear amongst them; and that they retained this idea for some years. Afterwards, being given to understand that his sons were chiefs of high power in England, they conceived a great alarm, lest one or other of them should return to the Sandwich islands with a large force, and wreak a merited vengeance on them by some terrible example.

Such was the information I had from Mr. Young, who being a long

time resident amongst them, may be supposed to be well acquainted with their opinions concerning this excellent and much-lamented man; and he related this to me within half a mile of the place where the unfortunate catastrophe occurred. He added, they were now so confident in their own strength, that they bid defiance to any force that could be sent against them.

Their eager and insatiable curiosity to observe and understand whatever is doing by the Europeans, unrestrained by any of those considerations of propriety which influence civilized nations, has had a tendency to draw on them the character of rude and uncultivated men; but when it is considered that this curiosity and ardour are not the effects of childish ignorance, but are produced by the most decided anxiety to learn whatever they see done, their seemingly rude behaviour will then be forgiven.

Should the Missionary Society adopt this hint, and make the experiment, with a few active and intelligent men, possessing minds formed for the purpose, and who had been taught the system of education practised by Dr. Bell, and Mr. Lancaster, and who could be furnished with elementary books, pens, ink, paper, slates, &c. &c. a few such men, provided with such means, and aided by a knowledge of our mechanical arts, might produce wonders. For the inhabitants of these islands are altogether an imitative people.

Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands would moreover experience every aid from the resident Europeans. This is another great advantage over their countrymen in Otaheite and Tongataboo. From

the first arrival of the Otaheitean missionaries, they were exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers from their own countrymen. Some desperadoes from Europe, at that time residing among the natives, instead of assisting these worthy men in their forlorn situation, took a malicious pleasure in counteracting their efforts on all occasions, misrepresenting their views, and endeavouring to stir up the natives to outrage and violence. Young, Davis, and Stewart, would, on the contrary, be of infinite use in the Sandwich Islands; each of them being appointed magistrates, and justices of the peace in the districts where they reside, they would negotiate between the missionaries and the natives; and being men of probity and character, in full possession of the confidence of Tamahama, their good offices could not fail of having a desirable effect. I am persuaded that a simple application to that chief would secure their most strenuous efforts. Can there remain a doubt that these men, each of them having large families, would with the greatest readiness, and even with grateful satisfaction and delight, place their children immediately under such tuition? It is the first, the most anxious wish of a parent's heart, in every country, to study the welfare, and promote the education of his children, how much more so, therefore must it be to English minds, and British hearts, when so far removed from their native land!

As a proof of the fidelity with which Tamahama fulfils his engagements, I may mention that of the cattle introduced by Captain Vancouvre: the terms were said to be, that none were to be touch-

ed for a certain number of years. This condition was most rigidly preserved till that time expired, and these animals have in consequence become so wild, that none of the natives dare approach them; so that, ranging at their full liberty, they have destroyed the fences, trampled down the crops, and done much other damage. Though the inhabitants themselves have frequently suffered thus severely from their incursions, they have closely adhered to the condition of the original gift.

Owhyhee may be seen, in fine weather, from the distance of forty leagues at sea; containing two very lofty mountains, Mouna Roa, and Mouna Kaa, whose summits are generally enveloped in clouds and vapours.

A few days before we left the bay of Karakakooa, seven sperm-ceti whales passed within half a mile of the ship, rolling along very deliberately to the eastward. Had any of our South-sea whalers been there at the time, there might have been excellent sport, and no very unprofitable employment; probably not less than two thousand pounds value for the day's work.

Having at last accomplished the object for which we had visited the Sandwich Islands, that of laying in a stock of salt, we took on board a small supply of water. For this we were compelled to submit to a most unreasonable charge, being obliged to employ the natives, instead of our own people who would most probably have seized the opportunity of deserting. A great religious ceremony of three days continuance was to commence on the following day, during which

time a very rigorous *taboo*, or interdiction of all intercourse between the ship and the shore would be put in force, we made up our minds to leave these parts, and proceed with all expedition to Otaheite.

On the evening of the 21st of January, we stood along the shore to the eastward, taking the advantage of a land breeze. In this course we had a very full view of some eruptions from the volcanoes in the centre of the island of Owhyhee. Many parts of the surface of this island is covered with lava, calcined stones, black dust, and ashes, emitted by former eruptions.

The 11th of February brought us in sight of the island called Mangea, which appeared very productive, as we observed on the shore a great abundance of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This island is probably well-peopled; but, as night was coming on, we had no communication with the natives. As the night approached, but before it was yet dark, observing several canoes employed in fishing, we hove to, in the expectation that they would approach; as a further encouragement for them to do so, we showed them a number of lights from the ship, when, to our amazement, the whole shore was almost instantaneously illuminated, and this with as much regularity as if the intervals between the lights or fires had been carefully measured. No canoes, however, coming off to us, we made sail to the southward, being now hove considerably to the leeward of all the Society Islands, by contrary winds. During our further progress to the southward, and in running down our easting, no occurrence particularly deserving of remark, presented itself.

On the 5th of March 1803, in standing to the northward, at about half past eleven, P.M. the chief mate, who then held the watch, came down to the cabin, to acquaint the captain of our being in the neighbourhood of land, and observed, he could distinctly hear the surf beating upon the beach. Running instantly upon deck, we could distinctly see it bearing in the direction of N. E. by N. at about three miles distance; judging this to be a new discovery, we shortened sail, and made occasional tacks, intending to visit it in the morning. After an early breakfast, the captain, with the boat's crew armed, went on shore, to open an intercourse with the natives, should it be found practicable.

At eleven A.M. another low island, almost level with the water, was seen from the main-top by one of the seamen, bearing south-east by south about eight or nine miles, and on casting the eye to the westward, another of the same discription was discovered bearing south-west by west, at nearly the same distance. What was remarkable, in the early part of the evening the ship, in her course, must have passed between these islands nearly at an equal distance from each, without any one on board perceiving either of them, although the distance between them does not exceed twelve miles. On reaching the shore the natives shewed such indications of artifice and cunning, that he did not think it prudent to land. They were armed with spears and other offensive weapons. As the boat approached the land, the women withdrew, and went up the country, a practice seldom used amongst savage nations but when hos-

tilities are expected to take place. However, the captain threw on shore some nails and other trifles; and the natives, in return, sent off a few feathers of the tropic bird, fastened to the end of a long bamboo.

The natives of this island were of a complexion darker, by some shades, than those of Otaheite, much thinner, and less cleanly in their persons. Their long shaggy hair was twisted together like a mat. The captain concluded that they must be very badly supplied with fresh water, as the highest part of the island did not appear more than six feet above the surface of the sea. Their chief food, as he supposed, must be fish and roots, as no bread-fruit nor coconut trees were to be seen any where.

Nearly in the centre of the island were three solitary trees of a moderate height, of what description is uncertain, but very distinguishable; probably they were left standing by the natives as a land-mark, in order to direct them in their excursions from one island to another; for, independent of the two last mentioned, it appeared to us there were many others in this neighbourhood.

Between seven and eight P. M. on the 6th, made observations for ascertaining the longitude of the island, by the moon and star Aldebaran, and moon and star Regulus, east and west of the moon; watch corrected at four P. M. gave longitude $143^{\circ} 24'$ west, and latitude $20^{\circ} 26'$ south. This island we named after the ship, Margaret's Island. In the evening made sail to the northward.

At noon on the 7th a low island, seen in the morning, bore from

north by west half west, to north by east half east, distant five or six miles. This island lies in the direction of west north-west and south south-east, about a league in length, and inhabited by the same race we had just left. Its longitude brought forward from the preceding evening is $143^{\circ} 28'$ west; its latitude $20^{\circ} 0'$ south.

On the 10th of March, continuing our course to the northward, an island was seen bearing from north-east to north-east by east, at from twelve to fourteen miles distance. This island is somewhat more elevated above the level of the sea than those we had just left, and, together with a few cocoa-nut trees, presented some signs of vegetation. It is between six and seven miles in circumference, and is inhabited: the natives have canoes, two of which ventured off to the vessel, but brought nothing for barter, appearing to be solely attracted by the curiosity of so novel and interesting a spectacle, namely, the ship and the people: the ship, being larger than a hundred of their canoes, struck them with astonishment; and our people, whose complexion so widely differed from theirs, they considered as so many supernatural beings! They continued some time near us staring with wild amazement at every thing before them, but no endeavours on our part could prevail on any of them to come on board: they were most probably affraid of being kidnapped and carried into slavery. Excepting a thin tuft of grass hanging down before their middle, they were all completely in a state of nature. One of them, probably a chief, or warrior, had a few pearl oyster-shells strung round his neck, no doubt by way of distinction; a presump-

tive proof of pearls being in the neighbourhood. We threw them a few trinkets, but they seemed to set little value on them: their countenance and manners had a very wild appearance. The food of these people most probably is fish, (a never-failing article in the Pacific ocean), with perhaps a few miserable roots or other vegetable productions.

Not being conveniently situated, either in respect to time or means, for making new discoveries, or exploring unknown islands, these observations are partly conjectural:—we conclude, however, that this island had never before been seen by any European; otherwise the inhabitants would have been more ready to court our acquaintance. The natives of such countries, as were unacquainted with Europeans, I have constantly found to be shy, reserved, and very suspicious. In compliment to the late Sheriff of London, Sir Richard Phillips, we named it Phillips's Island: it is situated in latitude $16^{\circ} 24'$ south, and longitude $143^{\circ} 57'$ west. To another in its neighbourhood, situated in latitude $16^{\circ} 12'$ south, and longitude $143^{\circ} 47'$ west, we gave the name of Holt's Island. They, with the others, will be found accurately laid down in Mr. Arowsmith's charts of the Pacific, a man who, from his incessant industry and perseverance in the science of geography, is far above any eulogium I can bestow; of this gentleman, it may be truly said, that he has exhibited with the greatest minuteness and accuracy, in his charts of the Pacific, and brought into existence, new islands in a new world.

This part of the Pacific has been termed the Labyrinth; and I

think most properly so, for the navigation is dangerous in the extreme. No skill in the mariner can reduce the navigation of these seas to any certainty of safety; the bottoms being so jagged and irregular, and the inequalities of depths so frequent and sudden, that it is impossible to take any soundings that can be of much practical benefit.

There is still a further and growing danger, arising from the gradual formation of other reefs, as well as from the progressive elevation of those at present under the surface, but which, from the constant accretion of the particles deposited by the Polypi, are daily and hourly approaching nearer to the surface; so that many of them which have now a sufficiency of water over them for the draught even of large ships, will ere long form the most dangerous ledges.

In support of this conjecture, I shall here introduce a most striking instance, which fell under the actual observation of our captain, on his passage to the north-west coast of America. Having learned from good authority, previously to our leaving England, that, at some short distance to the northward of the Sandwich Islands, M. Perouse had fallen in with some banks over which he passed, and that he had been led to conclude abounded with pearls, it became a part of our plan, from this information, to give it a fair trial, by taking on board two of the most expert divers from the Sandwich Islands, and leaving them there with a boat and every other necessary, under the charge of an officer and one of the ship's company, till the return of the vessel from the north-west, when

it was intended that the ship should touch there and pick them up, with the fruits of their industry. These men were accordingly engaged, and no time was lost in proceeding to the assigned place. Great indeed was their astonishment, upon reaching the banks, over which, by the tracks as given in the French charts, Perouse's two vessels must have passed, to find a depth of water no where exceeding twelve feet; and though they were employed with the dredge for two whole days, not a vestige of a pearl was to be seen. Indeed, in many parts of it, the water was so shoal, as to have knolls of sand jutting up even above the surface.

These shoals lie in the neighbourhood of an island, in latitude $23^{\circ} 45'$ north, longitude $168^{\circ} 10'$ east of Paris, named Nekar Island by Perouse, in compliment to the French minister of that day. Upon this island they landed; and their curiosity was excited by a range of stones, placed with some regularity in the manner of a wall, and about three feet high. It had something of the appearance of the foundation of a house, and was evidently the work of human hands; but whether of the French or of the neighbouring islanders, could not be determined.

Finding no intercourse could be readily opened with the inhabitants, we again proceeded on our course. On the 13th we came to another island, having in the middle of it a large lagoon, which we could discover from the mast-head; my curiosity strongly prompting me to examine this spot, I went on shore, but found great difficulty in landing, as the beach appeared to be sur-

rounded with a reef of rocks in every place; excepting towards the end most to leeward, where was a narrow channel, not more than twenty yards across, through which the lagoon discharged itself into the sea.

Upon coming to this spot, the tide ran out so strong, that the boat could not stem the current; we therefore landed as near as possible to the channel, and sent off two of the people, one of them a Sandwich islander, to discover whether the island was inhabited. I remained with the others of the boat's crew on the shore, in the expectation of their return; but as they staid much longer than I had expected, I began to apprehend some accident had befallen them. As the ship was near the land, I was in the act of putting off to her to procure some fire-arms, having neglected to bring any with us, when our two men made their appearance, and waded up to their necks to get to the boat.

I demanded of them if they had effected any intercourse with the natives, or had even seen any, for we had ourselves as yet discovered none. They said that they had seen and spoken with the islanders, and that they had strongly solicited them to accompany them up the country. As our men returned without the spears which they had carried from the boat, I inquired what was become of them, and was informed that the natives had made them understand by signs their wish to examine these weapons; but when they had once got them into their possession, they objected to restore them.

Upon this information I resolved to attempt to open an intercourse with them, but, as a necessary precaution, returned to the ship for fire-arms; and this being obtained, together with a reinforcement of men, I returned to the shore. Our two scouts gave a very favourable account of the natives, saying they appeared kind and friendly. I therefore carried back the Sandwich islander, to serve, if possible, as interpreter between the natives and myself.

On our reaching the entrance of the channel to the lagoon, the tide had slackened so much, that we were able to pull the boat against the tide. By so doing we got forward more commodiously than we could have done by land, as the ground was over-run with a thick underwood, which would have rendered our progress both tedious and irksome. By going on the water, we were also out of the immediate power of the natives, who could neither surprise, nor mislead us, had such been their intention.

Upon gaining the inner end of this channel, we found the current no longer running outwards, but discharging itself into the lagoon with a rapidity equal to that of the Thames under London bridge. The narrow inlet now resembled a mill-race, and we were so far engaged in it, that we had no alternative, but either to run forward through it, or incur the risk of being dashed to pieces on the coral rocks which lined the sides. In our way through this inlet, the boat made two or three heavy plunges, which filled her more than half full with water; the helm lost its influence, and the eddy whirled us.

round and round with great rapidity. This anxious and hazardous situation lasted about two minutes, when at length we arrived without injury in the lagoon, and proceeded forward in quest of the natives. We expected that they would before this have again made their appearance, as they must have witnessed all our motions.

When we had advanced a short way, we discovered five or six who had left that part of the shore where we had first landed, and were moving up the country with all speed. Upon this I put the boat's head in shore, that I might if possible get before them, and thus effect an interview. The natives, however, perhaps discovering our intention, quickened their pace, as if they either dreaded or disregarded any such intercourse; and were a full quarter of a mile before us, ere we could reach the shore of the lagoon. That they might not be alarmed at our numbers or arms, I landed only the two men they had formerly seen, who hailed them in the Otaheitean language and manner, to induce them to stop.

This at last produced the desired effect, and our two men got up to them; the others, with myself, still remaining in the boat, and following at a distance. As our men on shore drew near, the natives again began to move forward, but so slowly that they were at last overtaken.

They now appeared to enter into conversation with our two interpreters, one a native of the Sandwich Islands, and the other a sailor, who understood and spoke fluently the language of Ota-

heite. This appearance of intercourse gave me great pleasure, as the natives would thus learn that our views in coming to their island were friendly, and might be advantageous. We continued at some distance, in expectation of the signal to advance; but as no such signal was made by our people, and as they and the natives again moved forward, I began to apprehend some ambush or other treachery on the part of the islanders.

The day was now declining, and we had been drawn a considerable way up the lagoon; we were moreover aware that, upon our return, we might be exposed to the same, if not greater dangers, as upon our entrance, and more particularly as it would be then dark: I therefore made a signal for our men to return to the boat, but, instead of obeying, they beckoned us to advance,

Concluding that matters were now in a favourable way, we pulled up as fast as possible; and when we arrived abreast of them, our two men walked gently down to the water's edge, without saying a word more to the natives.

The sailor, on coming up to me, shook his head very significantly; and the Sandwich islander said he believed the natives were canibals, applying his arm to his teeth, and showing as if he bit his flesh. It has been already mentioned, that, on the first visit, the natives had cajoled these men out of their spears; and on this occasion they had also obtained their necklaces and ear-drops, (the sailor being dressed in all respects like an inhabitant of Otaheite). The natives, to the number of eight, were all this time

standing on the bank of the lagoon, apparently in doubt whether they should venture to approach us. In order to encourage them, I held up to their view some looking-glasses, knives, scissors, and sundry other articles; at all which they looked with great attention, but still remained unmoved. At last one of them ventured to come down to the stern of the boat, which now lay close to the land, ready to start, if necessary, at a moment's warning.

This man, who seemed to be the stoutest of the party, displayed a most curious mixture of fear and cunning, while he reached out one hand to receive a looking-glass in exchange for a pearl gorget which he held in the other. His manner gave me such a distrust of his intentions, that I thought it prudent to secure myself by one hand to the boat, lest in making this transfer he should attempt to drag me out of it. This, however, he did not venture, but made off speedily to his countrymen with his prize, the only one I have reason to believe in the whole island.

Notwithstanding this man's sudden departure, I continued to hold up, as before, sundry articles, that might, if possible, induce more of them to approach. However, none of them showed any inclination to such intercourse, remaining at a distance with a wild stare of amazement, not unmixed as I thought, with an air of artifice.

Had I been disposed to have inflicted any punishment on these poor savages, for their treachery in plundering our interpreters, it would have been easy for us to have killed, or at least severely

wounded them, so that they and their descendants would not have forgotten our visit for many years. But compassionating their ignorant and uncultivated state, and knowing that they were not worse than all the other islanders of the Pacific ocean, I suffered them to pass with impunity. Every act of theft is not to be punished by shooting the offender through the head. The great guns are not to be discharged into a promiscuous crowd upon every petty disturbance: this is certainly as bad policy as it is an outrage upon humanity; and if these people know what murder is, it cannot much exalt us in their esteem that we regard it so lightly.

To shew them, however, that their lives were in our power, even while they remained at what they naturally deemed a secure distance, I fired a pistol in the air. The report frightened these poor creatures so much that they dropped down amongst the grass as if they had been really shot, and never attempted to move till the boat had been put off from the shore.

CHAPTER XXII.

Critical Situation.—Fortunate Escape.—Visit the small Island of Matia.—Intercourse with the Islanders.—One of Pomarre's Deputies exercising supreme Authority.—Admiration of the Natives on seeing us pump the Ship.—Arrive again at Otaheite.

So much time had been lost in these different proceedings, that I began to fear we should have some difficulty in finding our way out of the lagoon; we therefore made all haste back to the entrance, but it was dark long before we reached it, and we found ourselves involved in a vortex, which whirled us into a kind of channel somewhat beyond that by which we had entered; nor did we perceive our situation until, having proceeded about half-way along this channel, the boat took the ground.

Our people immediately jumped out of the boat, and tried to track her into the proper channel; no such passage, however, could be found, for a-head, the boat was quite dry. We had therefore no choice left but to put back and take a fresh departure, when in an instant we were again swept away within the lagoon, and whirled round as before with great rapidity. The tide, it seems, had changed at the very time when we were endeavouring to discover another channel. We now found our-

selves completely bewildered, as the tide made up with such strength that it was impossible for us to stem it with our oars. Our situation now became dangerous and critical, and the greatest caution was therefore necessary.

I made the people once more get out, and track the boat along the edge of the reef until we got to the top, which terminated in a sharp point, and then double the corner, by which means we hoped to be free from the danger of similar accidents. The men, equally anxious with myself, exerted themselves to the utmost; but the rocky reef on which they walked was composed of parts as sharp as flints, which severely injured their feet; and at almost every second step they found themselves up to the middle, often up to the neck, in the water.

It was now extremely dark, but fortunately we had discovered the ship's lights over the narrow belt of land between the lagoon and the sea; a sight which not only helped to keep up our spirits in these embarrassing circumstances, but to guide us in our search for a proper issue from the lagoon. The boat's crew continued to drag her along the reef, in spite of every difficulty, until they could no longer endure the fatigue and pain of these arduous efforts. The tide had by this time begun to set into the lagoon in its greatest strength; for these reasons I judged it safest to bring the boat to anchor alongside the reef, setting up a landmark to direct us in our course when the moon should rise, which we calculated would be about half past ten.

It was now between seven and eight o'clock, and the interval was beyond description distressing. We lay in a most perilous situation, surrounded with a savage race, suspected to be cannibals. The imaginations of our people were filled with the most dismal apprehensions, and several began absolutely to despair of ever returning to the ship. It seemed indeed impossible that the boat should escape being sunk or dashed in pieces, or ever be in a condition to leave the lagoon; and if the crew survived such an event, they must doubtless have fallen into the hands of the inhabitants, never to be rescued. In this manner had each his different opinion as to the fate awaiting us, but not one of us entertained any very sanguine hope.

At length the long-wished-for moon appeared, but half an hour later than we had reckoned, when we discovered ourselves to be about two hundred yards from the gut of this forlorn place. Upon reaching the spot, the tide was running gently. Turning the sharp corner of the reef, we immediately found ourselves in the proper channel, a relief for which our thankfulness is not to be expressed. Had the natives known our situation, and been disposed to take advantage of it, we might easily have been cut off, the channel by which we had returned being in its widest part not more than twenty yards across. But either they imagined us to have got off before it became dark, or had become afraid of us from the discharge of the pistol. One effect of this adventure was, that it considerably abated my ardour for enterprises of such

a nature without previously making all due inquiries. However, we passed safely through the inlet to the sea, and within half an hour found ourselves amongst our shipmates on board, who had become extremely uneasy concerning us.

Our two interpreters informed us, that the natives of this island understood but very imperfectly the language of Otaheite; but that they seemed to have some notion of the existence of such an island, which they supposed to be ten times larger than its actual magnitude. They had also a confused idea of Pomarre and his authority in Otaheite, and supposed him to be a person of huge stature, in which they were not entirely mistaken. How these detached islanders came to have such notions, it is not easy to conceive; but they may have been acquired from the natives of some other islands, driven thither by stress of weather.

The ridge or narrow border of land surrounding the lagoon of this island, as far as I could observe, seemed in its broadest part to be only about two hundred yards across, in many places much narrower, and in no place more than eight feet above the level of the sea. No indications of the bread-fruit came within our observation, but here and there might be seen a dozen or more of cocoa-nut trees; half of them, however, were without tops, these having been probably broken off by the wind. I hence concluded, that it must at times blow very hard in this spot, for I never observed the same appearance in any of the Society Islands.

The lagoon, in the centre, seemed to be about six or seven miles across, and not less than twelve or fourteen in length; the whole interior being one continued sheet of water, and seemingly very deep. As we entered from the sea, we saw a canoe in it about two miles before us; it was paddling with all speed towards the shore: this was, most probably, to escape from us, as the people left it the moment they reached the land.

At the spot where we first touched, we found a few dried fish, sharks' heads, and two turtle shells, hanging up in a sort of *marai*, as an offering to the god of the natives.

There, also, we saw a few miserable huts, made of a kind of cocoa-nut matting, but saw none of the inhabitants, who had probably retired to a distance on seeing us land. In some places the ground was burrowed by certain animals, and part seemed to have been done that morning. The natives, as far as could be judged from our short intercourse with them, appear to be of the same race with those of the islands lying more to the eastward, (wild and barbarous), who had been visited by the captain; and some shades darker than those of Otaheite. Their appearance was loathsome and forbidding; and, excepting what subsistence they can draw from the sea and the lagoon, with a few cocoa-nuts and roots, they seem deprived by nature of all other means of support. In what manner they procure water we could not discover; and the population must of necessity be very scanty. We saw only eight natives all the time we were in the island. As far

as we know, we were at that time the first Europeans who had trodden this inhospitable spot.

Proceeding again on our course, on the 16th we arrived at the small island of Matia, (the Recreation of Roggewein), situated in the latitude of $15^{\circ} 48'$ south, and longitude $147^{\circ} 58'$ west. This island, when viewed at a distance, has a beautiful and refreshing appearance, contrasted with those sandy deserts we had just left to the eastward: in clear weather it may be seen at the distance of seven or eight leagues. Matia appeared to be as level as a bowling-green on the top, and might not improperly be called Table Island. We found it was governed by a deputy sent by Pomarre from Otaheite, being the most distant spot under his authority.

In this island lay a very large double canoe, which had left Otaheite six months before to collect tribute. The natives brought off to us abundance of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, as articles for traffic, taking in return looking-glasses, nails, &c. &c. No hogs were produced, as the island furnishes very few, the principal support of the inhabitants being derived from the sea. In manners and appearance, the inhabitants of this little island bore a strong resemblance to those of Otaheite, but were less civilized; and our arrival excited amongst them a much greater degree of curiosity than had been shewn by the natives of the other islands we had just visited. The gorget, made of the pearl oyster-shell, was very generally worn; but their cloth, of which they pro-

duced some specimens, seemed to be much inferior to that of Otaheite. Many of the natives were dressed in a *teboota* made of long knotted grass, carelessly thrown over their shoulders, and descending to the knees. Their canoes, on the other hand, were superior in point of execution to those of Otaheite, being ornamented with a profusion of carved work.

We lay off and on in a very fine bay, under the lee of the island. The low land surrounding it, and extending to the hills, was rich in bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; and the beach, consisting of a fine sand, was crowded with natives, who watched all our motions with the most attentive curiosity. We admitted some of the chiefs, with their friends and attendants, to come on board the ship; they examined every object that presented itself, with the most eager admiration.

Having at this time occasion to pump the ship, the instant the water began to flow, they were struck with amazement, and instantly left the quarter-deck to flock round the pump, showing an extreme inquisitiveness to know whence this water came, and how it was raised. Our mariner's compass next attracted their notice, and they seemed to be filled with astonishment when our Otaheitean chief on board explained to them its uses. He was listened to as an oracle of information, and told them many things, I believe, that savoured strongly of the marvellous. He informed them that we possessed weapons, which, being merely pointed at them, would kill them in an instant; thus, no doubt,

describing our fire-arms loaded. As far as we could learn, the natives had seen but one vessel before ours, which was probably a brig, as they represented her to have had but two masts.

Leaving Matia in the evening, we now bent our course for Matiea, the island we have already mentioned as lying about a degree to the eastward of Oatheite, it being our intention to take on board a quantity of live hogs, and in that state to carry them to Otaheite. On the evening of the 18th we arrived off that island, the latitude of which is $17^{\circ} 49'$ and longitude $148^{\circ} 2'$ west. On the following day we procured upwards of twenty hogs, some of them very fine, in exchange for hatchets, scissors, knives, paper looking-glasses, &c. and had it not been for the fierceness of these animals, and their flying into the mountains when attacked, we could have procured double that number. With the help of a buther's dog or two, at this time, we would have had a favourable and a profitable opportunity of hunting the wild boar in grand style, as the natives shewed the greatest anxiety on their part to promote the object of our visit. Here, too, we received a supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, plantains, &c. for refreshing the ship's company.

At day-light in the morning of the 21st, the island of Otaheite bore from south by east, to west by north half north, distant five miles. At noon anchored in Matavai Bay, in fourteen fathoms; bearings as follow:—Tree on One-tree-hill south half west, end of the reef north by west, a quarter of a mile; being once more restored to our old friends in Otaheite, where Pomarre, Edeah, and

Otoo, welcomed us in the most cordial manner. When these civilities were over, we were overwhelmed with applications for Sandwich Island cloth, and other articles of use or curiosity; and were quite unable to gratify the desires of our numerous applicants, who have no end to craving. They inquired the history of our voyage, and the wonders we had seen at *Popahie*, meaning *Owhyhee*. To the inquiries we gave the best answers in our power, and then presented to them a woman from the Sandwich Islands, whom we had brought with us on the following account:—In these remote parts of the globe we are obliged to grant indulgences to our people, to which in other circumstances we should never have agreed, and which would never have been expected. Our second mate, a very useful person in the government of the ship's company, and valuable in many other respects, pleaded hard with us, while we lay at the Sandwich Islands, to be allowed to carry a female native back with him to Port Jackson, in New South Wales. To such a proposition we would certainly have denied our assent; but, presuming on the importance of his services, he intimated that, unless his desire was complied with, he would leave us the first opportunity.

Having already malcontents enough, without adding an officer to the number, and one who had so much influence with the men, we thought it most prudent to suffer him to bring this woman on board, and thus completely secured him to our interest. Much mischief might otherwise have been fomented in the ship, had he been irritated by a refusal of his request.

This person was passionately fond of his new mistress, and spared neither expense nor pains to equip her in the handsomest manner; she was, in truth, in a most woful plight when he received her from her relations, being brought to him without either wardrobe or jointure, but just as she stood, in her homely country dress. It was therefore necessary to clothe the poor creature entirely anew; no easy task in our ship, where we had neither mantua-maker nor linen-drapeer. Her husband, therefore, purchased several purple-bordered shawls, on which, at every leisure moment, he worked in his best manner, until at length he produced a sort of long robe stitched together rather than sewed. When fitted on the lady, it had much the air of a leopard's skin, from the multitude of spots formed by the crossing of the coloured borders in all directions. That her finery might be of a piece, and she appear a little *à la mode de Britannie*, it was necessary she should wear pumps. The robe not only fitted, but quite delighted the poor girl, but with the pumps she would willingly have dispensed. It was her husband's will, however, that she should wear them, and she reluctantly submitted.

This was no small sacrifice on her part, for when the shoes were tied on, she moved as if she had been iron-shod. This was an operation too painful to be long endured; she therefore requested of her husband, that she might be unfettered: he consented, and her finery was laid aside till she reached Otaheite. One of her husband's shirts was substituted for common wear, during the passage.

From the first moment of the ship's arrival, she was received with

uncommon attention by the ladies, who flocked around her in crowds, regarding her attentively from head to foot, and complimenting her very courteously. Whether it was, that her colour so nearly resembled their own, or that the splendour of her dress so far surpassed any thing they had before seen, they were in raptures with her: every one pressed eagerly forward to pay their respects. After they had awhile gazed at her in this manner, the women withdrew with her into the ship's hold. I know not the object of this privacy; whether they suspected she was some man dressed up to impose upon them, or that, previous to her reception among them, there was a kind of masonic ceremony to be observed; but so far is certain, that from what the woman afterwards said, they must have examined her very closely. None were more busy on this occasion than some of the branches of the royal family.

Every one was eager to become her *tayo*; perhaps, as she was the wife of a European, they cherished themselves with the hope that some presents might be in the way. They are in this respect most excellent calculators, but sometimes over-reach themselves, as was the case with respect to our armourer. She received many pressing invitations to visit them on shore, and complied with the greater part of them, dressed out to the best advantage. She did not, however, walk in her new pumps as if she had enjoyed the benefit of a dancing master.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Death of Pomarre's Father.—Singular Character.—Departure of the Captain.—Residence in Otaheite Factory.

DURING our absence, we found that the ship Nautilus had been at Otaheite, and taken away all the hogs she could procure. This was not the most pleasing intelligence.

Since our departure, the father of Pomarre had died, worn out by the gradual decay of nature, being blind at the period of his death. From his general conduct, he appears to have been a man of unexampled cunning and intrigue. Like many ambitious characters, he looked more to the end than to the means; and contrived, by various well-concerted schemes, so to improve to the advantage of his family the dissensions of the island, as to procure the royal authority for his son Pomarre. Tamarre, son of the famous Oberea, the queen in the time of Wallis, was thus deprived of his right, and the family of Pomarre invested quietly with the sovereign power.

We found by this time that there was no probability of procuring at Otaheite any further supply of hogs; and that our endeavours to this end required more time than we could conveniently spare. Dispatch was now our grand object. The captain and my-

self therefore concurred in opinion, that, as the most prudent measure under our present circumstances, he should sail with the ship to some of the islands lying to windward; and thence procuring a live stock of hogs, should bring them to Otaheite to be slaughtered. Myself with two or three assistants were to remain at Otaheite on the salting business.

Upon the departure of the ship, I was received with transport as a temporary resident. I knew to what to impute this warm welcome; having brought from the ship a most plentiful store, I was richer than all the royal family of Otaheite, and was received accordingly. For my greater convenience, I endeavoured to render my temper as conformable as possible to their manners and customs. From this cause I was never free from a crowd of all ages and sexes, and their curiosity was truly embarrassing. An Otaheitean must see every thing. By humouring them in these respects, I became a very general favourite; not only with the people, but with the royal family. Every one attended me with the greatest civility; and the king and myself almost daily exchanged presents and provisions. By these means our business of salting proceeded without interruption.

During this residence among them, I could not but observe their immoderate use of the *ava*. No sooner had they procured any fresh supply from Eimeo, or the more distant parts of their own island, than they gave themselves up to intoxication, and remained stupified for days together. I was again confirmed in my opinion,

that the introduction of spirits would be attended with the general destruction of the population.

On leaving the ship, I requested permission of Pomarre to trade all over the island for hogs; this was most readily granted to me, as Matavai had become exhausted from the multitude of its late visitors. As my salting business required additional assistance, I was compelled to engage some fugitive seamen, a kind of fellows I should otherwise have rejected with disdain. I endeavoured at first to effect my purpose by means of the natives, under the superintendence of a European, and sent them coasting around the island for hogs; but the fatigue of the oars soon sickened them, and they could never be prevailed upon to make a second trip. It was truly ludicrous to see their yawns and grimaces upon these occasions; they would exhibit their blistered hands, and exclaim most dolefully, *owhow, owhow*, not good, not good. Indeed many of them never made their appearance before me a second time, but betook themselves to flight at the first place where the boat landed. We might have waited for pork till doomsday before they would have acquired it for us by this labour. Our axes were good things, and our muskets better, but labour to an Otaheitean is always *owhow, owhow*.

From being a common dwelling-house, I converted my residence into a mansion, with more divisions and sub-divisions than all the other houses in Otaheite together. Immediately on landing, I partitioned off one half for myself, with a railing across, and a bar-gate

in the centre, which for awhile was a sad obstruction to the Otaheiteans. After a certain time, I was persuaded to admit a few of them, as an especial favour: all exclusion was henceforth at an end; they no longer troubled themselves to ask if their company was agreeable, but introduced themselves pell-mell, and *sans cérémonie*. Their only return for this impertinence, was an uninterrupted flow of compliments.

Opposite to me was a large trunk built for the purpose of keeping our pork; this furnished them with an ample theme:—What a rich country must theirs be, which could supply such plentiful food for our half-starved countrymen!—What a good thing it was for *Pretanee* that there was such a place as Otaheite, and such a man as Pomarre!

The other half of the house I had set apart for our people, four in number, who immediately applied themselves to raising some large four-post bedsteads, all of which they hung round with Otaheitean cloth for drapery. Not one corner nor crevice of the house but was filled with natives: *my ty, my ty*, very good, very good, resounded from every part. This flattery was very well calculated for our sailors, whose only aim was admiration; and being rich, (that is to say, having me to draw on as their banker), were considered by them as very suitable objects of flattery. They accordingly gave them infinite credit for the elegance of their booths; and when called on to arbitrate, would take care to affront neither party, by pronouncing all the booths to be equally inimitable.

Having learned from the missionaries that a large stock of hogs might be procured from the windward part of the island, that quarter being too distant for the market of Matavai, I engaged some of the deserters whom I have before mentioned, upon this errand.

The condition of these men was by no means enviable; they complained very heavily, and with great reason, of the royal family; who after having tempted them to desert their ship for the sake of their property, had left them when become poor, to shift for themselves. They were now in the most abject state, differing little from the natives; many of them having no other clothes but the country *marra*. It required some manœuvring to manage these fellows; but by treating them in their own way, business at length proceeded to my wish. I moreover received some information from them, which much facilitated my purpose.

Their consequence increased with the wealth (wealth in Otaheite!) they procured by their labours; and, by their influence over the natives, they were of essential service. I never procured better nor cheaper hogs, than through the medium of these men. Other Europeans of the same class, seeing the flourishing state of their countrymen, were now eager to engage with me; and as the advantage was mutual, however little I liked them, I was induced to accept of their service. I moreover learned from these Europeans some particulars with regard to the manners and customs of the Otaheiteans, which would otherwise have escaped me. These I shall take occasion to mention in due time.

The chief part of this business I intrusted to Peter the Swede, he being the most experienced man in the island. I left it to his discretion to despatch or detain the boat according as he judged proper; and if they found hogs scarce in one part of the island, they were instructed to move to another.

Amongst my native servants was a fellow recommended to me by one of the missionaries; he was sent with some of his countrymen to another part of the country to buy hogs, and, as they were purchased, to see them sent home. There was now a true spirit of competition between the Europeans and the Otaheiteans. I did not fail to encourage this as much as possible, and reaped the fruits of it by a most liberal supply of hogs. Our factory was now a complete Exchange. With the exception of the missionaries, I had every European in the island in my service; and had thus a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manners and customs of the island, than had perhaps occurred to any European before. What, between the missionaries and the European deserters, I had the means of hearing all sides of the question.

During the absence of the Swede, his second in command was plundered of his whole property; but as Peter was himself almost an Otaheitean in his knowledge of the island, he easily frightened the thieves into restoration.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Misfortunes of an Otaheitean Agent.—Intercourse with, and characteristic outlines of, the Royal Family.

THE native I had employed in the other part of the island, with his attendant hog-drivers, proceeded for awhile in the quiet discharge of his business; but prosperity has spoiled many a better man, and the Otaheiteans are not proof against it.

Being habited in some of my old clothes, he assumed the man of consequence, and in his plenitude of prosperity ventured even to take a wife. The women would not before deign him even a look; but he had now acquired riches, and therefore, in the language of Otaheite, as well as of other countries, had become *tata my ty*, a very good man. That he might secure his domestic peace from invasion, and at the same time be uninterrupted in the discharge of his business, he brought his wife to the factory, and requested that I would not see him injured in his absence, as he did not seem to entertain the best opinion of her fidelity.

In the meanwhile, remaining on his station, he gave me much satisfaction by a diligent discharge of his duty. It was not so with the other Otaheiteans, for they began to take much offence at his insolence and air of superiority. His pride was much increased by

the circumstance of seeing himself at the head of so numerous a retinue of servants.

This foolish fellow at length received the merited chastisement of his folly. His property was a temptation too great to be withstood by an Otaheitean; he was accordingly suddenly attacked, and plundered of all that he possessed.

His courage was so lowered by this misfortune, that he did not venture to make his appearance for two days; but at length came slyly to the factory, and informed me of his misfortune. He was very desirous that I should avenge the injury by an invasion of the district. He repeated with great fervour, *owhow, owhow, tata Otaheite*, bad man, very bad man the Otaheite man. I thought so too, but excused myself from the invasion. I forgave him, and presented him with two axes. He wished me much to reinstate him in his former situation: but as they had begun with him, I thought the first loss the best; and resolved to break up the encampment, as being too near the frontiers. Captain Main, the name by which he styled himself as the *tayo* of one of the missionaries, was now reduced to the humility and safety of a private station.

This gentleman paid me several visits afterwards. *Harra way be angry*, put away your anger, was his constant salutation on these occasions. He was the usual interpreter of the native language, and this is one of his best specimens.

