

JOURNAL OF A CRUISE
MADE TO THE
PACIFIC OCEAN,
BY
CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,
IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE
ESSEX,
IN THE YEARS 1812, 1813, AND 1814.

SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED.
THE TRANSACTIONS AT VALPARAISO, FROM THE PERIOD OF THE AUTHOR'S
ARRIVAL UNTIL THE CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX;
THE FATE OF THE PARTY LEFT AT MADISON'S ISLAND, UNDER
LIEUT. (NOW MAJOR) GAMBLE;
AND AN INTRODUCTION, IN WHICH THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW, OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS JOURNAL,
ARE EXAMINED, AND THE IGNORANCE, PREJUDICE, AND
MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE REVIEWER EXPOSED.

EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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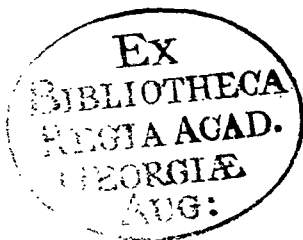
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"A Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. Second Edition. To which is now added, the Transactions at Valparaiso, from the period of the Author's arrival, until the Capture of the Essex; the Fate of the Party left at Madison's Island, under Lieut. (now Major) Gamble; and an Introduction, in which the Charges contained in the Quarterly Review, of the First Edition of this Journal, are examined, and the Ignorance, Prejudice, and Misrepresentations of the Reviewer exposed. Embellished with Engravings."

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JAMES DILL,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.



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PORTER'S JOURNAL.

CHAPTER XI.

PASSAGE TO WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

AFTER leaving the Gallapagoes, it was my intention to have run to the westward, keeping on or in the neighbourhood of the equator, to endeavour to fall in with a group of islands said to have been discovered by the Spaniards, and laid down in some charts. But, on reflection, I determined to make the best of my way for the Washington Islands, as this pursuit would have cost some expense of time, an expense I had no right to enter into, as the object of government in sending me to sea, was to annoy the enemy, and not to make discoveries; and should any accident happen to the ship in consequence of taking that route, I knew not how I should be able to justify my conduct in wandering from the direct course to the place of our destination. I had no doubt of the existence of the islands in question, having been informed by some of my prisoners that they had conversed with persons who had seen them; but their correct situation, or resources, were unknown to them. I determined, however, to keep well to the northward, before I fell in with the latitude of the Marquesas, with the hope of making some new discoveries, and therefore shaped my course on the most direct line for them. But finding the weather unpleasant, accompanied by a heavy and disagreeable cross sea, I in a few days kept more to the southward, until I reached the latitude of 9° south, then shaped my course due west, allowing for the variation of the compass.

On the 6th October, finding that some of my prizes occasioned considerable delay, I determined to despatch the *Essex Junior* for the Marquesas. My reasons for so doing

were founded on a firm belief that the *Mary-Ann*, the ship left by Mr. Downes at Valparaiso, would touch at those islands on her way to India. The cause of this belief was, that the captain of that ship had frequently declared, in the presence of Mr. Downes, his intention of going round Cape Horn, and the fact that she was short of fire-wood, an article that could not be procured at Valparaiso without paying very high for it, which was what the captain of that vessel did not seem disposed to do. Added to this, there was an American captain at Valparaiso of considerable intelligence, who had lately made a voyage to China from that port, had touched at the island of St. Christiana (one of the Marquesas) in his passage there, and had supplied himself abundantly with refreshments and wood, as he had also done in a former voyage. Between this gentleman and the English captain a considerable degree of intimacy subsisted, and I felt satisfied that his advice would be for him to take that route, and touch there. This advice I had no doubt of his following, for I could not persuade myself that any person would be so mad as to brave the tempestuous seas of Cape Horn to go to India, when it was in his power to proceed the whole way with fine winds and pleasant weather. I consequently believed, that the declarations made in the presence of lieutenant Downes were purposely to mislead that officer. Under the impression, therefore, that he would touch at St. Christiana, I directed lieutenant Downes to proceed there, and afterwards join me at Port Anna Maria, in the Island of Nooaheevah, one of the Washington Islands, which place I also appointed as a rendezvous for all the other vessels, in case of separation. Lieutenant Downes consequently made all sail, and at sunset was out of sight ahead.

From the time of the departure of lieutenant Downes until the 23d October, when we made the island of Teebooa, one of the group of the Marquesas, few circumstances of any moment took place. The weather throughout the passage was remarkably pleasant, gradually increasing in temperature as we increased our distance from the Gallapagos; but the heat was unaccompanied by squalls, thunder and lightning, or rain. Two of my prisoners, at the time of making land, were slightly affected with the scurvy; but (with the exception of these) we

had not a sick man on board. We frequently saw tropic birds, sea swallows, gulls, and other birds that indicate an approach to land, but in greater numbers between the longitude of 100° and 105° than in any other part, except in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, where we observed vast numbers the day before making land, at which time also we saw immense shoals of spermaceti whales, of all sizes, slowly directing their course to the northward. In this run we saw vast numbers of flying fish, and many of that kind which have red wings: they are much larger than the others, and are never seen in shoals. From the time of leaving the Gallapagoes we experienced a constant westerly set of the current, which gradually decreased in velocity until we made the land, when we found its rate to be only twelve miles in twenty-four hours. At the time of our departure from the Gallapagoes, we found ourselves set to the westward daily twenty-five miles, and this was ascertained by the difference between our dead reckoning and our lunar observations, assisted by our chronometer.

As we had little to employ our people about during our run, and as I believed that at this time, more than any other, I had much to apprehend from the scurvy getting among them, I considered it necessary to rouse them from that listlessness and apathy into which the human mind is apt to fall when destitute of employment. All were ignorant of the place of our destination or my intentions; I saw no prospect of evil resulting from making them known; and as I have ever considered that cheerfulness is a more powerful antiseptic than any other known, I determined to apply one of the doses which, I believe, had heretofore greatly contributed to preserve the health of my men. The following note was communicated to them; and those who know the disposition of sailors may readily conceive the effect it produced. For the remainder of our passage they could talk and think of nothing but the amusements and novelties that awaited them in this new world.

"We are bound to the Western islands, with two objects in view:

"First, that we may put the ship in a suitable condition to enable us to take advantage of the most favourable season for our return home:

"Secondly, I am desirous that you should have some relaxation and amusement after being so long at sea, as from your late good conduct you deserve it :

"We are going among a people much addicted to thieving, treacherous in their proceedings, whose conduct is governed only by fear, and regulated by views to their interest. We must put nothing in their power, be ever on our guard, and prevent, by every means that can be used, disputes and difficulties with them ; we must treat them with kindness, but never trust them, and be most vigilant where there is the greatest appearance of friendship. Let the fate of the many who have been cut off by the savages of the South Sea islands be a useful warning to us :

"It will require much discretion and good management to keep up a friendly intercourse with them ; and in the regulations that I shall lay down for this object, I shall expect the hearty concurrence of every person under my command :

"Disputes are most likely to arise from traffic with them. To prevent them, I shall appoint a vessel for the express purpose of trading, and shall select an officer and four men to conduct all exchanges. Every other person is positively forbid to traffic with the natives, except through the persons so selected to conduct the trade :

"No canoes or male natives will be permitted to come along side the *Essex*, or any other vessel, except the trading ship, on any account, unless it may be the chiefs whom I may designate. And if every person exerts himself to carry on the work of the ship, as well as to enforce the above regulations, and such others as I may from time to time adopt, I shall allow you time to amuse yourselves on shore. But this indulgence shall cease the moment I discover any relaxation in vigilance or industry.

Signed

D. PORTER.

U. S. Frigate Essex, October, 1813.

CHAPTER XII.

WASHINGTON ISLANDS,—ROOAHOOGA.

On the meridian of the 23d October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S.W. Our latitude at this time was $9^{\circ} 6'$ south, and the longitude by chronometer $138^{\circ} 27'$ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by lord Hood, while a midshipman with captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. The Hood's Island, seen by us, is a barren lump of rock inaccessible on all its sides, destitute of verdure, and about three miles in circuit. After making this island, which is the most northerly of that group called the Marquesas de Mendania, first discovered by the Spaniards, I hove-to for my prizes to come up, which were a great distance astern, as they had been generally during our passage. On their joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a captain Marchand, in the French ship *Solide*, bound on a trading voyage to the N.W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the

British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and lieutenant Hergest, probably ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship *Dædalus*. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and, notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleuriën, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has

fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns ; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans ; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. These substitutions of names (as Fleurien justly remarks) cannot but create confusion in Geography, and, in the sequel, give birth to uncertainties and doubts respecting the periods of discoveries. Fleurien claims for the French priority of the British, in the discovery of this group, and in the discussion loses sight of any claim of ours. Perhaps he has not considered us as rivals worthy of either of the great nations, and has attached to us no more merit than he would have given to one of the natives for being born there. The whole merit of a navigator, he says, consists in finding what he seeks for, not in accidental discoveries : if so, where is the merit of captain Marchand's finding this group, if he was previously ignorant of their existence. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

After this digression, which I have been led into from a sense of justice to my countrymen, I shall proceed in my narrative.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile valleys, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of the natives on the hills inviting us to land, pro-

duced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S.E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S.E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture along side until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. Their bodies were entirely naked, and their chief ornament consisted in the dark and fanciful lines formed by tattooing, which covered them. I displayed to them some whales' teeth, an object to which I had understood that the natives of this group were greatly attached. They seemed to be greatly attracted by them, and promised to return to the shore, and bring us in exchange for them fruit and whatever else we desired. On their leaving us, I bore away for several other canoes which were launched from the different coves with which the coast was indented, but nothing could induce them to come near the ship. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so

little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. Through the same medium I informed them that I should proceed to the shore, and there remain as a hostage for their safety. Some of them went off to the ship, but the greater number followed me to the shore, where they were collected in groups, armed with their spears and war-clubs, to receive me, and collecting in considerable numbers from every quarter. There were no women or children among them; and although both my boats were well armed I did not think it adviseable to put it in their power to make an attack on them, which would probably have terminated in the loss of several of their lives. I consequently directed lieutenant M'Knight, who was in the other boat, to keep out of the surf, which beat with considerable fury on the beach, while I went close in with my boat, where I made an exchange of pieces of iron hoops, and other articles, for their ornaments and fruit. Some of the former were handsome, and consisted of several pieces of wood neatly joined together in the form of a gorget, and covered with small red beans, neatly attached to it by means of a resinous substance. In a few minutes the spears and war-clubs were laid aside, and swarms of natives swam off to me loaded with the produce of the island. All seemed greatly to rejoice that we had so precious an article to offer them as pieces of old iron hoops, which were held in such high estimation that good sized pigs were purchased for a few inches. Some, to express their joy, were seen dancing on the beach with the most extravagant gestures, while others expressed the pleasure they felt by shouting and clapping their hands; and although I invariably paid them in advance for the articles received, I in no case, but one, met with an instance of dishonesty. Three men presented themselves to me, with each a bread-fruit. With a view of diverting myself with their embarrassment, I gave to them two fish-

hooks to be divided among them. They all agreed to the exchange, but on delivering the fish-hooks, one of them swam off with his bread-fruit, refused to deliver it up, and appeared much pleased with the trick he had played me, believing no doubt that it would be attended with less difficulty to divide the hooks between two than three. The other two seemed to affect anger with their companion, and made signs for me to pursue and beat him; but as one of them had a stick in his hand, I directed him to inflict punishment; this he pretended to do, but it was mere pretence. But notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, it was very evident that they had strong suspicions of us. They always approached the boat with the greatest awe and agitation, and in every instance, where articles were presented to them, they shrunk back with terror, and retreated to the shore with the utmost precipitation. This want of confidence in me, was greatly calculated to lessen my confidence in them, and even if the surf had admitted of my landing, I should not have considered it adviseable to venture ashore. One of them, however, ventured to raise himself by the side of the boat, and perceiving a pistol lying in the stern sheets, showed an evident desire to possess it. It was with some difficulty I could make him let go his hold of the boat; and to intimidate him I pointed the pistol at him; but it produced no other effect than joy, as he immediately held out both his hands to receive it, from which I concluded that they were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their necks. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They were all highly tattooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to under-

stand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

After leaving these friendly people I proceeded for the frigate, where I found the traffic with the canoes that had gone off, had been conducted with much harmony. Some of them I passed very near on their return, and the natives on board them expressed their extreme satisfaction by expressions of the most extravagant joy. One of them in the fulness of heart, said he was so glad he longed to get on shore to dance. On rejoining the ship, I was informed by the officers that the natives who had been on board, expressed much surprise at the sight of the goats, sheep, dogs, and other animals, but what seemed most to astonish them, was one of the large Gallapagoes tortoises. It seemed as though they could not sufficiently feast their eyes on it; and to view it more at their ease they stretched themselves at full length on the deck around it. This appeared to be their general practice when they wished to view leisurely any object that excited their attention, a custom which seems to bespeak the natural indolence of this people: and yet some circumstances seem to be at variance with this opinion; for on occasions they appear capable of the greatest exertions of strength and activity, as when paddling their canoes, climbing the rocks, &c. The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a

copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. When the eye is once familiarized with men ornamented after this manner, we perceive a richness in the skin of an old man highly tattooed comparable to that observed in a highly wrought piece of old mahogany. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. The neatness and beauty with which this species of ornament is finished, served greatly to surprise us. We could not help believing that they had among them tattooers by profession, some of them, no doubt, equal in celebrity to M'Alpin and other renowned tailors of America; for we afterwards discovered, that the wealthy and high classes were more fully and handsomely tattooed than those of an inferior station, which is a sufficient evidence that tattooing has its price.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were, as I before observed, handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable.