His wife was not very well pleased with such a reverse of fortune; and thinking she had married his wealth, and not himself, she

deemed her contract annulled by this change of circumstances, and eloped without further ceremony. In the height of her husband's prosperity, I had lent him a printed coverlid as a royal *marra*; and his wife thought proper to take it with her. The poor fellow felt this misfortune more acutely than all his other mischances. I was so affected by his complaints, and the ingratitude of the woman, that I requested the interference of Pomarre; but he eluded me with his usual dexterity, by permission to arm my boat, and invade the country.

Henceforth our business was wholly conducted by Europeans. It was not without the greatest difficulty that I could keep a suitable check over these profligates; the greater part of them were from Botany Bay, and required as strict a guard as the natives. It may be thus readily conceived, that my situation was not the most enviable.

For the greater security against such attempts, I put my property under the care of the missionaries; whose house, as compared with the best of the Otaheiteans, was a perfect castle. Upon the conclusion of a bargain, the natives escorted me in full procession to this magazine; and if the article purchased by them happened to be a musket, it was truly ludicrous to see the bustle and consequence which was made about it. The musket, handed from one to another, was examined minutely by all; and every one, finding some fault which had escaped the other, advised their countrymen not to be imposed upon, but to insist on a good one. They were certain—that

this shot crooked, that another would not shoot at all, and in this manner rejected some of my best pieces, and most usually remained content with the worst.

During this busy time, wholly occupied as I might be, I did not neglect a prudent attention to the royal family. They had much forwarded my business, by permitting my servants to range over the whole island in quest of hogs; I therefore neglected nothing which could testify my grateful sense of their kindness. I sent them a daily allowance, as well for themselves, as for their voracious attendants, who, unless on the occasions of public feasting, have seldom an opportunity for these indulgences. My liberality procured me flattery and compliments in abundance. I have before observed, that they are never very sparing in this coin, when it answers any purpose.

This liberality, however, cost me less than they imagined; I sent them always the most indifferent part of my hogs, such as I could not salt, and therefore, from the heat of the climate, could not have been preserved. The most favourite part amongst the Otaheiteans, the head, happened fortunately to be the most worthless part to me, and I had thus an opportunity of bribing them at a very inconsiderable cost.

As the killing and salting of these animals engrossed the whole of my attention at this time, it may not be improper here to insert a description of the process.

At the time of my departure from Norfolk Island the governor,

Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Foveaux, knowing the object of our pursuit, and probably suspecting that sailors would make but indifferent pork butchers, in the most kind and obliging manner, furnished me with a recipe as practised by him on that island, and by the colonists at Port Jackson. It is extracted from Captain King's journal of the transaction on returning to the Sandwich Islands.

“ The hogs which we made use of for this purpose,” says the journalist, “ were of various sizes, weighing from four to twelve
“ stone (of fourteen pounds). The time of slaughtering was always
“ in the afternoon; and, as soon as the hair was scalded off, and
“ the entrails removed, the hog was divided into pieces of four or
“ eight pounds each, and the bone of the leg and chine taken
“ out; and, in the larger sort, the ribs also. Every piece then
“ being carefully examined, and the veins cleared of the coagulated blood, they were handed to the salters, whilst the flesh remained still warm. After they had been well rubbed with
“ salt, they were placed in a heap, on a stage raised in the open
“ air, covered with planks, and pressed with the heaviest weights
“ we could lay on them. In this situation they remained till the
“ next evening, when they were again well wiped and examined,
“ and the suspicious parts taken away. They were then put into
“ a tub of strong pickle, where they were always looked over
“ once or twice a-day; and, if any piece had not taken the salt,
“ which was readily discovered by the smell of the pickle, they

“ were immediately taken out, re-examined, and the sound
“ pieces put to fresh pickle. This, however, after the precautions
“ before used, seldom happened. After six days, they were taken
“ out, examined for the last time, and, being again slightly
“ pressed, were packed in barrels, with a thin layer of salt between each.

“ He further adds, that I brought home with me some barrels
“ of this pork, which was pickled at Owhyhee, in January 1779;
“ and it was tasted by several persons in England, about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome.”

Otoo used frequently to invite me, under one pretence or another, to attend him at his house; I usually found him loitering with all the indolence of an Oriental, and his queen as idle and vacant as himself. Upon these visits he pointed to the grass, as my seat, and throwing himself by my side, entered into familiar conversation.

Her majesty was equally condescending: she never failed, upon these opportunities, to rummage my pockets, and appropriate to herself whatever she might chance to find. The queen of Tiara-boo was equally troublesome, and examined me with equal care. After I had learned that this would be their constant practice, I usually carried about my person some trifling article, that the royal sisters might have the pleasure of pilfering it.

I shall here throw together some observations regarding the royal family, and the opinion entertained of them by the natives.

From the open and affable deportment of Pomarre, he was generally beloved by his subjects. But whether this manner was natural or assumed, I do not take upon me to determine. It produced, however, its full effect, and caused him to be considered as the father of his people, though he had no wish so near to his heart, as that of fleecing them to the very skin.

'This avidity, indeed, seemed common to every branch and member of the royal family; Otoo was still superior in this respect to his father, and neither of them had any bounds.

Edeah had nothing of the affable and easy manners of Pomarre; she received the natives with a haughty deportment, and never descended to any thing like equality. It was much more dangerous to offend her than Pomarre.

Otoo is a fickle, irresolute character, naturally formed to be the dupe of the sycophants by whom he is surrounded, and, as usually happens in such cases, his bad qualities are cherished to full growth by these very sycophants.

In a word, the general characteristic of the whole family is avarice. It is a subject of reasonable astonishment, to see the excess to which this passion is carried. Their stores consist of articles which they have received from the first visits of European ships, and which have rarely seen the light since they were first deposited. Their hoards are never broken; their pleasure is to have, and not to enjoy.

I myself was once witness of a most notorious act of this un-

natural, (for thus I may call it), selfishness, in Pomarre himself. One of the missionaries, an easy, good-natured man, had suffered himself to be wheedled out of the whole of what he possessed in the world; and, the clothes on his person excepted, had nothing left but a blanket. Pomarre happened to meet this Good Samaritan at my house, and seeing that he had still this blanket left, attached himself to him, and contrived to get it. I remonstrated with Pomarre upon this act of selfishness, representing to him the great need that he had of this relic of his former property, but all in vain; Pomarre thanked him for the blanket, and, without further ceremony, sent it to his store.

The only instance of generosity I ever experienced, or saw, whilst in these seas, was from the king of Attowaie, who supplied us with cocoa-nuts, salt, and vegetables, without stipulating as to price or conditions, sending on board all that we required, and leaving the remuneration entirely to us. I hope it is needless to add, that we took care he should loose nothing by his liberal conduct.

I had hitherto considered Pomarre as an exception to his countrymen, but I now found that they were all of the same stock, and in species, as well as genus, all the same.

As my house was in some degree open, I suffered under a peculiar inconvenience; my premises were infested during the night by dogs, and their depredations on our pork were carried to some extent. Being aware of the fondness of the Otaheiteans for their

dogs, I submitted to this inconvenience for some time without complaint, but was at length induced to request of Otoo, that he would command the natives in the neighbourhood, to keep their dogs at home; a request with which he not only complied, but added his permission to shoot any of them I should hereafter find trespassing. Availing myself of this indulgence, I had the misfortune to kill a favourite cur of the sister of Pomarre, and another little dog belonging to the wife of one of the chiefs. This affair caused great lamentation amongst the women, and for some time brought me into disgrace with them.

Edeah having to provide for a multitude of strangers, who had lately arrived from the Mottos, (as will be more fully described hereafter), was for some time still more troublesome to us than the dogs. Our servants were native boys; she therefore availed herself of their services, in secretly pilfering our pork. It was some time before I could discover by what means my stock was so visibly diminished; but at length, having dismissed some of the boys under suspicion, and menaced others, they confessed that they had been employed by Edeah. They moreover showed me an opening formed by the removal of two pails under their bed, through which the stolen articles had been conveyed; and, as the sides were greasy, there was no room whatever to doubt of their veracity.

I do not hesitate to say, that the whole island is but a den of thieves. European property they will possess by some means

or other; and theft they consider as the cheapest and easiest method of purchase. They will not hesitate even to waylay and rob a traveller! for one mode of theft is as palatable to them as another. Old Pomarre was as dexterous a thief as any amongst them, if borrowing, without any intention of repayment, merit this name. He would often request me to lend him a hog, for which, when once received, he never again thought of making any return. This could proceed from nothing but mere avarice, for he could have had any number at a very easy rate. But theft, as I have before observed, is a cheaper method of acquisition than purchase.

To what is this general propensity to be imputed? Theft, as an evil in itself, and an evil evident to any one where every thing is not in common, has nothing to do with civilization; it ought to be as intelligible to the savage as the European. It is a violation of the law of nature; a law before their eyes, and legible in every circumstance of their situation. There is therefore an honesty and dishonesty amongst savages, as amongst the citizens of a civilized country; and they are to be considered as more or less depraved, according as they are more or less observant of this elemental law of nature. The Otaheiteans are thieves in every sense of the word.

CHAPTER XXV.

Arrival of Paitia and his Sister. — Great Festivities on the Occasion.

ABOUT three weeks after the ship's departure, our friend Paitia returned from the Mottos. It has been before mentioned, that on our departure from the Sandwich Islands we left him on the brink of death; and that, as the last and only hope, he had been persuaded by his friends to go to the Mottos, to the end that he might be there weaned from his fatal passion for the *ava*. He now returned from this journey, and in every respect so much changed, that we had some difficulty to believe him the same. — He was now stout, lusty, and plump; his skin, which was before scaly, was now fat and sleek, and his constitution appeared altogether renovated.

Paitia was one of the brothers of Pomarre, and being thus of the blood royal, had, as may be supposed, a numerous train of attendants in his retinue.

These Mottos are small sandy islets, almost level with the water-edge, lying about twenty miles to the northward of Otaheite. They abound with fish of every kind. Hither the Otaheiteans and inhabitants of the neighbouring island resort in their sum-

mer excursions; these are their watering places; and, at those times the scene of noisy and general festivity.

Every thing was now hurry and confusion, to give a worthy reception to Paitia and his sister Awow. It was now a general holiday over the whole face of this part of the island. There was no discourse of which Paitia was not the subject. Gaming, feasting, and rioting, was now the sole occupation, from the king to his meanest subject.

But the grand exhibition was to take place within an area of ground kept sacred to the use of the king, and an encampment was formed, that the king might see and hear the entertainment.

It was now a Bartholomew-fair-time at Otaheite; nothing but singing and drumming from morning till night. It was usually mid-day before the sports began, or their natural spirits could scarcely have supported the fatigue. Their manner of wrestling is very singular; the party challenging places his left hand on the upper part of his right breast, and with his right hand strikes a smart blow on the cavity formed by the bend of the left arm; he is answered by his antagonist in the same manner, and the contest begins. Head and feet are equally employed upon this occasion, and the contest is terminated only when one of them receives a fall.

Those who were resident in the neighbourhood were usually opposed to the strangers. Our Europeans, in general, had no chance with them; but the moment one or other received a fall,

the contest was at an end, and their threatening looks and ferocity changed into smiles and affectionate salutation. The temper of the Otaheiteans is, in this respect, very amiable; they appear absolutely incapable of malice, and if we adopt an epithet from poetry, we may truly call them "a land of gentle souls." One contest, however, was no sooner decided than another party came forward, and this continued upwards of a week.

Nor were these sports confined solely to the men; the women were equally emulous to signalize themselves, and their feats of pugilism were equally honourable to their courage. They fought with equal resolution and dexterity, hanging on each other's necks like bull-dogs, tearing their hair, bumping the stomach of each other, both with their heads and feet; in a word, neglecting no means of victory. Their husbands and relations were spectators of their efforts, and encouraged them to continue them; upon one or the other of them receiving a fall, the affair was terminated, and the parties, after adjusting their hair, would tenderly embrace, and be as good friends as ever.

The Arreoyoys were peculiarly active in exciting the parties on these occasions. After having spent the greater part of the afternoon in this manner, we were always entertained in the evening by a *heva*, or dance. The women, to the amount of ninety or a hundred, formed themselves into two circles, one of them consisting wholly of the residents, the other of the strangers, and each with their separate band of music. It is impossible for me to describe the variety of

sounds produced by them, by the simple means of the exhalation and inhalation of the breath; for, with the exception of a few words chanted at the beginning of a song, they made use of no words, but turned their throats so as to produce a variety of tones, and all of them in perfect concert.

In truth, I was astonished at the exact union, regularity, and good time. The king, looking over my head, would frequently demand of me how I liked the entertainment; and whether we had any thing that could equal it in *Pretanee*? I have already observed, that their dances have been mentioned as replete with obscene motions, but there was less of this than I expected. If the very origin of dancing, according to some, was in the imitation of what is not fit to be mentioned, the Otaheiteans have now become so civilized, that the coarseness of the resemblance is worn off.

The men also had their part in this entertainment. About one hundred and fifty young fellows were seated in two rows, so as to form an avenue between them, about seven feet apart, and then chanted, inhaling and exhaling their breath in the same manner as the women, who had but now finished. The motions were as contemporaneous as of one man; nothing could be more accurate. The king frequently interrogated me in the same manner, and I gratified him by the same answer, that all I saw was admirable, and that we had nothing like it in Britain.

Before the assembly broke up, some stout muscular young fellows came forward and endeavoured to amuse the assembly by

exhibiting some obscene attitudes. They were received however with very cold encouragement. I am of opinion that this favourable change in their national taste, is to be imputed to the exertions of the missionaries. Would to heaven that their efforts might prevail to induce these savages to cease from the practise of infant murder, and human sacrifices!

The Arreoyo appeared to me to have the conduct of the whole. During the course of these entertainments, the music seldom stopped one moment. Our house and stock-yard were during all this time crowded with natives; nothing exempt from their scrutiny, as it was a point of hospitality to shew every thing to the strangers.

Being at length, and with difficulty, satisfied what was this thing, and what was that, and what the use of every thing they saw, they would run to their fishing seine. This is a net made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and extending full a quarter of a mile in length; it will sweep round a rock without much injury, and whatever fish may be adhering to its fide, it will force from their holds without difficulty. Some of the king's attendants are always in waiting upon these occasions, and seldom fail to seize upon two-thirds as the royal tribute. The king being thus served, the multitude are let loose upon what remains, a scene truly ludicrous: and a general scramble of men, women, and children, then ensues; the seine is torn to pieces in the contest, and every one decamps with what portion of the prize he can get.

These amusements continued during the whole week after the arrival of the illustrious strangers, but slackened towards the end; the country-people returning to their homes to prepare for the repetition of the same merriment in their own district.

When any of the greater chiefs return from the Mottos, as they are called, they never fail to make the circuit of the whole island. Their retinue is numerous, for, though simple their life, they are not without a taste for pomp. Their followers consist of all the strangers from the Mottos, and the same merriment and diversion continue wherever they stop: add to this, they are every-where loaded with presents; so that by the time they have made the circuit of the island, a peregrination which usually occupies them three months, their canoes return as rich as a fleet of galleons. Their connection with the royal family renders the people more than ordinarily liberal; it is moreover the custom of the country, on such occasions, to hold no bounds to their generosity.

These excursions to the Mottos, or royal progresses, have doubtless no other purpose, than of extorting from the liberality of the people these voluntary taxes. Nothing indeed can exceed the prodigality of the people, except it be the avidity of the chiefs.

The conclusion of this hurricane of riot and confusion was to me a moment of satisfaction; for, however little interest, and however small the part I bore in this festivity, no inconsiderable share of its inconvenience fell upon me. Our house was situated in the midst of a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, and was surrounded with a rail-

ing inclosing about half an acre, where we had erected a blacksmith's shop, and a boat-house. The circuit of this inclosure became a general mall; and, during the time of the feasting, the natives were constantly introducing their friends (the strangers) to see the armourer at work. They would express their admiration of his ingenuity; but the fellow knowing with whom he had to deal, and being little moved by their flattery, contrived to keep them at a respectful distance, by plentifully scattering his sparks, or, spitting slyly on the red-hot iron, and instantly following it with a smart blow of his hammer on the anvil, which would produce a crack as loud as a pistol. This was like the springing of a mine to the ears of the Otaheiteans, and considerably checked their prying curiosity.

Indeed, this management was necessary, for more reasons than one; for, independent of their wearisome impertinence and constant interruption, nothing was safe within their reach. If any of our hogs made their escape, they seldom failed to change masters; and after having been detained some time, have not unfrequently been again brought to us, and a second time offered for sale. Indeed, their impudence in theft exceeds all belief: an English horse-dealer might here add much to his proverbial dexterity.

The missionaries have suffered much from this national breach of the eighth commandment; a strayed hog is never recovered: their goats are safer, for the aversion of the Otaheiteans to goat's flesh is invincible.

Notwithstanding their many and daily opportunities to improve

themselves in the mechanical arts, the utility of which they daily observe and confess, it is wonderful to perceive their slow advances in the acquirement of them. With one quarter of these advantages, the Sandwich islanders would have made a very different progress. Although Pomarre had a forge, bellows, and complete blacksmith's apparatus, I have only seen two men in the whole island who could work even tolerably in iron. Only two or three of them knew how to handle a saw, and not an individual, scarcely, had the slightest knowledge of any of the tools used by carpenters or other handicraftsmen. They seem to prefer having their work done by us, to doing it by their own industry. It would appear natural, that the beauty and evident utility of the garden belonging to the missionaries, would operate at once as a stimulus and example; but to whatever cause it is to be imputed, whether to the natural fertility of the soil, which renders industry almost needless, or to the physical effect of the climate producing an irresistible indolence, this has not happened; and the Otaheiteans will be yet for many years destitute of even these elements of civil life, the common working of wood and iron.

During a heavy gale from the westward, a canoe arrived at Otaheite from Tapeyomanna, on a political mission to Pomarre. The chief of this embassy took frequent opportunities of visiting our factory, and was particularly solicitous that, on the return of the ship, we should pay their country a visit.

At this time we also received frequent visits from two chiefs of

the island of Bollabolla, one of them said to be uncle to the reigning king, who were equally importunate with our other friends. — Fire-arms and powder were their object; they would have scrupled at no price to have obtained them; it was their soul's desire: if they had it, they would willingly have placed an equal weight of gold in the opposite scale for a musket. These men enjoined the strictest secrecy in their interviews with us, lest Otoo should betray them to the Uliteans; and, to guard against any attempt of this nature, were very urgent to be accommodated with a passage on board our vessel on her return.

The royal family had, doubtless, some deep political motive in suffering these men, the implacable enemies of the Uliteans, to procure muskets by barter with the ships. The motive, however, I cannot profess to conjecture.

The propensity which these people have to continual wars with each other, is of the most fatal consequence to the happiness of these islanders. Their minds have thus acquired a ferocity, which otherwise seems not natural to them; but, notwithstanding this seeming fierceness, I am persuaded that a few determined Europeans would find no difficulty in subjugating them. As an instance of this, the following circumstance will shew:

The Swede, whom I have before mentioned, had obtained permission to trade for me all over the island, and from this indulgence had taken the liberty of introducing himself into the districts hostile to Pomarre. These people gave him a most welcome reception,

having formerly felt the effects of his prowess, when fighting the battles of Pomarre. In these wars he had killed many of their countrymen; for, being a courageous fellow, he always took the lead upon these occasions. They now held out many flattering proposals, if he would reside amongst them; they promised that he should have hogs, houses, lands, and canoes.

The Swede had already experienced the ingratitude of the opposite party; for he had no sooner accomplished their purpose, and by his efforts perhaps saved Pomarre and the king, than he was laid aside as a tool no longer wanted. He had thus very reasonably become dissatisfied with them; and thinking that he had no particular obligation, or any duty of allegiance, he resolved to change masters, and the opportunity now presented itself. He thought that he might place more dependence upon his new than his former employers. He brought to our house whatever property he possessed, to be conveyed thither the next time our boat should go that way, which, until the event occurred, I proposed should be on the morrow. But when he made the request, that himself and family, four in number, with two others of the people whom I had discharged, should be conveyed thither, I thought it a duty that I owed my countrymen the missionaries, to inform them of his intended purpose.

Alarmed at the probable consequences of this event, they strenuously requested me to remonstrate with him, and, if possible, induce him to lay aside this resolution. Some of them expostulated

with him, but to very little purpose; he was seemingly resolved to take his own way.

In answer to their reasonings, he complained very heavily of having been so often deceived by Pomarre; and that, though he had not relaxed one moment in his efforts to advance his interest, the ends of this chief were no sooner effected, than his promises were forgotten, and his reward denied or eluded. This was but too true; the poor fellow, after all his services, was sometimes hard put to it for a subsistence.

The missionaries had no argument to rebut this; and could only request him to delay the execution of his purpose, till they should have exerted their interest with Pomarre to redress his grievances. After some further negociation, I was appointed mediator between the parties.

In the mean time Pomarre, being informed that he was about to lose, and his enemies to gain, so stout a warrior, hastened in terror to Matavai, and requested me to interpose, and procure a reconciliation. The Swede was sullen and determined. He turned a deaf ear to all Pomarre had to say.

I now began my part: taking Pomarre aside, I informed him that all my negociations with the Swede had been fruitless; that he had a heavy and just cause of complaint; that he was exasperated by neglect, after the services of so many years; that having done so much for him he certainly merited some permanent return. Pomarre demanded what he now wanted? I replied, a suf-

iciency for himself and family. Pomarre was eager for delay, under the pretext of the necessity of consideration, as every place would not alike suit the Swede.

About this time Edeah arrived, and began in her usual way of blandishment, reminding the Swede of their former relationship; for, in his first marriage, he had wedded a relation of the royal family, and had in consequence a large tract of land assigned him. But he was as inexorable to her as to Pomarre.

Here again I was referred to. To which I replied, that unless something was done, and that without further delay, for his satisfaction, my interference would be useless, as he was determined he would no longer be the dupe of their frail promises. The royal pair requested, that I would not suffer his property to be removed till the morning, when they would meet me again, and arrange something to his satisfaction.

The missionaries concurred in this request, being equally anxious that every thing should be amicably settled. In the evening I spoke to him again on the subject, and went still farther than I had done before, advising him to think seriously before he acted; and not to persist in a determination which would eventually remove him from the island; that the interest of the missionaries was a matter of too much consequence to be exposed to any risk; and that therefore, should he execute his intention, and, by joining the enemies of Pomarre, endanger their safety, he might rest assured he would be removed upon the arrival of the first mis-

sionary ship, and forcibly reconducted to Europe. I knew that this representation could not fail of having its due effect, as, of all things, he dreaded nothing more than leaving a place where the necessaries of life were certain. His disease moreover, the elephantiasis, rendered it impossible for him to live by his industry in any of the kingdoms of Europe: this he well knew, and therefore dreaded a removal. Whether he understood my policy, or from what other cause I know not, but he listened to my remonstrances with a callous indifference, affecting, at the same time, to be much obliged to me for my interference. He had indeed profited considerably by his long abode amongst these islanders, and his natural cunning had been much whetted by their example.

Pomarre for once kept his word; he was early with us the next morning, and, pointing out a lot of land about half a mile's distance from our residence, said the Swede might take possession of it, and that he would shortly do something better for him.— Opposite to this lot of ground was a small island; which, Pomarre added, and the fish around it, should be his sole property; and that next day he would accompany him to perfect his investiture. The Swede was satisfied so far, but still harped on the ingratitude with which he had long been treated. Next day Pomarre came again, the business was adjusted, and every thing, to all appearance, reconciled.

I am of opinion that this affair was settled just in time, for,

had the Swede once gone over to the Hidieans, the consequences must have been fatal, as well to the greatness of Pomarre, as to the safety of the missionaries. The Swede would have proved a most dangerous enemy, being as artful as courageous. He would, moreover, have formed a kind of rallying post for all the runaway seamen, and other discontented Europeans on the island; he was in every respect formed for the head of a low party; and his desertion to this people would most probably have produced a series of fatal wars. What made him much more dangerous at this time was, that I had discharged the renegadoes I had employed on first landing. These men being now utterly at a loss how to dispose of themselves, would willingly have joined the same party, which would have thrown a wonderful preponderance in the opposite scale. Nothing but a fear of the most serious consequences could have induced Pomarre and Edeah to have made such concessions as they did to this man.

In the last grand attempt against the Attahoorians, this fellow led the van; and through his steadily adhering to the cause of Pomarre, and the assistance rendered by our people, there is little doubt that the Attahoorians were much more easily intimidated than had the case been otherwise. Through his generalship in the preceding war, in 1802, they had lost many of their people; for, whilst the Attahoorians were wasting their time in the enemy's country, this man, being of a ferocious and sanguinary disposition, made a sudden irruption into Attahooroo with a party of Pomarre's ad-

herents, and put many to death: the objects of his vengeance were principally old men, women, and children.

In all cases of emergency, this fellow had been looked up to as a deliverer; shortly after becoming a resident, with a small number of Pomarre's warriors, he reduced to obedience a whole district, which had thrown off their dependence on Otoo. At the time of the missionaries settling at Otaheite, he had acted as interpreter between the chiefs and them; and during the Duff's voyage to the Friendly Islands and Marquesas, had accompanied that ship thither, to give them every assistance in his power; which, from his long residence amongst the natives, was, as may be supposed, very considerable.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Long absence of the Ship.—Melancholy Intelligence of her Fate.—

Narrow Escape of the Crew.—Particulars of the Ship during her absence.—Bad conduct of the Sailors.

HOWEVER I might keep my feelings to myself, I had been for some time very uneasy with respect to our ship, as it had now been away two months instead of three weeks; the latter period being

the utmost I had allowed for her longest possible absence. The people with me were equally alarmed and less discreet; they had already begun dreaming, and it was not without much difficulty that I could ridicule them out of their interpretations. I readily acknowledged that the vessel had been absent much beyond the expected period, but imputed this to the prevalence of the westerly winds, which most probably had driven her to the eastward. They were still persuaded, however, that, from the long delay, something had happened: and to confess the truth, I had begun to entertain the same opinion. Otoo frequently told me the ship was “ *Killed Dead by the Stones,*” he was certain of it. At length the fatal remains of the Margaret were discovered by the natives, about three leagues to the northward of the island. The conjectures of the royal family, the missionaries, and the natives, seemed all to lead to one point; and by their expressive looks at me, it was not difficult to comprehend their object. The sight of the sail confirmed me in my apprehensions beyond any further doubt; it was as large as three of our boat’s, and could belong to nothing but a ship. The king and missionaries demanded my opinion, but I was too much moved to express my sentiments. Some canoes coming across from the Mottos at this time, Otoo and myself walked up to them and made new inquiries, but they were equally at a loss with ourselves; some asserting it to be a boat, others a ship. By this time a gun was fired; on hearing which I immediately launched two canoes, and sent them to their assistance, whoever they might

be, for I had now again begun to hope. They returned but too soon, with the melancholy intelligence, that it was the remains of the Margaret converted into a punt. The crew had been for the two last days on an allowance of two wine glasses of water *per diem*. The canoes were therefore again hurried back with refreshments for the relief of my unhappy comrades.

This punt however, having been built square, from the impossibility of bending the planks, could only sail before the wind; and instead of reaching Matavai, had much difficulty in making the most leeward part of Otaheite. Had they missed this, they must, to all appearance, have inevitably perished; for, within an hour after their landing the wind blew a tempest, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and torrents of rain, during the whole of the following night. Pomarre, much to his credit, no sooner heard of their arrival, (on his patrimonial estate), than he hastened to their assistance, lest the enemy should avail themselves of their weakness, and plunder them of the little they had yet left. He conducted them to his mansion, got a hog and bread-fruit roasted, and spared nothing to alleviate their sufferings; sleeping in the house during the night to prevent thefts.

Having left the factory under the charge of the missionaries, I had by this time joined my comrades. Pomarre was chiefly alarmed, lest we should be attacked by the Attahoorians, being in their immediate neighbourhood. Had this attempt been made, wearied and worn out as the crew were, it could not scarcely have failed of

success. The tempestuous state of the weather was moreover peculiarly favourable for such an enterprise. Fortunately, however, the fears of the king and ourselves were altogether groundless. But had the crew been compelled to put in at any other island, I am persuaded they would have been plundered; for their distress would have only excited the endeavours of the enemy in proportion as resistance would have been feeble. There is little generosity to be expected from an intercourse with savages; they know and acknowledge nothing of what a civilized nation calls the point of honour. To be defenceless, among them, is to be but an easier prey; an enemy over whom a victory is certain, and the danger of the contest nothing.

Pomarre did not forget a few days afterwards to demand his presents. It was not so with the missionaries; there was no selfishness here; they were animated by no other impulse, but that of Christian charity, which extends its arms to the miserable, and binds up the afflictive wound. Being too fatigued and worn out, the crew were unable to attend divine service in the chapel of the missionaries, and Mr. Jefferson, with that anxious piety which distinguishes him, preached a thanksgiving sermon in our own house.

It may be imagined that our first inquiries, after the sense of our loss had in some degree subsided, were directed to the circumstances of this misfortune. These circumstances, as reported to me by the captain, were as follow:

From contrary winds, and lee currents, the ship had been a fort-

night in getting to the windward; and it was only the evening previous to the accident, that he had commenced trading with the natives. On the morrow, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, the trade was to be renewed, but, according to the old and often verified adage—though man may contrive, yet it is God who executes. The business of the captain, as he proposed to renew the trade for Pearls, (the principal object of his visit), on the succeeding morning, was to keep his station during the night: but whilst in the act of plying to windward for this purpose, the ship was unfortunately lost on a low reef of rocks and sand-banks, in the vicinity of a cluster of islands called the Pallisers, in latitude $15^{\circ} 38'$ south, and longitude $146^{\circ} 30'$ west, which had never before been discovered.

The captain and the crew landed with much difficulty, and employed themselves in saving whatever stores were within their reach; but, during the ensuing night, the boat was stolen, through the treachery of two Otaheitean natives who belonged to the ship, and could never afterwards be recovered. Nor were these wretches satisfied with this plunder; for, together with the boat, they carried off the muskets and ammunition with which they were provided to defend themselves against the attacks of the natives; and scarcely a hope of safety remained.

It was necessary, in the first instance, to build another boat, from some planks on board the vessel. This they commenced without delay, and had almost completed it, when the natives of the neigh-

bouring islands began to collect in vast numbers, and annoy them exceedingly, their situation thus becoming truly dismal.

However, by unexampled exertion, and unremitting vigilance, they contrived to repel these attacks. The boat was at length finished, and every thing in readiness to quit this unhappy spot; but their misfortunes were not yet at an end! After repeated trials, it was found impossible to get the boat over the reef, and it therefore became necessary to abandon this hope of escape. The misery of their situation was now redoubled; their spirits and powers of labour were quite exhausted; and their planks and nails expended in building the boat.

The natives were hourly becoming more and more troublesome; not a day passed without some skirmish with these savages: and, as necessity is the mother of invention, every one was not only allowed, but called upon, to deliver his opinion as to the best means of safety and escape.

As a last resource, therefore, the deck of the ship was broken up, and, with the boards and nails it afforded, a kind of punt was made. Being flat-bottomed, it of consequence floated in less water; and even that with some difficulty was got over the reef.

They did not, however, escape without some cost. Whilst the punt was in preparation, the savages during the night attacked the two sentries, and pierced them with their spears in a manner which, but for the uncommon natural strength of the men, must have terminated in their death. The bowels of one of them hung out

when he was delivered into the hands of Mr. Elder, the surgeon of the Otaheitean mission. His life was long despaired of, nor could he possibly have survived, had he experienced less kindness and attention. And here let me not forget Mr. Jefferson; in a word, he practised actively what he preached zealously; and once for all, I must express my regret, that such labourers are fixed on so ungrateful a soil: may their future harvests more suitably reward their unwearied toil.

Woful indeed was the situation of the crew when the punt was finished. Spent with fatigue, and still more reduced with anxiety of mind and perpetual alarm, they became weary of life, and whatever might be their future fate, most earnestly implored the captain to leave the rock. It was in vain to remonstrate; they exclaimed unanimously, that they would rather perish by the craziness of their punt, than drag out a lingering existence there, or be cruelly murdered by the savages. It may not be unnecessary to observe, that two out of three of these fellows were convicts; and, however courageously they had dared the laws of their country, they were now only remarkable for their pusillanimity.

The craft being finished, the crew, to the number of eighteen, embarked, having on board only a few muskets, a small quantity of powder, one bag of bread, and ten gallons of water. Even this was so brackish, that nothing but their present situation could have induced them to have made use of it; for the sand-bank being only about forty yards across, and not more than four feet

above the level of the sea, it was only by digging a good depth that any could be obtained. The water oozing through the sand was in some measure purified from its saline qualities. The natives must, to all appearance, suffer much from this want. Scarcely were they afloat, after leaving the wreck, than the savages rushed on board, and tore open and took away every thing portable.

After a voyage of five days, in this most miserable of crafts, they at length reached Otaheite, nearly exhausted. We now experienced the truth of a maxim, which history, in events of greater consequence, has too frequently verified; how much authority sinks under bad success. During the whole of the ship's absence, the business of salting pork at our factory proceeded perfectly to my satisfaction, but this reverse threw every thing into confusion; so universal is the influence of fortune; so impatient are we of restraint; so willing to avenge ourselves of a temporary superiority, and to gain a triumph over our former masters.

Not content with this temporary triumph, these miscreants most effectually prejudiced the minds of the natives against us, by alleging that the loss of the vessel had brought us all upon a level, and that to continue any longer in our service was to work for employers who had no means of making them a recompence. Under this impression the native boys, who before had courted our service, withdrew from us in disdain, and attached themselves to these desperadoes.

In a word, the captain and myself were now left to shift for ourselves, for the fellows took themselves off, and seemed pleased with the idea that their masters would be much embarrassed by their desertion. This conduct was the less pardonable, as the greater part of them had in fact nothing to do, having native servants to perform all the drudgery, and the care of clothing and providing them falling wholly upon me. It was not many days, however, before they discovered their mistake; it has ever been found as happy as extraordinary a trait in the character of this kind of people, that they grow as soon weary of their mutiny, as they had formerly been of their good conduct.

They at length assembled in a body corporate, and made a regular demand of the muskets and powder saved from the wreck; a demand to which I strongly objected, as peculiarly unreasonable in our present situation. Mr. Jefferson, the president of the mission, having received a commission of the peace from the governor of New South Wales, I referred the claimants to this gentleman, and consented, upon my own part, to abide by his decision. To this they accordingly agreed, and we appeared before Mr. Jefferson about three o'clock the same day. Fearing as well for the peace of the island as that of the mission, Mr. Jefferson pronounced an absolute negative upon their demand of the muskets. We offered them other articles; some were contented, others murmured. The most troublesome of them were such as had saved some property, however little valuable, from the wreck:

these were considered by the natives, and therefore by themselves, as wealthy men, and of course persons of no small consequence. There was something peculiarly ludicrous in the insolence of these fellows, and almost equally so in the artifice with which the natives encouraged their ideas of their own importance. The end of it was, as might be imagined, their property gradually vanished, and with it the uncommon attention of the natives; and the fellows, become poor, returned to their duty, and to common sense. The stage of life does not present a broader farce, than that of a low man elevated into sudden and unexpected consequence.

I know not how it happened, but if the natives acted as leeches to these fellows, the royal family formed the final channel to which the stream found its way. By some means or other, the king and Pomarre were ultimately in possession of the whole of their property. This was no inconsiderable addition to their royal exchequer, and, I make no doubt, will long be considered as a fortunate era in the Otaheitean treasury.

With some difficulty, I at length effected their general return to duty. I have no doubt that they had been led to the demand of fire-arms and powder by the artifice of the chiefs, who knew very well that they were a kind of sponges, and that, once filled, they had only to squeeze them to procure what they contained. Their riches gone, our fellows began to experience that new friends are the same in Otaheite as in most parts of the

world. The richest man in Otaheite is always the man of most importance; and as I had saved something, my consequence returned, whilst that of our troublesome crew vanished with their property. I was now once more, Pomarre; that is to say, not unworthy of being the *tayo* of the king.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Voyage to Eimeo.—Occurrences in that Island.

WE had now seen enough to know that the very comfort of our stay at Otaheite depended on our being able to pay for it. The apparent generosity of these people is but another kind of policy, a cunning artifice, under the cover of which they were more readily enabled to dupe us. There was another circumstance, moreover, which occasioned much embarrassment: Otaheite, within the two last years, had been so well supplied with European articles, that the natives had now become very difficult to deal with; and, as our stock was much reduced by the wreck, we were not unfrequently at a loss to keep up the market.

These circumstances concurred to induce a resolution to make a trial of one of the neighbouring islands, and Eimeo was fixed

upon for that purpose. As fewer ships had touched at this island, I concluded that indifferent property would here find a more certain sale. Hogs, moreover, were said to be more numerous.

Our passage over was very rough; and the sea being heavy, and the wind fresh, we narrowly escaped being swamped before we reached Tallow harbour. Having taken nothing with us, we were in great want of refreshments, but could procure nothing to eat; the greater part of the natives being absent about a mile distant up the harbour, entertaining a travelling gang of Arreoyoys and strangers from Otaheite. From our situation, we could distinctly hear the drums and noise. None, or at least very few of the natives, came near us during the night; and we began to repent that we had left our factory at Matavai.

In the morning, at sun-rise, we ran down inside the reef for the purpose of procuring better quarters. The water being shallow, our people were not unfrequently compelled to leave the boat and drag it for miles. As they had no food, and were already sufficiently fatigued, they did not bear this with a very exemplary patience. I encouraged them to perseverance, and promised them provisions if they could be had at any price; but with all our efforts it was near eleven o'clock before we reached a house, or any thing in the shape of a house; and in the islands of Otaheite and Eimeo, even to reach a house is not always to find food. A few mountain plantains, two or three heads of bread-fruit, and a small pig, were all that we could procure. We

should doubtless have fared better, had it not been for the Arrecoys; but wherever these gentlemen come, they seldom fail to clear the coast before them.

The women of the house were busily employed in making cloth, and the men in preparation for a visit to Ulitea. Nothing was talked of but the Arrecoys, and the expedition to Ulitea. It was now considerably after mid-day, and as the people complained so much of their fatigue, it was agreed to stay there till the following morning. I endeavoured to amuse myself in the best possible manner, by walking about the neighbourhood: and at night was accommodated in the best manner the hut afforded; that is to say, upon the sod or cold ground.

At sun-rise on the following morning, we proceeded on our journey. Here again occurred the same obstacle which had impeded our progress on the former day: we had to drag the boat over the coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints. By noon, with bloody feet and exhausted spirits, we reached the habitation of the chief of the island: this house was about one hundred and forty feet long, and fifty wide, being by far the largest on the island. *He kindly and hospitably received us,* commanded a small hog, and bread-fruit, to be immediately roasted, an order which our sailors evidently took in good part.

The chief, who is the brother of Edeah, shewed me every possible civility, escorting me in his neighbourhood, and exhibiting his magazines. The sum total of his stores was five muskets, two

pistols, three or four quart bottles of gun-powder, three or four pounds more folded up in some country cloth, ten gun-flints, a hammer, pincers, and a few nails of different sizes.

We did not, however, succeed much in the main object of our voyage, the purchase of hogs. There was but one kind of property which would procure them, and we were almost as scarce of this article as themselves: muskets and gun-powder were the only currency. We spent the afternoon very agreeably with our host; and as the sailors found partners to their inclinations among the natives, they seemed in some degree more reconciled to their fatigues.

On the following morning at sun-rise, after a suitable return, we again proceeded on our journey, accompanied by the native we had taken with us at the request of Pomarre. This man assured us that our sufferings were now at an end; that we were within a very inconsiderable distance of his residence, where we should procure every thing the island produced, and as many hogs as we wanted. This intelligence was a very seasonable consolation to us: every one exerted his utmost to gain this Land of Promise. We at length arrived. It was a village by far the most considerable of any we had yet seen. The men and women were all equally assiduous in rendering us assistance. The boat was by this time scarcely able to swim, so much was it injured by the sharp rocks over which she had been dragged: our first business, therefore, was to haul her on shore to be repaired, as far

as our circumstances would admit. As this could not be finished till late in the evening, and the people received us with such a hearty welcome, our hog and bread-fruit being roasted on the spot, I resolved to remain there during the night, and recommence our journey on the following morning.

It has been before mentioned, that much of our difficulties arose from the impertinent curiosity of the natives. It was necessary to show them every thing; and as there is no deficiency of cunning whenever the occasion demands it, they easily invent a plausible reason: unless they saw our articles of trade, they could not decide whether they were such as would suit them; and their hogs being in the mountains at a considerable distance, how could we expect them to be brought down at such an uncertainty?

Pomarre's friend, moreover, informed them that I was very rich; they therefore insisted upon seeing every thing, and it was necessary to gratify them. They were charmed at the sight of such wealth, and promised that every thing should be ready for us on the following morning.

I went to sleep with the treasure chest close by my side, as usual. How great was my surprise when, awaking about two in the morning, I saw a fellow of unusual stature most deliberately walking off with it! The fellow must doubtless have touched me, for I happened to awake in the moment that he was leisurely decamping with his booty. I immediately alarmed the house, and called my boat's crew; but as two of them had slept out, and two only were

in the house, I knew not how to proceed. So enraged was I at this atrocity, that, seizing a piece of wood at hand, I followed the thief, and came up with him as he was in the act of setting it down in a house full of natives. Without any thought of consequences, I rewarded him on the spot with some heavy blows on the back: the natives started up and rescued him, and wresting the stick from me, repaid me in my own coin; my two fellows standing petrified with terror. Having no other resource but flight, I betook myself in good earnest to my heels, and gaining the house of the chief, requested him to interpose. From his reluctance of manner, I could not entertain a doubt that he had been accessory to the theft: I in vain solicited him to accompany me to the spot, to effect the recovery of my chest.

Finding that entreaty had no impression, I had recourse to other means; and seizing the boat's iron tiller, threatened that I would put a period to the fellow's existence or lose my own, unless the chest was restored. He now consented to follow me. The whole village was by this time in an uproar; the fellow himself, the original cause of the tumult, sat triumphantly on the chest, and seemed to glory in the heroism of the theft.

A most fortunate circumstance was, that the fellow, in taking the trunk, had, at the same time, carried off the two pistols with which I usually travelled, and all the ammunition. It is not at all improbable that I should have otherwise given him the contents, while in the first transports of passion; a circumstance which must have been attended

with the most serious consequences, as a general affray must then have inevitably ensued. Indeed, it was already very near it, for the two men remaining with me, having resumed their courage, were brandishing their knives and vowing vengeance, till some of the natives spoke of chastising them, and daring them to the issue. Finding that they were determined to stand their ground, I ordered my men to desist from provoking them; this had the happiest effect, for their anger sensibly subsided. I now laid great stress on my interest with Pomarre and Edeah, pointing out their certain indignation, when they learned that I had been thus treated in any part of their dominions. I informed the chief, that it was principally on their business that I was induced to visit the island, which was in some measure true, being commissioned to bring them as much *ava* as possible.

Never were the lives of any adventurers more in the power of savages, than were ours at this time; for our boat being hauled up a considerable way, it was almost as impossible for us to launch her, as to move the island.

I now clearly perceived that it was a concerted scheme; and having no friends, I thought it best to desist from any violent measure. I now addressed myself to the thief; and this being ineffectual, I again requested the interference of the chief. After being thus driven from one to the other, the fellow at length proposed to return it on condition of receiving a recompence. I was compelled to capitulate. This circumstance concurred with others to convince

me, that, from the greatest to the least, the inhabitants were little better than a mere band of thieves.

I could not but impute the whole of this scheme to the fellow I had taken with me at the request of Pomarre, who had so artfully drawn us into this ambush. Disguising my suspicions, I offered him a passage back again, lest he should excite them to new outrages; and thinking that others were not so cunning as himself, he was persuaded to embark. After carrying him about a mile and a half, I resolved that he should swim for his perfidy, and we accordingly compelled him to take the water, the fellow in the meanwhile protesting his innocence, and evidently apprehensive that he was about to be put to death.

We made a strong effort to reach Otaheite, but the wind being against us, and a very heavy sea, we were in danger of being swampt, and were therefore compelled to put back again. We took shelter in a cove nearly on the weather side of the island, and took up our lodgings in an old canoe. The people here treated us with great civility, though their means of supply was but scanty. There appeared indeed a very general scarcity over the whole island. From the first of our arrival, the weather had been very tempestuous, but for the two last days it blew a hurricane, accompanied at times with rain, thunder, and lightning. Our lives were doubtless preserved by returning as we did, for two of Pomarre's canoes were lost by attempting the passage, and every man on board perished.

For powder or muskets I could have had any quantity of hogs I

wanted, but they would trade for no other articles. The weather at length becoming more settled, we returned to Otaheite, after an absence of nine days.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Observations on Eimeo. — Inferior much to Otaheite. — Preparations for an Expedition to Attahooroo.

IN the mean time the captain and our shipmates had been very apprehensive about our safety. We complained heavily to Pomarre and Edeah, of the perfidy of these islanders: they affected to lament this breach of hospitality, but it was all dissimulation. — They recommended fire and devastation, the common mode of retaliation among them. But this step I thought it most prudent to decline.

In our circuit around the island of Eimeo, I observed that the inhabitants had but little to distinguish them from the Otaheiteans. Tallow harbour is situated on the north-west side, and from a reef which surrounds it, in common with all the Society Islands, is somewhat difficult of access.

The entrance is easiest when the trade-wind blows fresh. Here

and there may be found an opening sufficient to admit a ship, and this happens to be the case opposite Tallow harbour; there is here a sufficient opening and ample water for a first-rate man of war. Once in the inside, there is no further danger to be apprehended, being perfectly land-locked, with space enough for half the royal navy of Great Britain.

It is impossible, however, to keep too good a look-out against the thievish propensity of the natives. The island is, in every respect, far inferior to Otaheite; it has not the same fertility, and nothing of the same hospitality in the reception of strangers.

I do not deny but that one cause of this latter defect might possibly be the comparative scarcity in the island of Eimeo; it was only here and there we could observe the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut tree; and at this time the people seemed chiefly to exist on the mountain plantain and fish. Several of them were suffering very severely from dysenteries; perhaps this might be imputed to their diet. Wherever we stopped, we found that the main article of their subsistence was derived from the mountains and the sea.

Generally speaking, the hogs of Eimeo are larger than those of Otaheite: their tusks are immense, a circumstance which, added to their fierceness, renders them dangerous to approach. The island is governed by one of the relations of Edeah. The Eimean women are, to all appearance, much more industrious than the Otaheitean females; many of them were employed in making cloth, and whole families in preparing for an approaching excursion to Ulitea. It

appeared to me to be but thinly inhabited, and for the same reason as Otaleite, the prevalence of infant murder.

On the very first discovery of this island, the natives exercised their thievish propensity on one of the goats of Captain Cook; and as it was the invariable practice of this excellent man, as little to suffer as to do an injury, he demanded the theft and stolen property from the receiver of the stolen goods, that is to say, of the principal chief of the island. The usual excuse of absolute ignorance was pleaded, and while the negotiation was pending, a second goat was still more impudently stolen. Exasperated at this audacity, the captain threatened the chief, that unless the stolen property was immediately restored, and the thief given up to his merited indignation, he would destroy all the canoes on the island: and this menace he was compelled to execute in part before he could recover his goats.

It seemed natural to conclude, that this example would have worked some beneficial effect on their national character, and that future navigators would not have been exposed to similar depredations; but unfortunately the roguery of this people is beyond the healing power of salutary correction, and they will continue thieves as long as they shall continue savages.

It was at this time that a circumstance of a political nature occurred, which was of good effect to us, as tending to confirm our men in their present quietness. Pomarre, and the people of Atahooroo, as has been before mentioned, had made a peace in the year 1802. Pomarre, however, had never wholly laid aside his de-

sign of conquering them, and he had consented to the peace more from present convenience, and the advantage of procuring time to collect new resources, than from weariness of war, or from any pacific inclinations. The peace, therefore, was no sooner concluded, than he applied himself vigorously to collect the means for a new campaign, and by the time that our people had landed from the wreck, he had become almost prepared to enter upon action.

One thing alone remained to be done: what could he not effect when seconded by such allies as our sailors! He resolved therefore to spare no efforts to gain them. He explained his plans and the justice of the war; but rightly concluding they cared as little about the one as the other, he added the more powerful promise, that the plunder should be theirs, hogs, women, and cloth. Our fellows could not withstand these temptations, and therefore agreed to follow him, and, if necessary, to fight for him. He next applied himself to the captain and me, and earnestly requested that we would lend him our assistance in so just and necessary a war.

As their private quarrels in no manner concerned us, we excused ourselves from his invitation, alleging that we had property to protect at Matavai. We informed him, however, that he was welcome to our boat and its materials; and as he saw that he could prevail on us no further, he thankfully accepted our offer. We added, however, that if his enemy should attack him either at Matavai, or Oparree, his patrimonial estate, we would then defend him to the last extremity.

Satisfied with these assurances, in the beginning of August 1803, Otoo, the king; his brother Tereinavouroa, king of Teiaraboo; Pomarre; Edeah and her warriors; Paitia, the brother of Pomarre; and Awow, his sister; together with ten Europeans, and all their adherents and fighting men, departed on this mighty expedition, leaving behind them some old women and fishermen to forage for the army. It was believed that, in the previous solemnities, no less than ten or twelve human sacrifices would be offered up to their gods upon this occasion. They proceeded in the most slow and cautious manner, measuring, as it were, every footstep as they advanced.

It has been before mentioned, that their great idol *Oro*, was kept in the *morai* at Attahooroo; and being the principal object of Otaheitean veneration, it is the general resort on all public solemnities. It is here that all their greater meetings are held, and their kings crowned; on which occasions human sacrifices are offered. The coronation of Otoo could not be complete till it was celebrated here; and the Attahoorians considering him as an usurper, had hitherto delayed it.

Tereinavouroa, king of Teiaraboo, died upon the march, leaving his wealth and government to his counsellor. His wife was very scantily provided for, but being the cousin of Otoo, and a sister of the queen, she still continued to reside in the family. The greater part of his subjects, according to the custom of the country, came to the *tupaow*, or sepulchre at Oparree, to pay their

last respects to his obsequies. This *tupaow* is simply a stage supported on six posts, about four feet from the ground, the corpse being placed thereon in a sitting posture, arrayed in a scarlet dress, and during a certain period attended by his former servants. The surgeon of the missionaries had been this chief's adopted *tayo*, and had there not been one law for strangers, and another for themselves, he ought, as such, to have succeeded to the greater part of the property of the deceased. On the other hand, he was wholly neglected: perhaps, as his talents were not those of a warrior, they considered him not a very suitable chief.

Many of the natives, as ridiculously as impiously, imputed his death to the prayers of the missionaries; for they are persuaded that many of them are thus killed. Edeah was much afflicted at this event, he having been her favourite, as Otoo was that of Pomarre.

The royal army having now arrived in the enemy's country, the rebels, as they were pleased to term them, affecting ignorance of their intention, gravely demanded the purpose of their visit; to which they as gravely replied in professions of friendship. The Attahoorians, however, were on their guard.

It is not easy to conjecture what would have been the event, had either party ventured a battle. But the party of Pomarre had now so increased in numbers, that the Attahoorians were daunted at their very sight. Part of them accordingly sub-

mitted; and, as by this desertion the remainder became too weak to venture any further contest, they were compelled to follow their example. The whole country was thus subdued: Pomarré immediately dispossessed the principal chiefs of their lands, and divided them among his own friends. Edeah had a great part of these forfeited domains; and Innamotooa, the widow of Oripiah, the brother of Pomarré, also experienced the royal munificence. She deserved it so well, that all but the sufferers joined in the praise of this act.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Arrival of a Ship.—Death of Pomarré.—His Character.

AFTER the unfortunate circumstance of the loss of the Margaret, our prospects at Otaheite were very gloomy. Having saved little or no property from the wreck, it became a subject of serious consideration in what manner we could subsist. Otaheite is as little calculated as Europe for those who are without money. It was moreover uncertain how long we should be compelled to remain in our present situation. To attempt building exceeded our means; we had lost our carpenter at the Sandwich Islands,

and it was in vain to expect assistance from any other of our people. Our command and authority over them had vanished since the wreck; every one now followed his own way, and appeared so attached to their present indolent life, that they seemed to have no intention of quitting it. Of the whole of our former crew, the cook and mate, the captain, and myself, were alone united in a common cause, that of returning to our native country. Our blacksmith had set up for himself amongst the natives, and was in a very fair way of making a livelihood even in the worst of times. It was unfortunately not so with us; we knew it, but could not help ourselves.

The blessing of Providence, however, again interposed, at a time that we had almost ceased to hope; for, after we had been about three months in this suspense of hope and fear, on the afternoon of the 27th of August 1803, a shout of *te pahia, te pahia*, a ship, a ship, resounding through the island, aroused us into new expectations. Hope and fear now alternately prevailed: we apprehended that the captain might have some possible objection; that he might be going to China, or on some other more circuitous voyage. It so happened, however, that the goodness of Providence was complete; the ship was going to the very place to which of all others we wished, to Port Jackson. We agreed for a passage; and in our present situation, laying aside all indignation at the conduct of our shipmates, we divided with them our remaining property.

There were so many ceremonies to be performed at Atta-

hooroo, that the business had not been finally settled when the ship arrived. The intelligence of this event, however, brought Pomarre home to prepare his presents; he had got his hogs in the canoe, and was half-way to the ship, when he was seized suddenly with a fit, and falling with his hands on the side of the canoe, expired. The poor fellows in the canoe immediately paddled back as fast as possible to his house at Oparree, where, on her way likewise to visit the ship, Edeah had by this time arrived. Messenger after messenger was despatched to the missionaries and their surgeon; they were earnestly entreated to hasten to Oparree. The surgeon happened at this time to be on board the ship, taking a farewell leave of us upon our departure. We earnestly advised him, should he find Pomarre still alive, not to venture to prescribe for him; as in the case of his death the natives would not fail to impute it to poison, and perhaps avenge his supposed murder on the mission. It has been before mentioned, that they imputed the death of Tereinavouroa to the prayers of the missionaries; and that they are persuaded the prayers of these holy men have this kind of sacred witchcraft. Under such impressions, it may readily be conceived that the situation of the missionaries is not the most pleasant in the world.

Not one moment was lost on the part of the surgeon, who, on his arrival, found the whole family in the deepest anguish and distress. Paitia, the brother of Pomarre, was deaf to all consolation, and could scarcely be withheld from suicide. All was

anguish and confusion; some imputed his death to one cause, others to another: but the opinion of the majority was, that he had offended the gods, though they could not agree by what means, except by his human sacrifices. They had recourse to one most singular remedy; the body of a human victim which he had sacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and stretched prostrate under him, in the hopes of appeasing the offended divinity.

The sudden and instantaneous death of this man, (the Otoo of Captain Cook), was not very unreasonably imputed by some to the enormity of his crimes, as well in this, as in other instances. Should these impressions continue, the most beneficial effects may be expected. None had more cause of regret in this event than the missionaries, to whom Pomarre had ever continued a steadfast friend. They wrote to the captain of the ship, requesting him to remain till the morning, that the sense of the Society might be taken in what manner to act upon this unexpected occurrence. The captain thought he should lose nothing by compliance, and therefore consented.

In the morning Mr. Jefferson came to the ship, and informed us, that, after several consultations, the Society had resolved to confide in the promises of Edeah, who said that every thing should proceed as before. Mr. Jefferson, at parting, requested me to desire their friends at home not to be over solicitous as to their safety. These were his words, as far as I can remember them.

The Otaheiteans will doubtless rack their brains to discover some probable cause of the death of Pomarre; and, after other conjectures, will perhaps impute it to some magical power from the ship. Should any one amongst them make this assertion, I have no doubt that he would be immediately seconded by his countrymen, so general is their belief in sapernatural agency.— On the decease of his son, about a month before, they were firmly persuaded that he had been charmed to death by the missionaries.— They are moreover convinced, that the greater part of their plagues and diseases flow immediately from the shipping. They insist upon it, that Captain Cook brought the intermittent fever, the crooked backs, and the scrophula, which breaks out in their necks, breasts, groins, and arm-pits. That Vancouvre brought a bloody flux, which in a few months killed a great number of them, and then abated. They say that Captain Bleigh also brought the scrophula; but I could not learn what ship introduced the elephantiasis and epilepsy! No doubt they are likewise said to be of European extraction, as well as the hump-backs, and some others.

After a thousand reasonings and conjectures upon this mysterious affair, (the death of Pomarre), we have since learnt that the general conclusion was, that he had offended the gods by sacrilegiously making free with a piece of cloth belonging to *Oro*, their great divinity, and clothing his son Otoo with it.

The loss the missionaries sustained in the death of Pomarre has

been irreparable: for, if the affairs of government went on badly before, they have been getting worse and worse ever since. But this is saying as much as can be said in his favour; for if he consented to a joint partnership with the missionaries, he fleeced his own subjects most unmercifully. Though this man possessed at least equal abilities with his father in things of a political nature, he was never able completely to subdue his enemies. They considered his government as a usurpation; and therefore never missed an opportunity of molesting his quiet. His affairs were thus not unfrequently in a very tottering situation.

The mutineers of the *Bounty* were an acquisition as fortunate as unexpected for the circumstances of Pomarre. Being well skilled in the art of dissimulation, he had little difficulty in gaining them to his party, and with them an invincible advantage. His promises were unbounded; he had no scruple in making them, because he had no intention to perform. With the assistance of these *heroes*, for such were they considered by the natives, he was enabled to carry every thing before him; and in a very little time was acknowledged as king of the whole island.

Since this period, however, there have doubtless been many risings and revolts; but, upon the whole, Pomarre has prevailed over them all. Nor was this the only time he owed his safety to his European friends; as in the late war he would have been effectually ruined, had it not been for the assistance of the English, who happened at that time to be on the island. The enemy, hitherto vic-

torious, were now compelled to sue for peace, and the affairs of Pomarre were again established.

With regard to his personal qualities, he was a savage of unusual address, and of much grace and majesty. He had something uncommon in his appearance; his general manners were very engaging, but, under the mask of candour, he had too much of the hypocrite.

In his prosperity he was insufferably proud towards his enemies; and, as a consequent effect of the same sanguine temperament of mind, he was equally dejected in adversity. A proof of this has already been mentioned in his determination to abandon the island upon a partial defeat. Nor was this the only instance, as, under similar circumstances, he frequently applied to European captains to convey him from the island.

The most singular trait in his character, as a savage, was a species of prudence and foresight; a mind which was capable of forming and adhering to a certain proposed rule of conduct. His behaviour to the Europeans, and countenance towards the missionaries, were the effects of this political genius. Resisting the first impulse, which would have tempted a savage to plunder them without formality or delay, he formed a more refined plan, that of encouraging them, and going shares in their present and future stock. This as effectually answered their purpose as his.

CHAPTER XXX.

*Critical Situation of Affairs in Otaheite.—Zeal of the Missionaries.
Stubbornness of Belief in the Chiefs and Royal Family.*

FROM the unjust and unwarrantable manner in which that family seized upon the property of their subjects, and their intolerable abuse of power, the country overflows with malcontents; and when the least shadow of success provokes them to action, they never fail to produce their claims. *This is the rock upon which the family will sooner or later split. The present king, Otoo, is intolerable in this respect; and, like other great men, the major part of his vices must be imputed to his flatterers. These miscreants demand with haughtiness, in the name of their master, whatever may suit their fancy, and consider whatever they thus extort as a kind of tribute.* The gentle nature of the Otaheiteans is thus spurred on to acts of rebellion. As there is no stimulus to industry, they are plunged as it were into a state of indolence, and therefore may be said to derive but little benefit from the fertility of the soil. Their social dispositions are most wonderfully susceptible of kindness; a smile, an affable address, and a look of approbation, will do any thing. An appearance of neglect or indifference gives them high offence. Nor is this temper peculiar to the Otaheiteans; insult is proverbially more intolerable

than injury and scorn, and contempt more painful to a generous mind, than the most severe inflictions of fortune.

Otoo was still at Attahooroo when his father died, and no intelligence had been as yet received from him when we sailed. How he felt this loss I cannot say, (I have since learnt very lightly); but it appeared to me that the loss to the royal family must be irreparable. With the exception of Pomarre and Edeah, none of them seemed to possess sufficient abilities either to manage their own people, or awe their enemies. It is a crisis big with events for the Otaheiteans: it is impossible to predict what may be the event.

Some time previous to the death of Pomarre, he had ordered a human sacrifice from the next district: the people were so exasperated against him on this account, that they suddenly rose upon him one night, and he escaped with difficulty to Matavai. His muskets, powder, and other valuables, were secured by his dependents, and sent after him at a moment's notice.

Since the death of Pomarre, there is some cause to hope that this horrible practice of human sacrifice will be in some degree discontinued: for it is as much abhorred by the common people, as supported by the chiefs. Pomarre was himself a high priest, and therefore thought he could never do enough for his god. He was ever endeavouring to extort from me and my companions presents for his divinity. By his artifice he contrived to hold the minds of his people in leading-strings upon the subject of religion, and many of them were firmly persuaded that he had such an interest with *Oro*,

that his anger was sufficient to call down any punishment upon their heads. I have no doubt that in this respect he was a most complete hypocrite, and in reality believed as little in the divinity of *Oro* as myself. It is quite incredible what influence over the minds of the common people he procured by this hypocrisy.

The superstitions, extravagances, and religious observances of these people, are beyond all description ridiculous; they seem to have no analogy either in heaven or earth, and must baffle every investigation as to their origin.

From the evident advantage which the royal family derived from their joint partnership with the missionaries, I have little doubt that the purpose of Pomarre, in their encouragement, was wholly political. The missionaries indeed neglect nothing to render their mission successful; on every sabbath-day they traversed the country two by two in different directions. But I repeat, that I fear their efforts will for a long period be unavailing. The natives consider them as very good men, and love and esteem them accordingly, but they do not comprehend, and therefore do not believe, the articles of their religion.

It is perhaps expecting too much of them in their present state, to look for any thing like Christian faith from a people so rude and barbarous: perhaps the missionaries, according to a trite proverb, have begun at the wrong end, preaching the mysteries of their religion, before they have laid a foundation, by instructing them in its simple elements. It is doubtless wrong to temporize or falsify the

religion of truth in any of the slightest of its points of faith; but there is room, ample room, for the exercise of discretion, in adapting their lessons to the natural capacities of the pupils. It is not necessary to attempt to teach them all, under circumstances in which they cannot comprehend one-half. The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation are not for Otaheitean understandings.

One Sunday evening, Mr. Jefferson requested permission to exhort Otoo and Tereinavouroa, with all their followers; Otoo sent a messenger to me on the occasion, saying that he wished to see me: I accordingly went, and found Mr. Scott and Mr. Jefferson in the act of exhortation. Their congregation might amount to about fifty. Upon its conclusion, I demanded of Otoo what he wanted with me. He asked me, upon the departure of the missionaries, whether it was all true they had preached? I replied in the affirmative; that it was strictly so according to my own belief, and that of all the wiser and better part of my countrymen. He demanded of me where Jehovah lived; I pointed to the heavens. He said he did not believe it. His brother was, if possible, still worse. Edeah was looking on, with a kind of haughty and disdainful indifference. It was all *havery* or falsehood, adding, they would not believe unless they could see; and observed, we could bring down the sun and moon by means of our quadrant, why could we not bring down our Saviour by a similar operation?

It is indeed impossible for them to believe what they cannot comprehend, and to which they can find no analogy in any ob-

jects in their own country. I have not unfrequently amused myself by playing upon their ignorance, telling them that I lived in a country in which houses as large as those of Otaheite were erected on the water, such as the booths which may be seen in winter on the ice; that water could be made to support fire without extinguishing it; and that I had seen animals as big as their largest hogs, roasted on a river. That my countrymen walked over its surface, boxing and wrestling, as in Otaheite; that it might be broken in pieces, and that armies of a hundred thousand men, as in Holland, marched over it with dry shoes. It was ludicrous to see the fixed stare with which they would listen to these assertions: nor did I stop here, but added, that we were acquainted with countries in which it was continual day, and others in which it was an uninterrupted night; that we had sometimes rain as large as musket balls, and that sometimes it changed its form, and descended like feathers, covering the whole country like a table cloth. These things undoubtedly surpassed their understanding, and therefore their powers of belief. Is it any reasonable subject of astonishment, that their minds should be equally inaccessible to any of the mysteries of religion? That every thing originated from the wisdom and power of God; that the earth, the heavens, and all created beings, obeyed his omnipotent mandate—"Let there be light, and there was light!" that man was a free agent, created with a certain degree of natural excellence, and capable of more; that he abused his free agency, and became

unworthy of his creator; that the mystery of the redemption again raised him to his former level, and satisfied the justice of his God! These are mysteries beneath which an Otaheitean understanding must sink confounded. It is not until the lapse of many years, that, in the true sense of the word, the Otaheiteans can become Christians: the first converts of the Apostles were the citizens of the most learned and polite nations of the ancient world.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Mortality in the Island. — Circumstances relative to the State of the Missionaries. — Contempt of Old Age among the Otaheiteans.

THE Missionaries had made the circuit of the island twice during the time we had been amongst them, preaching from district to district, and seconding their exhortations with presents. If zeal in the discharge of their duty could ensure success, they would not preach in vain.

In their circuits, they have successfully endeavoured to come at the exact number of the people. It is melancholy to add, that the population has diminished in a degree which threatens to reduce the country to a desert. Captain Cook computed them at

upwards of two hundred thousand; the population has now dwindled to five thousand; but on the arrival of the *Duff*, they exceeded triple this number. Mr. Elder and Mr. Wilson had just returned from the *Mottos*, whither they had been conveyed by our boat on the 18th of August. They reported that the population did not exceed three hundred.

The mortality which raged at this period, and which I fear is but too epidemic and frequent, was such as to inspire us with the most melancholy ideas. During our short absence in our visit to the Sandwich Islands, many young persons of both sexes were no more; they had died in the prime and vigour of life, and others of an appearance equally healthy were following them very fast. Great part of this mortality must be imputed to their ignorance; the doctrine of fatality prevails among them to a most dangerous excess. Every disease is the immediate consequence of the vengeance of their offended deities, and therefore every thought of remedy or relief is rejected, as equally useless and impious. They are left to their fate; and their diseases are unfortunately such, as, however easy of cure under a regular course, are but too fatal when suffered to augment under neglect.

They entertain the greatest contempt for old age; and if they disliked any of our articles, were accustomed to say, it was as worthless as an old man.

The missionaries apparently lived together in the greatest love and harmony, and all of them presented an example of industry.

Their situation, however, was by no means so comfortable as many of our countrymen may be inclined to imagine; for as their stock of European articles decreases, they must proportionately lose their influence over the natives.

They possessed a public garden very well stocked and cultivated, and the greater part of them a private one not much inferior. The space inclosed within the palisades of the public garden, is about four acres. It seems natural to imagine, that its beauty and utility would have acted as a stimulus to the natives to imitate their industry; but the indolence of the Otaheiteans, is beyond the cure of any common remedy.

In the gardens of the missionaries are lemon, lime, orange, peach, and citron trees, in great number and perfection; they have moreover patches of the tarra-root, Indian corn, and indigo. It must be some years, however, before they can expect to derive any considerable advantage from these.

Mr. Jefferson had opened a school, but only one native attended; this was the daughter of a European, one of the crew of the *Matilda*.

These good men, at my departure, were very anxious to receive intelligence from their friends in England, and were in daily expectation of the arrival of one of their ships. Edeah observed, in a manner which it was not difficult to interpret, that this ship was a long time coming.

The missionaries tell them that the God of Britain is the God of

Otaheite and the whole earth, and that it is from this Being they receive their hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts. This the Otaheiteans flatly deny; alleging, that they possessed all these articles long before they had heard of the God of Britain. The ignorance of these people in this respect is lamentable in the extreme. Though upon the first arrival of the missionaries the district of Matavai had been ceded to them, the natives still persist in considering them as there only by sufferance.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Particular Customs amongst the Otaheiteans.—Exclusion of the Women from Eating with the Men.—Cleanliness, and Attention to Dress.—Ludicrous Instance of Simplicity amongst the Natives.—Superstition of the Otaheiteans.—Employment.—Indolence.—Bay of Matavai.—Curiosity of the Natives.

IT would be losing our labour in a maze to which there is neither beginning nor end, to endeavour to give any regular history of the Otaheiteans. Suffice it to say upon this subject, that in the comparison of their present and former situation one inference is clear, that they have reaped no advantage from their intercourse

with Europeans. The greater part of their characteristic simplicity has now vanished, and has given place to selfish cunning, and low minded artifice. Their communication with Botany Bay has been productive of the most baleful effects.

Their original and national customs still remain unchanged; and the most singular of these respect the women, and the royal family.

It is profanation in an Otaheitean woman to eat with a man; the women must on all occasions eat by themselves. The ladies of the royal family, and women of the first rank, are the only exceptions to this rule.

Being thus compelled to associate together, they live in a more perfect harmony with each other than would otherwise exist among them. I do not know that I ever saw any dispute between these women; the boxing matches which I have mentioned, being mere ceremonies and national amusements.

Should it so happen, that the husband and his wife cannot agree, there is no restraint on their separation; and as such is the custom of the country, neither of them are considered as having violated any duty, or broken any contract.

There is nothing for which the Otaheiteans are more distinguished than their cleanliness. Both men and women bathe twice, and often three times a-day; and on these occasions they prefer fresh water to salt. They are very particular in the adjustment and nice composition of their hair, anointing it with cocoa-

nut oil and the perfume of the sandal wood. They spend much of their time at their looking-glass, and with their scissors; and if any glasses are offered to them by which their features are disfigured, they return them with an indignant *owhow, owhow*; their grimaces on these occasions being truly ludicrous. With the exception of the head, the males will not suffer a hair about them. It is a great part of their daily occupation to remove them, either by a razor, or plucking them out by the roots.

The bonnets of the women are very neat; and, together with the sweet-scented flowers resembling our English lilies, with which they adorn their heads, much improve their air of natural simplicity. These bonnets, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut split into fibres, are of various colours, according to the fancy of the wearers; and as the only cost is the time and trouble of making them, they usually appear in a new one every second or third day: in this respect they are their own milliners.

Much having been said as to the licentiousness and loose conduct of the women, it is but justice to state, that I saw nothing of this. Their ideas of decency are doubtless very different from ours; therefore they must be judged by a very different standard.

Their dispositions are gentle to an extreme. I never saw an Otaheitean out of temper the whole time I was on the island, the paramour of Edeah, and the brother of Pomarre only excepted. Their manners are perhaps softer in the immediate neighbourhood of the missionaries than in the remoter parts. They are ardent

in the love and praise of their country, and believe it to be the finest part on the whole habitable globe. Some of them do not hesitate to say, that we visit their country for its sweet food.

They may be most easily imposed upon in any thing which falls within their own ideas. The following is a ludicrous proof of this assertion.

Upon the return of the captain to Otaheite, after the fatal accident which happened to the ship, his wearing apparel had become intolerably dirty, and being reduced to a very small stock, it was necessary to make the best of a bad situation; but we were wholly without soap, that most necessary article for personal cleanliness. Necessity is the mother of invention; we resolved to make some soap-lye of the ashes of fern. Our people assured us, that they had known fern-ashes to answer this purpose, where wood-ashes had failed. We collected, therefore, a good quantity, and having burnt it, mixed it with water. The natives assembled around us, and were all attention and curiosity. They began to think that we were at length reduced to our last extremity, and were about to make gunpowder. The grittiness of the ashes after the water was poured off, encouraged this idea. Some of them inquiring of our people if this was not the case, were informed, for the jest's sake, that it was so.

The intelligence spread far and wide, that the grand arcanum, the mystery of mysteries, was now about to be revealed; our house was thereupon so crowded with natives, that we had scarcely room to

move. Our people spared nothing to complete the jest: the composition was stirred, and stirred again; and the natives requested to keep their distance, and not disturb the important business.— They might depend upon it, that their curiosity should not lead them to the knowledge of our secret; we would do nothing till the coast was clear. It is impossible to describe the eager anxiety to which these manœuvres worked up their minds; they would have cheerfully sacrificed whatever they held most dear, to arrive at the knowledge of this invaluable arcanum.

Our people, however, were not as yet satisfied: they deemed something still wanting to the perfection of the joke. Lest any attempt should be made to steal the precious materials, the tub was carefully watched by regular sentinels. It was sometimes carried out of doors, and exposed to the sun to rarify it, but was brought in again with all due care. When any inquiries were made, how long it might be before it would be fit for use? our people answered a fortnight, carefully replacing it every day to be rarified by the sun. Never did the busy brain of a chemist search with greater ardour for the philosopher's stone, than the Otaheiteans for this secret.— They were maddened with impatience, for so closely were they watched, that they could steal nothing; and if they had done so, we gave it out that some of the principal ingredients were yet wanting; and this indeed we might well say without any violation of truth.

However, I now began to regret that the jest had been carried so far; for our sailors, availing themselves of the delusion of the

natives, began to make their advantage of it, and to sell them portions of this worthless rubbish for cocoa-nuts, &c. At the time of the bargain, they requested the Otaheiteans not to move or stir the composition for the space of a week; and well knowing that their impatience would not admit of this long restraint, they preconcerted to avail themselves of this excuse in the subsequent discovery of the inutility of what they had sold them.

As I am now on the subject of their credulity, I cannot omit one instance of it in particular, which is said to have happened during the visit of Captain Vancouver. One of his sailors being on shore, was followed, as usual, by the curious multitude. Having a river to ford, the sailor pulled up his trowsers; the natives were panic-struck to discover that his legs were crooked, and hesitated to cross the river, lest they should be infected with this deformity. He was immediately forsaken, and left to pursue his walk alone.

Our jugglers and conjurers would have a most glorious harvest among these people; they would only have to tell them, that their lives were in their power, and they would obtain an easy and general credit. I cannot but picture to my imagination, the boundless effects which would be thus produced. The most common chemical and philosophical experiments would appear to these men as so many miracles. Were the missionaries to imitate the ancient jesuits, and avail themselves of this expedient, they would require nothing more to render themselves both feared and believed. But the religion of truth must not be thus raised upon the foundation of

error. The good sense of mankind has long rejected the sophism, that the end excuses the means.

The Otaheiteans, though it may not be so visible amongst them upon a slight intercourse, are a most superstitious race. Nothing can happen but what they previously know by their dreams. They have their diviners without end; and Pomarre himself was not the least considerable of their number. They pretend to foresee the arrival of a ship some days before it enters the harbour. They have a singular method of detecting a thief, in any case of stolen goods, by applying to a person possessing the spirit of divination, who, they observe, is always sure to show them the face of the thief reflected from a calabash of clear water. The anger of Pomarre, as high priest, was believed to be of the most fatal effect; and every chief was in like manner considered to have some supernatural agent. By whatever means this has been managed, it reflects more credit upon the ingenuity of the chiefs, than on the good sense of the people.

Pomarre (it is our own fault if we believe him) asserted to the missionaries that he had a distinct intimation of their arrival. They pretend, moreover, that they had the same presentiment of being visited by a canoe of unusual magnitude, some nights before the arrival of the first ship that ever visited their island. Pomarre, in the same manner, anticipated the arrival of the bible, or speaking-book of the Etooa, (God), amongst them. They informed me that our ship was *mattamoie*, dead, about the time of her being lost.

Paternal authority and filial duty are reduced to a nullity in this country. The father is nothing after the birth of his son; he is considered as supplanted by a being of more importance, and therefore sinks comparatively into a cypher. He is of no other consequence than as the father of his son. Pomarre had nearly fallen a victim to this unnatural prejudice; as his son Otoo, under the suggestions of Mannemane the high priest, was about to become the murderer of his father. The tree in the fable is here verified; the parent stock is torn into pieces by wedges from its own body. The vigilance of Edeah discovered the secret machination, and Mannemane was assassinated, or rather, justly put to death, for his perfidy.

In matters of government, there is no perceptible inferiority of the sexes; and when the supreme power happens to fall upon a woman, she is obeyed as implicitly as if of the other sex. Many of them are thus chiefs, and govern in their several districts with as much authority as the men.

The complexion of the Otaheiteans is generally some shades darker than new copper; something between a mulatto and what is called a light negroe: but the fishermen, being exposed to the sun and weather, are much darker. Their stature in general is above the common standard of Europeans. They are well proportioned; their features placid and regular, but their noses are universally flat, occasioned by pressure in their infancy: their teeth large, white, and well set; and their hair a jet glossy black. Fashion, however, has some influence in this respect; the two queens, and many of the chiefs,

that they may appear superior to their subjects, have changed the colour of their hair to a light brown, an effect produced by the shell lime, or some other dye. The natives in general take great pains in the graceful adjustment of their hair; whilst that of the two queens, for the sake of distinction, I suppose, is matted and twisted so as to bear no ill resemblance to a shaggy uncombed wig.

Many of the women of the Sandwich Islands have a *toupet* on their forehead, stained, by means of the shell lime, as white as snow; this is no doubt intended as an ornament, but, contrasted with their complexion, renders them truly horrible.

The chief employment of the men is that of building houses and canoes, fishing, &c. Pomarre was in this respect one of the most experienced artists in the country. For the month previous to his expedition to Attahooroo, his sole employment was in building a canoe as an offering to his *Etooa*.

The women of Otaheite are much less industrious than those of any of the other islands I visited. Their employment, when the humour takes them, is that of weaving mats, some of which occupy them for nine months. Their cloth is of various lengths, from four to thirty yards, and from two to four wide. The thick cloth is made by cementing together two or more layers of fine: the cement employed upon this occasion is the root pea, beat up like potatoe starch, but is much superior and more of a paste.

The coarser cloth is worn by the fishermen, persons employed

in drudgery, and for night covering. The women of the royal family, particularly Edeah and Pomarre's sister, are the best manufacturers on the island: they are particularly nice in their choice of the patterns they intend to adopt; the leaf of the fern is their favourite figure.

Their dye is extracted either from the juice of a berry or the bark of a tree: the juice of the berry is for the red and lighter colours; and the dye extracted from the soaking and bruising of the bark, for the brown and darker. The turmerick, with which the island abounds, is used for the yellow.

They are better at the projection than in the execution of any enterprise, and with them a very trifling excursion is thus denominated. A journey to the Mottos, about twenty miles distance, is a grand undertaking, a tour of vast magnitude, and occupies their thoughts and conversation for many months. Edeah had been upwards of a year in preparation for a tour to the leeward islands; the purport of this visit was an embassy to procure from the chiefs of these islands an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Otoo.

The royal canoe, which was double, was one of the largest and strongest on the island; it was sixty feet in length, and secured by five rafters instead of three; these were lashed together by thongs formed from the fibres of the cocoa-nut: a ponderous and unwieldy mass, only calculated to sail before the wind. Its height at the stern was upwards of eighteen feet, but from the

middle, forward, it did not exceed four feet and a half; on the forepart was a large platform, terminated in front by a breastwork about three feet high. The intermediate space between the breastwork and the end of the platform, was to be occupied with a temporary house for the accommodation of the royal traveller. It was intended that she should have been accompanied by a fleet of canoes advancing in procession; but the sudden death of Pomarre overturned this project: the presence of Edeah was, at this crisis, of much too great importance to admit of her departure.