The canoes of these people are not so perfect in their construction as I had expected to find them. Yet they have much labour, and, no doubt, time, expended in their forma-

tion, considering the tools with which they were for the most part completed. Iron they know the use of; but from their desire to possess a few pieces of old iron hoop, its scarcity was evident. It is therefore highly probable, that they were formed with tools made of stones, or of such as could be made with the scraps of iron which it is possible they may have received from transient visitors. For, as it does not appear that they possess any articles of trade, it is not likely that tools of more value have been furnished them. These vessels are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. At some of the coves I observed the frames of boats of a

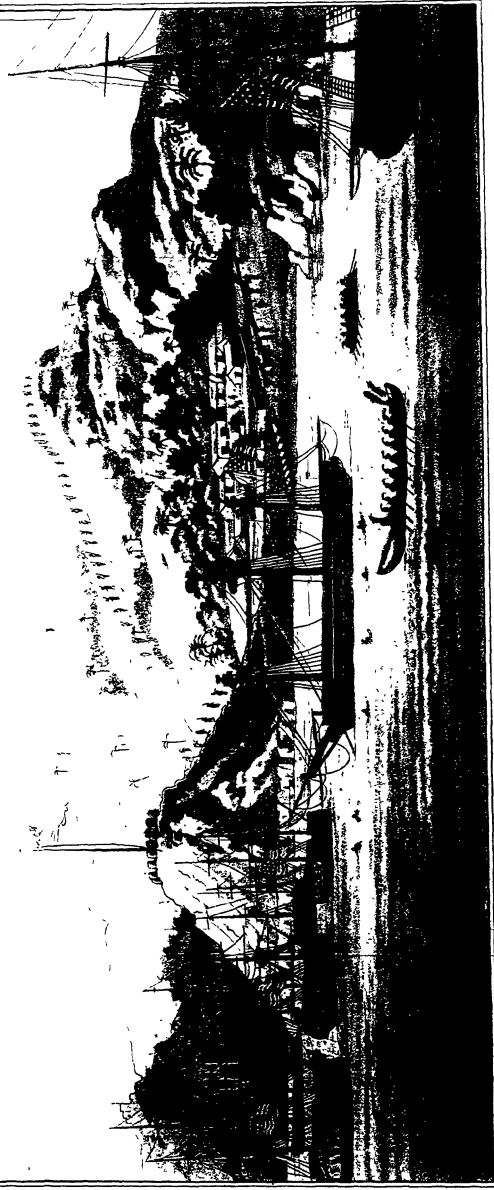
different construction set up, shorter and wider than the canoes, and in shape somewhat similar to the common whale boat; but I saw no such vessel in use among those who visited the ship.

Toward sunset I passed the western part of the island, and had a view of a bay, which makes in, after rounding some islets, which appeared to afford good anchorage, secure against the prevailing winds, with a smooth landing. The valley which extended from the head of it, had the appearance of great fertility, and several houses were interspersed among the clusters of trees. The whole had a very agreeable and inviting appearance, but no natives or canoes were observable. It is probable that, intimidated by the number of vessels in sight, they had all left their residence, and retired to the other side of the island.

Journal of a ...

Drawn by Capt. Price

C. Madisonville, in Massachusetts Bay — Over 8 per Price.





CHAPTER XIII.

MADISON'S ISLAND.—HAPPAH WAR.

AFTER passing the island I hove to for the night, and directed my prizes, as they came up, to do the same. We had here very heavy squalls, and some showers of rain ; and at daylight next morning I bore up for the island of Nooaheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W. not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the E. side of the weather bay, called by lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay. This point is steep, and the coast from thence to the N. appears iron bound and inaccessible. The whole island seems to have suffered much during former periods, from the ravages of volcanoes. On standing in for Comptroller's Bay, I perceived a rock above water at the distance of one mile and a half or two miles from the point. This I left on the starboard hand, and stretched into the bay, which was deep, spacious, and appeared very safe and commodious. It contains several interior bays, which seemed to afford good landing ; several pleasant villages were situated near the beaches, and the houses were interspersed among the trees of the valleys, which appeared highly cultivated and thickly inhabited. Several canoes came off the point, but none seeming disposed to visit us, I bore up for a small but high island, about two leagues to leeward, which I supposed formed one side of the entrance of the harbour, where I intended anchoring. It is called by lieutenant Hergest Port Anna Maria. In about an hour we opened the bay, which appeared to offer us every advantage we could possibly desire. It may be known by the small, but high and rocky island before-mentioned, which forms the E. side, and a similar one, but more in the figure of a sugar loaf, which forms the W. side of the entrance. About half way between the entrance and Comptroller's Bay, is a red cliff of rocks, the only one to be seen. The point

forming with the Rocky Island, the E. side of the entrance of the bay, is marked from its summit to the water's edge, by a remarkable white streak, which, at a distance, bears the appearance of a sheet of water, tumbling from the rocks. This mark can be seen from a great distance; and is a never-failing guide to the harbour's mouth. Between each of the aforesaid small islands, and the main island, are passages only for small boats; and as they seemed placed by nature, for the protection of the port, when considered either as affording shelter from the winds and sea, or as suitable situations for batteries, I shall hereafter call them the Sentinels.

On entering the bay I rounded the E. Sentinel, within one and a half ship's length of the shore, and obtained sounding in thirty-five fathoms water, sandy bottom. The water was perfectly clear; no danger was to be seen; the wind was blowing out of the harbour; and I believed it to be of sufficient width, to enable us to work up to the bottom of the bay, which appeared to be about four miles deep. I was soon, however, convinced that I was deceived in my calculations; for although there was sufficient room, had the breeze been steady to have worked up, yet it was impracticable to do so, from the flaws so frequently changing their direction; and at one moment blowing fresh, while the next would prove a dead calm, and thus render a ship perfectly unmanageable with her sails. I therefore let go the anchor at the mouth, in thirty fathoms water, to wait for a more favourable time for running in, and directed my prizes to lay off and on the port until we could get the frigate secured. Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from the shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment

of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out toward us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. As I was desirous of establishing, with the natives, the most friendly intercourse, I was fearful my intentions might be frustrated by their representations, and the unfavourable impressions they might be enabled to make on their minds. To correct my error as soon as possible, if I had committed any, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. To this I consented, provided lieutenant Lewis should not return before my departure. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and

whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men. I directed them to be put through their exercise; and the firing of the muskets occasioned but little terror, except among the women, who generally turned away their faces and covered their ears with their hands. The men and boys were all attention to the skipping of the balls in the water; but at every fire all habitually inclined their bodies, as if to avoid the shot, although behind the men who were firing. After remaining a short time with them, I distributed among them some knives, fish-hooks, &c. &c. which they received with much apparent pleasure; but no one offered, like the natives of the other island, any thing in return.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war

with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day ; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I inquired if it were possible to get a message to them ; and was informed that, notwithstanding they were at war, and showed no quarter to each other, there were certain persons of both tribes, who were permitted to pass and repass freely and uninterruptedly from one tribe to another : such, for example, as a man belonging to one tribe who had married a woman belonging to the other. I inquired if any such were present ; and one being pointed out to me, I directed him to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force sufficiently strong to drive them from the island : and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them ; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them ; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. To the natives of the valley (who listened attentively, and with apparent pleasure, to the message sent to the Happahs) I then addressed myself, and assured them that I had come with the most friendly disposition ; that I wanted nothing from them but what I paid for : that they must look on us as brethren : and that I should protect them against the Happahs, should they again venture to descend from the mountains. I directed them to leave at home their spears, slings, and clubs, (their only weapons of war) in order that we might know them from the Happahs. I also told them that I should consider all as my enemies who should appear armed in my presence : assuring them at the same time, that there would be no necessity for their using those weapons, as I had not only the will and power to give them the most ample protection, but to chastise severely their enemies, unless they were governed by the advice I had given them. All listened with much attention : their spears and clubs were thrown on one side. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men,

who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a granddaughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enlivened the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in great estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives,

to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore despatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ship to be got into port and secured. Probably they had heard from those who had been on shore, of the friendly reception they had met with; and while I had some thoughts of putting to sea, to wait a favourable opportunity to run in, application was made to warp the ship up, and in a few hours we had her secured in the bottom of the bay, on the starboard side, near a white sandy beach, within half a mile of the shore. The Essex Junior had hove in sight about the time we commenced warping. But lieutenant Downes did not get his ship secured until late in the evening, when he came on board, and informed me he had obtained no intelligence of the vessel I had sent him in pursuit of. The prizes did not get in and secured until next day.

When the ship was moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing, they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

The object of the greatest value at this as well as all the other islands of this group, is whales' teeth. This I had understood while I was on shore, and knowing that there

were several of them on board the frigate, I determined, if possible, to secure the whole of them at any price, as I had been informed that hogs, the only animal food on the island, could be purchased for no other article. I succeeded in procuring nearly all on board, by paying for them at the rate of one dollar each; but few of them were of a sufficient size to make them of much value. I shall in all probability have occasion to speak of the strange infatuation of this people for this strange ornament, which is worn suspended to the neck, and sometimes is cut to form ornaments to the ears. No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth is worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

The warlike attitude of the Happahs, who still kept their station on the mountains, made me determine to wait a day or two before I commenced my repairs on the ship. I had understood, that there was a bay to leeward, which might suit our purpose, where the natives who inhabited its valleys were at peace. But it was not represented to me as being so commodious as the one we now occupied, nor so easy of access and egress. I had not yet determined at what place to form our encampment, land our water-casks, and

pitch tents for our coopers, sailmakers, carpenters, and other workmen, all of which would be necessary in order to make the extensive repairs of which the ship stood much in want. I was apprehensive of engaging too precipitately in the undertaking, lest the unforeseen difficulties I might encounter, should give me cause to regret my haste.

The spot which appeared most suitable for our purpose, was a plain, at the back of the sandy beach, near where we lay. This plain was well shaded by bread-fruit and other trees, was destitute of inhabitants, and separated from the inhabited part of the valley by a hill, well suited for erecting a fort, as it completely commanded the whole bay, as well as every part of the valley. The place of which I now speak, as suited for our encampment, was situated between the two hostile tribes; and I was informed, that from some motives of religion, neither party had visited it since the war had commenced. With the hope that they would continue to keep aloof from it, I determined within myself to fix on this spot, should I commence my repairs here. While I was deliberating on the subject, I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine large English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, (excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal.

Soon after I had sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied around their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whale's tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the

end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. This is a faithful picture of a warrior, and of the chief of such warriors I had formed an exalted opinion. But what was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head: a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. After he had been a short time on deck, I endeavoured to impress him with a high opinion of our force; and for this purpose assembled all my crew: it scarcely seemed to excite his attention. I then caused a gun to be fired, which seemed to produce no other effect on him, than that of pain; he complained that it hurt his ears. I then invited him below, where nothing whatever excited his attention, until I showed him some whales' teeth. This roused the old man from his lethargy, and he would not be satisfied, until I had permitted him to handle, to measure, and count them over and over, which seemed to afford him infinite pleasure. After he had done this repeatedly, I put them away; and shortly afterwards asked him if he had seen any thing in the ship that pleased him; if he did to name it, and it should be his. He told me he had seen nothing which had pleased him so much as one of the small whales' teeth; which, on his describing, I took out and gave to him. This he carefully wrapped up in one of the turns of his clout; begging me not to inform any person that he had about him an article of so much value. I assured him I should not; and the old man threw himself on the settee and went to sleep. In a few minutes he awoke, somewhat recovered from his

stupidity, and requested to be put on shore. He, however, previous to his departure, wished me to exchange names with him, and requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. To the first I immediately consented, but told him I had come to be at peace with all on the island; that I wished to see him at peace with the Happahs; and that I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people. He told me they had cursed the bones of his mother, who had died but a short time since; that as we had exchanged names, she was now my mother, and I was bound to espouse her cause. I told him I would reflect on the subject, and did not think it necessary to make any farther reply to the old man's sophistry.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa-nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels.