The bay of Matavai is well sheltered against all winds except those from the west and north-west. The prevailing wind is the south-east, which blows strongest from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; but for some months in the earlier part of the year, the winds set in strongly from the westward, accompanied with torrents of rain and much thunder and lightning. It is in this season, however, that the islanders of Ulitea, Huaheine, &c. accustom themselves to visit Otaheite. The canoes in which they make these visits, are such a crazy kind of craft, that whole families are sometimes lost or cast away upon some desolate island. Captain Cook touching at Watteo, a distance of four hundred miles from Otaheite, found there three natives of the Society Islands: these were the only survivors out of thirty who had suffered shipwreck, the other twenty-seven having perished

at sea. In such canoes as those of the Uliteans, a voyage to Otaheite in such weather is much more dangerous than a voyage to the East Indies amongst us.

Immediately in front of our house was the station where the fishermen used to haul up their grand fleet of canoes; twenty of them were sometimes lying there together, adorned with streamers of eight or ten yards in length, composed of feathers, bearing a nearer resemblance to the tail of a boy's kite, than any thing else to which I can compare them.

They had always full employment in repairing their nets and other crazy tackle. They were as troublesome as the other descriptions of their countrymen, introducing themselves into our house with as little ceremony. We submitted to their impertinence with a good grace, and thus obtained their good words. Perhaps we did not affix much value to these compliments; but had any necessity compelled us to put their sincerity to the test, I am persuaded we should have found them of still less value than we had rated them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Food, and Manner of Cooking.—Utility of the Bread-fruit Tree.—
Various Methods of Fishing.—Houses.—Furniture.—Form of
Government.—Influence of the Priests.*

THROUGH all the Society Islands, they have invariably the same method of procuring fire; taking two pieces of wood, and making a groove in one for the other to traverse in, they rub them together till the friction produces smoke, and the smoke flame. A bundle of dry-grass serves them for tinder.

Their method of killing a hog is by strangulation; they twist so many coils of a rope round the neck till the animal expires. They usually moisten the bristles with water, and then singe them off by a fire of grass and dried leaves. During the time of my trading round the island, several of the hogs in the boat were suffocated by overlaying one another: I presented these to the chiefs, who received them very thankfully.

The method they use in cooking their hogs, bread-fruit, &c. is by digging a hole in the earth according to the size required. A wood fire is then made in it and covered with stones; and the stones being thus heated, one half of them is left at the bottom, and the other strewed over the animal or other substance at the top: and in hogs

of a large size, some heated stones are introduced into the belly. The whole is then covered in with layers of the leaves of the bread-fruit, and closed up with dirt. It is in this manner left until it is done; and, by frequent, practice they are such good judges, that they are seldom mistaken.

They have only two methods of cooking—baking, and broiling. They make an excellent pudding of a root resembling our potatoe; it is pounded with the pulp of the cocoa-nut, and afterwards ground fine by a mullar; it is then carefully wrapped up in plantain leaves, and, when properly baked, is by no means unpalatable.

Their *evea*, apple, which is generally in season six months in the year, makes an excellent apple-sauce for their pork; it is nearly as good as our English baking-apples, except that it is rather more stringy. They have mountain yams in the interior; but as these cannot be got without the trouble of digging to a considerable depth, the Otaheiteans take no account of them.

Here I must not forget to mention, that their pork, when not overgrown, is really excellent; but their poultry is stringy and tough, the very coarsest of our beef being preferable to it: but this may arise from the want of corn. Having no salt, their substitute for seasoning is salt-water.

They have the tarra root and sweet potatoe; but these articles were not very plenty, and consequently were dear. They have a root called *Tee*, somewhat resembling the yam: when baked and pressed, it produces a juice as sweet as molasses, and, when boiled,

is nearly of the same consistence. With Indian corn roasted in lieu of coffee, sweetened with this juice, I usually made a tolerable breakfast. *Popoy* is a dish in general use amongst the people; it is a mixture of the bread-fruit and *mahia*, well beat up together, and mixed with the juice of the cocoa-nut; the mountain plantain being sometimes added: it nearly resembles our frumenty. I could never be persuaded to do more than taste it, from the nauseating process of its mixture. The natives, however, are very fond of it, and seldom make a meal without it.

Upon any appearance of a scarce season, they collect the bread-fruit when nearly ripe, and, removing the outer rind, lay it up in heaps till it becomes soft; a pit is then dug, and the sides and bottom carefully lined with bread-fruit leaves. The pit, thus prepared, is filled with the fruit, and carefully closed up with leaves, grass, and stones; and after remaining for some time in this state, it is again opened, and the fruit freed from its core; when it is again deposited and covered in with fresh leaves, till required for use. It is said that the fruit thus preserved will remain good till the following season. Some of the missionaries, apprehensive of a scarce season, had adopted this method in common with the natives, but in my opinion nothing can be more unpalatable. Taste, however, like every thing else, is formed by habit, and *mahia* may at length become tolerable to the missionaries.

The Otaheiteans, indeed, have the mountain plantain at all seasons of the year; but they have a great dislike to climb the moun-

tains after it, being much afraid of the wild hogs, which are very fierce. It is moreover a two-days journey, and therefore is an object of terror to the indolent inhabitants.

The *Oura* or bread-fruit, prevalent over all the Society Islands, grows on a tree not unlike a middling-sized oak: the leaves, both in colour and substance, much resemble a fig-leaf, but are much larger, and have scalloped edges. The fruit grows on all the branches, in the same manner as the apples in Europe. It is said that, though cut down to the root, it will shoot up again so as to bear fruit in five or six years. During the late hostilities, many of them were cut down in the neighbourhood of the missionary-house, to prevent any sudden surprise from the enemy. For general purposes, it is by far the most useful wood in the country; and it has the property of resisting worms better than any other. It also yields a strong gum, called by the natives *Tapow*; and is of great use in paying over their canoes, being an excellent substitute for pitch. It is procured by tapping the trees. Our boat had suffered much by being dragged over the rough and craggy banks of their shores and rivers; whatever repairs we gave it whilst at Otaheite, were always effected by means of this tree. It at once supplied us with plank and pitch.

The fruit has been so often described, as scarcely to need repetition: in a few words, it is of the size and shape of a melon, and of a green colour in all its stages; the inside, when baked, much resembles the crumb of wheaten bread, but when very ripe, it eats more

like our gingerbread. It is as white in colour as our wheaten loaf, but not quite so farinaceous. It is an invaluable blessing to the inhabitants of this part of the globe; and proves that these islanders, barbarous and savage as they are, are not excluded from the eye and general care of an All-wise Providence.

The sea, as I have before said, is their most certain and most inexhaustible magazine. They have fish of many kinds, and generally in great plenty. Their method of catching them is by the seine, angling, and a harpoon with two or three prongs; and in all these methods they are equally dexterous. They dart the harpoon with the greatest accuracy, and sometimes surrounding a shoal of fish, and driving them into shallow water, they have most active sport. In dark nights they illuminate the reef and shores, and by this means decoy the fish into shallow water, and ensnare them in their nets in great quantities.

I have seen an Otaheitean spring from the beach and catch a fish whilst swimming in the water. They catch an immense quantity of the smaller fry, by a seine made for that purpose, which sweeps every thing before it by thousands at a time, and is principally employed at the mouths of rivers. Fish is a favourite dish amongst them; they frequently eat them raw, and always very much underdone.

It is but seldom that the common people can indulge themselves on a repast of pork. When we killed any hogs, the natives had rare scrambling for the offal. The native boys employed by us as

servants, were allowed these as their perquisites to make presents to their friends; they were surrounded therefore by the more cunning of their countrymen, who endeavoured to inveigle themselves into their good graces, hanging on them like leeches, till they had squeezed them out of all they had to give.

It is a custom among the Otaheiteans, to share a part of their food with every one about them, so that the first possessor has frequently the least portion in the end. Having learned this to be the practice, I generally contrived to reserve a part of my offal for the royal family: this was suited to their taste, and, as it happened, equally suited to my convenience. Whatever remained, after our servants were satisfied, was exchanged to advantage for bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and bananas, and we were in general plentifully supplied on these occasions.

The royal family most commonly kept but a small part of the offal for themselves, usually dividing it among their dependents, who devoured it like so many vultures. These fellows were not at all displeased that they fared so well; and, as they possessed great influence over the king, it was to our interest that they should be thus satisfied.

Upon the reef which is situated about half a mile from the shore, they have shell-fish of almost every kind; clams, wilks, cockles, conchs, cray-fish, crabs, sea-eggs, and muscles.

The reef seems to be more particularly appropriated to the women, who seldom go out to fish in the canoes. They flock to the

reefs in droves, and during any scarcity of fish, remain up to the middle in water the greater part of the day. Half the time would chill a European to death. The Otaheiteans, however, seem wholly to disregard it; they wash themselves in fresh-water as they come from the sea, and then proceed to cook the fruits of their industry. There cannot exist a doubt that, from this long continuance in the water, arise many of their more common diseases; such as fevers and rheumatisms, which are very prevalent amongst them.

Were it not for the richness and fertility of the island, and the inexhaustible stores of the ocean, the natives could barely exist: their indolence is so invincible by any prudential consideration, that I am persuaded they would almost starve rather than undergo the fatigues of European cultivation. When to this circumstance is added the oppression of their chiefs, it will be long before the condition of the Otaheitean becomes in any degree enviable.

The houses of the royal family and great chiefs bear a near resemblance to an English cart-shed; they are usually of an oval shape, the sides being formed of railing about two inches apart, so as to admit a thorough current of air. These pales are about six or seven feet in height, and, together with a range of posts, serve as supporters to the roof. A row of from three to five wooden pillars, according to the size of the house, are placed in the middle; a ridge-rafter is fixed on the top of these, and the rafters intended to support the roof descend from this ridge to the posts before men-

tioned, projecting three or four feet beyond them. A rim runs round the whole building on the top of the posts, to which the rafters of the roof are bound: it is then very neatly thatched with the palm leaf.

There are no divisions or subdivisions in these houses; you are no sooner within them than you see every thing. The house of Edeah is built near the spot where Captain Cook had established his observatory: and from that memorable event has been called Point Venus. It is the most completely furnished of any in the country, having a European bedstead formed of two boxes which she had procured from some of her old acquaintances, and which contain all her European treasure.

The floors are covered to the thickness of three or four inches with great quantities of grass; this is spread so carefully and neatly, that scarce a blade could be found lying the wrong way. These houses are generally surrounded with a kind of court-yard encircled with a stout railing about three feet high; the whole yard is in the same manner strewed with grass. In this yard are sheds and smaller huts, as a kind of offices for the attendants and menial servants. Here they pass their time with one another seated on the ground, or stretched at full length; jesting, humming a tune, drumming, &c. When the royal family happen to be at Matavai, there is little else but drumming and playing on their flutes from morning till night.

When the royal family or chiefs travel by water, they have a small hut or moveable tent fixed in the front part of the canoe,

which prevents them from being exposed either to the sun or weather. The women of the chiefs are for the most part much fairer than the other inhabitants.

The huts of the natives in general, are but little superior to so many sheds; some of them covered with grass, and others not. Nature having in this country so bountifully supplied her blessings, the inhabitants have acquired and encourage a most inveterate and rooted disinclination to labour or cultivation of the soil; they employ their time for the most part in amusements and conversation with each other. They associate much together, and have their traditional stories, songs, and country diversions, as well as more civilized nations.

When the season sets in severe, they cover the weather side of the house with matts of the cocoa-nut leaf, two or three in thickness.

Their whole furniture, even that of the royal family, consists only of a few wooden stools about six or seven inches high, and the side of an old canoe, which answers the purpose of a bedstead for the chief, as the stools supply that of a pillow: the remainder of their furniture consists of a few country baskets, some of them from the Sandwich Islands; a wooden tray or two in which they mix their *popoy*, *ava*, &c. a piece of hard wood, and a stone mullar employed for pounding; some of the country gourds, cocoa-nut shells, and a scoop net. This is a complete inventory of their best furnished houses. To these indeed may be added such pre-

sents as they have received or stolen from the ships; but as these have nothing to do with the peculiarities of the country, and are never used by them, it is unnecessary to enumerate them.

Edeah had many of this latter kind; such as old saucepans, frying-pans, and grid-irons; she wished much to exchange them with me for gunpowder, but I declined her pressing offer. They were scattered about her house like so much lumber.

Their careless manner of sleeping cannot much conduce to their health. Without any attention to damps, or the moistness of night air, they throw themselves carelessly on the ground, which must produce many of those disorders they, in their ignorance, impute to European contagion.

From the best information I could obtain, their government is regal, and hereditary. The power or ambition of an enterprising chief will indeed often disturb the regularity of succession; but the principle of hereditary government seems to be fundamental. The usurper, if sufficiently powerful, transmits the supreme power to his son. Such was the case in the usurpation of Pomarre.

The common people may be said to possess little or no property; for, should they happen to possess any thing of more than ordinary value, the king seldom fails to hear of it through the medium of the miscreants by whom he is surrounded. The article is then demanded for his use, and it is prudent in the owner to submit. Reluctance is construed into an act of rebel-

lion; and the object is thenceforth marked, and in all probability becomes the next human sacrifice; the common people complain heavily, and with great justice, of these rapacious sycophants, who plunder as often for themselves, as for their master*.

* The continued acts of oppression that have been exercised by Pomarre since the death of his father, has, exactly as I had foreseen, brought upon him a just and merited punishment. — The whole people, unable to endure their hard lot, and stimulated by a desire of liberty and of vengeance, had recourse to arms; and after various engagements, in which they were always successful, at last drove him and the whole of his partisans from the island. The missionaries, alarmed, and under the most serious apprehensions for the safety of their lives, came to a resolution of abandoning the island, and retiring to Port Jackson. Our readers are here presented with their own narrative, as published in the Evangelical Magazine for October 1810.

“ OTAHEITE. — The members and friends of the Missionary Society will doubtless recollect, that we formerly communicated to the public the painful information that, in consequence of a civil war which had broken out in Otaheite, the greater part of the missionaries judged it to be their duty to withdraw from the fury of contending parties to Huaheine, a neighbouring island. The directors have long continued in anxious suspense respecting the result of the conflict, and the circumstances of the missionaries. They have, however, recently received information, that in consequence of the repeated defeats of Pomarre, the king of Otaheite, and the total loss of his authority, the four single brethren, who continued there after their companions retired to Huaheine, were under the necessity of following them; and after waiting there several months, without the probability of being able to resume their labours, the whole body of the missionaries, two excepted, left the island, October 26, 1809, in a ship from Port Jackson; and arrived there February 17, 1810. The following extracts will more fully narrate this afflicting event:

*Extract of a Letter from the Missionaries, dated Sydney, New South Wales,
February 24, 1810.*

“ You have probably been informed that a civil war had occasioned the removal of most of us to Huaheine, in November 1808; and a short letter was sent at that

No one is allowed to approach the king without uncovering their head and shoulders as low as their breasts: not even their own parents are exempted from this act of homage. Europeans alone are excepted from this strict rule. In travelling, the king

time, giving an account of our circumstances, by the *Perseverance*, the vessel which providentially afforded us the means of saving our lives, and some of our property, by giving us a passage to Huaheine.

The open rebellion broke out at Taheite, in the district of Matavai, in the night of the 6th of November; and soon spread throughout the island. The families, together with the single brethren, Davies, Tessier, and Warner, made their escape. The brethren Hayward, Nott, Scott, and Wilson, staid with the king; but were soon obliged to flee to Eimeo, where the king shortly after followed them, having been defeated in an engagement with the rebels.

By this time our houses were burnt, our gardens and plantations demolished, our cattle seized, and a great quantity of the Society's property, (which could not be put on board the *Perseverance* in time), plundered and carried away. In the course of a few months, the brethren at Eimeo, joined those at Huaheine, brother Nott excepted, who staid with the king.

After the departure of Pomarre and the missionaries, the Taheiteans resolved to seize the first vessel that should touch at their island, in order to get powder, &c. In the execution of this resolution, they have been but too successful; for the *Venus*, from Port Jackson, fell into their hands. They killed the first mate, and threw all the rest of the crew into the sea; but afterwards saved their lives, and made them prisoners. Captain Campbell, formerly of the *Harrington*, but now of the *Hibernia*, retook the *Venus*, and ransomed the crew. He himself narrowly escaped being murdered; and the *Hibernia* would have fallen into their hands but for a letter written by the brethren and the king while at Eimeo.

“ The king, having returned to Taheite in the *Hibernia*, again engaged the rebels; and was again defeated, with the loss of twenty-four of his warriors. After the battle, which was fought in the district of Farna, he retreated to Pare; and resolved to act on the defensive, and keep his ground, if possible, till the arrival of a reinforcement from

and queen are carried on the shoulders of their attendants; this custom, however, only continues till the performance of certain ceremonies, such as his coronation, circumcision, &c. &c.

They are on no account suffered to walk but on particular spots kept sacred to their use. Should they enter any house

Raeatea and Bollabolla, which he was the rather induced to do, as there was a great scarcity of food at Eimeo.

“ Taheite being in such a distracted state, and it being very probable that Pomarre would never recover his authority, but that anarchy and confusion would spread through the Society Islands—the consideration also of our little success, together with the many other discouragements, determined our minds; and it appeared to us to be the plain path of duty to take a passage in the *Hibernia* for New South Wales.”

Signed, JOHN DAVIES, for the Missionaries.

A subsequent Letter, dated New Sydney, March 5, 1810, has likewise been received; from which the following is an Extract.

“ Having a few days ago written to you, giving an account of the causes of our removal from Taheite and the Society Islands, and our safe arrival in this colony, after a tedious and dangerous voyage of sixteen weeks, by the way of the Fejees, we now add a few particulars to be sent by the present conveyance, reserving our journals till the next opportunity, when Commodore Bleigh sails for England, as he has kindly promised to take charge of them. We anchored at Sydney Cove, February 17; and on the 24th of the same month, the Northumberland Schooner, Mr. Halford, master, returned hither from Taheite and the Society Islands; by whom we received some letters and property, which had been forwarded from hence for the Taheitean Mission.

“ Of the property we have received a part, but in a damaged condition, the cases having got wet on board. Brothers Nott and Hayward, who continued at Hauheine, have kept a part for themselves, as will appear in our Journals.

“ The Dowdeswell, a vessel by which we understand sundry articles were sent for us, has not been heard of, neither here nor at Taheite.

but their own, it must be immediately pulled down. It was from this cause, that, though Otoo and myself were next-door neighbours for several months, he never visited me, but sent for me five or six times in the day, and most commonly on some childish errand.

“ Now we are here, we are willing to wait to know your mind on the subject, and to return to our former station, in case such measures are adopted as are likely, in the common course of things, to secure the permanence of the Mission. It is with grief of heart we look back, and review the many years we have spent in it—the dangers we have gone through—the labour we have bestowed—and the expenses that have been incurred; and all apparently to no purpose!”

“ NEW SOUTH WALES.—Mr. Hassal, of New South Wales, in a letter to the Editor of the Evangelical Magazine, dated May 9, 1810, says, “ We find, by a vessel just come “ in from Otaheite, that the war is still continued; and that it is dangerous for any ship “ to visit the island; for the rebel party are determined to take every vessel that falls in “ their way; as they have a great aversion to the English, on account of the attachment “ they have shewn to Pomarre.”

The death of Peter the Swede, their old general, who had so often led the royal party on to battle and to victory, would be severely felt upon this occasion, for he was of himself an host! The natives, from his savage fierceness, dreaded his very name; and in all cases of emergency, Pomarre's party looked up to him as a deliverer.—This event took place some time previous to these insurrections, and Otoo, now driven to despair, and abandoning all hopes of ever being reinstated, has made, it is said, an offer of ceding the island to the governor of New South Wales—and here I have no hesitation in asserting, because I am confident of it, that a single company of disciplined Europeans, under the command of an able leader, aided by a few light field-pieces, would subjugate the whole island in less than a fortnight. I wish, however, to be clearly understood, that, although I have mentioned this circumstance, I by no means recommend its adoption, unless it were for the purpose of compelling the natives to lay aside their horrid and inhuman practices of infant murder and human sacrifices.

The king's deputies, having absolute power, lord it with a very high hand; they are proud and ostentatious, and, besides their own wife, have generally two or three of the finest women in the country as concubines. Unmarried women of rank have also their favourite gallants, with whom they cohabit at pleasure; nor does this practice excite either surprise or censure. I was informed that, since my departure, the king's wife had twins by one of her attendants. They were both murdered; and she herself is since dead. Edeah, the mother of Otoo, has had several children since her separation from Pomarre.

These devoted infants are all strangled at the moment of their birth, according to the practice of the infamous Arreoyo, of whom the royal family are the chief members. They allege as their excuse, that they are the offspring of a base connection. They do not consider this abominable practice as having any criminality; and many of them will frankly acknowledge how many they have killed.

It appears, that a far greater number of females than males fall a victim to this national depravity. This may be imputed to two causes: in the first place, it has been invariably so practised by their ancestors; and secondly, the greater difficulty and restrictions which are required in bringing up a female than a male. When reproaching Pomarre with this barbarous and inhuman practice, he alleged in reply, that should all the children

born be reared to maturity, there would not be a sufficiency of food on the island for their support.

The Arreoyoys are a society so licentious and profligate, as to call loudly for punishment, even from the Divine power. The very principle of their union is the community of their women, and the murder, at the moment of their birth, of all their issue of both sexes. By a strange and most lamentable perversity of mind, these wretches are venerated as a superior order of beings, and are treated as such wherever they go. I am persuaded that the example of these murderers extends this horrible mischief beyond themselves: the common people of all countries usually judge, and in consequence act, more from the example of their superiors, than as guided by their own reason. The Otaheiteans may thus be led to imitate what they see in their Arreoyoys. I believe, throughout the whole island, it is a matter of choice, whether a child shall be brought up or murdered. This mischief is inconceivably great; their dissolute and abandoned principles spread like a pestilence; and, what renders it still worse, they rove from island to island, and every where disseminate the same poison. I find it difficult to speak of this abominable set without horror. Would it be credited by any one who received it on less authority than that of the testimony of one navigator, confirmed by a series of others in succession, that there existed on the surface of the globe a people who, deaf to the instinct of

nature, and the clear reproach of even the brute creation, can thus murder a whole race of infants, and consign to death the little beings whom they have been instrumental in bringing into life!! I scarcely expect to be believed by an English mother, yet true it is, that an Arreoy mother is no sooner delivered of her child, than she in general murders it.

The priests have great influence over the minds of the people; they are highly respected by them, and officiate at the *morais* in all religious ceremonies. Being considered as servants of their deities, they have an ample opportunity of imposing on the minds of the ignorant natives, and they understand their interest too well not to avail themselves of it. They thus persuade them that the power of life and death is in their hands, and that to offend them, and call down their execrations, is dreadful. The great chiefs are for the most part priests themselves. They employ this advantage with much dexterity to extend and confirm the obedience and reverence of their subjects. They make them believe that their anger is mortal, and thus nothing is so much dreaded by an Otaheitean as to offend a great chief. The minds of the people are thus kept in continual terror by these artful villains. Pomarre understood this craft, and employed it with unexampled dexterity. He was the most arrant juggler amongst them on the score of religion; but he had the prudence not to pretend that his power reached to us. He was in this respect an arch impostor.

Their *morais* are a kind of refuge for criminals of every kind; they fly to them when in any imminent danger, and, according to the custom of the country, must not be taken from thence. In a word, these people may be said to be stupified with superstition, adhering invariably to the usages of their ancestors.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Miserable State of the Island.—Diseases.—Causes of the gradual Decrease of Population.—Trick played on the Captain.—General Propensity to Theft.—Reception of Strangers.—Evenness of Temper.—Generosity amongst Themselves.—Little Jealousy with regard to their Women.

TO any man of humanity, nothing can be more distressing than to cast his eye on the island of Otaheite, a spot blessed by nature with every thing that can render life pleasing; fertility of soil, and serenity of climate; but now become a scene of general mortality, and a prey to disease, which to all human appearance, in a few years, must render it a desolate wilderness untrodden by human feet.

They impute the greater part of these diseases to their European visitors, but for the most part very absurdly, though indeed we must

take our share. There can be no doubt but that thousands of them have been swept off by the venereal disease since their intercourse with Europeans.

At the time of our leaving the islands, many of these unfortunate objects were in a state truly pitiable, through this disorder, though the missionary surgeon, a gentleman of great humanity, spared no efforts to alleviate their misery. But it was a very difficult thing to persuade them to adhere to his prescriptions. They have a violent antipathy to medicines of all kinds, and, what is equally against them, they are no sooner taken with the disease, than they are deserted, and left to shift for themselves. In this helpless condition, their chance of recovery is small indeed. Whenever the missionaries speak to them respecting salvation, they fondly think that it is to be saved from sickness, and to abide in this world: the salvation of the soul they effect to despise; and the resurrection of the body they ridicule as extreme folly.

I am persuaded that they were far more happy in their primitive state, than since their acquaintance with Europeans. Another most dangerous malady amongst them is the intermittent fever, peculiar to the country; this is very prevalent, and, from their manner of treatment, or rather neglect, very fatal. However ill they may be, it is with the greatest difficulty that they can be persuaded to forego the water. The dysentery is also common; and when once it seizes them, seldom fails to be fatal. Many of them were suffering from the scrophula, which breaks inwardly, and wastes them like a

consumption. Rheumatisms and agues are diseases to which their excessive fondness for the water renders them peculiarly liable; and we have already mentioned, that their careless manner of taking their night's repose, heedless equally of cold or damps, is also a fertile source of these complaints. Their only means of alleviating pain is by gently squeezing and rubbing the part affected; this method is general amongst all the islanders.

Besides the disorders above mentioned, they have many others, with which I am unacquainted, but which doubtless have their share in the destruction of the population.

But the most effectual instrument of the annihilation of these people is the horrible practice already noticed, that of infant murder, and human sacrifices. It is computed that at least two thirds of the births are thus stifled. In vain does nature raise her voice against what long usage and profligacy, confirmed by habit and example, has so barbarously induced. If the future diminution of these people keep pace with that of late years, and particularly during the time of my abode among them, the population must soon be extinct. The missionaries made the tour of the island twice during my residence, in each of which they numbered the people; and, according to their first calculation, they were seven thousand, but in the second, they very little exceeded five.

This mortality cannot be too seriously, however uselessly, lamented. So blind are these poor wretches, that, incapable of comprehending that the true cause of this evil must be attributed to their

own practices, still they scruple not to impute them all to their intercourse with Europeans.

Three of the royal family died during the time we were resident in Otaheite. Paitia and his wife the queen, the handsomest woman on the island, died soon after my departure. Upon the whole, I cannot but think that the vengeance of God has already fallen upon these people. Otoo is the last of his family.

Nature, who is a kind parent to all her children, has, in Otaheite, so mingled her bitters with her sweets, that the lot of the Otaheiteans is not superior to the rest of the world. If their land be fertile, and their climate serene, their physical temperament is an indolence which renders these natural gifts ineffectual. Their king and chiefs are tyrannical, and surrounded by sycophants. Is there any gift of nature which can overbalance such oppression! What a contrast between these people and ourselves! Whilst all their faculties are benumbed, as well by their natural ignorance, as by the stupifying influence of their government, we are hedged round by happy laws, and secured against all invaders, however powerful.

These people, to speak generally, possess an amiable openness of manners, which cannot fail to impress a stranger with a very favourable opinion of them. But let such strangers rest assured, that they will not fail to impose upon them to the utmost of their power. They will moreover never suffer an opportunity of stealing to pass neglected. The chiefs being on all these occasions the receivers, the article stolen is almost always irrecoverable.

The captain with whom we embarked for Port Jackson experienced the truth of this assertion. Having brought with him some land turtles, the Otaheitean chiefs expressed a strong desire of having some left amongst them. They doubtless expected that the captain would make them a present of them, as had been done by other navigators, with regard to animals of more use. This gentleman, however, having no obligation to them, and no particular end to accomplish, was not inclined to gratify them, but in the way of bartering one or two for hogs. The Otaheiteans did not expect this; they therefore shifted their ground, and contrived the following stratagem. Two of Pomarre's servants came with their master's compliments, and requested two turtles, and that the captain would send word by the bearers how many hogs would content him in exchange. It should be mentioned that Pomarre was at this time at Attahooroo. The captain had no great opinion of this business, but was persuaded to trust to Pomarre's word; the turtles were accordingly sent under the charge of a European who had been long resident on the island, and was therefore well acquainted with the language. He was strictly charged not to return without the hogs.

The European and the two men from Pomarre proceeded on their journey; but they scarcely had gone two miles, when they desired the European to return, adding, that his attendance was unnecessary, as they would deliver the turtles themselves. The man mentioned the hogs to be delivered in return, and insisted upon accom-

panying them; till they began to handle him somewhat roughly, and enforced his compliance in a manner which he thought it not prudent any longer to resist. The fellow, being something of a coxcomb, and confident in his abilities for negotiation and management of the natives, had undertaken this embassy with great promises that they should not deceive him. It was ludicrous to see the fallen air with which he returned to the ship. It appears to me that the whole of this affair was a contrivance of the chiefs without the participation of Pomarre. I have mentioned it at full length, as being illustrative of the tricking genius of the people.

Often have they tempted our people to desert, by fair promises, and as often given them up for the promised reward.

The chiefs give them much credit if a business of this kind is done with such dexterity as to elude detection; but if discovered, join in the reproach. Though such arrant thieves in their intercourse with us, I believe they are more honest in their dealings with each other. When upbraided with the word thief, they retort, that they are not worse thieves than many of our own countrymen, alluding to the convicts at Botany Bay.

There are no greater thieves in the country than Otoo's attendants. Such are the chief men in the country, and such the priests and governors. The depravity of the common people need be no subject of astonishment, when such is the example of their superiors. They either do not believe thieving to be a crime, or, if they are persuaded that it is such, flatter themselves that

their priests can absolve them. They are, one and all, a country of thieves.

Their manner of addressing strangers, from the king to the meanest subject, is courteous and affable in the extreme. The chiefs are exceedingly proud, and fond of parade: they seldom fail to receive a stranger with the appearance of the utmost hospitality, and to render him all the good offices in their power. Their hospitality, however, as may well be conceived, has not much refinement; they never fail to expatiate largely on whatever they give, doubtless with the purpose of exciting a return. Upon further acquaintance, many of their amiable qualities disappear, and, amongst others, their disinterestedness.

They certainly live amongst each other in more harmony than is usual amongst Europeans. During the whole time I was amongst them, I never saw such a thing as a battle; and though they are excellent wrestlers, and in their contests give each other many a hard fall, the contest is no sooner concluded, than they are as good friends as ever. Their frequent wars must be imputed to the ambition of their chiefs; and were it not for the restless disposition of these men, I am persuaded that war would be almost unknown amongst them.

I never remember to have seen an Otaheitean out of temper. They jest upon each other with greater freedom than the Europeans; but these jests are never taken in ill part. They are acute observers of the manners, actions, and even looks of strangers; and if

they have any singular imperfections or oddities, they will not fail to make themselves merry at their expence.

Their even temperament of mind and humour must be imputed in part to the effect of their happy climate. Another cause is doubtless their total want of care or thoughtfulness; nature having provided them with every thing necessary to sustenance, and the fertility of their soil requiring no cultivation. Hence there is nothing of that constant anxiety of providing for the first demands of nature, which gives that active motion to every individual of civil society; and which is the source, and the only source, of all the destructive passions of life.

With regard to food, it is, I believe, an invariable law in Otaheite, that whatever is possessed by one, is common to all; at least I never saw an instance to the contrary amongst all our numerous visitors. The first possessor indeed usually came off with the least share. I scarcely know how to reconcile this generosity with the selfishness of their conduct in their intercourse with strangers; except that of acting more from what may be called sentiment, or natural feeling, than moral perception of right and wrong. They have one system of action amongst themselves, and another in their society with strangers.

Their manners, generally speaking, bear a great affinity to those of the other Society Islands; and none of them observe any faith with strangers. Their own interest is here their sole consideration.

Upon the arrival of the missionaries, they received them in the most cordial manner; professing the greatest reverence and regard as well to the men, as the doctrines they were about to disseminate. The missionaries, deceived by this reception, hailed it as a happy omen of the success of their mission; and commenced their labours of conversion in high spirits, and boundless hopes. The chiefs encouraged them by saying, that their *parrow*, or talk, was very good. The high priest however, after some attendance, suffered a remark to slip, which explained their secret opinion; that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but few axes. They doubtless thought that their constant attendance entitled them to presents. It appears to me, that in this respect, they have become very little improved.

Their general idleness is never interrupted but on the arrival of a ship. Every thing then is bustle and activity; they are then as busy as pedlars in fair time; every one has something to exchange in traffic; the husband not unfrequently brings his wife to market. Pomarre himself was as great a factor as any of them in the article of Otaheitean beauty. In one of my evening walks, I found him accompanying ten or twelve young women to the beach, commanding them to go on board a certain ship at that time lying in the bay, and not to fail in bringing him plenty of powder in the morning. They all willingly obeyed his orders, for the thing is so common, that it has become a constant and familiar practice.

The arrival of a ship brings them to the scene of action from

every quarter. Many of them then meet at Matavai who have not seen each other for some length of time. The ceremony of these meetings is not without singularity: taking a shark's tooth, they strike it into their head and temples with great violence, so as to produce a copious bleeding; and this they will repeat, till they become clotted with blood and gore. I cannot explain the origin of this custom, nor its analogy with what is intended to be expressed. It has no other meaning with them than to shew the excess of their joy. By what construction it is considered as symbolical of this emotion, I do not understand.

The situation of the missionaries amongst them was very unpleasant. A ship, however, no sooner arrived, than they were employed by them to negotiate the exchange and barter. Should every thing in this business not be to their satisfaction, a thing that almost always happens, from their insatiable avarice, the missionaries must bear the reproach. They cannot have exerted their interest with their countrymen, or they might have procured them better bargains, is the general retort of these covetous beings. It is in vain for the missionaries to answer, that they have no power over the property of others. An Otaheitean is not very easily convinced, when he is resolved to retain his first opinion.

If the missionaries should convince them of the sincerity and earnestness of their efforts to procure them articles suited to their wishes, the blame is then cast upon the captain. He is then every thing that is bad; *ahow tata, ahow tata*, a very bad

fellow, a very bad fellow; or *tata perre, tata perre*, a stingy fellow; which words they repeat with great emphasis, and ludicrous grimace.

Money being a thing of arbitrary value only, it is of little consequence of what materials it is composed, so that the end is answered. Thus a piece of paper with us answers all the purpose of the finest gold; and from being a blank the moment before, it may in a few minutes be transformed into tens of thousands. Thus the property introduced among them, on the arrival of the missionaries, was of much greater value to them than a ship-load of gold would have been to this country. Since that time they have wholly laid aside their stone hatchets, and bone implements for fishing; and those articles are now seen only as objects of curiosity, not as implements of general utility. While resident there, I was informed from the very best authority, that Pomarre had one of his men, who had picked up something of the blacksmith craft from the missionary blacksmiths, employed in making axes, &c. upwards of twelve months. The arrival of these men amongst them will no doubt be a day long remembered as one of their good days. Their settlement was like that of a number of rich foreigners settling in an infant country, whom it was the highest policy of the natives to encourage by every possible means.

In the immediate vicinity of our house, was a beautiful plantation of cocoa-nut trees, consisting of some hundreds, planted by

Edeah and Pomarre, about the time of Captain Bleigh's visit and voyage for the bread-fruit tree. These trees have now gained such a height, that their branches, meeting at the top, form a most beautiful alcove. They are sufficiently dense to exclude the rays of the sun, and form one of the most pleasant walks in the island: it was so at least in my estimation. Travelling in the interior is very troublesome, both on account of the heat and the long grass, as well as a kind of bur, which is very abundant, and is called *Pe perre* by the natives.

The ground sacred to Otto, and his brother, the king of Teiaraboo, adjoins this grove. Edeah, Paitia, and Awlhow, the sisters of Pomarre and Paitia, and mother to the two queens, all reside in the neighbourhood. This was therefore the royal residence and Otaheitean court; and if there was any thing of civilization in the country, it would be most natural to expect it here. But there was absolutely nothing of the kind, nor any appearance of its first degree. They were as absolutely remote from civilized life, as at the period of their first discovery.

CHAPTER XXXV.

*Stupidity of Otoo.—Otaheitean Numerals.—Human Sacrifices.—
Horrid Instance of Treachery.*

IT must yet be a very long period of time before the Otaheiteans can arrive even at the very first elements of civil life; or their language be reduced to any regularity, either with respect to alphabetic characters, or to be grammatically written or spoken. There are but few of them can be taught to pronounce, in any resemblance, the letters of our alphabet. Otoo could indeed compass a few, but there are many letters which neither he nor any other Otaheitean could articulate.

Such are the letters C, K, S, Q, X, and G. Our V, they pronounce B, and C they soften into T. Thus Captain Vancouver, is *Taptain Bantouba*, and Captain Cook, *Taptain Toote*. The royal admiral, is *Ram-mi-rell*, Porpoise *Po-pi-tie*. The Russian names of Tschitschagoff and Millarodovitch, they could not compass if the whole armory of the Tower were given them as a reward.

Very good fellow, very bad fellow, were the plainest words that Otoo could articulate; *haremi de rum*, bring hither the rum; and a very few others. He would sometimes send to the mis-

sionaries for pen, ink, and paper, but used them as a child, making scrawls and scratches. On some occasions I have been sent for to witness his proficiency, but I ever found him more attentive to a book of pictures, than to his reading and writing. He could indeed very imperfectly form some of the letters of the alphabet, but it *was* very imperfectly, and I am of opinion that there are but small hopes of improving the natives through his example, or that of any of his family.

When he had any message to communicate to the shipping, he usually applied to Mr. Jefferson or some other of the missionaries, to transmit it by the paper, *parow*, or note; the purport of this was usually a demand of the *ava Pretanee*.

The Otaheitean numerals are as follow: *attachie*, one; *arroua*, two; *atora*, three; *aha*, four; *arima*, five; *aveneu*, six; *ahita*, seven; *avarrou*, eight; *iva*, nine; *ahourou*, ten. Eleven begins the same as one, with the addition of *de halla* affixed, and so on till they come to twenty; when they add *ahourou*, signifying ten, till they arrive at one hundred, which they seldom exceed.

Another method they have adopted of making a stranger, who is unacquainted with their language, understand their meaning, is by tying as many slips of the cocoa leaf into a bundle, and presenting it to the person with whom they are bargaining, signifying by this what number of any thing they require; and what number of hogs, &c. they intend giving for a musket, powder, &c.

The human sacrifices are not put to death by their priests, as

many have been led to imagine; the executioner is usually one of the miscreants about the person of the king, and generally adds treachery to the horror of his murder. He calls upon the victim under the pretext of a visit of friendship, and, seizing his opportunity when the poor fellow is off his guard, knocks him down and kills him on the spot. An instance of this treachery and murder occurred whilst I resided amongst them.

One of the confidants of Otoo, upon our return from the Sandwich Islands, a fellow who visited us daily previous to our voyage thither, and who, on account of his influence with his majesty, we designated *Billy Pitt*, was advanced to the command of a district at some distance from Matavai. This man had been often importuned for a human victim, and as often excused himself by the difficulty of finding any suitable object within his district. This passed for a time, but the king, or rather Pomarre, at length insisted on his compliance. The wretch, now put to his shifts, and apprehensive of losing the smiles of his benefactor, found he could defer it no longer. He therefore sent a message requesting the immediate visit of a near relation. The unsuspecting man obeyed, and was received with the greatest friendship and cordiality by the treacherous chief, so that he departed enraptured with his reception. But he had no sooner left the house than the villain gave orders that one of his trusty agents should follow him, and, watching his opportunity, should kill him when off his guard. This was accordingly done as the man, unconscious of any

mischievous, was walking down to the beach. The body was then laid out in a long basket made of cocoa-nut leaves, and conveyed past our door. The natives in our yard beheld it with the most perfect apathy and indifference, and requested me to look at it as it passed; but I expressed my abhorrence of such an outrage on humanity, and refused to stir out of my doors till it had proceeded beyond my sight.

When the sacrifices arrive at the *morais*, the eye is scooped out, and presented on a bread-fruit leaf. The king holds his mouth open as if to receive it. They imagine that he thereby receives an addition to his strength and cunning.

Upon great solemnities the chiefs of every district bring one or more of these human sacrifices; it was supposed that not less than from twelve to fifteen would be offered at the inauguration of Otoo. The bodies, after the ceremony of the sacrifice, are removed to the *morais*, and there interred.

When upbraided with this most horrible practice, they never want an excuse. They allege that the victims were bad men, and men to whose crimes their lives were just forfeits. But in my opinion this is only one of those excuses which, on every occasion that requires an excuse, these people have ready-made for the purpose.

Perhaps there are none in the world who carry their liberality to their gods to greater excess than these people. They think nothing too good for their divinities. Every calamity with which

an Otaheitean is afflicted, is considered the immediate effect of the vengeance of their gods. Sickness, want, bad success in war, or the anger of their kings and chiefs, have no other origin than in some offence or neglect of their gods. Thus we find even Pomarre himself labouring under the same superstition, entreating us earnestly to fire some cannon, in order to appease the wrath of his gods whom he was fearful he had offended.

There are a set of men in this country whose open profession is of such abomination, that the laudable delicacy of our language will not admit it to be mentioned. These are called by the natives *Mahoos*; they assume the dress, attitude, and manners, of women; and affect all the fantastic oddities and coqueties of the vainest of females. They mostly associate with the women, who court their acquaintance. With the manners of the women they adopt their peculiar employments, making cloth, bonnets, and mats; and so completely are they unsexed, that had they not been pointed out to me, I should not have known them but as women. I add, with some satisfaction, that the encouragement of this abomination is almost solely confined to the chiefs. Otoo himself is a monster of debauchery. Their pollution in this respect beggars all description; my mind averts from dwelling upon a subject which recalls so many images of disgust and horror.

Whilst amongst them I saw two of their *mahoos*; the one in the train of Pomarre, the other was pointed out to me as he passed my house: observing me fix my eyes on him with a look expressive of

my abhorrence, he sneaked off without speaking. Their wickedness is enough to call down the immediate judgment of heaven; and let me not be thought too presumptuous, if I assert that the hand of God is visibly amongst them. Unless their manners change, I pronounce that they will not long remain in the number of nations: the sword of disease is no less effectual than the waters of a deluge!

With regard to health, peace of mind, and vigour of body, the missionaries stand on high ground; and must appear to the natives, (were they capable of observation), to be under the immediate protection of heaven, whilst they themselves fall around them like rotten sheep. Mrs. Eyre, at that time upwards of seventy years of age, was superintending her domestic affairs with a deal of ease, content, and happiness.

We cannot, however, take our leave of Otaheite, without expressing an opinion, that the slow progress of the missionary efforts has been principally owing to a collusion between the royal family, the chiefs, and the priests. They most probably are afraid of losing their influence over the minds of the people, should the introduction of Christianity be encouraged, and therefore totally set their faces against it. Had this not been the case, I think it is almost impossible but some converts must have been gained, for the virtues of these men speak intelligibly to the minds of the natives. Whoever will trace that universal depravity of character to its fountain-head, will find that the chiefs are at the root of the evil; for these

people are in general proud of imitating the examples of their superiors. May the dawning of civilization, the precursor of Christianity, dispel the mist that pervades their minds, and shortly illumine not only them, but the whole race of Adam in every quarter of the habitable globe!

If I have been thus full, perhaps minute, in my relation of the manners and customs of the Otaheiteans, I have only to allege in excuse, that it is my wish to exhibit to my countrymen a complete picture of the island. And as all the Society Islands have nearly the same form of government, customs, &c. &c. a description of those of Otaheite will serve for the whole. The first navigators, in describing the beauty of the island, have been perhaps too partial in their judgment of their manners, or resided so short a time amongst them, that many of these peculiarities escaped their observation; and perhaps some of them did not exist at the time, for they have doubtless become much worse since their intercourse with Europeans.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Passage to Port Jackson.—Touch at the Friendly Islands.—Inter-
course with the Natives.—Some account of their Manners, Cus-
toms, &c. &c.—Arrival at Norfolk Island.*

WE took our final leave of Otaheite on the 2nd of September 1803, bending our course for the Friendly Islands. On our way thither we made Savage Island; and the wind being fair and a commanding breeze, we sailed within the distance of three miles of the shore. This island is moderately high, and well covered with trees. In various parts we observed large columns of smoke arising as from fires but newly lighted, and probably intended as a signal to the other inhabitants that a vessel was in sight. In passing along, we could perceive some of the natives perched upon the trees, in order to enjoy the sight; whilst others, after the vessel had fairly passed them, were running along the beach, (but at a secure distance), to obtain another view. This shiness on the part of the natives, might probaby have arisen from an affray with some ship being under the necessity of firing upon them in order to repel their hostility, which had thus taught them so much circumspection. We next made the island of Eoa, or Middleburgh, the easternmost of the Friendly Islands; and lay off and on the greater part of the day,

trading with the natives for cocoa-nuts and curiosities. These people, in their manners and appearance, have a great resemblance to the Sandwich islanders. Their canoes, if we except those of the Sandwich Islands, were the neatest I had seen in these seas. The people appeared to me to be persuaded that their curiosities were inestimable, for they observed no moderation in their demands. They traded as if they had been accustomed to extortion all their lives. They wanted axes and scissors in exchange for their worthless trumpery; but finding that they could not impose upon us, and that we would not give more than the worth, they agreed to our terms.

They brought off three women, doubtless with the intention of putting their favours up to sale; but here they were disappointed, as they could find no purchasers amongst the ship's company.

These women were very far from being handsome: they were stout, masculine, and hard-featured; and to all appearance past the meridian of life. They were much browner, and of a coarser make and complexion, than the Otaheiteans. These latter indeed are the most comely and soft-featured of any of the islanders in these seas. The natives, however, thought their beauty a very saleable commodity, and were apparently much disconcerted that they had to carry them back, after having taken the trouble of bringing them so far.

We purchased some clubs, paddles, and spears; but paid at least three times the price that they would have cost us at any of the other islands. We solicited them much to return to the shore, and

bring us off some hogs, yams, &c. as they said they had these articles in great plenty; but upon the return of the canoe which was sent upon this errand, they pleaded so many excuses, that it appeared evident to us that they had them not in the abundance they pretended. They recommended us strongly to go to Tongataboo, which we could already see, and which had a most beautiful appearance from this distance, being apparently as level and verdant as a bowling-green. They told us that there was great plenty of every thing we wanted, and that it might be procured cheap; at least we understood them so, as far as their jargon was intelligible; but as they had told us the same of their own island, we listened to them with little attention.

Fortunately for us, we had provided a tolerable stock at Otaheite, otherwise we should have had cause to repent our imprudence on reaching the Friendly Islands. It appeared to me, that a great and unusual scarcity must have at that time prevailed at Eoa, or they could not have withstood the temptation of our articles. We did not procure on this island above two dozen of the heads of the *oura*, or bread-fruit, a circumstance that leads me to suspect that it cannot be in such plenty here, as at Otaheite, having there never found any difficulty in obtaining as much as we wanted: perhaps it was at this time out of season. This bread-fruit, about four dozen of cocoa-nuts, one or two bunches of bananas, and a few sticks of the sugar-cane, was the whole we could procure at these islands.

The whole country, as far as we could observe, was divided into neat enclosures, and seemingly all in cultivation. This culture is, in my opinion, far more necessary here than in the Society Islands, as there appeared evidently a scarcity of the *oura*, or bread-fruit. We observed from the ship several houses; but being at so great a distance, we cannot venture to describe them minutely. As viewed through the glass, they appeared as if built in an oblong manner, somewhat resembling a long shed, apparently open at the sides. The war that has existed for some years on these islands, has been fatal to the population; according to report, these people give no quarter: indeed, their ferocity is visible in the very mould of their features.

Their language was nearly unintelligible to a Sandwich islander, and to two Otaheiteans on board, so that our traffic was conducted chiefly by signs. Their clubs were more ingeniously carved than any we had yet seen; even superior to those of the Sandwich Islands. The wood was black, hard, and heavy; somewhat resembling *lignum-vitæ*, or iron-wood. The carving must have required an unusual degree of labour; and if the value should be rated according to the time of the workmanship, we had them very cheap. I cannot say with what tools the carving could have been so neatly executed; if done with a shell, the time and labour must have been immense. But there is not amongst savages a more admirable talent than that of perseverance. Compared with a European, they will do very little at a time; but, to a

favourite object, they will return a thousand times, nor ever desist till they have accomplished their end.

The cloth of the Friendly Islands much resembles that of the Sandwich Islands both in colour and quality; but it is much inferior to that of the Otaheiteans. Indeed, the Otaheitean manufacture of cloth is the best to be met with in these parts.

The day now drawing to a close, the natives on board were ordered to return into their canoes. They flung themselves into the water apparently in great terror, and paddled in haste to the shore.

From the short visit we paid this people, it is impossible to say any thing with regard to their habits and manners; the uncommon ferocity of their looks, however, must excite an involuntary surprise at a first interview with them. This perhaps appeared more striking to us, as we had but then left the Otaheiteans, whose looks rather invite to confidence.

They pressed us much to go on shore; but as our necessities did not require it, and their features did not second their invitation, we thought proper to decline it. The apparent welcome of these people is never to be trusted; dissimulation is one of their chief instruments of treachery; but caution is perhaps needless in this instance, as their features are a sufficient index of their minds.

The island, generally speaking, is of an easy ascent; from the shore it rises gradually and gently to the highest ground, which

does not however exceed a moderate height. It may be seen ten leagues at sea. The method of tattooing usual in all these seas, was likewise practised here.

Two of the men who were trading with us affected to pass for chiefs; but as they exercised no authority over the others who were by the side of the vessel, we gave them no credit for their pretensions.

My opinion was, that the whole was a trick, and that these gentry were acting as a kind of decoy-ducks. upon this occasion, in order to induce us to prolong our stay. They will find themselves grossly mistaken, who, visiting these places from commercial or other motives, act with the inhabitants as if their characteristic was an honest simplicity. They are altogether the contrary; and as expert in swindling, as if they had lived in a civilized country. I assert, that throughout all the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the same general characteristic prevails; an absolute indifference to all right or wrong in their intercourse with strangers.

In conversation with the gentleman with whom I went passenger to Norfolk Island, upon the subject of the inhabitants of these islands, he chanced to mention the shipwreck of the *Argo* from China, with a cargo to Norfolk Island and Port Jackson. As I was acquainted both with the captain and the vessel, I felt an interest to learn something more of this disaster, and how and where he had met with it. I had before suspected that some accident had happened, as she ought to have arrived at least a

twelvemonth before. He informed me that the only surviving man of the whole crew was then on board the same ship with ourselves; and that he had at first taken him on board very unwillingly, suspecting that he was an impostor or fugitive seaman. But the poor fellow at length convinced him of the truth of his story; the particulars of which were as follow:—They had sailed with a cargo from China, and met with adverse buffeting winds, which had thrown them very far from their course. I think it is no improbable conjecture to suppose, that as the captain had so long been at sea, it was his intention to touch at some of these islands. The ignorance of the sailor is no objection to this supposition, as commanders do not always inform their men of their intention. The sailor, proceeding in his narrative, added, that the ship one night struck upon a reef of rocks to the north-west of these islands, and shortly became a total wreck.

After the accident, the natives plundered and destroyed every thing they could seize, and their plunder continued as long as any spoil remained for its object. The captain and crew landed at Tongataboo. One of those wars was at this time raging in the island, which, from their usual ferocity, must sooner or later exterminate the people. If this man's story is to be credited, the captain and the greater part of the crew fell victims in this contest, although not immediately on their landing. The captain continued some time amongst them, and, previously to his death, was wandering over the island naked and desolate as a native.

His late loss and present situation had almost deprived him of his senses, and rendered him, according to the poor fellow's description, a truly pitiable object. He said that the death of the captain, and the greater part of the crew, was caused by their being discovered in an attempt to escape from the island, but that some of them had been surprised and overpowered by the adverse party. The fellow himself had effected his escape in a canoe from which he had been taken by the captain of our vessel.

It is said that some of the missionaries, in their efforts to improve the condition of this people, had lost their lives. The remainder were providentially preserved by the arrival of a Spanish prize, on board of which was one of their brethren of the name of Harris, who, in despair of affecting any useful purpose, had left the Marquesas. He had joined this prize as a kind of navigating pilot at Otaheite, on her way to Port Jackson, and, in consequence of his interest, had procured the admission of the other missionaries on board, and thus, in all probability saved their lives. This information Mr. Harris communicated to me at Norfolk Island, and who is now in London.

These islanders were suspected of a design of cutting off the Duff whilst in the act of settling the missionaries.

I repeat, that happiness and independence no where exist. In all the islands we visited in those seas, there was not one of any magnitude which did not contain a greater or smaller number of petty chiefs, or, more properly speaking, tyrants, whose

ambition is productive of an eternal warfare. So much for the conformity of liberty with the state of nature! so much for their co-existence!!

Since that time, nearly the whole of the Portland's crew have fallen victims to the treachery of these islanders; and three of the sailors belonging to the Union, who landed amongst them, have been barbarously and inhumanly murdered.

Captain Campbell, of the Harrington, on his way from Otaheite to Port Jackson, in 1805, touched also at Tongataboo. He lay there four days, and conjectured that he observed a strong inclination of attack from the natives. Two of his Otaheiteans were invited, or rather decoyed on shore; but as Captain C. had suspicion of their designs, he adopted such precautions as appeared necessary for the safety of the ship and crew.

The Otaheiteans, after a detention of two days, were at last permitted to return, and reported, "That the chief had that morning arrived." In all probability a plan of treacherous operations had been entered upon; at least so was Captain C's opinion: but it was defeated by the vessel's immediately leaving the place. The greater part of our crew returned to Port Jackson by this vessel heartily sick of their Otaheitean *tayoes*. Although but transient visitors, it will be seen from the foregoing particulars, as well as from what follows, that we were not mistaken in the opinion we had formed of these people, when we said, in our former edition, that their countenances were a sufficient index of their minds.

The following short description of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Tongataboo, are collected from a person between two and three years resident amongst them.

Tongataboo, which is one of the groupe denominated the Friendly Islands, is situated close to Hapæ and Anamoie; with the inhabitants of either or both they are generally involved in war; in consequence of which the population of all the islands has suffered considerably, and is at present by no means numerous. Of this island, Ducava is acknowledged the principal chief, and is universally respected as such; but he is not, however, without a competitor in the person of a younger brother, who, without disputing, seems to be vested with the executive power, and shares his kinsman's dignity. The subjects of this dingy potentate are admitted to a plurality of wives, though few, if any, extend the licence beyond a pair; and this custom appears to be established upon a principle of policy, as the number of females exceeds that of the opposite sex in a two-fold proportion, owing to a continual depopulation consequent on destructive usages and perpetual warfare. Though strangers to any religious sentiment or notion, yet superstitious prejudices prevail amongst them in common with the inhabitants of other countries where the torch of reason has not yet extended its illuminating ray. Obstinately refusing to credit the possible existence of any other country than their own, they adopt, by common consent, the singular and ludicrous supposition, that such European visitors as have in too many instances unfortunately touched at their inhospitable

table spot have fallen in a state of exile from the clouds, and still retain the power of exciting thunder.

Devoid of every idea that could be productive of a probable inference, they regard a *Papa-range*, European, with a jealous eye, because his difference of complexion implies something preternatural. But as wanton barbarity, and a monstrous plea of necessity, are alike admitted in justification of homicide, their cannibal voracity, regardless of complexion, reduces all within their power to one unhappy level. To such an excess, as our informant declares, do they carry this abominable propensity, that, upon every visitation of famine, or extreme scarcity occasioned by an unfavourable season, they forsake their habitations, and fortify themselves in caverns as the only means of preservation against each other.

An Otaheitean now in town, who lived nearly three years amongst these people, assures me, that, throughout the whole of the islands, the inhabitants consider the victims slain in battle as a great delicacy; and, in times of scarcity, they are obliged to compress the abdomen to prevent faintness from hunger, or fill the stomach occasionally with substances not alimentary.

When in stronger parties, prowling at midnight in search of human prey, at such a season, none dare venture out by night alone, lest he should behold his friends and family no more; but this is the dernier resort, and is adopted only in the last extremity.

Upon their prisoners of war they exercise every inhuman torture, and afterwards greedily solace upon the wretched victim; and

frequently even boast, that such of the Portland's unfortunate crew, whom they treacherously inveigled and murdered on their shore, served to assuage their inordinate and cursed appetite.

Their general deportment to each other is not, however, forbidding or austere; their sports are athletic, and their persons nervous; they clothe partially, and never appear in a state of perfect nudity, which would not be permitted by their chiefs.

Their war-weapons consist of the bow and arrow, spear, and club. Their canoes are numerous and variously constructed; those used for the ordinary purposes of ferrying and fishing are small, but dexterously managed; and their war-boats, which possess much regularity of form, are very large and commodious. One of these was launched during the short period of the Union's stay, and was reported to be capable of carrying three hundred men.

The island produces vegetables, yams, cocoa-nuts, plantains, and bananas, in tolerable abundance, when favoured by the season; besides which the natives hold in high estimation the flesh of a small-sized animal of the dog kind, which many prefer to the finest fish. When consistent with safety, they reside in huts open on one or both sides, and roofed with the plantain leaf, laid firmly on coconut branches as rafters; and were they as studious in improving the gifts of nature as their own perfidy of disposition and manner, no doubt can be entertained that they might have lived a happy people, and maintained to the spot of their nativity, an exalted rank amongst the Friendly Islands.

And, now we are on the subject, we cannot omit a circumstance of a peculiar nature, which took place at Vavow, one of the neighbouring islands, in August 1801:—The last missionary ship on her passage from Otaheite to China, waving all intercourse with Tongataboo, made choice of the harbour of that island, which is represented as large and capacious, for the purpose of recruiting her stock of water, &c. &c. On clearing the harbour, they observed a large double canoe which had just arrived from the Hapæ Islands, and had a European on board. Curiosity led them to send the pinnace to hear the state of those islands; at one P. M. the pinnace returned with the European, who proved to be Mr. George Vashon, who was left at Tongataboo by the Duff. The pinnace had some difficulty in getting him, as the chief had given orders to take him on shore, and then destroy him, that he might not give information respecting several Europeans that had been murdered by them at the Hapæ Islands. He had made several attempts to get away previous to this, and was often on the point of escaping, but the vigilance of the savages rendered them all abortive.

What must be the emotions of this man's mind, and his gratitude to heaven and his deliverers, upon entering the pinnace! There is something of indispensible horror in the apprehension of being murdered by cannibals! it is akin to that of being torn to pieces by wild beasts, where death is but the least consideration.

An unusual scarcity seems to have existed, at this time, in the

island, which, although beautiful, did not afford them more than from fifty to sixty cocoa-nuts, from thirty to forty yams, and some plantain stalks; Captain Wilson very humanly left them a sow and boar for a breeding stock.

The Otaheiteans, to a man, are passionately attached to their own country, and believe it not to be exceeded by any nation in the world. If they have not iron, they say, they have cocoa-nuts; and if their cloths and tools are exceeded by the European articles of the same kind, what can exceed their bread-fruit! They are fully persuaded that we have no other purpose in visiting their island, but that we are half-starved at home, and that we come there to fatten, or, as they assert, to get handsome; in a word, Otaheite is the finest island in the world; and Pomarre the greatest man. Long may this happy prejudice continue! Where happiness is the fruit, of what import is it whether the root is error?

With these opinions, it will be no subject of surprise that they are but little inclined to leave their home. They are not, however, without some curiosity as to the habits and customs of neighbouring places; and they listen with eagerness to the marvellous reports of such of their countrymen, as have visited the Sandwich or other islands in those seas. We have before mentioned, that they do not take an equal interest in the accounts of the wonders of our country: considering Great Britain as a kind of another world, and one with which they have no concern or connection of interest, they pay little or no attention to what we say upon the subject.

Some of their boys, however, must be excepted from this remark: during their residence amongst us as servants, they had heard such wonders of England, and, in consequence, had formed so attractive an idea of it, that, on our re-embarkation, we found no less than three of them on board. They made strong interest with the captain to give them a passage to Britain.

Upon touching at Norfolk Island, in our way to Port Jackson, these boys were very eager for permission to go on shore; they all entreated that they might be allowed to see the Englishmen's *Fenowa*, or land. This permission was granted to one of the most intelligent of them, in the expectation of deriving some amusement from his curious remarks. We were not disappointed; nothing in fact escaped his observation: the military guard being under arms at the time of his landing, he was transported with a kind of ecstasy of astonishment and admiration. Twice or thrice he exclaimed in his country language, *Arahie my ty the tata poo pooey*, noble man, the man of the musket. He doubtless supposed, from the appearance of the soldiers, that they were superior to the rest of mankind.

Every one flocking around him, excited by his Otaheitean dress, he was invited into almost every house, every one offering him victuals, and pressing him to eat. This evidently gave him a better opinion of the Englishmen's country in point of provisions, than either he or his countrymen had ever before entertained.

Another subject of his lively astonishment was the great number

of children; he said there was six times the number which the women had in Otaheite. He now began to exclaim, that truly the Englishmen's was a fine country, but thought it a pity that there were no bread-fruit or cocoa-nut trees; he could not conceive how it was possible to live without these, as they appeared to him the indispensable necessities of life.

Here he found one of his countrymen, of the name of Oreo, who had lately arrived from England in the ship Albion, smartly dressed in the style of an English sailor. This man eagerly entered into conversation with him respecting the state of affairs in Otaheite, inquiring about the progress of the war, and its probable event.

It was easy to see that, from the knowledge which this man had acquired in travelling, he conceived himself far superior to any of his countrymen. He shewed the youth the riches he had amassed by such an adventurous enterprise; this wealth consisted of a musket, two pistols, a few axes and scissors, with some European clothing. The sight of this immense treasure had an evident effect upon the young Otaheitean; he now treated his countryman with more distant respect, apparently acknowledging him as a far superior man to himself. He appeared moreover pleased, that he himself was in so fair a way of becoming equally rich. The traveller told him many strange and marvellous stories of the beauty and riches of Britain, and the Otaheitean listened with equal rapture and credulity. The Otaheitean and Sandwich Island travellers for the most part enlarge prodigiously in their reports of what they

have seen. Before he left the shore, his mirth was much excited by the sight of some old women smoking. He mimicked them with great humour; his grimaces were truly ludicrous and expressive.

It is with pleasure I mention, that we here found that solitary individual, of whom we have formerly spoken, whose folly and timidity had inflicted on himself a punishment, of which we have few instances. He was now comfortably settled as a domestic servant with the beach-master, perfectly happy in himself, and giving the most perfect satisfaction to his employer.

We found the governor still persevering in his plans of improvement. Several public buildings had been added to those we left at our departure; and the water, which lay at a considerable distance from the camp, was now conveyed into the middle of the town by means of wooden pipes. This was a circumstance of the utmost public utility, enabling the cultivator and other branches of the community to follow their several avocations without interruption. Having spent the day very comfortably amongst my old acquaintances, who received me with the most cordial welcome, I embarked in the evening, and stood on our course for Port Jackson.

The islanders had been blessed with an abundant harvest. Both the military and convicts were on full allowance. Added to this, the governor, through his industry, and the encouragement given

the settlers in rearing stock, had at this time salted down upwards of twenty tons of pork; and was only waiting an opportunity of sending it to Port Jackson.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Admiration of the Otaheitean Boys on their Arrival at Port Jackson.
—Second Residence there.—Improvements in that Colony during
our Absence.*

ON making the land about Port Jackson, the Otaheiteans were again in raptures, probably thinking it was England; but seeing the barrennes of the country as they entered the harbour, and the scragginess of the trees, their spirits evidently sunk. Here again they looked at the trees for food, and seeing none, exclaimed in their own language, Very bad land, very bad country.

On coming to an anchor in Sydney Cove, there was a coach and four standing almost opposite the ship. This astonished them beyond measure. Each inquired of the other their opinion of this wonderful phænomenon. They concluded that it must be a travelling house; but they could find no name for the horses,

having in their country no larger animals than hogs, though some of them indeed were of an uncommon size, weighing from thirty to thirty-five score. The Otaheiteans therefore called them by the name of mighty hogs. A short time after this, the coach setting off at a good round trot, they exclaimed in ecstasy to each other, Oh! how they fly. At this time, it was impossible to recal their attention to any part of the ship's duty.

On the following morning, seeing the New South Wales corps under arms, they were in the most extravagant raptures imaginable; but when the band commenced playing, they began to leap about, their very eyes dancing in their heads with the vivacity of their sympathy. So enchanted were they with this sight, that had the governor then made his appearance, I am persuaded they would have regarded him only as a secondary character.

Shortly afterwards, some of the natives of Port Jackson paddled alongside in a canoe with some fish. The Otaheiteans were happy to see this, as it was a sign that the manner of living was in some respects according to the custom of their own country. They asked for some of the fish; never dreaming of a refusal, as it was the invariable custom at Otaheite to share every article of food amongst each other. They were mute with astonishment, when they learned, by a refusal, that every country did not in this respect resemble Otaheite. After some pause, however, the natives gave them a few of the fish; they gladly accepted them, and made a repast after their own manner.

On this, our second arrival at Port Jackson, after an absence of two years, we found that we were not the only shipwrecked mariners in this part of the world, but that others had also shared this melancholy fate. Immediately upon anchoring, we received the unpleasant intelligence of the shipwreck of his Majesty's ship *Porpoise*, and the extra ship *Cato*. This unfortunate accident happened on an unknown reef, about eight hundred miles to the northward, and had caused a general gloom throughout the colony. Another ship in company very narrowly escaped the same fate. Captain Flinders of the *Porpoise* had reached Port Jackson in an open boat with this information; in consequence of which, an extra ship on her way to China had been ordered to touch there by government, for the purpose of removing the unfortunate sufferers. Captain Flinders, however, had resolved on prosecuting his voyage homewards in a small colonial vessel built in the country, of about thirty tons burthen. This could not but prove a very difficult undertaking. No ships from the mother country, or any other nation, were at this time in the port; there was consequently no news: the dullness or animation of this place must depend entirely on the arrival of shipping. We had the satisfaction, however, of finding that the scarcity which had so long prevailed in the colony, had now given way to the plentiful supplies procured by the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the recent arrival of some transports from the mother country.

It was estimated, that the flour received from England through this conveyance, by the time it was landed in his Majesty's stores, reckoning every incidental expence, amounted to seventeen pence *per* pound; whereas, by a more liberal encouragement to agriculture, it might be had on the spot from three to four pence *per* pound, and all parties satisfied. This is political economy with a vengeance! But so it is when any government attempts to do every thing itself, and to become its own merchant, trader, and dealer. In a former part of our work we stated that the blame rested here: would it not therefore be highly prudent in the government, availing themselves of a plentiful year, to store twelve or eighteen month's stock in the public granaries, and thus preclude all danger of famine arising from the failure of crops or other casualties.

During my residence here in 1801, the district of Hawkesbury river, which may be termed the granary of New South Wales, was inundated. This circumstance reduced the colony to great distress, and proved the ruin of many of the settlers, whose whole dependence was on their grain. Hence one cause of the many litigations which then existed. Many of them at this time suffered severely by another scourge, a blight, passing over the country. Through such casualties as these the colony is often put to great distress, and even these inconveniences are much increased from their remoteness from England, or any of her other settlements.

As the abundance or scarcity of food in the colony depends principally upon the Hawkesbury settlement, when that fails, as it sometimes does in a course of years, the scarcity becomes then excessive. In 1805, in particular, the inundation of this river was so great, that, for many miles, the surrounding country presented nothing but one immense sheet of water. Owing to this very disastrous circumstance, the distresses of the colonists were such, that they were in the most extreme danger of perishing from absolute want. And what still added to the calamity, was, that in the ensuing seed-time, another partial inundation of that river took place, which is said to have washed the newly-sown corn out of the ground. These frequent visitations of Providence are more dreaded by the inhabitants than all the devastations of war. Superadded to this was still another calamity, namely, the loss of a ship of seven hundred tons burthen, which had been chartered by the governor, under the pressure of the times, to proceed to Bengal for rice and other provisions.

As the strongest of all human motives is interest, the fixing a maximum upon agricultural produce adds greatly to the distress of the colony, by the discouragement of the farmers.

Upon a close examination, it will be found, that the disasters and distresses of the colony were principally owing to the miserable parsimony and want of foresight in the provincial government. Why is not the harvest gathered immediately into gran-

aries, and placed beyond these contingencies, and particularly near Sydney. The governor, to whom the management of the purchase is confided, should act with less arbitrariness towards the farmers. The commissary should be allowed to avail himself of every opportunity for purchasing, and the produce should be brought immediately from Hawkesbury to Sydney in colonial craft, of which there are always enough in want of employment, and the freight is only one shilling per bushel.

Some objections may be raised, that it would be hard that government should be the losers by the wevil and other incidents, such as waste, &c. To this we reply—In addition to the mills already in the country, which are too few, and, from the heaviness of the materials, require a gale of wind to put them in motion, let floating mills be erected similar to those between London and Blackfriars bridges, and the corn ground down immediately; let the flour be packed in casks rubbed with camphire, and, when well headed up, it will resist the wevil for many years: such precautions as these would effectually guard against all incidents.

As the vessel in which we had come passengers from Otaheite was in a manner only beginning her voyage, it was necessary that we should a second time become residents in this colony. Our first inquiry therefore was after lodgings, as it was probable that our stay would not be of short duration. We could not indeed expect to get off till the arrival of the Calcutta, which, although daily expected, yet we knew too much of maritime affairs to

trust to any thing still in the hands of chance. After a lapse of a few days, we suited ourselves as well as people in our circumstances could expect.

During our absence from the colony in 1801, and our return to it in the latter end of 1803, many stone buildings had been erected, and the appearance of the whole town much changed for the better, the governor encouraging the erection of these edifices by all the means in his power. The discovery of lime-stone in various parts, at this time essentially contributed to the execution of these patriotic efforts. Many of the houses, which had been erected at the first settlement of the colony, were in a state of rapid decay; the governor, therefore, with a laudable provision for the gradual improvement of the town, prohibited the proprietors from rebuilding them in the old stile. If they were in circumstances to rebuild with stone, they were to do so; if not, they were at all events to introduce some improvement upon the ancient method, or the governor refused them his sanction and assistance. This plan has been adhered to ever since; and it may be said, that, in consequence of it, both the town and the houses have been renovated at the same time, and the colony as much improved as the property of individuals. The same rule has been observed with respect to public buildings. A new gaol, a new church, (both of which being formerly of wood had been burnt by some diabolical incendiaries), and, since that time, a new hospital, have been all built with free-stone, quarried on the very spot, almost, of their foundation.

Another object of improvement that presented itself, was a stone bridge, at this time building across the river. There was here a grand check upon many of the female prisoners, for those of the most depraved morals were consigned to carry large baskets of earth for the purpose of filling up the bridge, a task which kept them in great awe. Observing them in so degraded a situation, I could not help reflecting on the depravity of human nature, and the enormity of their crimes, which had thus subjected them to so exemplary a punishment. What effect must this have on the minds of the natives! Never was the task of a negro in the West Indies more irksome to them, than was this to these abandoned and infatuated creatures. Such a mark of public infamy was not a slight or temporary punishment, continuing for a few months; for, this being completed, their labour was not yet at an end! they would be shifted to another part of the country, there to commence something of the same nature. They have sundry other modes of punishing the incorrigible part of the community; such as shaving their heads, placing an iron collar about their necks, and drumming them round the camp. If these are severe examples, it is not more than they deserve; for most of the irregularities and depredations committed in the colony are occasioned by this class of strumpets.

Also during our absence, a new settlement had been formed on Van Dieman's Land, in the southern extremity of New Holland.—The vessel in which we came from Otaheite, was employed by government to carry thither stores and provisions for the new settlers,

together with a certain number of breeding stock, and a small military party under the command of a lieutenant.

On the second day after this vessel's departure, the colours were hoisted at the south head, the entrance of the harbour, as a signal for a vessel in sight. This proved to be a small schooner built from a part of the wreck of the *Porpoise*, commanded by an officer formerly of the *Investigator*. From him we had the agreeable intelligence of the safe arrival of the *Cumberland*, Captain Flinders, and the *Rolla*, the ship destined to remove the crew and stores of the *Porpoise*. Captain Flinders having made the necessary arrangements, and having selected what men he deemed necessary for navigating his little vessel, proceeded on his voyage to England; whilst the *Rolla* on the same day left the reef, bending her course towards China.

The government has very properly considered, that a regulated press is a main instrument of civilization, inasmuch as it at once excites and gratifies the desire of information. A new weekly paper, called the *Sydney Gazette*, and *New South Wales Advertiser*, had been established, being under the sanction, and of course under the supervision and controul of the government. Before this time, all the public orders, proclamations, notices, &c. were distributed in hand-bills stuck up in the public places of the town, or read by the clergymen from the pulpit during divine service.

After a short interval the colours were again hoisted as a signal for another ship in sight. The colonists on these occasions are

always in high spirits, the arrival of every ship being a matter of public and general consequence. They were at this time more than ordinarily exhilarated, in the expectation that it was a vessel from England. They had been long without having any intelligence from the parent country, and Botany Bay is not so remote as to be quite indifferent to the public affairs of Great Britain and Europe.

I had before observed, that it was by an American ship, touching at Norfolk Island for refreshment, that the colonies had learnt the first accounts of the preliminaries of peace. We now learned by a ship of the same nation, that hostilities had again commenced. A brig belonging to the Mauritius escaped only in time: there were several colonists passengers on board, who of course on their arrival would be made prisoners.

In our present situation, and from the great sameness of objects in an infant country, the time hung very heavy on our hands; every day we were anxiously looking out for the arrival of the Calcutta.

It has been mentioned in the former part of our narrative, that a high spirit of party existed between the governor and the military. A seed of the old leaven still remained. During my absence from the settlement, and the interval of my residence at Otaheite, this party spirit had been carried to a very great extent: caricatures and anonymous writings, reflecting on the conduct and person of the governor, had been dropped in several parts of the town and

country; but no inquiries, however assiduous, could detect the authors of these indecorous libels, and though there were evidently many concerned, the secret was faithfully kept.

It required no great penetration to see that things could not continue tranquil much longer, as the spirit of discontent was gradually accumulating. It is by no means my intention to enter upon topics of so much delicacy to all parties concerned; and more particularly as I myself have a high esteem for many individuals on both sides; indeed, if I were to express my opinion, it is that there were faults on both sides. The conduct of the governor was certainly irritating in an extreme degree.

At length the Ocean transport arrived very unexpectedly, bringing the intelligence of her having been chartered by the government at home, to carry stores and provisions for a new settlement, intended to be formed at Port Philip, in Bass's Straits. The government here seemed to be entirely ignorant of this circumstance; it was doubtless suggested by some gentleman at home. Having completed her charter with government, the Ocean was proceeding on her way to China, but accidentally fell in with an open boat in distress, despatched by the gentleman appointed governor of the new settlement. This boat had despatches giving an account of the unfitness of Port Philip for the intended settlement. Humanity induced the captain of the transport to grant the crew an asylum in his ship, and solely on that account had he visited this port. By the same channel we had the happiness to learn that the long-expected Cal-

cutta, instead of bringing prisoners to Port Jackson, as was expected, had landed them at Port Philip, and was there waiting till something final should be determined upon.

After having landed all the provisions, stores, &c. and an accurate examination of the adjacent country taken, which occupied much time, the situation was found wholly ineligible.

This ship was now chartered again by the governor of Port Jackson, to remove the stores and prisoners to the new settlement on Van Diemen's Land. Some small colonial vessels assisted in this business. Shortly afterwards, to our inexpressible satisfaction, arrived the long-expected Calcutta, for the purpose of discharging her cargo for this settlement, and taking on board a lading of country wood for naval purposes. The arrival of the Calcutta, and that of two other ships from India nearly at the same time, exhilarated the spirits of the colonists much, for, till now, they had been remarkably dull for several months. The colonists had added greatly to the number of their small craft since my departure.

At this time government had on the stocks, and nearly finished, a cutter of about sixty tons; there was moreover another of less dimensions, belonging to an individual, in nearly the same state of forwardness. Government was at this period establishing settlements in various parts of the country. A party under the command of Lieutenant Menzies of the royal marines was about to be established at Hunter's river, a station at a small distance to the eastward of Port Jackson. Here coals of a very good quality had been found

in strata of different depths: these coals resemble what in England is called canal coal. The vicinity of its situation to the sea renders it very convenient for conveyance to different parts of the colony; and a few tons of it, sent to the Cape of Good Hope, sold there at thirty rix dollars per ton.

At the time of my departure from New South Wales, Port Dalrymple was undergoing a survey for the purpose of forming there a new settlement; and it is with much satisfaction I can inform the public, that it was reported to be perfectly adapted to the intention of government. The report states, amongst other circumstances, that the situation of Port Dalrymple presented many advantages: abundance of fresh water had been found in different parts of the country, as likewise stone, timber, and lime for building. The harbour is reported to be capacious, and the neighbouring country presents a level extending many miles without interruption. It abounds in all parts with excellent fish, black swans, and other indigenous fowls. The climate differs but little from that of Port Jackson.

No metals have as yet been discovered but iron, which is contained in more or less quantities in the stone. The high price of labour will not admit at present any advantage to be derived from that metal. A fragment of the iron-stone indiscriminately picked up at Sydney, when smelted, yielded twenty *per cent.* but it is supposed in many places it would yield considerably more.

Salt has been found in a fossil state, but in very small quantities,

and scarcely deserving of notice. The country abounds in plants, many of which are entirely unknown to the botanist; but the colonists have not as yet found any species of vegetables which they could apply to culinary purposes. Nor have they found that the natives were acquainted with any thing of this kind, excepting the fern-root.

The most common indigenous animals of this country are, the dog, which is here of the wolf-nature, and much eaten by the natives. The kangaroo is likewise considered by them a great delicacy; and, in times of scarcity, was much sought after by the European inhabitants. They used it as a substitute for beef: it does not eat unlike it; and usually weighs from twenty-five to a hundred and forty pounds.

Amongst the four-footed animals might also be reckoned the flying squirrel, and the guana, which likewise serve as food for the natives. The birds are the parrot, the cockatoo, pigeon, and quail; and in the mountains eagles may be found, and a species of the bird of Paradise. These, however, are rare, and seldom fall into the hands of the natives, unless when taken by surprise, as their arrows are but ill-suited to the destruction of the feathered tribe.

Amongst the reptiles, are the different species of the snake; some of which are highly poisonous. The lakes abound in swans of a black colour, wild-duck, teal, and pelican. The coast and rivers are abundant in fish; from whence the natives derive their

principal support, and the European settlers much benefit.—— They are chiefly such as are to be found in tropical climates, as the mullet, &c. but others are peculiar to the country. To a few of the latter, from some fancied idea, the colonists have given ludicrous names: thus, the Light-horseman, from the head of that fish having some resemblance to a horseman's cap; and to another, the name of the Leather-jacket, from its skin bearing the appearance of leather.