I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Those who were on shore, had returned on board; and as the Happahs had descended to within half a mile of our camp, and had succeeded in destroying two hundred bread-fruit trees, it became necessary to be more on our guard against their enterprise. My messenger shortly afterwards returned from among them, to say, that notwithstanding my injunctions, they had come into the valley and destroyed the bread-fruit trees, and we had not opposed them: that

they believed we were cowards ; and they should soon visit our camp, and carry off our sails. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

I had caused a tent to be erected on shore for myself, as believing my presence necessary there to preserve order, and that my health required that I should remain some time on shore, after being so long confined to the ship.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people, would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to him, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on. I supposed, however, that it would terrify the Happahs ; and if it was attended with no other advantage, it would occupy the natives for a week or fortnight, and keep them from our camp, as the numbers who resorted there had already given us some embarrassment, and I apprehended would cause us more.

On the gun being landed, I ordered a few shot to be fired, to convince them of the distance the shot would have effect. First, a shot was fired with the gun, considerably elevated ; they seemed much surprised at the length of time the shot remained in the air, and many had given up all expectations of seeing it descend, and a general shout of admiration marked the time of its fall in the water. I then directed the gun to be fired, that the ball might skip along the surface of the water. At every bound

of the shot, they gave a general shout of applause, as if all were operated on by the same impulse : last of all, I directed her to be fired with grape-shot, which seemed to afford them more pleasure than all the rest ; they hugged, and kissed the gun, lay down beside it, fondled it with the utmost delight, and at length, slung it to two long poles, and carried it toward the mountain. On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them ; they declared that it stuck to the ground ; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

While the natives were employed with their darling gun, I occupied myself in forwarding as much as possible the ship's duty ; and as an additional security to our camp, landed another six pounder, and mounted also a long wall piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging ; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers, in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon ; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement. One-fourth of the crew being allowed after that hour to go on shore, there to remain until daylight next morning. An oven was also built on shore, with bricks found on board the prizes ; and so long as we remained here, fresh bread of an excellent quality was issued every day, to every person under my command. This was not only adding greatly to their comfort, and probably contributing to preserve their health, but was the cause of great saving of our hard bread, which it was necessary to reserve as a sea stock. Every thing went on as well as I could have wished, and much better than I could possibly have expected. It only now was necessary, that we should fall on some substitute for salt provisions, as we had not yet been enabled to procure hogs in sufficient quantities, to issue to the ships' companies, nor to catch fish with our seine, although we had made repeated trials. The natives did not appear willing to traffic for fruit or hogs ; and from the best information I could obtain, I was

induced to believe, there was a considerable scarcity of both in the valley. A few had been furnished as presents, but no persuasions would induce them to sell any to us, even for articles which were held in the highest estimation by them. They could not supply them in sufficient quantities to exchange for whales' teeth, nor could they be persuaded to part with them for harpoons, of which we had a large stock on hand.

The day after the gun was moved for the mountains, the chief warrior, named Mouina, was introduced to me. He was a tall, well-shaped man, of about thirty-five years of age, remarkably active, of an intelligent and open countenance, and his whole appearance highly prepossessing. He had just left the other warriors in the fortified village, and had come down to request me to cause a musket to be fired (which he called a *bouhi*) that he might witness its effects. Several individuals of the tribe of the Happaes were at that moment about the camp, and I was pleased at the opportunity which was afforded me, to convince them of the folly of resisting our firearms with slings and spears. I fired several times myself at a mark, to show them that I never failed of hitting an object the size of a man. I then directed the marines to fire by volleys at a cask, which was soon like a riddle. I directed them to tell their countrymen that it would only be making a useless sacrifice of their lives; that I had no wish to destroy them, but that my own safety, and the security of the friendly tribes, whom I had promised to protect, required that they should be driven from the mountains overhanging the valley, where they had constantly kept their position, daily waving their cloaks to us to come up, and threatening us with their spears and clubs. Indeed, considerable numbers of them had been seen in the grass, on the hills at the back of our encampment, and I had much reason to apprehend an attack from them soon, if means were not taken to dislodge them.

Mouina appeared much pleased with the effect of our musketry; and frequently exclaimed, *mattee, mattee!* killed, killed! The Happaes, however, replied, that nothing could persuade their tribe, that *bouhies* could do them the injury that we pretended: that they were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten,

that they would be willing to make peace ; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present ; and that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them ; and I believed it likely, that, by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something ; for the Happaes present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing ; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

But before I proceed farther in my narrative, it may be best, for a proper understanding of the subject, to give a statement of the names of the different tribes of the island, with the names of the chiefs of each tribe, as far as I have been able to obtain a knowledge of them.

The tribes residing in the valley of *Tieuhoy* are in number six, and are called collectively *Taeeshs*, which signifies friends. *Gattanewa* is the acknowledged chief of four tribes, to wit, the *Pakeuhs*, *Maorhs*, *Howneeahs*, and *Hekuahs*. He has, however, much influence with the other two, called *Hoattas*, of which *Kecoponea* is chief ; and *Havouhs*, which is a perfect democracy without a chief. The priest, however, whose name is *Tawattaa*, has great influence with the people, and decides in all cases of controversy, and names the time of going to war. It seems that a few years since they expelled their chief, who was a relation of *Gattanewa*, and a notorious glutton.

His offence, it appears, was the frequently waylaying the children of the poorer class, on their return from fishing, and taking from them their fish: they therefore rose in a body, and drove him from the valley. He took refuge with Gattanewa, where he now lives. He is the largest man on the island, and his enormous size and unwieldy appearance soon gained him among us the name of *Elephant*.

The fact is, that these people cannot be said to live under any form of government, except a patriarchal one. The oldest man of the tribe, if he possess the most land, and is the owner of the most bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, is the most influential character among them. Wealth, with them, as in all other countries, attaches respect and gives power; they have such thing as rank among them; a rank which is hereditary; and they take much pride in tracing their ancestry. Gattanewa traces his for eighty-eight generations back, (about fourteen hundred years) which reaches to the period when the island was first peopled. According to tradition, Oataia, or day-light, and Ananoona his wife, came from Vavao, an island underneath Nooaheevah, and brought with them bread-fruit and sugar-cane, and a great variety of other plants. They had forty children, who were all named after the plants they brought with them, with the exception of the first son, who was called Po or night. They settled in the valley of Tieuhoy; but soon becoming very populous, they went off to other parts of the island, taking with them plants of different kinds, and inhabited the valleys. Be this tradition true or fabulous, it is certain that Gattanewa draws his greatest consideration from inheriting the honours of the great Oataia, and an alliance with him is sought by every family of any considerable rank in the island.

The chiefs, and the sons and grandsons of every chief in the island, are married to his sisters, his daughters, or his granddaughters. Many of the latter were now unmarried, and their youth and beauty soon drew the attention of our officers; and as they did not suffer them to despond, many of them soon had the honour of boasting a relationship with the great chieftain.

The people called collectively Happahs, reside in a valley which makes up from the N.W. part of Comptroller's Bay. They consist of six tribes; namely, Nicekees, Tattievows, Pachas, Kickahs, Tekaaahs, and Muttaaohas; the names of the chiefs of which are, Mowattaeh, Peio-who, Tekawanuohe, Kawatuah, and Toneotufah. This is the people which now daily dared us to battle.

In a bay to leeward, called Huchaheucha, there are three tribes, called Maamatuahs, Tiohahs, and Cahhaahe; their chiefs are named Potunah and Mahitatahee. These are the allies of the Taeahs, and join them in all wars with the tribes residing on the east of the valley of Tieuhoy, although they are sometimes engaged in war among themselves.

On the north part of Comptroller's bay, an extensive and beautiful valley runs deep into the island, and is thickly inhabited by a warlike race of people, called collectively Typees. This valley, which is more highly cultivated than any other in the island, and interspersed with beautiful villages, contains three tribes, called Poheguha, Nae-guha, and Attaiyas. Of the first and second Tohenueh and Poheguah are the chiefs: the latter is a democracy without a chief.

The valley of Shoeume contains three tribes, namely Cahhunaka, Tomahvaheena, and Tickeymahu: the principal chief is Temaa Tipee. These are the allies of the Typees, and generally join in peace or war with them. This valley also runs up from Comptroller's Bay.

The valley of Hannahow, which lies on the east side of the island, is inhabited by two great tribes of people, the first called Hatecaah, the principal chief of which is Tahelow. They consist of three tribes, and are called Mooaekah, Attishou, and Attestapwiheenah. Secondly, the people called Woheaho, consisting of three tribes; namely, Attehacoes, Attetomcoho, and Attekakahaneuah.

There is also, in a valley called Tahtuaktuah, a small tribe called Tiakahs.

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

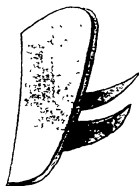
The Taeahs	-	-	-	-	2500
Happahs	-	-	-	-	3000

Maamatuhahs	- -	2000
Typees	- - -	3500
Showneus	- - -	3000
Hatticahs	- - -	2500
Wooheahos	- - -	2500
Tatuahs	- - -	200

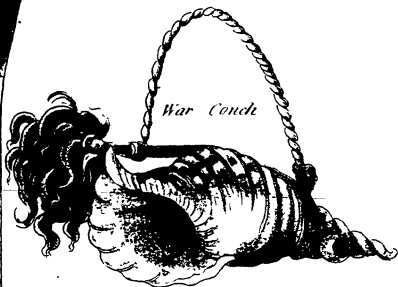
Making in all - - - - - 19200 men, and in a climate like this, and living as the natives of this island do, this number should not excite any astonishment, for all are in health and vigour: old and young are active and strong, and all are capable of managing a spear, club, or sling. Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c. advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly despatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and are never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are all highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them

War Club

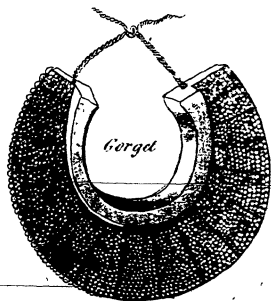
Ear Ornament



War Conch



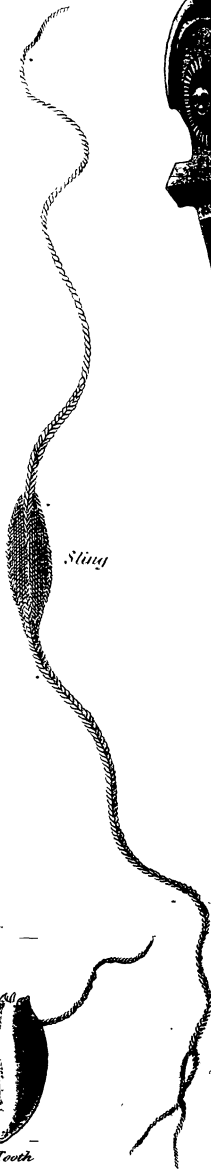
Gorget



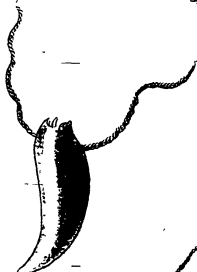
Hair Ornament



Sling



Whales Tooth





almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding those missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity. Yet the wounds were perfectly healed, and appeared to give no pain. I shall probably have occasion to speak hereafter of their art in healing wounds; but I must now, while on the subject of fractured skulls, mention a practice which is pursued by them, and may be common elsewhere, although I never heard of it. Whenever the skull is cracked, the bone is laid bare, and the fracture traced to its end, where a small hole is drilled through the skull to prevent the crack from going any farther. This practice is pursued wherever the fracture branches off in rays. If there are any loose pieces of bones, they are carefully laid in their places, the wound is bound up with certain herbs, the virtue of which is known to them, and nature, a temperate mode of living, and a good constitution, do the rest. They have their professed surgeons and physicians among them; but they have much more confidence in our skill than in their own.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at daylight, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition

for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to lieutenant Downes. I was this afternoon visited by Taiheataioa, the wife of Gattanewa, accompanied by several of her daughters and granddaughters. Every object about the camp seemed to excite in them the most lively attentions, but none more so, than the sheep and goats, which they call *boarka*, which is the name for a hog. The Gallapagoes tortoises they called *manu*, which is the name of a sea-tortoise. The different occupations in which our people were employed, seemed greatly to excite their astonishment. They went from place to place examining, with great curiosity, the operations within the camp. As all they saw was entirely new to them, they appeared struck with admiration; and though they could not understand the object of our labours, they made no inquiries, but silently turned their attention to the next object which attracted them. In this manner they wandered from my tent to the sail-makers, the coopers, carpenters, armourers and bakers, and even the turning of the grindstone occasioned no less wonder than the rest. They were like children pleased with novelties, which they could not comprehend. Taiheataioa appeared to be an intelligent, and had no doubt been a handsome woman; she bore the traces of beauty in her features, and the beauty of her children and grandchildren, whose features strongly resembled hers, left no doubt in my mind as to what she had been. Her manner was dignified, and her gestures graceful. I found she possessed that vanity which is so much attributed to her sex, and that she evinced no little pleasure at being complimented on the strong resemblance of her granddaughters to herself. I made them presents of several small articles, which gave them much pleasure, and the old woman frequently reminded me that, as I had exchanged names with Gattanewa, I was now her husband, and (pointing to the others) that those were my children and grandchildren, who looked up to me for protection.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the *Essex Junior* and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provi-

sions and other articles, I gave the order to march. Gattanewa arrived at the moment of my giving the order ; and informed me that his daughter, who was married to a chief of the Happahs, had just descended the mountains, and had come as an envoy to beg that I would grant them peace—the detachment had marched, every arrangement had been made : I apprehended that the Happahs only wanted to gain time : I had met with considerable provocation from them, and they still kept their hostile position on the mountains. From the old man's solicitude for peace, when contrasted with his former desire for war, I for a moment believed some treachery on foot ; I had sent but a handful of men, and their arms, their ammunition, their provisions, and even their lives, were in the hands of the Indians. Gattanewa was in my power, and I determined to secure him as a hostage until their return. I directed him to send for his daughter, for the same purpose ; but he informed me she was far advanced in pregnancy, and unable to come to the camp. I told him that no harm was intended him, but that he must not leave the enclosure until the return of the party : that the Indians of his tribes, were in possession of many articles of value to us, and that when every thing was returned to us, he should be at liberty to proceed to his family. I told him that peace could not now take place, until after a battle, when I should feel disposed to come to terms with the Happahs, and would respect a messenger, sent from them with a white flag. The old man appeared very uneasy at his detention, and repeatedly asked me if I would not kill him, should any of our people be injured by the Happahs, and my assurances to the contrary, did not relieve his anxiety, and fears for his safety. The party on shore at the camp, now consisted only of about ten or twelve working men, and one sentinel : they were all engaged in their usual occupations, when an Indian girl, who had been wandering in the bushes came running toward us, the picture of fear, and with terror strongly marked in every feature, exclaimed, that the Happahs were but a short distance from the camp. I directed the alarm gun to be fired ; every person was immediately armed with such weapons as presented themselves, and we waited the expected attack behind our barrier, the water casks ; but hearing no noise, we sallied

out to examine the bushes, and supposed it a false alarm: but on returning to the camp, casting our eyes up the hills, we perceived a party skulking among the reeds and grass: we got the six pounder to bear on them, soon dislodged them, and had no other interruption or alarm during the day.

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place until they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly na-

ives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not until our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon despatched them: then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

As soon as the party returned, I gave orders for the liberation of Gattanewa, who hastened with speedy steps to escape from the hill which separated us from the settlement. His alarm had been great, and terror had taken such fast hold on his mind, that he dared not look behind, lest he should perceive some danger in pursuit of him. He had heard from the natives of our having taken the fort; and as this was, in his estimation, a place of incomparable strength, he believed that nothing could resist our progress. He supposed us stronger than we really were, and dreaded an ally so powerful. I informed him, previous to his departure, that I was now ready to listen to a messenger from the Happs; but the poor old man's fright,

would allow him to attend to nothing but his own safety. We had gained a victory, which, to him, seemed incredible; and the number of dead which they had borne off as trophies, had far exceeded that of any former battle within his recollection; as they fight for weeks, nay, for months sometimes, without killing any on either side, though many are, in all their engagements, severely wounded. The Tayees had, however, a short time before our arrival, lost one of their priests, of the greatest note, who had been killed by an ambuscade of the Happaes; and this circumstance had occasioned a taboo of the strictest nature to be established, which was now in full force, and continued as long as we remained on the island.

I am not acquainted with the ceremony of laying on these tabbooes, which are so much respected by the natives. They are, however, laid by the priests, from some religious motive. Sometimes they are general, and affect a whole valley, as the present; sometimes they are confined to a single tribe; at others to a family, and frequently to a single person. The word taboo, signifies an interdiction, an embargo, or restraint; and the restrictions during the period of their existence, may be compared to the lent of the catholics. They suffer, during this period, many privations; they are not allowed to use paint, of which they are very fond, to ornament their bodies; they are neither allowed to dance nor sing; the chiefs are bound to abstain from women; nor are they, in many instances, allowed to enter the houses frequented by them. They have tabooed places, where they feast, and drink kava—tabooed houses where dead bodies are deposited, and many of their trees, and even some of their walks are tabooed. The women are, on no occasion whatever, allowed to enter their places of feasting, which are houses—raised, to the height of six or eight feet on a platform of large stones, neatly hewn and fitted together, with as much skill and exactness, as could be done by our most expert masons; and some of them are one hundred yards in length, and forty yards in width, surrounded by a square of buildings executed in a style of elegance, which is calculated to inspire us with the most exalted opinion of the ingenuity, taste, and perseverance of a people, who have hitherto remained unnoticed, and unknown to the rest of mankind. When

we consider the vast labour requisite, to bring from a distance the enormous rocks, which form the foundation of these structures (for they are all brought from the sea side, and many of them are eight feet long, and four feet thick and wide) and reflect on the means used in hewing them into such perfect forms, with tools perhaps little harder, than the materials worked on, for the appearance of many of these places strongly mark their antiquity, and their origin can, no doubt, be traced to a period antecedent to their knowledge of iron; and when we count the immense numbers of such places, which are every where to be met with, our astonishment is raised to the highest, that a people in a state of nature, unassisted by any of those artificial means, which so much assist and facilitate the labour of the civilized man, could have conceived, and executed a work, which, to every beholder, must appear stupendous. These piles are raised with views to magnificence alone; there does not appear to be the slightest utility attending them: the houses situated on them are unoccupied, except during the period of feasting, and they appear to belong to a public, without the whole efforts of which, they could not have been raised, and with every exertion that could possibly have been made, years must have been requisite for the completion of them.

These public houses differ not much from the houses belonging to individuals, except in the degree of elegance with which they are finished. Those which I have now in view to describe, are situated round a public square, high up the valley of the Havvouhs, and are sixteen in number. Four large pillars, neatly formed of the bread-fruit tree, are planted in the ground, extending to the height of twenty feet above the surface; in the upper end is a crutch for the reception of a long and slender cocoa-nut tree, which is neatly polished: this forms the ridge-pole of the houses, and is the chief support of the structure. From this ridge-pole, with the lower ends inclining out about five feet, are placed bamboos, of equal sizes, at the distance of two or three inches asunder, with the lower ends planted in the ground; and to give them additional stability, they are neatly and firmly secured by turns of different coloured sinnet to the well-polished trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: across this row of bamboos is lashed,

with the utmost neatness and strength, rows of smaller bamboos, placed in a horizontal position, and this forms a frame work for the back part of the house, which also answers for one side of the roof. At the distance of five feet in advance of the aforesaid long pillars, are fixed in the ground four uprights, extending eight feet above the surface, having also a crutch for the reception of a cocoa-nut tree, or sometimes a piece of hewn timber neatly fashioned for the purpose. This also extends the whole length of the house, and serves to support the front part of the roof, which is formed of the same materials, and is secured in the same manner as the back part of the building. The ends are, in like manner, closed in, as sometimes are the sides, for the distance of twelve feet, forming at each end of the house a small room. The frame work being completed, they proceed to cover it, first with the leaves of the palm tree, and next with those of the bread-fruit tree, which are laid on with surprising neatness and regularity, and give it an appearance of beauty, security, and durability not to be equalled by our best mode of shingling. The building is then divided longitudinally into two equal parts, by placing from one end to the other, in the middle, the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: the part toward the front is then neatly paved with smooth stones: the back part is covered with the finest mats, and is occupied as a sleeping place for the whole family: the middle tree serving for them to place their feet against, and a similar one placed against the back of the building serves them as a pillow. The external and more useful parts of the house being finished, they proceed to ornament it by covering the bamboos, which form the frame work, with different coloured cocoa-nut sinnet, put on in the most fanciful manner, while the upright columns are covered first by layers of their finest and whitest cloth, which is firmly secured by the sinnet aforesaid, in such a manner, as to give them, at a short distance, the appearance of being handsomely and fancifully painted. Sometimes, indeed, the columns are richly carved in the form of gods, and give to the whole an air of grandeur and elegance, which, although in a style differing from that of every other people in the world, does not the less astonish.

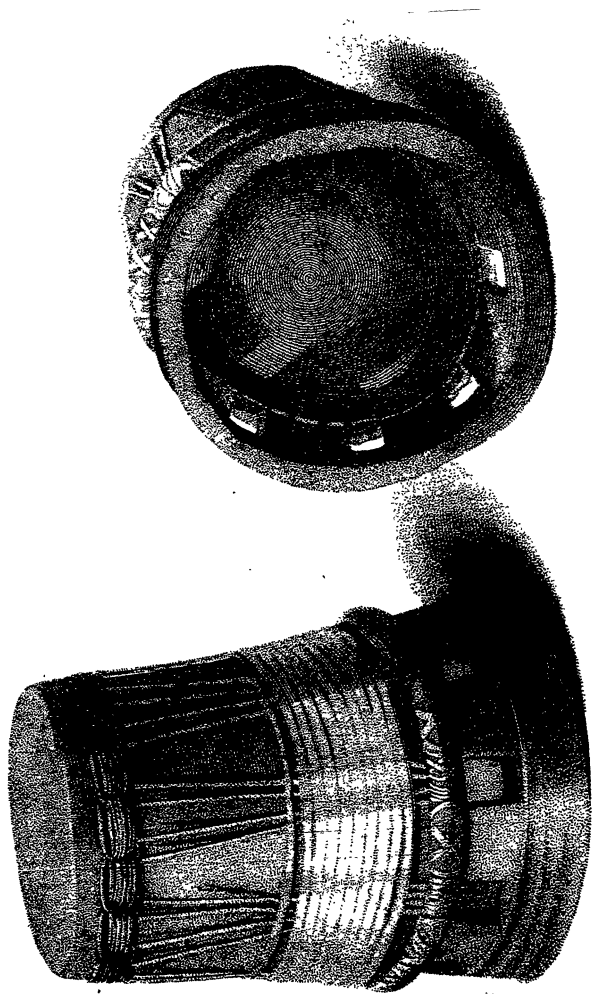
But, to proceed in my narrative: the Tayees had brought

in the bodies of the five men killed in storming the fort. We met with no loss on our side or on that of our allies. We had two wounded, and one of the Indians had his jaw broke with a stone. I saw him the day afterwards ; it was neatly and securely bound up with the leaves of the palm-tree, and he appeared to suffer but little from the pain. One of the dead, it appeared, was a native of our valley, who had married among the Happahs. His relations had taken charge of his body, which, on being found, had been carefully wrapped up in matts. The rest I was informed were lying in the public square, where the natives were rejoicing over them. I had been informed by the whites, on my arrival, and even by Wilson, that the natives of this island were cannibals : but, on the strictest inquiry, I could not learn that either of them had seen them in the act of eating human flesh. I was desirous of having this point put beyond a doubt, though the assurances they had given me, that they really were cannibals, had strongly inclined me to believe that it was the case. Indeed, in conversing with Gattanewa on the subject, he did not hesitate to acknowledge that it was sometimes practised by certain characters ; but with much pride and exultation he added, that none of his family, to the earliest period of their existence, were known to have eaten human flesh, or to have tasted a hog, which had died or been stolen. He said they sometimes eat their enemies. Yet, in all their wars, which had been carried on since Wilson and the others had been among them, it does not appear that any had been eaten, according to our acceptation of the word. Several of the dead bodies of their enemies had fallen into their hands, and had been seen by the whites in an un mutilated state for several days after their death, until indeed they had become too offensive for the natives to bear ; and certainly it cannot be supposed that they would prefer eating them in that putrid state, although Wilson declared that that was the time they feasted on them. Desirous of clearing up in my own mind a fact which so nearly concerned the character of a whole people, who otherwise deserved to rank above the mere savage, I proceeded, the day after the battle, with Wilson, and accompanied by a marine (my usual practice when I went among them) to the house of Gattanewa, with a view of claiming the dead bodies, in

order that they might be buried; and, at the same time, to endeavour to find out whether they were really addicted to a practice so unnatural. The acknowledgments of Gattanewa left but little doubt on my mind, and yet I found it difficult to reconcile this practice with the generosity and benevolence which were leading traits in their character. They are cleanly in their persons, washing three or four times a day. They are cleanly in their mode of cooking and manner of eating; and it was remarked, that no islander was known to taste of any thing whatever, until he had first applied it to his nose, and if it was in the slightest degree tainted or offensive to the smell, it was always rejected. How then can it be possible that a people so delicate, living in a country abounding with hogs, fruit, and a considerable variety of vegetables, should prefer a loathsome putrid human carcass, to the numerous delicacies their valleys afford? It cannot be: there must have been some misconception. I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had pre-

ferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. Addressing myself to her daughter, an interesting woman of about twenty-three years of age, who had come to solicit peace, I told her I should respect any messenger sent from her tribe bearing a white flag; that her husband might come in safety, and that I should be as ready to make peace, as I had been to punish their insolence. I then exhorted the wife of Gattanewa to endeavour to impress on the minds of every person the necessity of living on friendly terms with us; that we were disposed to consider them as brothers; that we had come with no hostile intentions toward them, and so long as they treated us as friends, we would protect them against all their enemies; that they and their property should be secure, and that I should inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of my people as should be known to impose on a friendly native; but that should a stone be thrown; or an article stolen from me or my people, and the offender not be given up to me, I should make the valley a scene of desolation. The old woman was all attention to this discourse as delivered through Wilson the interpreter; and I was about proceeding when she requested me to stop. She now rose and commanded silence among the multitude, which had considerably augmented since my arrival, and addressed them with much grace and energy in a speech of about half an hour; exhorting them, as I understood, to conduct themselves with propriety, and explaining to them the advantages likely to result from a good understanding with us. After she had finished, she took me affectionately by the hand, and reminded me that I was her husband. All alarms now were subsided. I inquired for Gattanewa, and was informed that he was at the public square rejoicing over the bodies of the slain, but had been sent for. I proceeded for the place, and met the old man hastening home. He had been out from the earliest dawn, and had not broken his fast. He held in one hand a cocoa-nut shell, containing a quantity of sour preparation of the bread-fruit, which is highly esteemed by the natives, and in the other a raw fish, which he occasionally dipped into it as he ate it. As soon, however, as Wilson gave him to understand that the practice of eating

raw fish was disagreeable to me, he wrapped the remainder in a palm leaf, and handed it to a youth to keep for him until a more convenient opportunity offered for indulging himself. On my way to the square, I observed several young warriors hastening along towards the place, armed with their spears, at the ends of which were hung plantains, bread-fruit, or cocoa-nuts, intended as offerings to their gods ; and on my approach to the square, I could hear them beating their drums and chanting their war-songs. I soon discovered five or six hundred of them assembled about the dead bodies, which were lying on the ground, still attached to the poles with which they had been brought from the scene of action. The warriors were all armed with their spears, and several large drums, highly ornamented with cloth, tastefully secured on with sinnet, were placed near the slain, on which some were employed beating, while Tawattaa and another priest, elevated above the rest, appeared to preside over the ceremonies. Ah! said Wilson, they are now making their infernal feast on the bodies of the dead. At this moment my approach was discovered. They were all thrown into the utmost confusion ; the dead bodies were in an instant snatched from the place where they lay, and hurried to a distance among the bushes, and shouting and hallooing evinced the utmost consternation. I now believed the truth of Wilson's declaration, and my blood recoiled with horror at the spectacle I was on the point of witnessing. I directed them in an authoritative manner to return the bodies to the place whence they had taken them, and refused to advance a step farther until they had done so. With much reluctance they brought them back ; two of them carefully covered with branches of the cocoa-tree, the others were entirely uncovered. I immediately caused them all to be exposed to my view, and to my great surprise found them un mutilated, except by the clubs with which they had been despatched. I inquired immediately into the cause of their carrying them off in such haste, and was informed that they supposed the sight of dead bodies would have proved disagreeable to me. I told them I had come to claim them, in order that they might be buried, and desired that they might be carried to the camp, where a grave was already dug for their interment. I told them that I was apprehensive that they



Drum of the Islanders



intended to eat them, and expressed, with the strongest marks of horror, my detestation of the practice. They all assured me that they had no intention of eating them, and promised a compliance with my wishes should I exact it : but entreated I would indulge them with the bodies a day or two longer to sing over and perform their ceremonies, and that I would grant them two to offer as a sacrifice to the manes of their priests, who had been slain ; requesting, at the same time, that I would send a person to attend the ceremony and witness their burial ; assuring me that they would bury them any depth I should wish. Gattanewa, Tawattaa, and the other priest, then joined their earnest entreaties to the rest, and informed me that it would be the cause of great triumph to their enemies should I deprive them of all the dead bodies, and would attribute to them none of the honours of the victory obtained over them. Overcome by their solicitude, I consented to their request, and being in some measure satisfied that these people were not cannibals, I consented to their keeping two, on their promise that the others should be sent to the camp. I remarked, that, as they brought back the dead bodies, every person carefully avoided touching, not only them, but even the blood on the poles to which they were slung, and in removing the covering of cocoa-nut leaves, a stick instead of the hand was used for the purpose : also that horror was marked on every countenance when their numerous wounds of spears were exposed to view ; for it must be observed, that those who were covered with leaves bore innumerable marks of the spears which had been thrust into them at the moment of their death ; the others had been despatched with clubs, after they had been shot, the marks of which were to be seen about their heads. This delicacy in concealing the wounded body of an enemy, and their caution in avoiding the touch of the blood of the dead carcasses, greatly staggered my belief of their being cannibals, although they did not deny that they sometimes eat their enemies, at least so we understood them ; but it is possible we may have misunderstood. We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them ; but from the little we became acquainted with, we are satisfied that it is not copious ; few words serve to express all they wish to say ; and one word

has oftentimes many significations ; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it away, &c. &c.* *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee* ; *mattee* is to be sick ; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be killed, to be broke (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variation of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence ; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent* : it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons ; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome, or beautiful, — good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language ; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies *to eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow* ; may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted ? it may signify *to cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies* ; whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me ; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings ; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods : they are also converted into fan-handles, form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

Many specimens of this kind of ornament are now in my possession ; and there are few of the male natives who are destitute of them. I remarked, however, that none were in the house, or to be found among the numerous family of the venerable Gattanewa : and I am inclined to believe that the old man wished to signify this when he was understood to say that none of his family had ever eaten human flesh. After this little digression (if such it may be called) which is due to a people, who do not appear to deserve the stain which has been cast upon them, I shall proceed in my narrative.

As I before observed, on my appearance the music (if it may be called such) ceased ; anxious to know as much as possible the religion and other ceremonies of this people, I informed Gattanewa that they might proceed. The priest mounted on his elevation ; the warriors ranged themselves in lines about the square ; the priest, after shaking the dried branch of a palm-tree, to which was hung a bunch of human hair, repeated a few words, when three shouts were given by the warriors, as if with one voice, each shout accompanied with a loud clap of the hands, after which the drums beat for the space of about five minutes, during which time they all sung with loud voices and animated gestures until their voices gradually dying away, silence ensued—this ceremony was three times performed, and at each time with more and more animation : they repeatedly pointed to the dead bodies, and would, at times, address themselves to me. Wilson told me they were singing their victory over their enemies, and returning thanks to their gods for sending me to their aid. After the ceremony was over, the priest asked me if it was not *mo-tahce*, very fine, and on my signifying my assent, it gave the most lively pleasure.

I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle : they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for : he approached, trembling for his safety ; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly

of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgment of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugarcane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribes of Tieuhoy.

CHAPTER XIV.

MADISON'S ISLAND.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootoa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives.

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send down the fruit, which is

then hung together in bunches to a cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their sprouting state, consists chiefly of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground, and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and Marquesas Groups,

in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N.W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sailed, and in a squeaking affected voice inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six Islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitabee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling

our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with the dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which, the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste, which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word *kava* to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called *kava*; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called *kava*, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread-fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers, that a description of it here

may be thought by some superfluous. I have but little new to offer on the subject. Yet, as a description of it may not be disagreeable to such as may chance to peruse these pages, and as they are written chiefly for the improvement and information of my son, it is proper that I should instruct him on every subject which has come within my knowledge. The bread-fruit tree of this island grows with great luxuriance, in extensive groves, scattered through every valley. It is of the height of fifty or sixty feet, branching out in a large and spreading top, which affords a beautiful appearance and an extensive shade from the rays of the sun; the trunk is about six feet in circumference; the lower branches about twelve feet from the ground; the bark soft, and on being in the slightest degree wounded, exudes a milky juice, not unpleasant to the taste, which, on being exposed to the sun, forms an excellent bird-lime, and is used by the natives as such, not only for catching birds, but a small kind of rat with which this island is much infested. The leaves of this tree are sixteen inches long and nine inches wide, deeply notched, somewhat like the fig leaf. The fruit, when ripe, is about the size of a child's head, green, and divided by slight traces into innumerable six-sided figures. This fruit is somewhat elliptical in its shape, has a thin and delicate skin, a large and tough core, with remarkable small seeds situated in a spongy substance between the core and the eatable part, which is next the rind. It is eaten baked, boiled, or roasted; whole, quartered, or cut in slices, and cooked. Either way it was found exceedingly palatable, was greatly preferred by many to our soft bread, which it somewhat resembled in taste, but was much sweeter. It was found also very fine, when cut into slices, and fried in butter or lard. It keeps only three or four days, when gathered and hung up; but the natives have a method of preserving it for several years, by baking, wrapping it up in leaves, and burying it in the earth. In that state it becomes very sour, and is then more highly esteemed by them than any other food. The bread-fruit tree is every thing to the natives of these islands. The fruit serves them and their hogs for food throughout the year, and furnishes large supplies to be laid up for a season of scarcity. The trees afford them an agreeable and refreshing shade;

the leaves are an excellent covering for their houses ; of the inner bark of the small branches they make cloth ; the juice, which exudes, enables them to destroy the rats which infest them ; and of the trunk of the tree they form their canoes, many parts of their houses, and even their gods. Describe to one of the natives of Madison's Island a country abounding in every thing that we consider desirable, and after you are done, he will ask you if it produces bread-fruit. A country is nothing to them without that blessing, and the season for bread-fruit is the time of joy and festivity. It commences in December, and lasts until September, when the greatest abundance reigns among them. They sometimes gather it when at the extremity of the branches, by means of a long stick split at the end, with which they seize the stem, and dexterously twist it off, rarely letting the fruit fall to the ground. They commonly, however, have a small net, kept open at the mouth by means of a hoop, and attached to a pole, in the manner of a crab-net ; with this they disengage the fruit from the branches, receiving it in the net.

The young shoots from the roots are carefully collected, and planted in a nursery, until they arrive at a sufficient size to be transplanted ; they are several years old before they bear.

This day, *Mowattaceh*, a chief of the *Happahs*, of the tribe of *Nieekes*, and son-in-law to *Gattenewa*, came, accompanied by several others of his tribe, with the white handkerchief which I had sent them, to treat with me for a peace. I received him with mildness, and gently expostulated with them on their imprudence, in having insisted on hostilities with me. They expressed the utmost regret for their past folly, and hoped that I would allow them, in future, to live on the same friendly terms with me as *Gattenewa* and his people, stating their willingness to comply with every thing I should exact from them in reason. I informed them that as I had offered them peace, and they had rejected it, and had put me to the trouble of chastising them, it was proper that we should receive some compensation. We were in want of hogs, and fruit, and they had an abundance of them, and I wished them to give me a supply once a week, for my people, for which they should be compensated in iron, and such

other articles as would be most useful to them. *Gattanewa* and many of his tribe were present, and appeared charmed with the terms offered to the *Happahs*; said they would henceforth be brothers, and observing, that I had not yet presented my hand, took it affectionately, and placed it in that of *Mowattaeah*. After a short silence, *Mowattaeah* observed, that we must suffer much from the rain in our tents, as they did not appear capable of securing us from the wet. Yes, said *Gattanewa*, and we are bound to make the *Hekai* (a title which they all gave me) and his people comfortable while they remain with us. Let every tribe at peace with him, build a house for their accommodation, and the people of the valley of *Tieuhoi* will show them the example, by building one for the residence of *Opotee*. This proposal met with general applause, and people were immediately despatched to prepare materials for erecting the fabric next day, at which time the *Happahs* promised to bring in their supply, and the day after to construct their house. In the course of the day, the other chiefs of the *Happahs*, came in with their flags, and subscribed to the terms proposed. In less than two days, I received envoys from every tribe in the island, with the exception only of the warlike tribes of *Typees*, of the valley of *Vieehee*, and the *Hutecaahcottwohos*, in the distant valley of *Hannahow*; the first confiding in their strength, valour, and position; the others in their distance and numbers for their protection. The first had always been victorious in all their wars, and the terror of their enemies; the others were their firm allies. Neither had ever been beaten, they had been taught by their priests to believe that they never would be, and it was their constant boast, that they had ever kept their valley free from the incursions of an enemy.

All, with these exceptions, agreed to the terms proposed; supplies were brought in by the tribes in great abundance, and from this time, for several weeks, we rioted in luxuries which the island afforded. To the principal persons of the tribes, I always presented a harpoon, it being to them the most valuable article of iron, and to the rest scraps of iron hoops were thrown, for which they took much delight in contending. Those who got none appeared equally satisfied with the rest; those who were so fortu-

nate as to obtain a large piece, generously divided it with the others, and in no one instance did the mode of payment produce among them riot or dispute. The division was amicably and satisfactorily settled among themselves, without any interposition on my part, or that of the chiefs. All seemed perfectly satisfied that they would get their proportion, and the only contention among them was, who should get the most at their first outset, that they might afterwards have the pleasure of dividing it among the others. I have frequently thrown to them whole hoops, and it was no uncommon thing, for one of them to seize three, into one of which he would slip his body, while his arms were thrust through the others, and endeavour to make his escape from the camp. He would soon, however, be encompassed by numbers, who would each mark, with slips of bark, six or eight inches of a hoop, which he would claim as his own. They would all then retire, in a friendly manner, when the hoops would be broken in pieces, and each man receive his own. In this manner were all their affairs transacted without riot, without confusion, and without disputes. And so long as I remained on the island, I never saw or heard of the slightest difference between individuals, except in one instance, and they were of different valleys and tribes. The utmost harmony prevails among them; they live like affectionate brethren of one family, and the authority of their chiefs appears to be only that of fathers among their children.