Bass's Straits, since their discovery, have afforded employment for a number of hands, who are engaged by different individuals at Port Jackson, and carried thither in small colonial vessels. They are stationed in different places, in gangs of ten or twelve, more or less, to collect the oil of the sea-elephant, and seal-skins, with which the straits abounded on their first discovery.

These men are under articles with their employers, and in general go on shares, which is a strong preventive against idleness.

Their employers again are under a bond with government, to abide by the regulations pointed out for the preservation of order, and preventing them from making inroads upon each other.

As the elephants and seals grow scarce in one part, they are removed to a fresh ground by the small craft, which attend them for this purpose, and that of bringing the proceeds to Port Jackson. The Americans, getting scent of this, soon obtruded themselves; from which circumstance, and from the increasing num-

ber of adventurers on the same speculation, this business has been latterly on the decline.

The colonists consider this intrusion of the Americans as a very great grievance.

The elephant oil, next to the spermaceti, is said to be the most valuable of any. A mercantile gentleman resident in the colony, Mr. Robert Campbell, who, from his public spirit, and the general accommodation he affords the settlers, is deserving of every encouragement, was making up a cargo of it for this market. When we left the colony, he had collected about one hundred and eighty tons. The seal-skins are generally disposed of to American and other ships going to China, but latterly they have found a much more profitable market in England. Some few are tanned and worked up for various purposes in the country.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

State of the Country.—Grants of Land to Individuals.—Prices of Labour.—Orphan School for Girls, &c.

WE shall here introduce some other observations respecting this colony. The country having been originally covered with wood, and the stumps of the trees still remaining in the ground, agriculture is prevented from being carried on by the help of cattle. It is by manual labour only, and chiefly by the hoe, that the soil is cultivated, which much enhances the value of the produce. The cultivation of the country, therefore, has taken place but in patches, where some peculiar advantageous circumstances, as good land, a navigable creek or river, &c. has induced a family to settle. They hold their lands as a perpetual grant under the hand of the governor and seal of the colony; and the only clause is a quit-rent of two shillings and sixpence *per annum* for every one hundred acres, and a reservation of such timber for the crown as may be allowed fit for naval purposes. The quantity of land hitherto granted by the crown to settlers is twenty-five acres to a convict whose time is expired, and who has been allowed to settle; thirty to a private soldier; fifty to a non-commissioned officer; one hundred to a commissioned ditto; and one hundred and eighty to a free man from

England. But of late the regulation in some instances has been broken through, and government has been more liberal in their grants. The appearance of the farms bespeaks the industry of the owners, and every farmer keeps as many men as the produce of his land will admit of. The seed-time for wheat is from the beginning of April to the middle of May, and it is reaped in December. Indian corn is planted in the months of October and November, and pulled in April and May. The produce, of course, is different according to the various natures of the land, from twelve to forty bushels per acre. At Hawkesbury, the land, when first cultivated, is said to have produced sixty bushels per acre, but on calculation I did not make the average of the colony, in ordinary years, more than fifteen bushels per acre. The quantity of seed-wheat required is from one and a half to two and a half bushels per acre, and that of Indian corn two quarts per acre. Potatoes may be planted and dug throughout the whole year. The grape answers well, but is little cultivated in the country.

Great complaints being made by the settlers, that the price of grain and stock was no ways equal to the high demand of wages for people employed, to prevent impositions of this nature, previous to our quitting the colony, orders were issued regulating the different prices of labour, and what was deemed a week's work. The gangs in the different departments were to be at work by half-past five in the morning, to breakfast at eight, to return to labour by nine, and to work from that time till half-past three: for the re-

mainder of the day they were at liberty, every man to follow his own avocation, so far as relates to government. Settlers and others wishing to be accommodated with convicts as yearly servants, have to enter into a bond with government, obliging themselves to maintain and clothe them; and to allow them a ration of provisions and clothes equal to those issued from his Majesty's stores. In order that the party taking such prisoner into his service might be apprised of what labour he is to exact from him, as also the rates of payment established for the labour of freemen, the following are the regulations on that head:

	£.	s.	d.		A	R
Felling forest timber <i>per Acre.</i>	0	10	0	<i>a Wk's Wrk.</i>	1	0
Burning of ditto	1	5	0		0	65
Breaking up new ground	1	4	0		0	65
Ditto stubble or corn ground	0	13	4		0	130
Chipping in wheat	0	6	8		1½	0
Reaping ditto	0	8	0		1	30
Planting Indian corn	0	6	8		1½	0
Hilling ditto.....	0	6	8		1½	0
Threshing wheat <i>per Bushel.</i>	0	0	7		18	<i>Bshls</i>
Pulling and husking ditto.....	0	0	5		25	<i>Ditto.</i>
Yearly wages with board	10	0	0			
Wages per week with provisions	0	6	0			
Day's wages with board	0	1	0			
Ditto without ditto	0	2	6			

The day's work throughout the year, is fixed at ten hours, and six on Saturday. If a master employs any prisoner in his own time, his payment is not to be more than at the rate of one shilling *per diem*. Clothing for the convicts is issued twice annually, viz. in December and June. In December, each man is furnished with one frock, one shirt, one pair trowsers, one pair breeches, and one pair shoes: in June, with two jackets, two shirts, one pair breeches or trowsers, one hat, and two pair shoes. Masters not having an opportunity of clothing such prisoners, on application, are supplied with the above articles at the government price. By his agreement with government, the employer is to find sufficient lodging for such servant on his farm or habitation; nor is the prisoner to absent himself on any account, without leave from his employer.

If his master, or his overseer, has just cause of complaint against such servant, they are to report it to the sitting magistrate, and, on conviction, the delinquent receives a punishment proportionate to the offence. But though this may appear an easy rate of labour, freemen wanting employment will always find persons to engage them at double, nay, treble this rate; for, notwithstanding the above restrictions, they do, by one means or another, contrive to evade them. Indeed, in a country where so many labourers are required to carry on the public works, it is but few of the prisoners that can be spared to individuals.

During my residence in the colony at this time, the governor, with a party, made an excursion to the cow pastures. This, as the pub-

lic have long since been informed, is a part of the country into which a few cattle belonging to government had strayed shortly after the settlement of the colony, and remained there for several years, without the least traces whereby they might be discovered, enjoying a rich and luxuriant herbage. At length chance threw some one that way, when it was found that they had increased very considerably. Government, finding that they were multiplying in this manner, gave positive orders that no person whatever should molest them; so that by this time they had now multiplied to many hundreds. Whether they were led to this spot by instinct or accident, I will not take upon me to determine; but from report, this part of the country is excellently calculated for tillage, and has also the advantage of being well supplied with water. It is also said to abound in animals indigenous to the country, such as the kangaroo, cassawarree, &c. The extremes of the thermometer in the month of December, answering to our May, are from sixty-four as high as a hundred and ten degrees.

Respecting the rising generation in Botany Bay, as they are growing up, and have grown up, under such peculiar circumstances, there is an important obligation on the mother country to supply the want of domestic example, and to endeavour to form a virtuous people, even from such an unpromising stock.

It is therefore with peculiar satisfaction we take notice in this place of an institution in the colony, which does honour to the head and the heart of the promoter. It is a public seminary for the re-

ception of orphan children, or those of the more desperate and depraved of the convicts. We have before mentioned, that a considerable part of the expense of this institution is defrayed by a tax upon wine and spirits, and by subscriptions of the gentlemen and other respectable inhabitants of the colony. It is under the direction and superintendence of the clergyman (who is of the church of England) and several respectable inhabitants, who act as trustees and managers of its funds; and it must be observed, that their method of conducting it is such as reflects upon them the highest credit. The girls, to the number of sixty, are taught needle-work, reading, writing, and other domestic duties; and, throughout the whole, they are as strictly attended to as in many of the like institutions in this country. Besides this, there are two others, upon a limited scale, as day schools for boys, who receive also some assistance from government.

For its countenance and encouragement to the above institutions, the government is entitled to the highest encomiums; and it would be unpardonable here to omit the mention of the patronage and support which this benevolent system receives from the ladies of the colony. It must be said, indeed, to the credit of the sex, that they always stand foremost in every work of charity; and that such institutions have only to be commenced, to receive their zealous encouragement.

One great difficulty in the government of this settlement is to prevent the escape of the convicts. Scarcely a ship leaves the

port, without some attempt being made; and the failure of one is only the commencement of another.

Very severe is the penalty for carrying prisoners away, whose term of transportation has not expired. In 1809, the master of a vessel was fined £800, for having contravened the port orders, by secreting three convicts.

Some time after the formation of the colony, a party of prisoners having effected their escape in an open boat, and reached Timor, the example produced such an effect, that every one began to indulge the same hopes. The most ignorant amongst them were foolishly persuaded, that they had only to commit themselves to the winds and waves, and that they could not fail to fall in with the continent. In these attempts, after incredible hardships, and the death of the greater part of them, the remainder have in general surrendered, and again thrown themselves upon the mercy of the governor.

Their ignorance is indeed incredible: many of them have the notion, that, if they follow their course through the woods, they may reach China on foot. However, they have been so often undeceived, and suffered so much in these rash attempts, that they have at length acquired more discretion.

Many of the restless and seditious, who have been sent to this settlement, have not derived any increase of wisdom or prudence from their punishment; they are as restless as ever, and the peace of the colony is thus often interrupted.

The catholic priests, and a tribe of miscreants who live by fortune-telling, spare no efforts to foster this spark of rebellion. Before I left the island, upwards of two hundred of these desperadoes had actually raised an insurrection in the colony; and proceeded to such an excess of outrage, as to seize the arms and ammunition of the settlers. They were even proceeding to the attack of the government store at Hawkesbury, when a party of the New South Wales corps, under the command of Major Johnson, an old and experienced officer, after some parleying, reduced them to obedience. Several of the ringleaders, as may be naturally supposed, were made public examples of, but I fear the minds of their comrades were too much hardened to derive much advantage from this salutary admonition.

We most earnestly wish, that government would mitigate, in some degree, the severity of this gentleman's condition; he has spent the prime and vigour of his days in the colony, he has a large family, and we know him to be a man of an honourable mind.

To assist the military, and strengthen the hands of government in cases of emergency, the governor had embodied a company of volunteers, eighty strong. These men receive no pay, but draw a ration of provisions at the expense of government. They find all their appointments except their arms, which are supplied them by government also. The town of Parramatta furnishes fifty, on the same footing: those of Sydney were training under the direc-

tion of a gentleman formerly captain and adjutant in the New South Wales corps.

The usual method of payment in this colony, is by the barter of one commodity for another. Spirits, tea, sugar, and tobacco, are in greatest demand; and next to these, the manufactures and productions of the mother country. These articles are received in exchange to the greatest advantage of the seller. There is scarcely any specie in circulation. The most common money, if such it may be called, is the notes of hand of individuals, which, however respectable as in some instances may be the credit of the drawers, is very inconvenient to adventurers, who can stay only a certain time, and cannot expect to circulate such notes beyond the colony. There is, however, a good quantity of copper coin in circulation, which passes for double its value.

It is not to my present purpose to examine into the policy or inconvenience of this currency; but, however it may answer a local purpose, it is by no means so well suited to external trade. The colonists experience this to their no inconsiderable loss, upon any wholesale bargain with shipping.

It was a subject of great rejoicing, and general satisfaction to every rank of individuals, that, previous to our quitting the colony, the governor had made a purchase of some thousands of dollars from the master of a ship, and was about to issue them in payment for grain taken into the store. The happy possessors of this specie would thus be enabled to make advantageous bar-

gains with the Americans, or other ships proceeding to China. The want of a circulating medium being strongly felt by all classes, government, in the beginning of the present year, 1813, has very liberally sent out £10,000 in dollars, for the use of the settlement.

At this time the selling price of animal food was as follows:—pork, 10d. to 1s. per pound; mutton, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d; Kangaroo, 8d. to 9d; wheat, 8s. per bushel; Indian corn, 4s; potatoes, 8s. to 10s; Onions, 4d. per pound; Poultry, 2s. to 3s. each; geese, 6s. to 7s; and pumkins, from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.

It is to be understood that all these are for ready money; but here, as at Norfolk Island, a proportionate quantity of spirits will go much further.

For the information of shipping entering the harbour of Port Jackson, and our readers in general, the following public paper is subjoined:

Public Orders.

“ THE Governor being instructed to put a stop to the unwarrantable and scandalous monopolies that have existed in this colony, which have not only been the cause of much distress and ruin to the settlers, but also injurious to the public interest, and that of his Majesty’s service:

“ It is directed that, in future, no person is to go on board vessels arriving here, until permission is signified by a Union Jack hoisted on board the vessel, excepting such persons as the governor may authorize for that purpose. As soon after such ar-

rival as possible, the inhabitants will be informed whether government purchases or receives the whole, or any part, of such private investments as may be brought for sale; and a notice published of the rate at which such articles will be delivered to the inhabitants from the public stores, under proper and equal restrictions: and should the governor decline purchasing or receiving on the public account, measures will be taken to ascertain the value of the articles for sale; and in no case will private retailers be allowed to charge more than twenty *per cent.* on the purchase from the ship. And in order to enforce this regulation, all civil or criminal courts of judicature, that may hereafter be convened, are directed and enjoined, not to take cognizance of any action, suit, or demand, where the price sued for shall exceed that specified by the notice to be published after every ship's arrival. And in case any articles are not mentioned therein, their value is to be estimated by an allowance of from eighty to a hundred *per cent.* on the English or India price, and twenty *per cent.* on the retail. And as it has been the custom of the dealers, and their agents in this colony, in order to recover the enormous charges they have made on individuals, to procure their notes of hand for payment, without specifying how those debts have been incurred—The Governor, authorized by his instructions, and the local situation of the colony and its inhabitants, hereby directs the members of the civil courts of judicature, not to take cognizance of any suit, action, or demand, for the recovery of any al-

leged debts, unless the plaintiff produces a bill (and on oath if required) specifying the consideration and the price for which the defendant becomes indebted to him. This order is to be considered in full force and effect from this day.

“ And whereas, from the indiscriminate manner in which every description of persons in the colony have circulated their promissory notes of hand, not only much inconvenience has arisen, but also, that it has occasioned the numerous forgeries that have been committed, for which some have suffered, and others remain under sentence of death, and many have been transported anew; the governor therefore feels himself called on to put a stop to this ruinous practice. No written promissory notes of hand are to pass current, or be received, after the 30th instant: of which the magistrates and courts of justice are to take notice, that their value be not admitted in evidence, or demand, after the above date. And that the inhabitants may not lose their claims on each other, and for their future accommodation, blank printed forms will be ready for delivery at the Secretary's office, on the 24th of October, to those alone whom the governor may approve of; and, from the precaution that will be used, it is expected that no forgeries can be practised, and this mode of circulating private notes be attended with much public benefit.

“ In consequence of the governor's instructions, no person whatever is allowed to sell or retail any spiritous liquors, and if any person shall presume to land spirits or wines from any ship,

without the governor's own permit in writing, such persons offending in the above, will be punished as the law directs for selling spirits without a license, exclusive of their being seized for the use of the crown, and a proper notice being taken of the offenders, agreeable to the governor's instructions on that behalf.

“ No greater demand for spirits, either by retail or wholesale, than twenty shillings per gallon, is to be admitted in any civil court or criminal prosecution. By command of his excellency.

N. MACKELLAR, *Secretary*.

Given at Government-house, Sydney, Oct. 1, 1800.

IN consequence of instructions received by the Britannia, all masters of vessels arriving with goods for sale, importers or consignees, are to deliver to the governor's secretary, a signed copy of the original invoice and prime cost of such articles, (previous to permission being given to trade), to the truth of which they are to make oath if required. By command of his excellency.

W. N. CHAPMAN, *Secretary*.

Given at Government-house, Sydney, April 3, 1801.

These regulations, however, exist only in this public order: the avarice of the retailers and petty traders renders them entirely nugatory, for, in some shape or other, they contrive to evade them all. Instead of twenty, they charge their own prices, which frequently exceed a hundred *per cent*.

The order with regard to the promissory notes would be, it was hoped, of the most salutary effect; the super-abundance of these, as I have said before, not only much impeding the external trade, but, according to the reasons assigned in the foregoing paper, facilitating the practice of forgery, and thus annihilating public confidence even in the best bills. Such proficients are many of these people in the art of forgery, that some of them, being employed in the public offices, and thus having access to the records of the colony, have dexterously, for a gratuity, changed the term of transportation; indeed, so dexterously, that it was not until this practice had been long carried on, and to a considerable extent, that their villany was detected.

Although many and frequent are the salutary admonitions in the public orders, to abstain from spiritous liquors, yet the excess of the people in this respect is the bane of the colony. The use of spirits, in moderation, is doubtless necessary to men fatigued with the labour and hardships unavoidable in an infant colony, but in Botany Bay there is no moderation whatever, the inhabitants being for the most part such as have received these habits from their early life. No arguments are of any avail; reasoning and exhortation are equally lost. They absolutely observe no limits. Many of them, for the sake of a few gallons of spiritous liquors, have sold off all they possessed in the world, their farm, their stock, and every thing they either had for the present or expected in future. Others, to accomplish the same end, (raising money, no matter by what

means), have subjected themselves, by bonds and other legal securities, to the caprice or rapacity of the traders. The retailers of spirits are, generally speaking, a description of men as destitute of mercy as moderation; and their unhappy debtors, from being comfortably situated, are thus reduced to begin the world anew.

It is lamentable for me here to observe, that the women convicts, notwithstanding the degrading punishment to which they are subjected, instead of using any dissuasion against intoxication, have more frequently urged this ruinous habit. Scarcely a week passes but some infamous transaction is traced to these strumpets as the original cause.

The following are the regulations respecting the licenses for retailing spiritous liquors, viz.—“ Those who receive licenses, are to enter into recognizances, with two sufficient sureties in ten pounds each, and themselves in twenty pounds, that the due assize of weight and measure of all victuals and liquor so allowed to be vended, be kept, and well and truly observed; and that no gambling, drunkenness, indecencies contrary to good manners and offensive to the neighbourhood, or other disorder, be allowed of within their premises; but that good rule be maintained and kept according to the existing and future regulation of this territory on that behalf. Persons licensed as victuallers, or retailers of spiritous liquors or other strong drinks, entertaining any person from the beating of the tattoo, until the following noon, or during divine service, will be deprived of their license, and incur the penalty of five

pounds, half to be paid to the informer, and half to the orphan fund. No trust or credit whatsoever shall be given for liquors, or any other tavern reckonings, in any sum exceeding twenty shillings, under the penalty of losing such debt. And in case they should presume to sue any such persons, knowing them to be soldiers, seamen, servants, or prisoners in government employ, all such actions and suits shall be void; and the person sued, or officer on behalf of soldiers and seamen, masters or mistresses on behalf of servants, and prisoners in their own behalf, being sued, shall and may plead this ordinance in bar; and the plaintiff shall be nonsuited and pay treble charges.—Each person taking out a license to pay the sum of three pounds sterling to the treasurer of the Orphan Fund, and two and sixpence to the clerk that makes out such license.”

As the money arising from these licenses is appropriated to the use of that benevolent institution, the Orphan Fund, we would recommend, that instead of three, they be made twelve pounds: and the fortunate holders would even then think they had a good bargain; the publicans being the best trade in the colony.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Character of the different Descriptions of Settlers.—Public Orders, &c. &c.

THE circumstances under which this colony was settled, and the very purpose of the settlement, has had a very visible effect upon the general manners, or what may be called the national character, of Botany Bay. The free settlers are not without something of the contagion, and have therefore nothing of that pride of integrity or sense of honour, which would otherwise belong to freemen. It is needless to say that this observation is not to be interpreted as having no exception: there are some, though indeed very few, who must take no part of this censure, but whose industry and upright conduct would do honour to any country.

In a country like this, nothing is so absolutely necessary as a virtuous and industrious peasantry. At present, however, the inhabitants are composed of these two descriptions of people, viz. the convicts whose terms of transportation being expired, or being released from the sentence of the law by emancipation, have been permitted to settle; and persons with their families who have come free from England.

The former of these were the first settlers, men of the most dis-

solite characters, whose conduct during the period of their servitude had the appearance of reformation, but who were only restrained within the bounds of propriety by the fear of punishment; for no sooner were they restored to their rights and privileges as freemen, than their vicious depravity shewed itself in idleness, in drunkenness, and all their concomitant crimes.

I cannot enumerate above eight or ten instances in the whole, where the smallest propensity to industry appeared; and of those the celebrated Barrington, whilst in the free exercise of his faculties, stood highly conspicuous. Another of the classes of free men who became settlers, were the soldiers (marines) who first embarked on the expedition, and, as a reward for their services, were discharged from their ships, and allowed to settle; these men, accustomed to a restless life, could not easily conform themselves to domestic habits; they disliked hard work. Released from the strictness of military discipline, they abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other vices already too prevalent in the colony, and in a very short time their farms were sold for the consideration of a few gallons of spirits, and themselves, wretched and miserable, glad to enlist again into the service.

The other description of inhabitants consists of people who, with their families, have been sent from England, (by government), at a very heavy expense, for the express purpose of settling in the colony.

From these people much was expected, but even in respect

to them, the government and the colony has been most grossly deceived.

From upwards of a hundred families who have thus been sent from the mother country, there are not above eight or ten between whom and the convicts the smallest degree of distinction could be drawn. It may perhaps be deemed presumption in me to offer an opinion; but it is of the utmost importance to be guarded against the improper characters who offer themselves as candidates to settle in New South Wales, and do by one means or another get recommended. It is a matter of the greatest consequence both to government and the colony.

Amongst the number sent out as *free settlers*, have been characters of a very suspicious nature, who have narrowly escaped being sent out contrary to their inclinations; some of them low mechanics who had failed in business, with large families, and who, had they remained at home, would have become burthensome to their parishes. Others, again, were men of dissolute idle habits, whose friends were glad to get rid of them by recommending them to this settlement.

Such were the characters of many sent out to cultivate the country. In general, they had no knowledge of farming; and having never been accustomed to habits of industry at home, they could not assume them in this part of the world; consequently, after enjoying the indulgences granted by government to settlers, they were found unable to support their families, and soon became a burthen both to the government and the colony. The indulgences granted

by government to settlers, I am confident, are perfectly sufficient to place a man of industry in a situation to provide for his family within the limited term. They are as follow:

“ To have a passage found, and their families to be victualled by government, during the voyage; on their arrival in the colony to have the grant of one hundred acres of land at Port Jackson, or fifty acres at Norfolk Island; to be victualled and clothed from the public stores for the term of twelve months, after being put in possession of their respective allotments, and to be allowed the labour of two convicts (maintained by government) for the same term; after which they and their families are to be of no further expense to the crown.—To have the same proportion of stock, seed grain, and agricultural tools, as have been furnished to other settlers.”

“ The following is the proportion of agricultural tools and clothing, or an equivalent thereto:

Tools, &c.

500 Twelve-penny nails	500 Twenty-four-penny ditto
1 Bill-hook	2 Tomahawkes
2 Reaping hooks	2 West India hoes
1 Musket	1 Pound of powder
16 Musket-balls	2 Felling axes
1 Spade	1 Adze
2 Gimblets	1 Auger

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|-----------------------------|------------|
| 1 Iron pot | 1 Hand-saw |
| 1 Cross-cut saw between two | |

Slop Clothing.—To Men.

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Jacket | 1 Pair of trowsers |
| 1 Frock | 1 Hat |
| 1 Pair of Stockings | 1 Pair of shoes |
| 1 Bed-case | 2 Blankets |
| 1 Shirt | 1 Coverlid |

To Women.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------|
| 1 Jacket | 1 Peticoat |
| 1 Pair of Shoes | 1 Shift |
| 1 Handkerchief | 1 cap |

The same to children, if on the stores.

“ The ration during the term is the same with that issued to every other description of persons victualled from the public stores.

“ The prescribed stock and grain to free settlers of the above description, is two female goats, ewes, or sows; six bushels of wheat; and a sufficiency of maize, to crop the first year.”

The governor, however, is not strictly confined to the above regulations, but has a discretionary power to extend or withhold further assistance as the merits and industry of the party deserve.

The proper objects for settlers in that country, would be the honest industrious peasant, born and brought up in the habits of temperance, hard labour, and industry. Settlers of such a description would import with them habits of morality and industry hitherto unknown in the colony; and would eventually tend to diminish the great expenses of the government. In America, the settlers bought for a sum of money the services of the convicts; so that the government incurred no expense. These men, secluded from their vicious companions, accustomed to the regularity of a moral industrious family, an example which probably none of them had ever before the benefit of, came from that family, at the expiration of their term of transportation, a new set of people; and many afterwards became valuable members of society. This is not the case in New South Wales; there the free settler has often been detected as the accomplice of the convict in his villanous depredations.

It affords us pleasure that this admonition has been attended to by the government at home, who have recently come to a determination of sending no more settlers upon the former principle: no one is now allowed the foregoing privileges without he possesses money or property to the amount of at least five hundred pounds. Thus there is, as it were, a pledge against the impositions formerly practised.

If a sufficient number of free and respectable settlers were in the country, it is to be hoped that the government would render their

condition more tolerable, by imparting to them some of the benefits of the free constitution of their native country. The trial by jury would be very desirable, instead of that by civil and military officers.

Since our first publication, the colony has received an accession of some very respectable free settlers, men of known character and property, who have chosen this distant spot for their future residence, and who have received liberal grants.

Heavy complaints having been made by the settlers, (whilst in fact the fault rested with themselves), that, however benevolent were the intentions of government, they were all frustrated and rendered ineffectual by the rapacity of a few monied men, who, consulting their own interest, and utterly disregarding the good of the settlement, demanded most exorbitant prices for the imported commodities: government remedied this evil with equal wisdom and benevolence, and the following public orders were issued.

Public Orders.

“ HIS Majesty having taken into his most gracious consideration, the inconveniences that the inhabitants of this colony have in general laboured under, from the excessive prices demanded by adventurers and retailers, for articles of necessary use; and the better to enable them to raise grain at a cheap rate, has been pleased to direct a considerable quantity of articles for common consumption, to be shipped on board the Earl Cornwallis, which is shortly expected; and to be disposed of by the commissary, in exchange for

grain and animal food supplied the public stores, at an advance of thirty *per cent.* on perishable, and twenty *per cent.* on unperishable articles; to indemnify the public for freight, losses, and issuing in small quantities.—A list of the articles will be published on Monday next, to prevent the inhabitants from making any purchases at an extravagant rate. By command of his excellency.

Sydney, May 30, 1801.

W. N. CHAPMAN, *Secretary.*

We have given insertion to the following Notice, because it will serve to shew captains of ships, and persons intending to go thither, what articles are best suited to the colony.

Notice:

“THE undermentioned are the articles sent by government in the Earl Cornwallis, with the prices, and thirty *per cent.* added: at which rate they will be disposed of to the inhabitants, for their domestic uses, for money: and in exchange for grain or animal food, supplied his majesty's stores.

“ Soap, from eightpence halfpenny to ninepence halfpenny per pound; Glass, from sevenpence farthing to tenpence halfpenny per foot; White-lead, sevenpence farthing per pound; Red paint, fourpence per pound; Linseed-oil, from seven shillings and one farthing to seven shillings and sevenpence per gallon; Oval dishes, seventeen shillings and fourpence per set; Plates, from three halfpence to threepence each; Other articles of earthen and glass ware

in proportion, as per list at the commissary's office; Ivory combs, from two shillings and twopence halfpenny to sixteen shillings and sixpence per ditto; Wax candles, three shillings and elevenpence three farthings per pound; Gilt buttons, from eight shillings and sevenpence farthing to thirteen shillings and ninepence per gross; Children's shoes, nineteen shillings and twopence farthing to one pound seven shillings per dozen; Girls ditto, one pound seventeen shillings and fourpence three farthings to two pounds eight shillings and fivepence halfpenny per dozen; Women's ditto, stuff and leather, two pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence to three pounds seven shillings and ninepence halfpenny per dozen; Coloured cloths, yard wide, six shillings and twopence three farthings to six shillings and sixpence halfpenny per yard; Duck, one shilling and ninepence farthing per yard; Welsh flannel, two shillings and a halfpenny to two shillings and fivepence farthing per yard; Irish linen, two shillings and three farthings to three shillings and eightpence three farthings per yard; Durants, one pound two shillings and sixpence to two pounds one shilling and sevenpence farthing per piece; Callimancoes, one pound fourteen shillings and three halfpence per piece; Wildboro's, one pound eighteen shillings and one halfpenny per piece; Camblets, two pounds eight shillings and one penny farthing per piece; Printed calicoes, two shillings to four shillings per yard; Chintz handkerchiefs, two shillings and ninepence three farthings to two shillings and tenpence halfpenny each; Cheque, one shilling and sixpence farthing per yard; Muslin hand-

kerchiefs, two shillings and sixpence to three shillings and three-pence each; Muslin, three shillings and fivepence three farthings to three shillings and elevenpence per yard; Cotton cheque handkerchiefs, one shilling and eightpence farthing each; Pollicat ditto, two shillings and threepence halfpenny each; Women's black cotton and worsted hose, two shillings and eightpence halfpenny to three shillings per pair; Black mode, four shillings and fourpence to five shillings and eightpence per yard; Coloured Persian, two shillings and five pence per yard; Ribands, eight shillings and sixpence to one pound ten shillings per piece; Silk ferretings, six shillings and sixpence per piece; Sewing silks, one pound eleven shillings and threepence to two pounds four shillings and three-pence per pound; Silk twist, one pound eleven shillings and threepence per pound; Thread, three shillings and sevenpence to two pounds and fourpence per pound; Tapes, sixpence halfpenny to one shilling and fivepence per piece; Bobbins, threepence to eightpence three farthings per piece; Shirt-buttons, one shilling and fourpence to two shillings and tenpence per gross; Thread edging, one shilling and one penny farthing to two shillings and sevenpence farthing per yard; Needles, seven shillings and two-pence per thousand; Pins, three shillings and eightpence three farthings per pound; Fig blue, one shilling and fourpence halfpenny per pound.

“ Applications to be made at my office, on Monday mornings, before ten o'clock, that they may receive the governor's approba-

tion. No article will be issued until payment is made, or security given. By command of his excellency.

Sydney, June 25, 1801.

J. PALMER, Commissary.

The present plan bids fair to answer the purpose intended; for if the colonists had hitherto paid extravagantly both for necessaries and comforts, they now had them both as reasonably as they could have purchased them in the mother country. Sugar, in 1804, was retailing at tenpence per pound; and tea, from five to seven shillings; and every other article equally cheap in proportion.

But in no country perhaps, is there such a fluctuation of prices as in this: in December 1805, teas which would have undergone a rigid examination a twelvemonth before at ten or twelve shillings per pound, passed muster at from twenty-four to thirty shillings; and leaf tobacco, from seven to eight shillings, has exceeded four guineas per pound.

While we admire the benevolent and praise-worthy institution, the Female Orphan Fund, it is much to be wished that the active and inventive philanthropy of the mother country would give birth to some regulations respecting the males, also, in this colony. It should be recollected that the two sexes are formed for each other, and their reciprocal advantages and enjoyments so closely knit together, that the mental and moral improvement of both are equally essential in society.

Were seminaries established under proper restrictions and regu-

lations, for the instruction of boys, (orphans, or children of the poorer and depraved part of the community), secluded as it were, from the baleful example of their parents or profligate friends, their minds would become gradually formed to principles of industry and moral virtue: and when fit to go apprentices, if those whose dispositions lead them to mechanical trades were provided with masters among the tradesmen and artificers in the colony, persons of sound principles and good characters, it would produce a change of manners equally astonishing and gratifying.

It would be also as much correspondent with Christian duty as the public good, to encourage marriages between the youth of both sexes.—At a proper age they might be admitted to all the privileges of the first settlers; or something more, according to certificates of their good behaviour during their respective periods of servitude or apprenticeship: the prospect of a small stock to begin the world upon, would excite in their minds a taste for independent support; and independence is the surest root of manliness, cheerfulness, and honest dealing.

The population of New South Wales, already proceeding with a rapidity perhaps unparalleled in any other part of the globe, would be still materially increased under some salutary regulations; and might be easily organized into a solid mass, not only for the defence and prosperity of the colony, but of the most vital importance to the parent state.—Such of the youth as were partial to a seafaring life, might have an education and outfit suitable to that

purpose; and those preferring the army, might be formed into a regular corps for the defence of the colony: the former, in process of time, would replenish our navy in the East Indies; and the latter tend to diminish the consumption of troops that are sent out for the defence of our vast territorial possessions in that quarter; having this additional advantage in both cases, that they are young men bred in, and seasoned to a hot climate.

Thus would the colony in a most efficient manner assist the mother country in that quarter of the world, where the demand for, and consumption of troops and mariners are so very considerable. And therefore we presume again to repeat, that it is of the most vital consequence for government to pay the strictest attention to the culture of the rising generation in this settlement.

CHAPTER XL.

General Observations, &c. &c.

IN the foregoing part of this work we have represented the colony of New South Wales exactly as it appeared to us. In what immediately follows I shall briefly state the many probable ad-

vantages which might be derived from it if the fostering hand of government was stretched forth to its assistance.

It has been observed, and perhaps justly, that, as a commercial nation, no people are more inconsistently negligent, not to say ignorant, of the real value of their colonies, than the English. As a commercial nation, it would certainly become us carefully to explore, and sedulously to cultivate, new objects of industry; new magazines for raw produce, and new markets for our manufactures.—The course of commerce too nearly resembles what natural history teaches us has been the course of nature; in every age it alternately deserts and finds itself new channels. As a nation, therefore, it becomes us to look to remote consequences, and to provide new sources and open new mines, in proportion as nature shall rub off or exhaust the old.

Let us apply this to the subject before us.—In what point of view is the colony of New South Wales generally regarded? Is it considered amongst us in any other light than that of a place, which, from its remoteness, and separation from that part of the world usually visited, either by the merchant or the traveller, as peculiarly adapted for the exile of criminals? We say, that generally it is so regarded; but there are doubtless amongst us many better informed men, who from local knowledge or other communication, regard it with more justice. It will not, indeed, be insisted by these gentlemen that the settlement of New South Wales is a Garden of Eden; or, that its meadows in verdure and

fertility may vie with those in the vale of Gloucester, but it will be contended by them, and will be proved to those who judge rather from their reason than prejudice, that a very moderate degree of industry in the settlers, and encouragement from government, may render this colony not only equal to its present support, but may enable it in progress of time, and at no very distant era, to lend a helping hand even to the supply of the mother country. If the soil be not fertile, it is not absolutely sterile. If the whole country be not a garden, it is far, very far, from being a rock or a desert. Every river, and every rivulet has its slip of land along its banks, which will amply reward the industry of the cultivator. Whence then the frequent scarcity of the colony? The question may be answered as briefly and simply as it is put. The rivers overflow their banks, and the flood destroys the bounty of nature. The harvest of the year is frequently swept away by the inundation of the night. Where, then, it will be asked is the remedy? In public granaries. The farmers themselves cannot afford them. In the present infant state of the colony the public benefit can only be procured by public expense. The capabilities of the climate are great; two fertile sources of the wealth of Europe, the growth of wool, and the whale fishery, may not only be naturalized here, but by due cultivation and encouragement brought even to European perfection. These are objects doubtless of no minor importance, and merit a more distinct and detailed explanation.

In all questions of this nature the surest reference is to fact. With regard to the growth of wool, there is one at hand. When the Cape of Good Hope surrendered to the British arms, twelve or fourteen sheep, of the true Spanish breed, the property of the Dutch commandant, and introduced by him from Spain at a great expense, were sold by his widow to a captain of one of his Majesty's ships, who at that time happened to be taking in stores for New South Wales; amongst these were about eight or nine ewes, and four or five rams. On their arrival at Botany Bay great care was taken of these new settlers; the ewes, however, were carefully kept from any mixture with the country breed, but the rams were permitted to cross that breed. The effect was wonderful. Whether it must be imputed to the climate, or the herbage, or perhaps to both, an immediate change took place, not only in the fleeces of the former country-stock, but even in those of the Spanish ewes. It is well known that the fleeces of the Bengal and Cape sheep, the only stock at that time in this colony, were of a coarse hairy nature. This was entirely cured by the cross of the Spanish rams, as far as the cause extended.

Specimens of this wool have been exhibited before some agricultural societies in this kingdom, and been valued by them at from four to seven shillings per pound. These sheep breed twice in eighteen months, and bring often two or three lambs at a time.

Surely this is worthy of the attention of government. The

spirit and enterprise of individuals have already anticipated them. A gentleman, of equal public spirit and enlarged views, who has chosen this remote settlement as the sphere of his fortune and improvement, has lately carried over to New South Wales several of his Majesty's Spanish rams, which must be an inestimable acquisition to the infant resources of the colony. We should feel some regret if the speculation of an individual adventurer should throw at a distance the efforts of government. Surely, at a time when the inveterate hatred of our enemy endeavours to close against us every sea, river, and nook; when, with that dexterity which so peculiarly characterizes his enmity, he aims the blow at the very root of our greatness, (our commerce and shipping), surely this is not a time in which the most slight energies of the British empire should be overlooked. We repeat, that the capabilities of New South Wales are great, and require but industry on the one hand, and a protecting and encouraging system on the other, to render it, in time, an aid, instead of a burthen, to the mother country.

With regard to the second branch of commerce, if it may so be called, of which this colony is peculiarly capable, and, as it were, naturally adapted, that is to say, the Whale-fishery, there is equally the evidence of facts which preclude all possibility of doubt. It is needless here to insist on the value, not merely to the mercantile interest, but to the nation itself, of this branch of merchandise. The navy of England is supported by its com-

merce; but, of all our mercantile pursuits, there are none more adapted than the whale-fisheries to support and augment the supply of sailors to the British marine. The length of the voyages, the necessary experience, and consequent skill of every individual employed in them; the habit of enduring hardships acquired in these perilous and difficult adventures, necessarily form that body of men, which may peculiarly and characteristically be called English sailors. In a word, the collieries and whale-fisheries are two sources of supply, without which, our navy would not long support its present predominance. But, to return to our subject, the reference to facts—The earliest on record is that of a partial trial which was made by some of the first transports which, upon the institution of the settlement, carried out the first convicts. The experiment indeed failed, but this failure was evidently attributable to two causes; the heavy seas at that season of the year, and the ignorance of the masters of a coast but little hitherto frequented. However, upon the breaking out of the late war between Spain and England, the Spaniards of Peru and Chili fitted out privateers against the whalers on those coasts. The greater part of these whalers, which had not expected, and therefore were not prepared against these attacks, were in consequence compelled to abandon those seas, and seek another scene for their adventures. It was accordingly resolved by the greater part of them to make trial of the coast of New Holland. Four of them had arrived on that coast during my former voyage in the Barn-

well, in 1798, and their numbers have been increasing ever since. The present amount does not fall short of twelve or fourteen, whose cargoes on the average are not less than from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty tons of oil, the value of which, at the present current price, amounts to between one hundred and eighty and one hundred and ninety thousand pounds annually.

So much for this source of mercantile supply. Doubtless, if the attention of government, and the speculation of merchants could be further invited to the experiment on a larger scale, other sources no less fertile might be discovered, and New South Wales no longer be considered as a dead burthen on the mother country.

Both the soil and climate are peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the grape, and whenever it accords with the policy of the mother country, wine might be numbered as an article of exportation. At present it is only cultivated for the table of the more respectable inhabitants.