Whether they have any mode of punishing offences, or whether punishment is ever necessary among them, I cannot say. I am inclined to be, however, of the latter opinion. I saw no punishments inflicted, nor did I ever hear that there was any cause.

Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude, that thefts among themselves are unknown.

That they, and particularly the women of that class which cohabited with the sailors, will steal from strangers, I had abundant proof. These, however, were of the lowest order, and honesty is not expected from them in any part of the world.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset, the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article, was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of near half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun. They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; coun-

tenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men, is of a dark copper-colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing intelligent and open countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to their sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

Virtue among them, in the light which we view it, was unknown, and they attached no shame to a proceeding which they not only considered as natural, but as an innocent and harmless amusement, by which no one was injured: many parents considered themselves as honoured by the preference given to their daughters, and testified their pleasure by large presents of hogs and fruit, which to them must have appeared munificent. With the young and timid virgins, no coercive measures were used by their parents to compel them to make any sacrifices, but endearing and soothing persuasions, enforced by rewards, were frequently adopted to overcome their fears. With the common sailors and their girls, all was helter skelter, and promiscuous intercourse, every girl the wife of every man in the mess, and frequently of every man in the ship; each one from time to time took such as suited his fancy and convenience, and no one among them formed a connexion

which was likely to produce tears at the moment of separation. With those of a superior class, the case was different; the connexions formed were respectable, and although their fair friends delighted in playing, on every occasion, little tricks of infidelity, which they considered as perfectly harmless, still they showed a fondness for the person with whom they were connected, and the parting, in several instances, I am sure, occasioned tears of real sorrow.

I must, however, do them the justice to say, that in practising the little infidelities above mentioned, they did not appear sensible of doing an injury to their lover; they were done as acts of retaliation on some of their female acquaintances; they were always flattered by a preference given them, and this preference, enforced by the powerful charm of a whale's tooth, could at all times purchase the favours of the best of them. When they had gained their prize, they could not refrain from boasting of it to their confidants, and in time it came to the ears of the lady who supposed she had the stronger claim to the tooth; this produced an act of retaliation on her part, not to injure her lover, but to mortify the lady who had infringed on her prerogatives. It is true, they are not insensible to jealousy, but this feeling is confined altogether to the females, who watch as carefully the conduct of their lovers, as the most jealous Don the wanderings of his spouse. She appears much offended if he show any attention to another female, and claims him exclusively as her own: whether this proceeds from motives of interest, which leads them to believe that all the little *tie ties* which he has to bestow should in time fall to them, or from custom, which gives to the females of this island a privilege which is supposed to be confined only to the men in other countries, I cannot say, but perhaps from both. The young girls of this island are the wives of all who can purchase their favours, and a handsome daughter is considered by her parents as a blessing which secures to them, for a time, wealth and abundance. After they have advanced in years, and have had children, they form more permanent connexions, and appear then as firmly attached to their husbands, as the women of any other country: indeed, it has often afforded me the most lively pleasure to witness the strong

affection which husbands and wives have shown for each other, and the tender care they at all times bestow on their offspring; they appeared actuated by one interest, and both took equal pleasure in fondling their infants. But the girls, from twelve to eighteen years of age, rove at will; this period of their lives is a period of unbounded pleasure, unrestrained in all their actions, unconfined by domestic occupations, their time is spent in dancing, singing, and ornamenting their persons to render themselves more attractive in the eyes of man, on whom they indiscriminately bestow their favours, unrestrained by shame or fear of the consequences. That terrible disease which has proved so destructive to mankind, is unknown to them, and they give free scope to the indulgence of their passions, living in the most pleasurable licentiousness.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: The head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third *ahuwakee*. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelops the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

The *ahuwakee* is a piece of cloth which passes twice

round the waist, and hangs down to the calves of the legs, performing the part of a petticoat. The whole of this dress being white, and generally kept clean and neat, gives to these female islanders an appearance of grace and modesty not to be found among any others in a state of nature. Their ornaments consist of beads strung round their necks, and circular pieces of ivory or whale's teeth attached to their ears. They have also another species of ornament, tastily formed of a dark kind of wood, which receives a high polish; it is fashioned something in the form of the letter Z, has its ends tipped with the mother of pearl, and is otherwise ornamented with beads and small teeth. They also wear occasionally round their necks a small wild cucumber, which abounds on the island; also a large red berry, which grows on a tree, and resembles, at a distance, the dried red peppers. The smell of this latter is agreeable, and this is probably what they most esteem it for. They also are fond of tying round their necks large bunches of sweet scented flowers, and when not restrained by tabbooes, they ornament their heads with rich plumage formed of the breast and tail feathers of the cock. They also anoint themselves with cocoa-nut oil mixed with a red paint made from turmeric-root, which is here highly esteemed, and cultivated with much care. This, in a short time, removes the yellowness of the skin, and displays a fair and clear complexion, which might vie in beauty with our handsomest dames. The roses are then blooming on their cheeks, and the transparency of their skin enables you to trace their fine blue veins. I had an opportunity of visiting a tribe that had not for a long time been tabooed. The beauty and gayety of the women astonished me, and I noticed some of the young girls, who, as respected the form of their persons, beauty of their faces, and fairness of their skins, might have served as the most perfect models.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty

feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular

rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley, had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. — Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa ; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd ; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door ; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks ; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services ; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were

made. Several tubs full of them were collected and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we did not destroy a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned, as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is nowise inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

We found our copper much injured in many parts a little below the surface of the water, and were enabled, by means of the supply we had obtained and secured from our prizes, to make the necessary repairs, after giving the ship a slight careen. Her bottom was found, on examination, to have on it barnacles, in considerable quantities, together with much grass and moss, which had no doubt collected at the Gallipagos. To cleanse it and free the ship from those embarrassments which must greatly impede her sailing, the natives were employed, who, by diving down, with the assistance of the outer shell of the cocoa-nut, soon removed them. The boatswain, as

soon as he had completely overhauled the rigging of the ship, was employed on shore with a number of hands, where a rope-walk was established, to enlarge to a suitable size for a sea stock, the whale line and other small cordage found on board our prizes, as also to make into small cordage the junk remaining from our old and condemned cables. Every thing went on with order and regularity; every person was employed to the best advantage, and yet all were allowed sufficient time for amusement and relaxation. Wrestling, throwing the spear, jumping, and pitching quoits, occupied some of their leisure time.

Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending in his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to inquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false; I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace. They denied positively having refused him a passage, and strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

On the arrival of Temaa Tipee I remonstrated with him on the falsehood he had told me. He assured me that as he returned home from my camp, they had not only threatened, but had thrown stones at him, calling him coward, and threatening to drive him off his land. But on a closer inquiry, I found that I had been misinformed as

to the tribe that had treated him so cavalierly. It was the warlike tribe of the Typees of the valley of Vieehee, who had excited so much alarm in the minds of the Shouemes. They had always been the allies of each other; their valleys were only separated by a small ridge; they had intermarried and became almost as one tribe. The principal villages of the Shouemes were situated near the water, and wholly exposed to our attacks; while those of the Typees were considered as secured by their distance from the sea, and the almost impenetrable forests and perpendicular mountains by which only they were to be approached. The first consulted prudence, the others felt their own strength and security, and losing sight of the exposed situation of the Shouemes, attributed their conduct to cowardice alone, and spurned them as a degenerate tribe, unworthy of future alliance with them. Temaa Tipee claimed my protection, which I promised him. He then requested me to exchange names. I told him I had but two, one of which, (and the one I most esteemed) I had exchanged with Gattanewa, the other, however, was at his service as long as he and his tribe remained faithful to us. He and all present promised fidelity, and I gave him the name of David, while I took that of Temaa Tipee. Tavee (for so he called himself) and all his tribe were greatly pleased at the compliment, and from that time to the time of our departure conducted themselves with the utmost fidelity and friendship, and seldom permitted more than four or five days to elapse without sending in presents. Tavee was one of the handsomest men on the island, remarkably fond of ornamenting his person, a strip of red cloth, a string of beads, or a whale's tooth, had charms for him which were irresistible, and every thing which he held most dear were offered to obtain them.

The wife of Tavee was said to be the handsomest woman on the island, and he the fondest husband. Yet Tavee has repeatedly offered her to me for a string of glass beads.

Sometime after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united for-

ces into the sea ; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit ? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them ; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness ; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley. I was desirous of avoiding as long as possible hostilities with those people, but was fearful that their example might change the conduct of others towards us. Their message was delivered to me in the presence of Gattanewa, of Mouina, and many of the friendly tribes. Mouina frothed with rage, and was for proceeding to hostilities immediately ; but Gattanewa became serious and dejected, and after a silence of a few minutes told me he would send his son to advise them to be friendly with us ; nay, said the old man, I will go myself ; they are not aware of the dreadful effects of bouhies, and they must not suffer in consequence of their ignorance. I told him to send his son, that he was too old to proceed to so great a distance, and that I would wait his return before I determined what course to pursue. In two days he returned, and was desired by the Typees to tell Gattanewa and all the people of the valley of Tieuhoy, that they were cowards—that we had beat the Happahs because the Happahs were cowards ; that as to myself and my people, we were white lizards, mere dirt ; and as the most contemptible epithet which they could apply, said we were the posteriors and the privates of the Taeahs. We were, said they, incapable of standing fatigue, overcome by the slightest heat and want of water, and could not climb the mountains without Indians to assist us and carry our arms. Yet we talked of chastising the Typees, a tribe which had never been driven by an enemy, and as their gods informed them were never to be beaten. They dared us to come into their valley, and said they would convince us they did not dread our bouhies as much as they were dreaded by the cowardly tribes of the Taeahs, Happahs, and Shouemes. Now, said Gattanewa, I consent to war, they deserve chastisement ; and Mouina shortly afterwards appeared at the

village boiling with rage, and in rather a peremptory tone insisted on immediate hostilities. My aim was to render all the tribes subservient to my views. I then thought it necessary to check the manner of Mouina, lest it might become contagious, and I should find a difficulty in keeping them in that subjugation by which only we could render ourselves secure. I told him, therefore, that I did not need his advice, and that I should go to war or make peace when I thought proper, without consulting him; that it was only necessary that he should do as I directed him, and every thing must be left to my management. I further told him to leave our village until he could learn to conduct himself more respectfully. He walked off a few paces among the crowd, then turning round, coolly said, he believed I was a great coward. Forgetting that this was the observation of a mere Indian, I seized a musket and pursued him; he retreated among the crowd, and on my approaching him, presenting the musket and threatening him with destruction, on a repetition of such expressions, terror was marked on his countenance. I directed him immediately to leave the enclosure, and never presume to enter it again.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Hap-pahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and despatched a messenger to the Hap-pahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Taeches to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as pos-

sible. Every thing now bore the appearance of war ; the Tacehs and Happaahs could talk and think of nothing else, and I found it policy to keep this spirit alive, as it was likely to secure their friendship. Apprehensive however of a change of disposition on their part, I now conceived the design of constructing a fort, not only as a protection to our village and the harbour, but as a security to the Tacehs against further incursions ; and while it enabled us to give to them the most ample protection, would place them perfectly in our power, in the event of any hostility on their part. The place I had fixed on has been in some measure described as well suiting the purpose. We had an abundance of old water-casks, which, when filled with dirt, would afford an excellent breastwork, and small guns which we could conveniently mount. But before the commencement of this undertaking, I considered it advisable to obtain the consent of the tribes of the valley. I had for some time past intended leaving my prizes here as the most suitable place to lay them up, and this fort would give them additional security. Besides, I believed that the possession of this island might at some future period be of importance to my country, and I was desirous of rendering her claim to it indisputable. With these objects in view, I called on Gattanewa, and inquired of him and his people, who had assembled, whether they had any objections to my constructing the fort. They informed me that they were much pleased with my intention, as it would enable me to give them more effectual protection, and requested that they might be permitted to assist in its construction. I now required to know of them whether they would always be faithful to the American flag, and assist us in opposing our enemies. They replied that they had placed themselves entirely under my protection and control, that our enemies should be their enemies, that they would always receive my countrymen as brethren among them, and as far as lay in their power prevent our enemies from coming among them, knowing them to be such. I had frequently informed them of our being at war with Great Britain, and now explained to them the nature of our government, on which Gattanewa requested that they might not only be our friends and brothers, but our countrymen. I promised them that they should be so, and that they should be adopt-

ed as such as soon as the fort should be completed, when a salute should be fired on the occasion.

The Indians, instructed and assisted by a few of my people, levelled the top of the hill, the breastwork of water-casks were formed and filled with dirt, suitable spaces being left for embrasures, guns were landed from our prizes and mounted, and on the 14th of the month our fort was completed, being calculated for mounting sixteen guns, but I did not conceive it necessary at present to mount more than four. All worked with zeal, and as the friendly tribes were daily coming in with presents, all joined in the labour. The chiefs requested that they might be admitted on the same footing as the Taaehs, and every thing promised harmony between us. They would frequently speak of the war with the Typees, and I informed them I only waited for their war canoes to be put together and launched. And now I am on the subject of war canoes, I must break the chain of my narrative for the purpose of describing these vessels, as well as such others as are in use among the natives.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those already described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooahooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more splendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two feet in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used but for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented

with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gayly dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not however so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, similar to that generally called a shoul-der-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the

hypothénuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of cattamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

About this time I discovered a conspiracy on foot among my prisoners. Their object was to possess themselves of the *Essex Junior*, and the plan and method by which they expected to effect this object was as follows:

They had all been permitted to go on shore and on board the different vessels whenever they wished, on a promise of conducting themselves with propriety, and not absenting themselves so that they could not be found. They were, in fact, admitted on parole, and all restrictions removed.

This extensive indulgence encouraged them in the hopes of making their escape, and headed by Lawson, the mate of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, they had fixed on the night of the 14th to make their attempt, which was to be effected by getting such of her crew as remained on board intoxicated with rum mixed with laudanum. This was already prepared to administer, and Lawson was to attend to this part of the scheme. The third mate, with the prisoners on shore, was to get possession of the canoes on the beach, and with them surprise the ship and take her to sea, there being no other vessel ready to follow her, and no powder on board the *Essex* which would enable her to stop them. Such was their plan, and such their expectations. I had been informed of it almost as soon as it was conceived, was willing to humour the scheme, and gave them every opportunity of making the trial, adopting, at the same time, suitable means to have them secured and punished for their perfidy. At the time of the formation of this plan, and while Lawson and the others were using their greatest exertions to get rum at any price, our rum casks

were lying on the gun-deck, under charge of a sentinel, where they had been put while we were smoking the rats. Two of the sentinels were detected, one in conniving, and the other in assisting some persons in stealing rum. I did not inquire who were those concerned in the theft, lest the discovery might make known to the conspirators my knowledge of their scheme. I therefore punished the sentinels severely for not putting them to death; informed the crew generally of the most absolute necessity for extraordinary vigilance; and told the marines that for the next neglect of duty, I should punish the offender to the utmost extent of my power.

The next evening, after going my rounds at the camp, to see that every thing was right, I went to bed, and at half past ten o'clock, not hearing the sentinel at the bake-house call out *all's well*, I inquired the cause. The sergeant of the guard, on examination, reported to me that the sentinel was lying down asleep, and that he had not disturbed him. I determined now, should this be the case, to punish him as he deserved. I felt the necessity of vigilance, not only on account of our prisoners, but on account of the natives. I felt persuaded that we owed the friendly footing on which we now stood with them entirely to our convincing them we were always on our guard, and I was determined that the safety of the whole should not be hazarded by the neglect of the marines. I therefore seized my pistol, and followed by the sergeant and a guard, proceeded for the bake-house, where we found the culprit fast asleep, his musket lying beside him. I directed him to be seized, and at the same moment he was wounded through the fleshy part of the thigh. This example had a proper effect, and rendered every person more vigilant, particularly the marines. I shall make no further comments on this affair: if the punishment should appear a severe one, let those who censure me place themselves for a moment in my situation: I was far distant from the means of obtaining a judicial inquiry into his offence, which would probably have terminated fatally for him; promptness and vigilance on my part were the only sure guarantees to the success of a cruise so highly important to the interests of my country.

As I before observed, Sunday night was the period fixed

on by the conspirators for making their attempt. But unfortunately (or rather fortunately) for them, it so happened that a ship hove in sight off the mouth of the harbour on Saturday afternoon, and on discovering us stood off to sea under a press of sail. The Essex Junior immediately slipped her cables, and gave chase to her, and not expecting her back before Monday, I put all my prisoners in irons, and thus at once frustrated a scheme which had wholly engrossed them for the last week. With a determination that I would make them suffer for violating their parole, I sent them all on shore to the village, and set them to work in building a wall to surround it, which was finished before my departure from the island.

On Sunday afternoon the Essex Junior arrived. Mr. Downes had spoke the stranger, which proved to be the American ship Albatross, from the Sandwich islands, and had come for the purpose of procuring sandal-wood. The Albatross did not get in until the next day. The arrival of this ship gave me no pleasure; for although the meeting with my countrymen in any part of the world but this, would have proved a joyous event, I was in hopes that our arrival and operations here would for a long time be kept a secret. The evils I apprehended from her making her knowledge of us public, far more than counter-balanced any satisfaction which I expected from her arrival. Some short time prior to this, an event took place which threatened disagreeable consequences. The matter was however adjusted much to my satisfaction, and on the whole I considered the circumstance which gave rise to it as the most fortunate that could have happened, as it relieved me entirely from my anxiety on a subject which of all others had given me the most uneasiness.

Robert Dunn, quarter-master, had been threatened (by the officer of the watch) with punishment for some neglect of duty. Dunn said that the time for which he enlisted had expired, and if he was punished, he would never again do duty in the ship. When this was reported to me, it occasioned me much uneasiness. Most of my crew were in the situation of Dunn, and it became necessary to find a remedy for the evil. Promptness and decision were indispensable, and with as little loss of time as possible I caused all hands to be called on the quarter-deck,

where I informed them of the offence of Dunn. Then directing him to strip, I assured him that I should punish him severely, and to prevent his ever doing duty in the ship, I should turn him on shore on the island, observing that his time was out, and it was proper he should have his discharge. After this, addressing myself to the ship's company, I expostulated with them on the impropriety, and the evils likely to result from such conduct as Dunn's, and expressed a determination to have no man under my command who had it in his power to say his time was out, and he would no longer do duty. I informed them that the times of many were out, and from that moment I gave up all claim on them for their services; that they were their own masters, and should have their discharge on the spot. If they wished to enlist again for the cruise, I would enlist them, give them the usual advance, and on a suitable occasion give them three days liberty on shore. That such as refused to enlist, but would bind themselves to do duty, might remain on board till I would have an opportunity of putting them on shore in some civilized place. They should be supplied with provisions; but should be allowed neither pay nor prize-money. Such as wished their discharge were called on for their names, in order that it might be made out in form, and they were all informed that the shipping papers were laid open for all such as wished to enter. I now was about proceeding to the punishment of Dunn, when most of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, came forward and solicited his pardon, stating that he appeared intoxicated at the time he made the observation, and not sensible of the offence committed. Dunn also begged forgiveness most earnestly, and hoped, whatever other punishment I might inflict, I would not turn him on shore. He was sensible his offence had been a great one, but pleaded intoxication, and as a proof of his attachment to the ship, requested his name to be placed first on the list. I thought it on the whole advisable to pardon him; the men were dismissed; every man of all the ships re-entered except one, who, from some foolish whim, did not wish to re-enlist, although he was desirous of remaining doing duty and receiving pay. I determined not to depart from the principles laid down. I stopped his pay, and afterwards sent him to America in

the New Zealander. This affair (which, when joined to conspiracies, neglect of duty, and my difficulties with the tribes, had caused me much uneasiness) was now settled. The arrival of the Albatross was hailed by our seamen as the most joyful event. She had brought from Canton a cargo suited to this Island, consisting of beads and various other trinkets, to exchange with the natives for sandalwood. She soon procured all that was to be obtained, and disposed of to our seamen the principal part of her remaining trade at the most exorbitant prices. They had all received their advance money; it was to them useless trash, and soon disposed of for such articles as would be most likely to please their female friends, who, hearing of the abundance of *peepees* (for so they called beads) and other *tie ties*, with which our men were supplied, flocked round our settlement from every tribe with whom we were at peace.

On the 19th November, the American flag was displayed in our fort, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the artillery mounted there, and returned by the shipping in the harbour. The island was taken possession of for the United States, and called Madison's Island, the fort, Fort Madison, the village, Madison's Ville, and the bay, Massachusetts Bay. The following declaration of the act of taking possession was read and signed, after which the prosperity of our newly acquired Island was drank by all present. The object of this ceremony had been previously and was again explained to the natives. They were all much pleased at being *Melleekes*, as they called themselves, and wanted to know if their new chief was as great a man as Gattanewa.

DECLARATION.

"It is hereby made known to the world, that I, David Porter, a captain in the navy of the United States of America, and now in command of the United States' frigate the Essex, have, on the part of the said United States, taken possession of the island called by the natives *Nooa-heevah*, generally known by the name of sir Henry Martin's island, but now called Madison's Island. That by the request and assistance of the friendly tribes residing

in the valley of Tieuhoy, as well as of the tribes residing on the mountains, whom we have conquered and rendered tributary to our flag, I have caused the village of Madison to be built, consisting of six convenient houses, a rope walk, bakery, and other appurtenances, and for the protection of the same, as well as for that of the friendly natives, I have constructed a fort, calculated for mounting sixteen guns, whereon I have mounted four, and called the same Fort Madison.

"Our rights to this island being founded on priority of discovery, conquest, and possession, cannot be disputed. But the natives, to secure to themselves that friendly protection which their defenceless situation so much required, have requested to be admitted into the great American family, whose pure republican policy approaches so near their own. And in order to encourage these views to their own interest and happiness, as well as to render secure our claim to an island valuable, on many considerations, I have taken on myself to promise them they shall be so adopted; that our chief shall be their chief; and they have given assurances that such of their brethren as may hereafter visit them from the United States, shall enjoy a welcome and hospitable reception among them, and be furnished with whatever refreshments and supplies the island may afford; that they will protect them against all their enemies, and, as far as lies in their power, prevent the subjects of Great Britain (knowing them to be such) from coming among them until peace shall take place between the two nations.

"Presents, consisting of the produce of the island to a great amount, have been brought in by every tribe in the island, not excepting the most remote, and have been enumerated as follows, viz.

"Six tribes in the valley of Tieuhoy, called the Taeehs, viz. 1 Hoattas, 2 Maouhs, 3 Houneeahs, 4 Pakeuhs, 5 Hekuahs, 6 Havvouhs.

"Six tribes of the Happahs, 1 Niecekees, 2 Tattievows, 3 Pachas, 4 Keekahs, 5 Tekahs, 6 Muttawhoas.

"Three tribes of the Maamatwuahs, 1 Maamatwuahs, 2 Tioahs, 3 Cahahas.

"Three tribes of the Attatokahs, 1 Attatokahs, 2 Takeeahs, 3 Pâhentahs.

"Niecekees, one tribe.

"Twelve tribes of the Typees, 1 Poheguahs, 2 Naeguahs, 3 Attayiyas, 4 Cahunukohas, 5 Tomavaheenahs, 6 Tickeymahues, 7 Mooaekas, 8 Atteshows, 9 Attestapwyhunahs, 10 Attehacoes, 11 Attetomohoy, 12 Attakakahanuahs.

"Most of the above have requested to be taken under the protection of our flag, and all have been willing to purchase, on any terms, a friendship which promises to them so many advantages.

"Influenced by considerations of humanity, which promise speedy civilization to a race of men who enjoy every mental and bodily endowment which nature can bestow, and which requires only art to perfect, as well as by views of policy, which secure to my country a fruitful and populous island, possessing every advantage of security and supplies for vessels, and which, of all others, is the most happily situated, as respects climate and local position, I do declare that I have, in the most solemn manner, under the American flag displayed in Fort Madison, and in the presence of numerous witnesses, taken possession of the said island, called Madison's Island, for the use of the United States, whereof I am a citizen; and that the act of taking possession was announced by a salute of seventeen guns from the artillery of Fort Madison, and returned by the shipping in the harbour, which is hereafter to be called Massachusetts Bay.—And that our claim to this island may not be hereafter disputed, I have buried in a bottle, at the foot of the flagstaff in Fort Madison, a copy of this instrument, together with several pieces of money, the coin of the United States.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature, this 19th day of November, 1813.

Signed, DAVID PORTER.

"Witnesses present:

"Signed, John Downes, lieutenant U. S. N.

James P. Wilmer, lieutenant U. S. N.

S. D. McKnight, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

John G. Cowel, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

David P. Adams, chaplain U. S. N.

John M. Gamble, lieutenant U. S. marines.

Richard K. Hoffman, acting surgeon U. S. N.

John M. Maury, midshipman U. S. N.
 M. W. Bostwick, acting midshipman U. S. N.
 William Smith, master of the American ship
 Albatross.
 William H. Odenheimer, acting surgeon master
 U. S. N.
 Wilson P. Hunt, agent for the American North
 Pacific fur company.
 P. de Mester, } Citizens of the U. States."
 Benjamin Clapp, }

The wooding, watering, and taking on board the provisions and stores, went on expeditiously, and all appeared to exert themselves to hasten our departure. The Albatross remained with us but a few days, when she sailed on her return to the Sandwich Islands. Previous to her departure I sold to her commander the guns mounted on Fort Madison, solely with a view of doing away any impression as to my motives in mounting them there. All now supposed that it was done only with a view of going through the formality of taking possession; but at a suitable time after her departure they were replaced by others.