Tropical and other fruits of almost every description are in good abundance, in the garden belonging to the premises I occupied which was simply a scattered soil lying amongst barren rocks, were limes, figs, peach, and pomegranate trees, all of them bearing fruit in high perfection; in addition to these, in the government garden they have the orange, cherry, pear, and apricot. Peaches in particular were in such great plenty, that the

governor had offered a premium of a cow, to any one who should make the best two hogsheads of cyder, to be adjudged after a year old. Some of the colonists have made an excellent brandy from this fruit, but it is strictly prohibited by the colonial regulations.

The mulberry tree, on which the silk worm feeds, is common in the colony, and grows with vast luxuriance. A thought here naturally suggests itself. Why might not the silk worm be exported from India to this settlement. Ships have been known to make the voyage from Bengal to Port Jackson in five or six weeks. It was in this manner, we believe, that the cochineal from South America was introduced into India. The scientific gentlemen in the *La Geographe* and *Naturaliste**, repeatedly expressed their astonishment that the colonists had paid no attention to the olive tree, and the rearing of the silk worms, to which the climate was so congenial. They have frequently been heard to observe, that the country was admirably adapted to the production of every thing which the South of Europe produced, and that its present possessors were totally ignorant of its advantages. The introduction of the bee into the colony would likewise be a valuable acquisition, as the mildness of the climate and the vast variety of melliferous flowers, in which the country abounds, are peculiarly adapted to this prolific insect. In the Philippine and Soloo

* Two ships sent out by Buonaparte on a voyage of discovery, and which touched at Port Jackson.

Islands, bees wax constitutes, (independent of the honey), a considerable article of traffic.

From the astonishingly rapid increase of the wild cattle in this country, it is the opinion of many of the colonists that in time they will be killing them, as in South America, for their hides and tallow. This we think is not by any means improbable.

The experiments, both of government and individuals, have proved the fitness of the soil for the growth of hemp and flax. On the banks of the Hawkesbury river, the stems of this plant were nearly as thick as a man's wrist, and measuring between seventeen and eighteen feet in height.

Here, therefore, has human industry still a most boundless field for its exertion. A field, which many ages will not exhaust. My mind, reflecting upon this subject, suggests to me the idea of this country becoming, at no very distant era, a cradle of an extensive population, and that the present narrow settlement may become the seed of a future nation, which, improving in its nature in the proportion as the branches become distant from the parent stock, may replenish that vast and at present almost desert continent with an honest and industrious race. Other countries, now the abode of commerce, agriculture, and all the arts of civil life, have had a similar origin.

CHAPTER XLI.

Latest State of the Colony, &c. &c.

THE unhappy dissensions that had so long disturbed the tranquillity of the colony, so much displeased his Majesty, that he at last appointed a new governor, Colonel Macquarrie, for the express purpose of signifying his marked disapprobation at the late violent proceeding, (the arrest of the governor), and for restoring civil order. This gentleman arrived at Sydney on the 28th of December 1809, and immediately issued a proclamation in which he expressed his earnest desire that all party spirit should hereafter cease; and that the superior inhabitants should set that example of morality and obedience to the laws, without which, no civil society whatever can exist. He found the colony in a most miserable state, having recently suffered from another inundation of the Hawkesbury; in consequence of which the necessaries of life had greatly increased, and were at that time as follow: Wheat, one pound twelve per bushel; Maize, seventeen shillings ditto; Potatoes as high as twenty five shillings per hundred weight. One gentleman, Major Johnson, in the article of stock alone, lost 400 sheep, and a Mr. M'Allum 300. To guard against apprehensive scarcity, the governor was under the necessity of forbidding, for a limited time, the

slaughtering of live stock without an especial license; and again chartering vessels to India, for wheat, rice, &c. &c. to repair the ravages lately sustained, and to place the colony in a state of security from future contingencies of this nature. To effect this it is said that in the course of two years he has been compelled to draw bills on the treasury at home to the amount of one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds. He seems to have succeeded at last, for in the Sydney Gazette of March 23, 1811, we find the following

Public Order.

“ HIS Excellency the Governor is pleased to direct that the following rations be issued to those persons victualled from his Majesty’s stores throughout the settlements, to commence on Saturday the 23d instant.

“ To civil and military:—Twelve pounds and a half of wheat; seven pounds of beef, or four pounds of pork.

“ To settlers, free persons, and prisoners:—Six pounds of wheat; thirteen pounds of maize; seven pounds of salt beef, or four pounds of pork.—Women and children in proportion to the latter ration.”

By command of his excellency the Governor.

J. T. CAMPBELL, *Secretary.*

Government-house, Sydney, March 20, 1811.

THE average price of articles in Sydney Market, March 23, 1811:—Wheat, fourteen shillings and three halfpence per bushel;

Maize, five shillings and sixpence ditto; Barley, five shillings and ninepence ditto; Potatoes, fourteen shillings per cwt; Fowls, five shillings and sixpence per couple; Eggs, two and ninepence per dozen; Mutton, Beef, and Pork, one shilling and threepence half-penny per pound.

Retail prices of the following articles at this time:—Best green hyson tea, fourteen shillings per pound; Black ditto, nine shillings ditto; Sugar, and coffee, two shillings ditto; English prints, four shillings per yard; Bengal prints, from six shillings and sixpence to thirteen shillings per piece; Blue gurrah and India checks, two shillings per yard; Callico, from two shillings and threepence to four shillings ditto; Diaper, three shillings and sixpence ditto; Irish linen, from three shillings and sixpence to five shillings ditto; Durants for petticoats, three shillings and sixpence ditto; Cotton shirts, seven shillings and sixpence; Men's shoes, from ten shillings to twelve shillings per pair; Women's ditto, from eight shillings to twelve shillings ditto; Playing cards, from three shillings and sixpence to four shillings per pack; Children's leather caps, from five shillings to eight shillings; Dutch cheeses, seven shillings and sixpence each; Bengal soap, one shilling and sixpence per pound; flat irons, six shillings per pair; Iron pots, six shillings and sixpence each; Frying pans, eight shillings each.

We have repeatedly mentioned the liability of the colony to the most destructive inundations; in the source of which the grain and animal food of the settlement are annually destroyed to a most

considerable amount. Another calamity of this description partially taking place in March 1811, seriously and movingly attracted the attention of the governor, who in a proclamation advises the immediate removal of the stock-yards and residences of the settlers from their insecure situations in the low grounds to the higher lands in the respective townships, viz. Windsor, Richmond, Wilberforce, Pitt, and Castlereagh; and promises the assistance of the colonial government to all such as shall comply with his recommendation, and proceed to build themselves new houses.

Nothing in our mind can be more judicious than this proclamation, and the founding of settlements in various parts of the country, rather than confining it to one colony as heretofore. The chance is, that instead of having recourse to India or the Cape of Good Hope, as formerly, in times of scarcity, these settlements, if one fails through such disasters, as has lately been the case, some of the others thus formed will be able to lend its helping hand.

In a preceding part of our work we have stated that all the appendages of a European government were being gradually introduced into the colony; and that taxes and imposts of all kinds were almost monthly issuing from the government. The form of these impositions has an unusual air to people arriving from England. The taxes are imposed by proclamation. The following is the substance of one of these fiscal manifestoes respecting tolls.

“ WHEREAS the construction and preservation of safe and commodious highways is a matter of undoubted importance, and tends

greatly to increase commerce and to promote civilization, it is therefore hereby ORDERED and DECLARED by his Excellency the Governor, that the following tolls shall be hereafter paid on the roads between Parramatta and Sydney.

	£.	s.	d.
For each and every head of horned cattle, the sum of	0	0	2
For each and every score of sheep or swine	0	0	10
For every single horse	0	0	3
For every cart drawn by a single horse or bullock	0	0	4
For every cart drawn by two horses or bullocks	0	0	6
For every cart drawn by three horses or bullocks	0	0	9
For every cart drawn by four horses or bullocks	0	0	10
For every waggon drawn by two horses or bullocks	0	0	10
For every waggon drawn by three horses or bullocks	0	1	0
For every waggon drawn by four horses or bullocks, or more	0	1	2
For every single-horse chaise	0	1	0
For every curricl with two horses	0	1	6
For a four-wheel carriage drawn by two horses	0	2	0
For the same drawn by three horses	0	2	6
For the same drawn by four horses	0	3	0

The proclamation then proceeds in the enumeration of the usual forfeitures by which these laws are sanctioned in Europe, i. e. from ten pounds to forty shillings on trespassers by force or evasion.

Previous to this the roads are made and kept in repair by a contribution of a few days of annual labour from each landholder,

Government is prudently very cautious that spiritous liquors should not be too accessible, and therefore the laws are penal, in a high degree, against illegal stills. Accordingly, licenses are sparingly granted, and the sale and dealing in wines or liquors without them is at once prohibited under severe penalties, and rendered almost impossible, by the constant vigilance of an active police. Permits are required for the removal of liquors in any quantity. In the Sydney Gazette for March 30, 1811, is a proclamation by the governor, consisting of seventeen articles, which cannot be exceeded for their political vigilance and provisions, even by the latest excise statutes in England. This is rendered the more necessary from the avidity with which spiritous liquors are sought after in the colony, and the enormous prices they fetch, which has encouraged the practice of illicit distillation to a considerable extent in various parts of the country. No less than four stills were seized at the Hawkesbury settlement in one week, and three at Sydney.

The following proclamation is upon a subject of the most serious concern to traders and to commerce in general, as it in fact amounts to a most impolitic monopoly, and puts every ship entirely at the mercy of the governor. It is of so much importance to commerce, and so imperiously demands the consideration of his Majesty's government at home, that I am induced to give it at length.

GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL ORDERS.

“ THE recent occurrence of the ship *Union*, Nichols master, having proceeded to Hobart-town, in Van Dieman's Land, and there discharged a part of her cargo, in direct violation of the long-established regulations of this settlement, and under the aggravating circumstance of having cleared out from the Cape of Good Hope for Penang, and her having afterwards further deviated from her lawful voyage by arriving at this place, with the false expectation of being permitted to dispose of the remainder of her cargo here, under colour or pretence of ignorance of said regulations:—In order to guard against the recurrence of such an event in future, the regulations on this particular head are inserted underneath, and may be found by reference to the port regulations at large, under the thirty-third and thirty-fourth heads. And all masters of vessels, ship-owners, merchants, agents, and other persons concerned, are required to pay the strictest obedience to them, as no plea of ignorance, after this reiterated publication, will be admitted, his Excellency the Governor being determined to carry the said resolutions into their fullest effect, with a view to the preventing of all illegal and contraband trade in every case where any persons shall have the temerity to attempt a further violation of them.—By command of his Excellency the Governor. J. T. CAMPBELL, *Secretary*.

Government-house, Sydney, March 16, 1811.

Port Regulations referred to above.

XXXIII.—No ship or vessel, whether British, colonial, or foreign, after arrival in this country from England, the fisheries, or elsewhere, is to discharge any part of her cargo in any part of this territory or its dependencies, but Port Jackson, unless by the special authority of the Governor, except the wants of the out-settlements should require the commandants to take the responsibility on themselves: in which case an early intimation is to be made to the Governor in Chief.

XXXIV.—When a clear and faithful entry is made here of the cargo of any vessel, whose master or supercargo wishes to land it at any of the out-ports, a regular clearance will be granted for that purpose. But if any vessel carries her cargo or a part of it hence to an out-port without such clearance, contrary to this and the foregoing article, the ship or vessel will be seized and condemned, on the fact being proved before a bench of magistrates.

By command of his Excellency the Governor.

J. T. CAMPBELL, *Secretary.*

The following advertisement will show that the colonists have something of the merriment, if not of the wisdom of the mother country. It will show, moreover, that they are more ready to incur debts than to pay them.

ABSALOM WEST

Does hereby request,

That all who last year

Took on credit his beer;

Whose flavour and strength,

To perfection at length,

By labour and thought

'Tis acknowledged he's brought;

Their debts will discharge,

To set him at large

From claims which no doubt,

Every brewer of stout

Would his conscience acquit,

If his assets permit:

It is therefore declar'd,

That none will be spar'd

From appearance at court,

('Tis the latest resort)

Who do not to Absalom's quickly repair,

And pay what they owe on account of his beer. —

No favour to any one soul will he show;

So they'd better save trouble—and pay what they owe.

CHAPTER XLII.

Conclusion.—And Passage home in the Calcutta by the way of Cape Horn.

THIS colony has at all times suffered much from the want of union and co-operation amongst the servants of government, or it would possibly, ere this, have reached a higher point of prosperity. Let us indulge the hope that these divisions will now terminate in a concord, as much to be desired by the parties themselves, as advantageous to the circumstances of its internal welfare. Twice, during this voyage did I visit the settlement, and at both times found the same fatal disunion.

According to the present prospect, it may be safely said, that, with some degree of forecast, and encouragement of agriculture, and particularly the growth and preservation of live stock, animal food, and every other species of provisions, will be in great abundance, and much cheaper than in the mother country; nor will this probably be at any great distance of time: a few years may be reasonably expected to produce this change. We have already stated, that it is principally owing to the miserable want of foresight that most of the recent calamities of the settlement may be imputed. The writer is also of opinion, that if the settlement continues in that tranquil-

lity, which may be reasonably expected from the attention and liberality of government, the growth of manufactures, from the present state and circumstances of the colony, will be much more rapid than it has hitherto been. Government have already established a manufactory of coarse woollen cloth from the country wool: and though their workmen are at present but few, and the quantity manufactured of course very moderate, it promises a very rapid increase. Both linen and canvass have been likewise manufactured from the country flax. An individual has established a kind of pottery of the coarser ware, at Parramatta. A water-mill, the only one in the colony, was nearly completed. Curing and table salt has been lately manufactured at Sydney which will not liquify, and of so good a quality as to supersede the further importation of that article from Europe. A manufactory for hats has been likewise established at the same place. Our last accounts of any interest are of the latter end of May 1811, presenting us with a very pleasing view respecting the state of this colony. The colonists at this time were under no apprehensions of a scarcity of provisions, the store houses being filled with grain, and the supply of the colony reckoned equal to its consumption without further assistance from the mother country. A school had been opened at Sydney upon the Lancastrian system; each pupil to pay one shilling per week. Governor Macquarrie was about to proceed on a tour to the New Settlements of Van Dieman's Land and Port Dalrymple. At this latter settlement 300 acres of wheat had been sown, and bore a promising appearance.

Time, the great unraveller of all events, will confirm and ratify these conjectures, and will show how far the knowledge of this lately discovered part of the globe may be directed towards the reformation of society, and to the honour of the present generation, for whom it was reserved. It is difficult to form a just estimate of the happiness of any nation; but, as far as our judgment and observations may be trusted, in our intercourse with the natives of the different countries which we visited, we found them all equally tenacious of their own habits and customs. This is so generally true, that we cannot except from it even the natives of New Holland, who, however barbarous, are still as much attached to their former modes of life, as the inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges. No dawn of civilization has been as yet able to penetrate through the gloom of this tenfold darkness; and years, even centuries, must elapse before they can become so initiated in the very elements of civil life, as to be fit members of a social community, and fit objects for government and regulation. Upon several occasions, since our departure, their hostility has manifested itself in some serious outrages committed upon the out-settlers, several of whose houses they have set on fire and even gone to the dreadful length of inhumanly murdering them. Nay, they have even gone so far as to evince demonstrations of seizing the small craft navigating between the Hawkesbury and Sydney. The government, under such painful circumstances, have been compelled to make some examples, in order to deter the rest.

As we now approach the conclusion of our narrative, the author

begs leave to observe, that, in such a variety of matter, it must not be expected that his opinion will always perfectly coincide with that of others. There are few circumstances in which many men will be found to agree, every one making his own condition and habits of life the standard of his private judgment. It has been his undeviating effort throughout the whole of his work, to confine himself to those objects which were most suited to interest the general reader.

If mistaken in any of these opinions, he begs leave to assure the reader, that such errors are by no means intentional; and again to repeat, that it is principally through the persuasion of his friends, that ever they made their appearance at all.

The *Calcutta* having completed her repairs and cargo, the captain, the companion of our toilsome enterprise, and myself, embarked on board that ship on the evening of the 16th of March 1804, in very ill health, brought on by a course of hardships and fatigue. And on the following day we bade adieu to this settlement, where, from party divisions, and the bad habits of the convicts, it requires some discretion in a stranger to steer clear of offence. After having escaped so many eminent perils, we were now happy in the prospect of shortly reaching our native country, and once more returning to the blessings of enlarged society, to both of which, we had been so long strangers.

The voyage of the *Calcutta* having been already given to the public, we shall not delay the conclusion of our narrative by a

tedious repetition of circumstances, with which the public are already acquainted; but simply state a few leading particulars.

The commander of that ship at first intended to pass to the northward of New Zealand, to avoid being all at once plunged from a hot into a cold climate; but after endeavouring for ten days to effect his purpose, at last abandoned this design, and stood to the southward in order to get into a strong current of westerly winds. On the 29th we had a sight of the coast of New Zealand. During the long and dreary passage between this and Cape Horn, the wind seldom deviated to the northward of N. W. or to the southward of S. W. with strong gales accompanied at times with showers of sleet and hail, and dark gloomy weather. Nothing could be more irksome to an active mind than the situation he was placed in during this tempestuous passage. The ship, although advancing at the rate of one hundred and eighty miles *per diem* for twenty-nine days together, appeared as continually fixed in the centre of a circle, the circumference of which she could never attain. Within a few days sail from Cape Horn, we encountered a very heavy gale of wind from the eastward, of two days continuance: the sea forced on by the violence of the wind, ran so high, and broke with such violence on board the ship, that her yard-arms often swept the water, carried away several of the chain-plates, and made considerable havock among the sails and rigging; and in one of those sudden jerks carried away the tiller short by the rudder-head, and in the great confusion of shipping a new one, one of the wardroom officers lost

three of his fingers in a moment. On one occasion, being driven as far to the southward as the latitude of $57^{\circ} 4'$ south, we had a beautiful sight of the *Auroræ Australes*, or southern merry-dancers. On the 27th of April we rounded Cape Horn.

It would be both unjust and ungenerous were we not in this place to acknowledge the kindness and attention which we experienced on board this ship. On the 22d of May, we arrived off the harbour of Rio Janiero, in lat. $22^{\circ} 54'$ south, and lon. $42^{\circ} 42'$ west. The entrance into the harbour is pointed out by a remarkably high mountain, very much resembling a sugar-loaf. The formidable fort of Santa Cruz, mounting a double, and in some places a treble battery of heavy artillery, (and close to which all ships must pass, within the distance of a cable's length), completely secures the passage: and immediately opposite to this is a small fortified island, so that, were an enemy to attempt to force an entrance, he must inevitably be sunk almost at the first round. From this fort we have a grand view of the harbour, which is extensive and commodious. As soon as we were safely at anchor, we saluted the guard-ship, (a seventy-four), with thirteen guns, who very politely returned the compliment with an equal number. The commander, on hearing we had come off a long voyage, in the most friendly and polite manner, ordered his long-boat on board, with a supply of fresh water and a present of some fruit, for the captain and officers.

On the following day the captain went on shore, to pay his respects to the viceroy, and make the necessary arrangements for

refreshments for the ship's company. On his return on board, he paid a similar visit of ceremony to the commander of the guard-ship.

It was really singular to observe the different reception we experienced on board this king's ship to that we met with at St. Salvador, in our little merchant vessel. No guard, no guard-boat, no custom-house officers, no irritating interruption! On the contrary, a free and open intercourse was allowed to every one who chose to avail themselves of it.

Ill health prevented me from taking advantage of this indulgence; but, when on deck, enjoying the air on these occasions, to my mind, nothing can exceed the beauty of the scenery in the environs of this anchorage.

To the south, and at the distance of about two miles, is situated the city of St. Sebastians, the capital of the Brazilian empire, and the residence of the viceroy.

The royal palace, military hospital, the numerous churches, monasteries, convents, &c. with the freshness of the surrounding scenery, and the salubrity of the climate, after a long tempestuous voyage, has a striking effect on the imagination.

Turning towards the north, the spectacle is equally agreeable: a lofty range of mountains covered with a perpetual verdure, and crowded with trees of every variety to their highest summits, presents itself, whilst the numerous shipping lying at anchor, and daily entering and leaving the harbour on their respective desti-

nations to every quarter of the world, and the market-boats continually passing between the city and the neighbouring country, renders the whole scene equally grand and impressive.

Having completed our repairs, and taken on board about eighty tons of water and a liberal supply of other refreshments, no country producing more or in greater variety and perfection, the captain again put to sea on the 1st of June. On this occasion we experienced the same polite attention from the commodore as had marked our first entrance into the harbour, who ordered his launch to accompany the ship till she was clear of all danger.

Nothing particularly deserving of notice occurred during the remainder of the voyage.

At length, after an absence of four years, and twenty-one days, the long-lost shores of Albion made their appearance; a sight, as the reader may naturally suppose, which produced in our minds the most grateful sensations to that beneficent Providence, who so often interposed in our behalf, when even hope itself had almost vanished. Two days after, we anchored at Spithead, in the midst of a fleet of ships, the defence and just pride of their country.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LE GEOGRAPHE, AND NATURALISTE,

*Sent on a Voyage of Discovery, by the French Government,
in 1800.*

PPP

NARRATIVE, &c.

A Voyage of Discovery.

THE following narrative exhibits a brief summary of the proceedings of the *Le Geographe* and *Le Naturaliste*, two ships sent out on a voyage of discovery by Buonaparte. I received it about seven years ago from a gentleman who returned to Europe in one of the ships, and on whose veracity I can place the most implicit confidence.

Buonaparte had no sooner possessed himself of the supreme power, than he resolved, as it were, to assume the appearance of deserving it: ships, commerce, and colonies, were now the order of the day. It was in direct pursuance of this system, that a voyage of discovery was projected. Under his immediate auspices applications were made to the British government for passports; and, with the accustomed liberality of this country, they were complied with.

The above two ships were accordingly selected. They were put under the orders of Monsieur Badouin, who sailed in the *Le Geographe*, as commander of the expedition, and who had the rank of *Capitaine de Vaisseau*. This gentleman had been formerly employed in collecting articles of natural history in Louisiana, and was in every respect admirably adapted to the present service. He was a man of great humanity, and undoubted skill in his profession. The *Naturaliste* was commanded by Monsieur Hamelin, who had the rank of *Capitaine de Frégate*, and was likewise reputed to be a good officer. They were amply provided with every thing necessary for such an enterprise; and, amongst other articles, were several casks of medals to be distributed amongst the natives of the different islands at which they might chance to touch: a trait, characteristic, perhaps, of that inordinate vanity which distinguishes the country whence the expedition originated.

With equal policy, perhaps, the commanders of the two vessels were instructed carefully to cultivate the good will of the natives, and, by the whole of their conduct and deportment, to impress upon the minds of the savage islanders, the great splendour and power of the country from whence they came, above all others, and the military genius of the hero whose image formed the front impress of the medal. Around this image were the words:

BUONAPARTE, PREMIERE CONSUL DE LA REPUBLIQUE

FRANCOISE.

The reverse of the medal was composed of the figures of the two ships of the expedition, with this inscription:—

Expédition de Découverte, sous le Commandant Badouin. Les Courvettes Geographe et Naturaliste.

On board both ships were embarked officers and men of science of every description, botanists, mineralogists, &c. as well as some of the best natural historians in France.

Every thing being thus arranged, the two vessels left Havre-de-Grace, in the month of October 1800, the crews of the two ships consisting of about one hundred and eighty men. They continued their voyage without any thing worthy of remark till their arrival at the Mauritius, where they refreshed, and laid in a new stock of supplies. Standing afterwards to the eastward, they fell in with the coast of New Holland at Cape Lewin. It is somewhat singular, that the minds of the British and French governments should, (by mere chance), be directed to one object, namely, the survey of the west coast of New Holland.—Captain Flinders in his Majesty's ship Investigator, a gentleman who had so eminently and successfully distinguished himself in the discovery of Bass's Straits, had just completed a very accurate survey of it, when he fell in with the French ships then entering upon their operations. Immediately to the north of Cape Lewin, they discovered a bay, which, after the name of the commodore's vessel,

they called Geographe Bay. They expended some time in the accurate survey of this bay, but found it less convenient than they had at first supposed, being much exposed to the south-west winds. This place they left in a heavy gale of wind, each ship losing an anchor and very narrowly escaping being blown on shore. In weathering the extreme of the bay, the ships parted company. The places of rendezvous were appointed to be Swan River, or Sharks Bay. The commodore, however, not liking the appearance of the opening of Swan River, bore up for Sharks Bay. The Naturaliste in the meantime had entered the river, and waited for the commodore three weeks, but this vessel not making her appearance, she returned to Geographe Bay. Not finding the object of her search there, she bore up for Shark's Bay, and most unluckily entered it on the same day on which the commodore had left it. Captain Hamelin continued here during six weeks, and in that time made a survey of the bay, which he lays down in nearly a degree more to the north than Dampier. They describe this bay as very capacious, and well sheltered by a number of islands at its mouth, but the land is stated to be very bad, and no fresh water to be procured.

They found on one of the islands, Dirk Hatigs, a pewter plate affixed to a tree by spike nails, seemingly much decayed, and ready to drop off. This, as appears by the inscription, had been left nearly two centuries back, by those enterprising adventurers, the Dutch, the first discoverers of this country. The spirit of dis-

covery which so eminently distinguished that infant republic at this period; the resolution and hardihood of the commanders, in entering upon such voyages, without charts or the least previous information to direct them; and the very imperfect state of their nautical instruments; can never be sufficiently admired. Yet, how quick has been the revolution of some nations!—How sudden, and almost unbroken, their fall, from the highest pinnacle of prosperity, and the virtues which had earned and deserved it, to the most abject servility, and an apathy to every thing that is great!—It is almost painful to think of their then commercial grandeur, and now to behold their present depressed condition!! The inscription is as follows:—

As. 1616.

*The 25th of October, arrived here the ship Endraght, of Amsterdam,
Dirk Hatigs, Master.*

*The 27th of October, arrived here the ship Naban—Supercargo,
Jamthins; First Lieutenant, Pieter Dookes.*

As. 1697.

The 1st of February, arrived here the ship Alionek, of Amsterdam.

*After this, the Commander of the fleet, with the ship Fleming, of
Flissingen. After, the ship Assistencie, Jan Van Bremen, Master;
and the ship Theodore, Michel Beohn, Master. After this, the
Neptune, Gerrit Cobaort, Master, from Amsterdam.*

The long undisturbed continuance of this plate may be considered as an almost certain proof that the country is but very thinly peopled, if not altogether destitute of inhabitants; as it may very fairly be presumed, that, had any natives seen this plate, their curiosity would have excited them to remove it. The want of water may be a sufficient reason why it is thus destitute or deserted.

The *Naturaliste*, upon leaving this bay proceeded to Timor, where she found the commodore, who it appears had ranged the coast as far as the thirteenth degree of south latitude, but not caring to make too free with the land, he had made no discoveries whatever, except we thus denominate a small island in the 12th degree south. This island lay some miles off the land, and was named by the commodore Admiral Island.

Both ships standing in need of repair, this necessary business was executed during their stay at Timor. Upon leaving this place, they proceeded to Derwent-water, in Van Dieman's Land, and d'Entrecasteaux Straits, so called from the French admiral of that name, who had been sent out in search of Perouse, and in that voyage had made the first discovery of them. They here again spent three months, in making their surveys; and having visited Oyster bay, in Maria's Isles, they again parted company in a smart gale of wind off Cape Pillow.

After this separation, the *Naturaliste* entered Bank's Straits, and touched at Water-house Island, which had been appointed

as the place of rendezvous, supposing, from its name, that there was a small settlement, and plenty of water on it; but finding neither the one nor the other, as likewise no shelterage, the captain crossed the straits to Western Port, in which he spent some further time. Here, however, being again disappointed in his expectation of meeting with the commodore, he bore up for Port Jackson, where he took in some supplies; and, after a stop of three weeks, again put to sea. His intention was to return to the Isle of France by the westward, round the South Cape, which he ineffectually endeavoured for five weeks, contending, during the whole of that time, against the westerly winds, by which he was at last compelled to abandon this project, and bear up a second time for Port Jackson. He here, indeed, found some consolation for his disappointment by an unexpected meeting with his commodore.

The commodore had entered Bass's Straits after parting with his companion. Touching at Water-house Island, seeing there no appearance of his consort, and finding the island in every respect unsuited to his purposes, he crossed the straits, and ranged along the coast of New South Wales, as far as the 126th degree of longitude, without making any discoveries, having passed Port Philip without observing its opening. He now began to find his people suffering much from the scurvy, and his provisions getting very short, so that he deemed it prudent to return and proceed for Port Jackson. Upon his arrival, upwards of two thirds of his

ships company were unable to come on deck, or give any assistance towards working the ship.

Here they experienced the most hospitable and marked attention; their sick were immediately landed, and cheerfully received into the hospital. Every refreshment which the colony could afford, (and at this time there was a great scarcity even of necessities for its own establishment), was liberally furnished to them, and such of the officers as chose to avail themselves of an open table, were always made welcome, and found a cover provided for them. They had credit to an unlimited extent. The scientific gentlemen were allowed the full and uninterrupted range of the country to prosecute their researches. But this may be better given in the words of the commodore himself. "Upon our arrival here, says he, the resources of the colony were by no means abundant, and supplies uncertain. The arrival of 170 men could not be supposed a very favourable circumstance; nevertheless, we were amply provided for: and, as soon as our arrival and wants were known, a retrenchment of the daily rations was adopted, in proportion to the number of inhabitants and the garrison of the colony. His excellency the governor gave the example, and by this means, equally honourable to humanity and himself, we experienced comforts here, which perhaps we should elsewhere have obtained with difficulty."

It has been stated in our voyage, that, after the shipwreck of the Porpoise, Captain Flinders, with his characteristic ardour,

determined on proceeding to England in a small vessel named the *Cumberland*, built in the colony. In the course of his passage, however, she proved so exceedingly leaky as to place him under the necessity of running her into the Mauritius, in order to receive a repair previous to his rounding the Cape of Good Hope.

We shall now see the return for these civilities, which, on the part of the French government at the Mauritius, was made to the commodore's cotemporary voyager, Captain Flinders, upon his arrival there, in the greatest distress.

Captain Flinders states, in a letter to his friends, of the date of the 8th day of August 1804, that he passed through Torres Straits in three days, and greatly improved the observations which had been formerly made by him there in his Majesty's ship the *Investigator*. That, after leaving Timor, the *Cumberland* proved leaky in her upper works, and that the pumps were so much worn by constant use as to have become unserviceable. Captain Flinders having no reason whatever for supposing that hostilities had commenced, and confiding in his passport, put into the Isle of France, where he arrived on the 16th of December 1803. He lost no time in paying the usual respects to the governor-general, Decaen; after being kept two hours in the streets, he had an audience, in which he was told that he would be regarded in no other point of view than as an impostor, and that the improbability, not to say the absolute impossibility, of his having made such a voyage in such a vessel, was sufficient to discredit both his

passport and commission. Finally, Mr. Aikin the master, and himself, were carried on shore prisoners, and at two o'clock in the morning all his books and papers were taken away, and a centinel with a fixed bayonet was placed over the room in which they were lodged. Captain Flinders could obtain no other satisfaction for this harsh and unmanly treatment, nor any other explanation, than that he had deviated from the voyage for which the passport was given by touching at the Isle of France, and that the unusual voyage from Port Jackson to that place, was more calculated for the particular interests of Great Britain than for those of this voyage of discovery. In fine, he was considered and treated as a spy, and made to understand that his letters had given great offence.

In this confinement, the health of Captain Flinders began to suffer; the scurvy breaking out with some severity in his legs and feet. A surgeon was indeed appointed to attend him; but although this gentleman represented the necessity of the captain's being permitted to take air and exercise, yet was he not allowed to walk or ride during the space of four months, nor was any one allowed to speak to him during the same period, without General Decaen's especial permission. After this, through the intercession of Captain Bergeret, of the French navy, he was removed to the house where such of the English officers, as might happen to be taken prisoners of war, were ordinarily confined. This house is situated at some distance from the town, enjoys a free air, and is surrounded by a wall enclosing a space

of two acres of ground. Here Captain Flinders and Mr. Aikin soon recovered their health, but remained under confinement till the date of Captain F.'s letter. Through the intercession of Captain Bergeret and another French naval officer, he recovered the greater part of his books and charts, and was assiduously employed in repairing the ravages that had been made among them.

From the very eminent attainments of this gentleman in the line of his profession, it will be no inconsiderable loss to his country, should even the least of these valuable papers have been detained by the French government. Admiral Linois, as well as Captain Bergeret, exerted all their interest to procure Captain F. to be sent to France; but this was refused, upon the pretext, that he must remain there till orders were received from that country, respecting his further disposal.

But to return to our more immediate subject, the further proceedings of M. Badouin:—The crews of the two ships were much reduced by sickness and mortality during the preceding part of their voyage, and the *Naturaliste* was in every respect but ill adapted to a voyage of discovery, being a heavy sailer and very leewardly. In these circumstances, after having refreshed, and received every supply which the colony could afford, the commodore removed the convalescents, and such others as were in opposition to his measures, into this ship, and recruited his own ship's company from the healthier part of her crew. This done, he gave Captain Hamelin orders to prepare for returning to France. In fact, the real diffi-

culty of the voyage, as a voyage of discovery, was much augmented by a general want of discipline which pervaded the whole body of the officers, and which took its origin from the levelling principles at that time predominant in France. In the meantime he purchased a small vessel of fifty tons, built at Botany Bay, and originally intended for the sealing business at Bass's Straits.

This vessel he placed under the command of a lieutenant, with a compliment of fifteen men, to act as a tender to the *Geographe*, as her easy draft of water rendered her more fitted to enter the creeks, bays, and rivers, which they might fall in with in the course of their voyage.

In this place, I must not omit to mention one thing which redounds much to the honour of the commodore's humanity. Previous to his departure from the colony, he presented the Orphan School with the sum of fifty pounds. I must here likewise cursorily observe, that, amongst all the institutions or means which could be devised for laying a foundation of good morals in a colony, in which the parent stock is so profligate, nothing is better adapted to this end than this establishment. It is certain that of such parents the children could learn little that is good. It is in such a situation that it becomes a generous public to interpose and rescue a future generation from inheriting, as it were, the contumacy of the past.

During the whole time they continued at Port Jackson, which was about five months, the greatest harmony and friendly intercourse subsisted between them and every class of the inhabi-

tants.—Having completed every necessary arrangement, the commodore finally left that place on the 17th of November 1802, accompanied by their tender, which was named the *Casarina*, and the *Fanny*, an American ship, for King's Island, in Bass's Straits, where he arrived on the 7th of December, and came to an anchor in a bay, named Elephant's Bay by its first discoverer, Lieutenant Murray of the royal navy. It was so called by this gentleman on account of the number of animals of that species with which the island abounds. These animals come on shore in these islands in great numbers, and many of them so large as to produce nearly half a ton of oil. It was here that the party mentioned in our voyage, was landed by our captain for the purpose of procuring a cargo of this oil and seal-skins against the vessel's return from Otaheite. The officer commanding our party, upon the appearance of those ships, ordered the English colours to be hoisted, and kept them daily flying all the time during the commodore's stay, in order to show our prior possession. The commodore observing this, and guessing its meaning, observed with much pleasantry, that the English were even worse than the Pope, for that his holiness had the moderation to divide the world, whereas the English were grasping at the whole of it. He doubtless here alluded not only to our vast empire in the East Indies, but to the extent of the jurisdiction of the government of New South Wales, which extends from the southern extremity of Van Dieman's Land, in latitude 43° 49' S. as far to the northward as Cape York, in latitude

10° 37' and from longitude 110° 30' E. to 153° 30' east; and, proceeding in an easterly direction, it includes all the islands in the Pacific Ocean visited by Captain Cook, a space in superficial area equal to the whole of Europe.

It may here be demanded by the more critical reader—Why so minute in the relation of this trivial circumstance of hoisting the colours? To which an answer is ready; That, from hints which had been incautiously dropped by some of the officers of the expedition, there was every reason to infer, that, had the force of the commodore been stronger, he would have left a party in the straits. It was said also, that the commodore himself had directly observed that France was in want of a whale-fishery, and that no place could be better adapted to it than Bass's Straits. It was under these circumstances that this measure had been adopted; and it was in allusion to this seeming jealous tenacity of our's, that the commodore used the above simile.

On the morning following his arrival at King's Island, he despatched the tender to make a survey of Hunter's Isles. Immediately upon anchoring, the officer who commanded our party went off to the commodore, to offer him any assistance that his local knowledge enabled him to render. This offer was very gladly accepted by the commodore, and during the whole time of his stay, which was upwards of three weeks, our people assisted him to the utmost of their power. The commodore, much to his credit, returned these civilities with principal and interest. It may be here

mentioned, that the gentlemen in the department of natural history, were not idle; the mineralogist, almost immediately upon his landing, made a discovery that the beach was stored with lime-stone, an article at that time much wanted in our settlements, and hitherto not known to exist in those countries. He observed on this occasion with much pleasantry, that the present possessors of this country did not know its real value; and that for this discovery alone, he merited a premium from the British government. Two days after this the *Naturaliste* received her final instructions, and sailed for France, which may in some degree be said to have terminated their voyage.

In summing up the substance of the above narrative, it will be found, that this expedition, which had left France with so much promise and preparation, exhibited nothing but that miserable failure, which, as the natural course of things, must ever attend an enterprize where there is a want of concert in the execution. In any other state of things than what at that time prevailed in France, and pervaded all her establishments by sea and land, the strong hand of discipline, and habitual military obedience, would have corrected any want of union between the officers and the commander; M. Badouin was at the head only of a democratic fraternity, who secretly opposed him by a kind of organized counteraction. It was thus that the voyage passed away without the accomplishment of any single useful object, except, indeed, that of having made a tolerably accurate survey of the western coast of New Holland.

We must here again recal to the memory of our readers, that never-to-be-forgotten avowal of the French Emperor—"Ships, Colonies, and Commerce!" But we have already delivered our sentiments as to the suggestions which arose in the mind of the French commodore upon the mere sight of Bass's Straits, and a perception of their convenience for the establishment of a whale-fishery. On such a subject we could say more, but, in the present situation of the two countries, it would be highly imprudent.

Upon the arrival of the *Naturaliste* in the Channel, in June 1803, hostilities having commenced between this country and France, she was sent into Portsmouth by one of our cruizers. On this occasion, our government afforded another exemplary proof of British generosity; during the time of her short detention, the crew were provided with every refreshment suitable to their situation, and as soon as government had satisfied themselves that she was what she represented herself to be, she was suffered to proceed to France without further interruption, with the whole collection of mineral, botanical, and natural productions, curiosities, views, drawings, &c. of the voyage; which amounted to between twelve and thirteen hundred packages.

A P P E N D I X.

Some Account of New Zealand.—Character of its Inhabitants.—Natural Productions, &c. &c.—Destruction of the Ship Boyd.—Description of the Fejee Islands.—Conclusion.

CONCEIVING that it may not be altogether uninteresting to our readers, and as it in some degree falls within the order of our work, we shall in this place take some notice of the active and friendly intercourse that has of late years taken place between the colonists at Port Jackson and the neighbouring country of New Zealand, an intercourse that promised the most beneficial and important consequences, namely, the gradual civilization of a whole people; but by a melancholy fatality, over which humanity mourns, through the indiscretion of an individual was rendered wholly abortive.

In our account of the settlement of New South Wales, we stated that the whale and seal fishery on that coast has of late years been a very profitable branch of enterprise, both to the colonists and the whaling trade from Europe. We also stated that, at the time of the government of Spain being forced into a union with France, the whalers were impelled by necessity to try the coast of New South Wales. Their first efforts so far rewarded their industry, that their numbers have been ever since upon an annual increase, so that this harvest, which at first proved so productive, after a time began to fail them. Ne-

cessity, however, being the mother of invention, some of them tried a new field, on the coast of New Zealand, where they were very successful.

Notwithstanding the ferocious character which had been assigned to the natives, some of our countrymen, after a time, ventured with great caution on shore, where they found them vigilantly on the alert, but at the same time without any disposition to offer hostilities, unless provoked to it by previous injury. From small beginnings, this intercourse ripened into an active and friendly communication; and almost every captain that landed had reason to be satisfied with his reception. When any of these captains touched or arrived at Port Jackson, the government of that colony was anxious to obtain from them every information relative to the Zealanders. They almost unanimously declared, that much might be effected by fair means; adding, that a chief of great power and authority resided near the Bay of Islands, and appeared to be a man who was at the same time sensible of the mutual advantages of friendly intercourse, and had the requisite qualities upon which to commence it. From the concurrent testimony of so many respectable characters, a considerable quantity of breeding stock of all kinds, and of every thing that might be of use to a people endeavouring after civilization, was sent upon various occasions. After a continuance for some time of this friendly intercourse, the chief expressed a desire, that he and five of his sons should pay a visit to his generous patrons. A request which was very readily complied with by a Captain Stewart, who, as he was not going immediately to Port Jackson, landed him at Norfolk Island.

We shall relate the circumstances of his arrival and stay at Port Jackson, in the words of the Sydney Gazette, the official paper of that colony.

“Tip-pa-he having expressed a desire to visit his excellency, Captain Stuart conveyed him, with five of his sons, to Norfolk Island, where they received every attention from the commandant and inhabitants; and, after remaining there some time, they were received on board his Majesty's ship Buffalo, to be conveyed to Port Jackson. On their arrival, Tip-pa-he was introduced by

Captain Houstin to his excellency and the officers at the Government-house, where he continued to reside during his stay in the colony.

“ He appears to be about fifty years of age, five feet eleven inches and a half high, and of an athletic form. His countenance is expressive and commanding, though much disfigured by being completely tattooed.

“ Shortly after his arrival, a number of the natives assembled in the vicinity of Sydney, for the interment of Carrawaye (whose death was occasioned by a spear-wound in the knee, which ended in a mortification) who the night before was conveyed here in a shell composed of strips of bark; and the funeral obsequies being over, a war spectacle ensued, when an intended sacrifice to vengeance, (known by the name of Blewit), was singled out to answer for the desperate wound by him inflicted upon young Baker. The animosity of his assailants was uncommonly remarkable; their party was far the more powerful, and, confident of their superiority, took every advantage of their numbers. The flight of spears was seldom less than six, and managed with a precision that seemed to promise certain fatality. After 170 had been thus thrown, ten of the most powerful stationed themselves so as nearly to encircle the culprit, and front and rear darted the weapons at the same instant. His activity and strong presence of mind increased with the danger: five he dexterously caught with his feeble target, and the others he miraculously managed to parry off. One of his friends, enraged at the proceedings, threw a spear, and received ten in return. Blewit turned one of his assailants' spears upon themselves, and passed it through the body of old Whitaker: the affray then became general, but terminated without further mischief.

“ Tip-pa-he, who, with several of his sons was present, regarded with contempt their warfare; he frequently discovered much impatience at the length of intervals between the flights, and by signs exhorted them to despatch; he considered the *heel-a-man*, or shield, an unnecessary appendage, as the hand was sufficient to turn aside and alter the direction of any number of spears. He nevertheless, highly praised the *wommeræ*, or throwing-stick, as, from its

elasticity, he acknowledged the weapon to receive much additional velocity. He was visibly chagrin'd when he saw the old man wounded through the body, and would certainly have executed vengeance upon its author, had he not been restrained by the solicitations of the spectators. The natives formed some extravagant notions of this stranger: they dreaded to approach him, and as much as possible avoided him; but whether from a deference to his rank, presumed from the very great attention shewn him, or from superstitious apprehensions excited by his appearance, is undeterminable; though the latter is by far the more probable conjecture. One of his sons conversing familiarly with a large group of the natives on the use of the spear, his remarks were generally acquiesced with. He requested the loan of one of their weapons, which was immediately presented, but as soon as he took it in his hand, they all fled, men, women, and children, and could not, by all his friendly assurances, be prevailed upon to return until he had laid it aside. It cannot be supposed that Tip-pa-he's high relish for civilization would find an agreeable object of contemplation in the manners of a naked race, who have for so many years disregarded its advantages; nor can it be imagined that the implacable arraignment of a fellow-creature for an offence which custom compelled him to commit, as was here the case, would in any wise accord with his sentiments of justice."

From the accounts given by the commanders of the South-sea whalers, of the abundant supplies of potatoes, and the assistance they have constantly received in procuring wood and water, as well as the hospitable reception and protection they have uniformly experienced from Tip-pa-he, whenever they anchored in the Bay of Islands, induces a persuasion, that the attainment of the object of his visit will insure a continuance of his kind offices towards the South-sea whalers, and lead to future desirable advantages.

The character of Tip-pa-he is thus further described by a very respectable colonist, who saw him often, and seems to have observed him with a very discriminating intelligence.

“Tip-pa-he,” says this observer, “appears to be a man of superior understanding; he was very inquisitive, and examined with great attention the various manufactures that were carrying on by the settlers. He was particularly struck with the art of spinning pack-thread and cord, and with weaving, and expressed his deep concern that these arts were not known in his country. He made very shrewd and just remarks on the laws and police of the colony, and appeared very desirous to take back with him some artizans who might introduce amongst his people the advantages of civilized life. From a single potatoe left with him some years since, he is said to have filled the country with that useful root, the value of which he had the sagacity to appreciate. He personally inspected its culture, preserved the cuts, and took methods for the general planting of them throughout his district. He is now enabled to supply European vessels with that important article of food.”

The chief and his sons continued here for some time. Upon their departure, in order to cultivate so promising an opening, the governor fitted up a colonial vessel with every accommodation, and, adding a great number of appropriate presents, sent them honourably home. On the passage, however, the chief was taken sick, and a young man belonging to the vessel was ordered to wait upon him. So pleased was he with the attention of this young man, that he particularly requested the captain of the vessel to leave him with him. The captain, knowing the governor's intentions to indulge him to the very utmost of his wishes, readily consented. The young man himself was equally well-inclined to accept the invitation, and thus, to all human appearance, an intercourse was opened, which promised the most important results.

The young man lived constantly under the roof of his benefactor, and having acquired a knowledge of the language, the chief gave him his daughter in marriage, and he became his factor and interpreter between all the shipping that touched there.

While every thing was thus proceeding to the content of the chief, to that of the young man, and to the interests of the two countries, a most

melancholy vicissitude was at hand—one of those events which almost make an Englishman ashamed of acknowledging that the perpetrator belonged to his country, a country not only the most distinguished in the civilized world, but which, for its high honour and national probity, most amply deserves to be so.

In order that we may relate this lamentable adventure fairly, and without any suspicion of personal bias, we shall give it in the words in which it appeared in the Calcutta journals:

“ We have to relate in substance,” says the writer, “ the following afflicting narrative, of which the parties are an Englishman of the name of Bruce—a Princess of New Zealand, the daughter of Tip-pa-he—and a captain of the name of Dalrymple.

“ George Bruce, son of John Bruce, foreman and clerk to Mr. Wood, distiller, at Limehouse, was born in the parish of Ratcliffe-highway, in 1779. In 1789 he entered on board the Royal Admiral East Indiaman, Captain Bond, as boatswain’s boy. Sailed from England for New South Wales, and arrived at Port Jackson in 1790, where, with the consent of Captain Bond, he quitted the ship, and remained at New South Wales.

“ At Port Jackson Bruce entered into the colonial naval service, and was employed for several years under Lieutenants Robins, Flinders, and others, in exploring the coasts, surveying harbours, head-lands, rocks, &c. During this time Bruce experienced various adventures, which do not come within the design of this narrative. After being thus employed for several years, in vessels of survey, he was turned over to the Lady Nelson, Captain Simmons, a vessel fitted up for the express purpose of conveying Tip-pa-he, king of New Zealand, from a visit which he made to the government of Port Jackson, to his own country. The king embarked, and the Lady Nelson sailed on her destination. During the passage, Tip-pa-he was taken dangerously ill, and Bruce was appointed to attend him; he acquitted himself so highly to the king’s satisfaction, that he was honoured with his special favour; and, on

their arrival, the king requested that he should be allowed to remain with him at New Zealand, to which Captain Simmons consented, and Bruce was received into the family of Tip-pa-he.

“ Bruce spent his first few months in New Zealand in exploring the country, and in acquiring a knowledge of the language, manners, and customs of the people. He found the country healthy and pleasant, full of romantic scenery, agreeably diversified by hills and dales, and covered with wood.— The people were hospitable, frank, and open; though rude and ignorant, yet worshipping neither images nor idols, nor aught that is the work of human hands; acknowledging one Omnipotent Supreme Being.

“ As the king proposed to place the young Englishman at the head of his army, it was a previously necessary step that he should be tattooed, as, without having undergone that ceremony, he could not be regarded as a warrior: The case was urgent, and admitted of no alternative. He therefore submitted resolutely to this painful operation; and his countenance presents a master specimen of the art of tattooing.

“ This pre-requisite being performed, Bruce was recognized as a warrior of the first rank, naturalized as a New Zealander, received into the bosom of the king's family, and honoured with the hand of the Princess Aelockoe, the youngest daughter of Tip-pa-he, a maiden of fifteen or sixteen years of age, whose native beauty had probably been great, but which has been so much improved by the fashionable embellishment of art, that all the softer charms of nature, all the sweetness of expression, are lost in the bolder traits of tattooing.

“ Bruce now became the chief member of the king's family, and was vested with the government of the island. Six or eight months after his marriage, the English ships *Inspector*, the *Ferret*, a South Sea Whaler, and several other English vessels, touched at New Zealand for supplies, and all of them found the beneficial influence of having a countryman and friend at the head of affairs in that island. They were liberally supplied with fish, vegetables, &c. &c.

“ Our Englishman and his wife were now contented and happy, in the full enjoyment of domestic comfort, with no wants that were ungratified, blessed with health and perfect independence. Bruce looked forward with satisfaction to the progress of civilization, which he expected to introduce among the people with whom, by a singular destiny, he seemed doomed to remain during his life. While enjoying these hopes, the ship *General Wellesley*, about twelve or fourteen months ago, touched at a point of New Zealand, where Bruce and his wife then chanced to be. This was at some distance from the king's place of residence. Captain Dalrymple applied to Bruce to assist him in procuring a cargo of spars and benjamin, and requested specimens of the principal articles of produce of the island, all which was cheerfully done. Captain Dalrymple then proposed to Bruce to accompany him to North Cape, distant about twenty-five or thirty leagues, where it was reported that gold dust could be procured, and Captain Dalrymple conceived that Bruce might prove useful to him in the search for the gold dust. With great reluctance, and after many entreaties, Bruce consented to accompany Captain Dalrymple, under the most solemn assurances of being safely brought back and landed at the Bay of Islands. He accordingly embarked with his wife on board the *General Wellesley*, representing, at the same time, to Captain Dalrymple, the dangerous consequences of taking the king's daughter from the island; but that fear was quieted by the solemn and repeated assurances of Captain Dalrymple, that he would, at every hazard, re-land them at the Bay of Islands, the place from which they embarked. Being at length all on board, the *Wellesley* sailed for the North Cape, where they soon arrived and landed. Finding that they had been entirely misinformed as to the gold dust, the *Wellesley* made sail, in order to return to New Zealand; but the wind becoming foul, and continuing so for forty-eight hours, they were driven from the island. On the third day the wind became more favourable, but Captain Dalrymple did not attempt to regain the island, but stood on for India. Bruce now gently remonstrated,

and reminded him of his promises; to which Captain Dalrymple replied, "That he had something else to think of, than to detain the ship, by returning with a valuable cargo to the island. Besides, he had another and better island in view for him."

"On reaching the Fejee, or Sandal-wood Islands, Captain Dalrymple asked Bruce, if he chose to go on shore, and remain there? when he declined, on account of the barbarous and sanguinary disposition of their inhabitants. Captain D. desired that he would choose for himself; and then took from him several little presents, which he himself and his officers had given to him at New Zealand; these now were given to the natives of the islands, in the boats then alongside the vessel.

"Leaving the Fejee Islands, they steered towards Sooloo; visiting two or three islands in their passage; but the limits of this narrative do not admit of giving any account of the occurrences at those places, though they are not devoid of interest.—After remaining four or five days at Sooloo, they sailed for Malacca, where they arrived in December last. At Malacca, Captain Dalrymple and Bruce went on shore. The latter was anxious to see the governor or commanding-officer, to state his grievances, but as it was late in the evening when he landed, he could not see him till the following morning, by which time Captain Dalrymple had weighed from Malacca roads, leaving Bruce on shore, and carrying off his wife on board the Wellesley to Penang.

"Bruce acquainted the commanding-officer at Malacca with his case, and expressed his wish to regain his wife, and to return with her to New Zealand.—The commanding-officer endeavoured to console him; desired that he would patiently wait at Malacca, for a short time, as some ship might probably touch there, on their passage from Bengal to New South Wales, by which he would procure a passage for himself and his wife; and that, in the mean time, he would write to Penang, desiring that his wife should be returned to her husband at Malacca. After waiting for three or four weeks,

accounts were received of Captain Dalrymple's arrival at Penang; upon which Bruce obtained the commanding-officer's permission, and left Malacca in the Scourge gun-brig, for Penang, where, upon his arrival, he found that his wife had been bartered away to Captain Ross. On waiting upon the governor of Penang, he was asked what satisfaction he required for the ill-treatment he had experienced? Bruce answered, that all he wanted was to have his wife restored, and to get a passage, if possible, to New Zealand. Through the interference of the governor, his wife was restored to him. With her he returned to Malacca, in hope of the promised passage to New South Wales; but as there was no appearance of the expected ships for that port, he was now promised a passage for himself and his wife to England in one of the homeward-bound Indiamen from China. By getting to England, he hoped from thence to find a passage to New South Wales; but the China ships only anchored in Malacca Roads for a few hours during the night, so that he had no opportunity of proceeding by any of the ships of that fleet. He then entreated the commanding-officer to get him a passage in the Sir Edward Pellew to Penang, where he hoped to overtake the Indiamen. A passage for himself and his wife was accordingly provided on board the Pellew; and, on his arrival at Penang, he found the Indiamen remaining still there; but he could not be accommodated with a passage to Europe, without the payment of 400 dollars. Not having that sum, and without the means to raise it, he came on with the Sir Edward Pellew to Bengal, where he and his wife, the affectionate companion of his distress, have been most hospitably received, and where their hardships and sufferings will be soothed and forgotten in the kindness that awaits them. Opportunities will probably occur, in the course of a few months, of a passage to New South Wales, from whence they will find no difficulty in regaining New Zealand.

“ Unwilling to interrupt the course of the preceding narrative by any matter not immediately connected with the parties, we reserved, for this place, a short account of the natural produce of New Zealand; an account

that must be considered as valuable, in coming from a man long resident in the country, and who had opportunities of satisfying himself on the points to which he speaks.

“ Bruce, our present informant, relates, that New Zealand abounds with a great variety of useful timber, among which are the pine and the fir: the forests are of great extent, and may be considered as inexhaustible. Flax and hemp, which are both indigenous to that country, grow in the utmost profusion. Immense plains are entirely covered with these plants, some of which is cultivated, but much the greater part is of spontaneous growth. The tree producing the white benjamin is also found in many parts of the island.

“ Mines of different valuable metals are known to exist in the interior. Specimens of their ores have been obtained; but, from the total ignorance of the people in metallurgy, or in any other art of civilized countries, their mines remain unwrought. Iron ores are found in great abundance, and with these the natives paint both themselves and their canoes.

“ Cabbages, the common and sweet potatoe, yams, parsnips, turnips, carrots, &c. rank among their garden vegetables. They have a plant somewhat resembling a fern, with a large farinaceous root, which, when roasted, is a pleasant, wholesome food, and is a most excellent substitute for bread. They have also fruit trees, some of which are indigenous, others are exotic. The orange and the peach have both been introduced from the Cape of Good Hope, and are in a very thriving way.

“ Breeds of swine and goats have been lately brought into New Zealand, and are increasing rapidly. Fish they possess in great variety and profusion, and during all the months of the year. In the summer season they are visited by shoals of mackrel; and during the winter their coasts are frequented by immense quantities of herrings. The island is watered by many fine rivers, which abound with fish, some of which are well known in Europe, while others seem peculiar to the countries in the Southern Ocean. The

shores of the rivers and their lakes are frequented by wild geese and wild ducks; but it is remarkable that they have no tame web-footed birds. The only quadruped on the land is a kind of fox, and their only reptile a dull sluggish lizard."

This opening, to which we have above alluded, to all human appearance seemed so promising to the great cause of general civilization, that the society of missions to Africa and the East were induced, at the express recommendation of the chaplain of the colony, to send out three persons, who were intended to settle there as artificers. But the tragical adventure which we have above related had such an effect upon the minds of the natives, that before these friends of humanity could accomplish their benevolent purpose, the natives began to execute, on their part, their just revenge for the treatment of Bruce and his wife. We shall also copy the narrative of these very miserable and lamentable occurrences from the Sydney Gazette.

"On Friday, March 2, 1810, arrived the colonial ship *King George**, Capt. Chace, with skins and oil, having been at the entrance of the Bay of Islands eighteen days.—Mr. Chace being prevented from entering the bay, by information from the *Ann*, Capt. Gwynn, in company with the *Albion*, Skelton; from which she received the melancholy information of the Boyd's capture by the New Zealanders, under Tip-pa-he; and the massacre of every one on board, except a boy, two women, and a child, at a place called Wangarooa, about twenty miles from the Bay of Islands; which unhappy communication was received by the *Ann*, from a letter left by Mr. Berry, of the City of Edinburgh, with a friendly chief named Tarrahee, who delivered it to Capt. Gwynn.

"From this letter it is reported, that Captain Thompson had contracted with Tip-pa-he for a supply of spars, the delivery of which was protracted

* This vessel, of two hundred tons burthen, was built at Port Jackson in the year 1805, by a commercial firm, in the short space of eleven months; and, in compliment to his present Majesty, was called *King George*.

for some days by plausible excuses, until at length the treacherous chief, who was assisted by his son Mytye, prevailed on Captain Thompson to send two of his boats manned to a distant part of the island, under a pretext of getting the spars on board.

“ Shortly after the departure of the boats, in one of which Captain Thompson went himself, the passengers and seamen left on board were attacked; and those on deck being prostrated, Tip-pa-he, with a speaking trumpet, invited six seamen, who had gone aloft, to return on deck, with a promise of security, if they would cut the sails from the yards; and being terrified into compliance, they were immediately bound hand and foot, and sent on shore, for the purpose of being slaughtered and devoured, which sad destiny unhappily fell upon them after protracted sufferings.

“ The City of Edinburgh sailed, shortly after the rescue of the four persons already mentioned, for Otaheite, being unable to procure spars at New Zealand, which was the intention of her calling there, owing to the ferment which existed among the natives themselves.”

Destruction of the Ship Boyd.

THE following copy of the very interesting letter left at New Zealand by the City of Edinburgh, and transmitted by Captain Swain, by the way of Norfolk Island, contains the original account of the fate of the Boyd.

“ All masters of ships frequenting New Zealand are directed to be careful in not admitting many natives on board, as they may be cut off in a moment by surprise.

“ These are to certify, that during our stay in this harbour, we had frequent reports of a ship being taken by the natives in the neighbouring harbour of Wangarooma; and that the ship's crew were killed and eaten. In order to ascertain the truth of this report, as well as to rescue a few people who were said to be spared from the general massacre, Mr. Berry, accompanied by Mr. Russel, and Matengaro (a principal chief of the Bay of Islands, who

volunteered his service), set out for Wangarooa with three armed boats on Sunday the 31st of December 1809; and upon their arrival found the miserable remains of the ship *Boyd*, Captain John Thompson, which the natives (after stripping of every thing of value) had burnt down to the water's edge. From the handsome conduct of Matengaro they were able to rescue a boy, woman, and two children, the only survivors of the shocking event; which, according to the most satisfactory information, was perpetrated entirely under the direction of that old rascal Tip-pa-he, who has been so much, and so undeservedly, caressed at Port Jackson. This unfortunate vessel, intending to load with spars, was taken three days after her arrival. The natives informed the master on the second day, that they would shew the spars next day. In the morning Tip-pa-he arrived from Tippuna, and went on board; he staid only a few minutes, and then went into his canoe; but remained alongside the vessel, which was surrounded with a number of canoes that appeared collected for the purpose of trading; and a considerable number of the natives gradually intruding into the ship, sat down upon the deck. After breakfast, the master left the ship with two boats, to look for spars; and Tip-pa-he waiting a convenient time, now gave the signal for massacre. In an instant, the savages, who appeared sitting peaceably on the deck, rushed on the unarmed crew, who were dispersed about the ship at their various employments. The greater part were massacred in a moment; and were no sooner knocked down than cut to pieces while still alive. Five or six of the hands escaped up the rigging. Tip-pa-he now having possession of the ship, hailed them with a speaking trumpet, and ordered them to unbend their sails and cut away the rigging, and that they should not be hurt: they complied with his commands, and came down; he then took them ashore in a canoe, and immediately killed them. The master went on shore without arms, and was, of course, easily despatched. The names of the few survivors are, Mrs. Morley and child, another woman, and Thomas Davis, a boy. The natives of the spar district in this harbour have behaved well, even beyond expectation;

and seem much concerned on account of this unfortunate event; and dreading the displeasure of King George, have requested certificates of their good conduct, in order to exempt them from his vengeance; but let no man after this trust a New Zealander. We further certify, that we gave Tarrahee, the bearer of this, a small flat-bottomed boat, as a reward for his good conduct, and the assistance of getting us a cargo of spars.—Given on board the ship City of Edinburgh, Captain Simeon Pattison, Bay of Islands, Jan. 6, 1810.

S. PATTISON, *Master*.

A. BERRY, *Supercargo*.

J. RUSSEL, *Mate*."

"Tarrahee behaved very well, and all his tribe; for that reason I gave him several gallons of oil. I came in January 17th, and sailed the 28th, 1810.

W. SWAIN, *Ship Cumberland*."

Sydney Gazette, Feb. 17, 1810.—"In confirmation of the melancholy account received from Captain Chace, of the King George, of the capture of the Boyd, at the Bay of Islands, and the atrocities attending that melancholy event, Captain Wilkinson states, that he was under repeated apprehensions of attack from the natives at Mercury Bay; from whence he went for the Bay of Islands, in hopes of finding protection from Tip-pa-he; from whose conduct it was no less observable that hostility was intended. A watering party from the ship was once entirely surrounded by armed natives, who endeavoured to get possession of the arms in the boat; from which they were, however, prevented by the precautions that were observed."

The whale and seal fishery at Port Jackson being one of the principal sources of wealth, in fact the staple of this part of the world, when the sealing flagged in some degree at Bass's Straits, they turned their thoughts to the neighbouring island of New Zealand, where the seals were known to abound. Every bay, creek, and river was examined by them in quest of these objects, and the fruit

of their labour most amply recompensed them. A most constant and friendly intercourse, mutually advantageous to them and the natives, took place.

It is with extreme concern, however, we state that several boat's crews and gangs of skin-collectors have been lately overpowered and murdered by these people, who afterwards devoured their bodies.

Several of the New Zealanders following the example of their chief, Tip-pa-he, were induced to visit Port Jackson, and several of them have even come to England, and visited our metropolis; thus affording, by their hardy constitution, the greatest assistance to ships whose crews, from sickness, desertion, or other causes, were much weakened. One of them in particular, of the name of Moneyhanger, brought home by a gentleman of the medical department at Port Jackson, was introduced on his arrival in London to Earl Fitzwilliam, who with great condescension treated him with the most flattering kindness, and, on his return, ordered to be given to him every article which could be either useful or acceptable on his arrival in his own country.

Every New Zealander thus returning to his native land should carry something with him to suit the taste and fancy of his countrymen; and it is an act of public benevolence in English gentlemen to give them such articles as may raise their sense of our national superiority. It is with the purpose of bettering their situation that they are thus induced to leave their families and homes; and their favourable report, and the riches they carry home, at once produce imitators, and excite a friendly disposition in their countrymen. This familiar intercourse would in a very short time bring to light the hidden treasures of the country, excite a spirit of activity and industry, and lead them to put their talents into operation to find out and to work up wherewithal they might purchase what they so much desire.

The following, amongst other instances, may be adduced as a proof that the New Zealanders are not that barbarous people they have been represented, unless some very provoking and aggravating circumstance had given rise to it. When the celebrated Palmer's term of transportation had expired, he and

some others purchased a Spanish prize, and sailed from Botany Bay for the river Thames in New Zealand, for the purpose of taking in a cargo of timber. Upon his arrival in that river, his vessel was found in so bad a state, that it became necessary to lay her on shore, that she might undergo a thorough repair previously to taking in her cargo. From the want of workmen and materials, she must have been absolutely abandoned, had it not been for the friendly assistance of the natives, and the very opportune arrival of a ship of nine hundred tons upon the same pursuit. The captain of this vessel, much to his honour, rendered them all the assistance in his power with respect to stores, &c. and the natives, concurring in the same friendly zeal, enabled them to proceed on their voyage. The other ship continued there upwards of two months, during which time it does not appear that a single act of hostility took place, one instance only excepted, that of plundering the tent of an officer who was on shore expediting the lading. But it also appears, that three or four of our countrymen, Botany Bay convicts, whose time no doubt had expired, and who had deserted the ship, but were afterwards recovered, were accomplices, and most probably the principal projectors of this act of plunder. A boy belonging to the vessel, and who had been left on shore in charge of some water-casks, remained amongst them a whole week unmolested. No inconsiderable proof that they can withstand even a strong temptation to theft, inasmuch as the casks were iron-hooped. Presents are of course expected upon such occasions, both to the chiefs and to the natives, for their assistance.

The principal chiefs, and such of the other natives as had any commodities to dispose of, were always dealt with in a fair and equitable manner by this gentleman; and a short piece of iron, sharpened at each end, from six to eight inches in length, and fastened to a handle, so as to serve them as a kind of adze, procured as much fish as served the whole ship's company of a hundred men for a day. Sweet and other potatoes were always in great plenty.

We must still indulge our hopes, that the patient benevolence of our countrymen will restore the then interrupted intercourse, and again open that com-

munication, which, on the one side, promised the civilization of so large a country, and on the other opened a market, the capabilities of which would have called forth the industry of those who supplied it: most ardently do we entertain this wish. It is a country rich in resources, which, under proper cultivation may be turned to great advantage. If a few honest and industrious artificers, or such men as Young and Davis, could be induced to settle here as those individuals have in the Sandwich Islands, to whom these people bear the nearest resemblance, both in activity and in intellect, of all the islanders in those seas, a combination of this kind would create a spirit of effort and enterprise, which would soon animate all the hidden energies of the soil and climate; and render what is at present a wilderness of materials, a cultivated and productive garden. But every thing depends upon the seed sown. Human policy should ever be united to sound morality and genuine philanthropy. But as the devotion of these men to such an effort would be generally of public benefit, and of public service, such persons would have a reasonable claim to remuneration, either from government, or those philanthropic individuals whose charitable munificence supplies its place.

Should it please God, however, that Bruce and his wife should ever reach New Zealand, the lady will have a history of events and circumstances to relate of the kind reception she ultimately experienced at Calcutta. The height and magnitude of the houses, and their interior splendour, the magnificence and majesty of some of its inhabitants, the richness of the country, the money lying in heaps in the streets, the costliness and variety of the goods in the shops, the deliciousness of the fruits, the tremendous size of the animals, as big as a New Zealand house, the great number of English ladies seen on the esplanade in their carriages, palanquins, &c. Fort William, with its astonishing ramparts, its great guns, its innumerable soldiers, will make the New Zealanders stare with astonishment.

The discovery of Bass's Straits formed a new era in the history of Botany Bay. Till this time, the usual enterprises of the colonists were simply con-

fined to the bringing of grain from the river Hawkesbury, in small craft, or shell lime from Botany Bay; or a visit to the coal river.

From this period, the spirit of the colonists may be said to be wholly maritime. Indeed, their agricultural difficulties of late years, together with the very low price of articles of the first necessity, fixed by the governor, contributed not a little to their active exertions; it gave a new impulse, and led to more extended adventures in every quarter. Port Jackson hereafter became, as it were, the centre of a circle, radiating to every point.—New islands, which before had only been seen at a distance, have now been carefully examined; and others, the inhabitants of which were only known by report, and dreaded as ferocious barbarians, have been opened to our intercourse. Thus has civilization dawned in a horizon where all was darkness before; and thus have new channels of commerce been opened to British industry. The intercourse between the colony of New South Wales, and the Fejee islands to the northward, has been extremely active of late years. Several vessels fitted out at that colony obtained cargoes there amounting to 46,000 seal-skins.

The Favourite, a trading vessel, Captain Campbell, lately touched at these islands; upon which occasion Mr. Thomas Smith, his second officer, was unexpectedly made prisoner by the natives, with seven others of the ship's company. He remained nine days in captivity, and experienced and witnessed horrors, from his narrative of which the following account is accurately deduced. It has been given in the Sydney Gazette, but as this paper has probably reached the hands of few readers in England, the repetition here may be welcome, and even useful.

It begins with stating, that on the 7th of October 1809, he went from Sandal-wood Bay, round to the Bay of Highlea, with three boats, in quest of sandal-wood, one of which, the ship's long-boat, he commanded; another, a whale boat, was under the command of a Mr. Lockerby, formerly chief officer of the American ship Jenny; and the third, under Mr. Graham, who had fortunately returned laden to the vessel in time to escape the calamities

that fell upon the former two. At Highlea he heard that Bullandam, the chief of the district of Buya, was expected with a force to make war upon the Island of Taffere or Taffeia, and that it was the intention of the Highleans to aid his enterprise. The next morning the two boats prepared to return to the vessel, but were cut off by Bullandam's fleet of canoes, 140 in number, orderly advancing in a semi-circle; and finding it impossible to pass them, it was considered advisable to bear up to the fleet, hoping, by such display of confidence to preserve the lives of the crews. When within hail they were ordered to advance; but the whale boat was prevented by a large canoe bearing down, and running aboard, cutting her in two. Mr. Lockerby and the crew were picked up and made prisoners, and Mr. Smith and the long-boat's people were made prisoners likewise. The captors were about to despatch some of the people with their spears and clubs, but were prevented by the chief commanding the canoe, until the superior chief should be consulted. When presented to Bullandam he proposed to employ them in his intended assault against Taffere, in which he promised to himself much assistance from their muskets, and seemed much disappointed when informed that the powder was spoilt, and the guns useless. He had no wish, however, to commit any personal injury on his prisoners; but, on the contrary, shewed some attention to Mr. Smith, whom he respected as an officer, and generally invited to accompany him when he went on shore, always endeavouring to soothe his apprehensions, and quiet his solicitude of returning with his companions to the ship, by an assurance, that as soon as the island of Taffere was subjugated, and its inhabitants destroyed, he would employ all his subjects in procuring wood for the vessel, to which they should be returned in safety.

On the 11th of October, the junction of forces being thoroughly arranged, an immense fleet of canoes sailed from Highlea for the expedition, and having a fresh head-wind, the canoes were set to windward by poles, at the rate of three knots an hour. At night this formidable armament came to, round the north-east part of the island; and Bullandam took Mr. Smith on

shore, to pass the night with him; his night guard consisting of ten men armed with spears and arrows.

Early in the morning of the 12th the whole of the army returned to their canoes; which on a signal from Bullandam set forward in complete order; and at about three in the afternoon the fleet anchored abreast of a village in Taffere, the van coming to close action with a fleet belonging to the island.

The attack was made with arrows at a distance; and as the canoes of Taffere maintained their position, they soon closed, when a desperate and stubborn conflict with spears commenced. The islanders, however, at length gave way to numbers very far superior, and, to escape an otherwise certain destiny all leaped into the water, and swam towards the shore, from which a division of Bullandam's fleet was endeavouring to cut them off. The canoes were taken possession of, with only one captive, an unfortunate boy, who being presented to the relentless chief, was ordered to be slaughtered, as it was his determination that not a single life should be spared. This ruthless sentence was immediately executed with a club, three blows from which the youthful sufferer endured, and then expired: the body was afterwards given into the charge of an attendant to be roasted for the chief and his principal associates. The horrors that immediately succeeded the defeat, the most sensible imagination can but faintly represent. A massacre was determined on; and as the men had escaped the fury of their conquerors by flight, the women and children became the chief object of search, on which mission a canoe was despatched, and unhappily the total discovery was very soon made. On a signal from the shore, numbers landed, and a hut was set fire to, probably as a signal for the work of destruction to commence. Within a cluster of mangroves the devoted wretches had taken sanctuary; many might undoubtedly have secured themselves by accompanying the flight of their vanquished husbands and relatives, could they have consented to a separation from their helpless children, who were no less devoted than themselves. A dreadful

yell was the forerunner of the assault; the ferocious monsters rushed upon them with their clubs, and without regard to sex or infancy, promiscuously butchered all. Some who still had life and motion were treated as dead bodies, which were mostly dragged to the beach by one of their limbs, and through the water into their canoes; their groans were disregarded, and their unheeded protracted sufferings were still more hurtful to the feelings of humanity than even the general massacre itself had been!—Among the slaughtered were some few men whose age perhaps had prevented their flight; but in fact, so sudden and so dreadful was the consternation that succeeded the defeat of the unhappy natives of Taffere, that it quite paralyzed the minds of the wretched creatures, when prompt consideration could alone be serviceable to their deplorable condition. The conquerors appeared to anticipate with inordinate delight the festival with which this sad event had gratified their horrible expectation. Forty-two bodies were extended on one platform in Bullandam's canoe; and one of these, a young female, appearing most to attract his attention, he desired that his second in command would have it lain by for themselves.

The Tafferians being wholly defeated and dispersed, the island was taken possession of by Bullandam's forces, which were very numerous. This principal chief invited Mr. Smith on shore, as he seemed inclined to shew him favour; and Mr. Smith declares it to be one of the most beautiful places he had ever seen; the houses, in number about a hundred, ranged on the declivity of a hill, interspersed with cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and other trees, and each house defended with a wall of piled stone. The buildings were however all set fire to by Bullandam's order; and Mr. Smith becoming solicitous for his release, was informed by the chief, that as soon as all the victims were devoured, he should be set at liberty with his companions. The dead bodies were got into the canoes, and the whole fleet left Taffere on their return to the main island, where many others joined in the horrible festivity, which was conducted with rude peals of acclamation. Mr. Smith was on this oc-

casion also taken on shore by the great chief, and here had again to experience a detestable spectacle. The bodies had been dismembered of their limbs, which were suspended on the boughs of trees in readiness for cookery; and afterwards part of a human leg was offered to Mr. Smith, who had never broke his fast for five days. The offer he rejected with abhorrence; and upon his captors appearing astonished at the refusal, he gave them to understand, that if he eat of human flesh he would instantly die. They were satisfied with this excuse, and continued their abominable festivity the whole night.

On the 15th, the chief in the canoe that captured Mr. Smith's boat applied to Bullandam for the prisoners, and the long boat, in order to return them to their ship, declaring his intention to demand three whale-teeth and twelve hatchets for their ransom, but this proposal was not then attended to. Twenty or thirty men then arrived at the place of rendezvous, each bringing a basket of human flesh half roasted, which made Mr. Smith learnt they took to preserve it. The day of deliverance at length approached from a captivity the most afflicting, from a diversity of causes, that man could be exposed to; and after enduring it nine days, and totally fasting, he was at length turned over to the charge of the Chief of Niri, with orders to demand the ransom for himself and six of his companions. But previous to quitting the voracious party, a new incident of cruelty occurred: one of the unfortunate inhabitants of Taffere had swam from his distressed island to the main, but was perceived as soon as he gained the shore, and was in consequence pursued by a multitude armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs: the pursuit terminated with the life of the wretched fugitive, whose body presented a new source of exultation and cannibal festivity.

On the 16th Mr. Smith was restored to his overjoyed shipmates, with all his companions except two, one of whom was Mr. Lockerby, who were afterwards indebted for their rescue to a determined perseverance in the captain, his officers, and people, which was highly creditable and meritorious. Mr.

Smith, Mr. Lockerby, and all the others, had been repeatedly on the very point of assassination, to which these people seem to possess no kind of repugnance whatsoever, but on the contrary, it appearing their chief object of delight. Their determined obstinacy in effecting every thing they attempt can alone be equalled by the extraordinary precision of their arrangements, which are planned methodically, and executed with an energy and calmness that surprise even a European; with strength of body they possess a thorough contempt of danger, and a heedlessness of pain. Their present conqueror, Bullandam, has already become terrible, and bids fair to possess himself of the sole sovereignty of the islands. But though implacable and sanguinary in his resentments, yet we are assured that, in his disposition, strong traces of kindness were perceivable towards all except the enemies of his arms.

These people are very avaricious, and, from the foregoing account, must be considered insatiably cruel. Their numbers, no less than the leading traits in their character, render them formidable to an incompetent power of defence, so that in all respects it becomes the duty of vessels trading thither to be no less cautious than at Tongataboo, the natives of which are indeed the less dangerous, as they are less powerful and numerous.

When it is known, and it positively is known, that these islanders have an intercourse with their more easterly neighbours, (the Friendly Islanders) lying at a distance of upwards of four hundred miles apart, and nearly in the winds eye, it will go a great way to solve the difficulty which has so long existed in the minds of many, that is, from whence were these islands peopled, and by what means. It will also throw a light, reflecting no little credit upon the genius and courage of these people, who, in their crazy craft, and totally without any use or knowledge of astronomy and navigation, by the sole aid of the sun, moon, and stars, could venture upon such a distant and perilous voyage.

Conclusion.

THE success of the seal fishery in Bass's Straits gave such an impulse to the active spirit of speculation both to the merchants of Sydney and the mother country, that in a few years the reapers exceeded the harvest, and they may be said to have exhausted the mine. Having however tasted of the sweets of this once very profitable channel of the fishery, and this particular vein being now nearly dried up, they turned their thoughts towards seeking others, and thus were led to look for other islands, channels, and passages, several of which have been discovered, and have well rewarded their investigators. So late as the year 1811, some resolute adventurers, in pursuit of new objects, penetrated as far as latitude $54^{\circ} 45'$ S. and longitude $159^{\circ} 42'$ E. where they discovered an island lying nearly in a north and south direction, and eighteen miles in length and six in breadth, which, in honour of the present governor of New South Wales, they named Macquarrie Island. At the distance of eight leagues from the north point of this island, in a north-east direction, they discovered some smaller ones, which they called the Judge and his Clerk. From the south of Macquarrie Island, in the direction of south-east, and at the distance of nine leagues, they again descried some others, which they denominated the Bishop and his Clerk. Some time previous to this another island had been discovered in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 41'$ S. and longitude 169° E. which, in compliment to a gentleman of the name of Campbell, the discoverer named Campbell's Island. The first of those adventurers, and their immediate successors, who arrived at Macquarrie Island, killed not less than eighty thousand seals.

It may be truly said, that this is the breaking up of the soil in a new world, and is one of those numerous examples of what the spirit of British enterprise and persevering industry will effect even in this remote corner of the world, and even without the assistance of those large overflowing ca-

pitals which are supposed to animate our trade at home. It is a pleasing spectacle to a man who feels properly for the interest and glory of his country, to see that the British energy is not extinguished, but, on the contrary, is now bursting forth with increasing splendour even in the most extreme parts of the habitable globe!

THE END.