On the Albatross going to sea, which was on the 24th of November, I sent some of my boats to tow her out, and went on board myself to deliver to the captain all our letters, carefully put up in lead, to be thrown overboard in case of capture. I went as far as the mouth of the harbour, when finding the morning pleasant, and the sea smooth, I determined to proceed to the bay, which I had understood was to the westward, for the purpose of giving it an examination. I accordingly despatched Mr. Shaw to the frigate for arms, and on his rejoining me we put off, and arrived in the bay we were in search of in about an hour and a half. The distance from Massachusetts Bay was supposed to be about eight miles, the coast between being generally iron bound, with the exception of two beaches and some coves making in, which did not appear to offer any shelter or other advantages. The bay, of which we could see no traces, until we were very close in with it, is narrow at its entrance, and makes in two coves, the most eastern of which affords the best shelter and landing, but appears destitute of inhabitants, and (I con-

cluded also) of water, as I could perceive no rivulets. We landed in the western cove, near the village, and at the mouth of a beautiful rivulet which was meandering through the valley, and is of sufficient depth for their largest canoes to enter. On landing, many of the natives came to the beach, who seemed disposed to treat us in the most friendly manner; but apprehensive of being troubled by their numbers, I drew a line in the sand, at some distance about the boats, and informed them they were *tabbooed*. As an additional security to us, I caused all the arms to be loaded and ready for service on the first alarm, and sentinels placed over them. Shortly after this the chief came down to invite me to the public square, the usual place in all their villages for the reception of strangers. The women and girls assembled from all quarters of the town, dressed out in all their finery to meet us. They were here free from all the restraints imposed by the *tabboos*, abundantly anointed with the oil of the cocoa-nut, and their skins well bedaubed with red and yellow paint, as was their clothing. Some were also smeared with greenish paint, the object of which I found, on inquiry, was to preserve the fairness and beauty of the skin. Of this they seemed to take particular pains, every one of them being furnished with a kind of umbrella, formed of a bunch of palm leaves, to shield them from the effects of the sun. Their care and attention in this particular had rendered them far superior in point of beauty to the females of our valley, and the difference was so striking as to make them appear a distinct people. Some of the girls, probably in compliment to us, or to render themselves more attractive in our eyes, washed themselves in the stream, threw aside their bedaubed clothing, and soon appeared neatly clad in cloth of the purest white. I can say, without exaggeration, that I never have seen women more perfectly beautiful in form, features, and complexion, or that had playful innocence more strongly marked on their countenances or in their manners. All seemed perfectly easy and even graceful, and all strove by their winning attentions, who should render themselves most pleasing to us. The girls formed a circle round us, and those of a more advanced age were seated outside of them. The men showed us every kind attention, and strove to convince us

of their friendship by bringing us cocoa-nuts, and cooking for us hogs and bread-fruit after their manner, which were found excellent. The manner of cleansing and cooking their hogs is as follows : a hole of a convenient size is dug in the ground, the bottom and sides of which are lined with stones, a fire is then made in it, and the whole covered with more stones. The hog is then strangled, and when the stones are sufficiently heated, is drawn backwards and forwards on them to remove the bristles, which, by this practice, are easily taken off. He is then carried to the stream and there gutted and washed clean. The upper layer of stones and fire are then removed, and the lower tier and sides are carefully covered with plantain leaves, on which the hog is laid after having his inside filled with hot stones enveloped with leaves. The whole is then covered with the same kind of leaves, and the remaining stones are laid on him, over which is placed another covering of leaves, and this is covered with dirt, which had been taken from the hole. In the course of an hour it is perfectly cooked, the coverings are carefully removed, the meat served up on clean plantain leaves, and no mode of cooking can possibly excel it in point of taste, cleanliness, or appearance. The bread-fruit is also enveloped in plantain leaves, and roasted in the embers. When the hog was cooked it was served up to us in the circle, and we amused ourselves in dividing the choicest pieces among the girls, who testified much pleasure at the attention paid to them. After which we extended our civilities to the other women, and divided the remainder among the men, reserving a small portion to ourselves. A daughter of Gattanewa was among them ; she was the wife of the chief who had met us on our arrival ; she seemed no less friendly disposed than her husband, and embraced me as her father, reminding me frequently, that from the exchange of names I had become such. From her filial affection she bestowed on me a bountiful supply of the red and yellow paint with which she was covered. She insisted on my sending away my boats and people, and remaining with them until the next day, and no excuse that I could offer for my return to the ship would satisfy her. They all joined in her solicitations, and, as an inducement for me to remain, promised me the choicest mats to sleep on, and

the handsomest girls in the village to sing me to sleep. After our repast, all the women joined in a song, which was accompanied by the clapping of hands; it lasted near half an hour, and was not unmusical. I inquired the subject of it, and was informed by Wilson that it was the history of the loves of a young man and a young woman of their valley: they sung their mutual attachment, and the praises of their beauty; described with raptures the handsome beads and whales' teeth earrings with which she was bedecked, and the large whale's tooth which hung from his neck. They afterwards joined in a short song, which they appeared to compose as they sung, in which I could plainly distinguish the words *Opootee, ti ties, peepees, &c.* (Porter presents beads, &c.) after which they strove in various ways who should most amuse us, the men in dancing, the girls in playing scratch cradle, (an amusement well known in America, at which they are more dexterous than any other I ever met with. The thread used for this purpose is made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, and is generally worn by the young girls (who greatly delight in this amusement) round the neck, or made up with much ingenuity and compactness into a small skein, and is put through the hole of the ear, where it serves the double purpose of keeping it distended, and amusing them occasionally. It is really astonishing to see what variety of forms they will give to this thread, and with what dexterity and expedition they will change it from one form to another. Sometimes it assumes the appearance of the finest network, and in an instant changes to that of lace. Sometimes the reticulations are diamond-like, square or polyedrous, and sometimes compounded of the whole.

Our time passed rapidly with these kind people, and the evening approached before we were aware of it. It became necessary to hasten to the ship, and we bade them farewell, with a promise that we should shortly return and bring with us a larger supply of *peepees* and other *tie ties*, so much desired by them.

This bay, as I before observed, affords good shelter. The entrance is narrow, the water deep, and the landing good; but I should not deem it advisable to enter with a large vessel, as the lee point runs out for a great distance, and must render the egress difficult and dangerous. The

rocks forming this valley are steep and inaccessible, but the lower grounds fertile and thickly covered with plantations. The village is handsome, and regularly laid out in streets, and the whole country romantic in the extreme. I called this bay, in compliment to lieutenant Lewis of the United States navy, who first discovered it, Lewis's Bay.

On my return to the ship, I directed Mr. John J. King, master's mate, to take command of the *New Zealander*, to proceed to the United States, after taking on board that ship all the oil of my other prizes, which I expected would complete her cargo. Every article not necessary for her was sent on shore, and every exertion was made to despatch her as soon as possible.

CHAPTER XV.

MADISON'S ISLAND—TYPEE WAR.

THE Tacehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Tacehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Tacehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

On the 27th November I informed the Tacehs and Happahs that I should next day go to war with the Typees, agreeably to my original plan, and directed Gattanewa to proceed on board the Essex Junior, with two persons who went to perform the office of ambassadors. These, on the arrival of the ship in their bay, were to be sent to the Typees, offering the same terms of peace as were accepted by the others. The Essex Junior sailed in the afternoon, and I proceeded next morning, at three o'clock, with five boats, accompanied by ten war canoes, blowing their conchs as a signal to keep together. One of our boats separated from the others, passed the bay, and did not rejoin us again until the middle of the day. We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taceh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Tacehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre. We only waited for reinforcements from the Essex Junior, our interpreter, our ambassadors, and Gattanewa; and on the ship's anchoring, I went on board to hasten them on shore, directing lieutenant Downes to bring with him fifteen men; these, with the twenty on shore, I supposed would be fully sufficient to incline them to terms. On my return to the beach, I found every one in arms, the

Typees had appeared in the bushes, and had pelted our people with stones, while quietly eating their breakfast. They, as well as the Tacehs and Happaahs, were all on their guard, but no hostilities had been offered on our part. I had brought with me one of those whom I had intended to employ as ambassadors; he had intermarried with the Typees, and was privileged to go among them. I furnished him with a white flag, and sent him to inform the Typees that I had come to offer them peace, but was prepared for war; that I only required that they should submit to the same terms as those entered into by the other tribes, and that their friendship would be much more pleasing to me than any satisfaction which I expected to derive from chastising them. In a few minutes after the departure of my messenger he came running back, the picture of terror, and informed me he had met in the bushes an ambuscade of Typees, who, regardless of his flag of truce, which he displayed to them, had driven him back with blows, and had threatened to put him to death if he again ventured among them. In an instant afterwards we had a confirmation of his statement in a shower of stones which came from the bushes, at the same moment one of them darted across the pathway and was shot through the leg, but was carried off by his friends. Hostilities had now commenced; lieutenant Downes had arrived with his men, and I gave the order to march. Mouina, having forgot the difference which had taken place between us, placed himself, as usual, in advance; we entered the bushes, and were at every instant assailed by spears and stones, which came from different parties of the enemy in ambuscade. We could hear the snapping of the slings, the whistling of the stones, the spears came quivering by us, but we could not perceive from whom they came; no enemy was to be seen, not a whisper was to be heard among them. To remain still would have proved fatal to us; to have retreated would have convinced them of our fears and our incapacity to injure them; our only safety was in advancing and endeavouring to clear the thicket, which I had been informed was of no great extent.

We had advanced about a mile, and had received no injury, nor had we reason to believe we had done any to the enemy (who we could only get a glimpse of as they

darted from tree to tree) although we had kept up a scattering fire on them. We at length came to a small opening on the bank of a river, from the thicket on the opposite side of which we were assailed with a shower of stones, when lieutenant Downes received a blow which shattered the bone of his left leg, and he fell. We had left parties in ambush in our rear, which we had not been able to dislodge, and to trust him to the Indians alone to take back was hazarding too much. I was fearful of weakening my force by sending a party to escort him, and to have returned back would have been construed by the allied tribes into a defeat. They had taken no active part, they sat as silent observers of our operations, the sides of the mountains were still covered with them, and myself as well as the Taeahs, had no slight grounds to doubt the fidelity of the Happahs. A defeat would no doubt have sealed our destruction. I had come with a force very inadequate to reduce them to terms, having received wrong impressions as to the country through which we had to pass. But since we had come it was necessary something should be done to convince them of our superiority. The Indians began to leave us, all depended on our own exertions, and no time was to be lost in deliberation. I therefore directed Mr. Shaw with four men to escort lieutenant Downes to the beach; this, with the party I had left for the protection of the boats, reduced my number to twenty-four men. As we continued our march the number of our allies became reduced, and even the brave Mouina, the first to expose himself, began to hang back. While he kept in advance, he had, by the quickness of his sight, which was astonishing, put us on our guard as the stones and spears came, and enabled us to elude them, but now they came too thick even for him to withstand.

We soon came to the place for fording the river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on

account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. Mouina and two or three others of the natives had kept with us, the others had not crossed the river. We soon came to a small space cleared of the small trees and the underwood; the natives had ceased to annoy us, and we had hoped soon to have arrived at their village, which I had been informed was at no great distance. On emerging from the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them, I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the

Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. Our only safety now depended on holding our ground until we could procure a fresh supply of ammunition, and in reserving the few charges on hand until it could be brought to us. I mentioned my intentions to my people, exhorted them to save their ammunition as much as possible, and despatched lieutenant Gamble with a detachment of four men to the beach, there to take a boat and proceed to the Essex Junior for a fresh supply. We were from the time of his departure chiefly occupied in eluding the stones which came with redoubled force and numbers. Our fire had become slackened, a few muskets only occasionally were fired to convince them we were not yet disposed to retreat. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. Mouina begged me to retreat, crying mattee! mattee! The wounded entreated me to permit the others to carry them to the beach, but I had none to spare to accompany them. I saw no hopes of succeeding against the Typees, so long as they kept their strong hold; and determined to endeavour to draw them out by a feigned retreat, and by this means to gain an advantage. For to return without gaining some advantage would, I believed, have rendered an attack from the Happahs certain. I communicated my intentions; directed the wounded to be taken care of; gave orders for all to run until we were concealed by the bushes, and then halt. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort. Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and

we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

On my arrival, I found the boat which had been missing, together with a reinforcement of men from the Essex Junior, and a supply of ammunition. I was desirous of sounding the Typees before I proceeded to further extremities, as also to impress our allies with the idea that we could carry all before us. Assuming the air and language of a conqueror (although I must confess I felt little like one) I directed one of the ambassadors to proceed to the Typee fort, to tell them, that with a handful of men we had driven them into their fortifications, that we had killed two and wounded several of them, and had now a force sufficient to drive them out of the valley; that I did not wish to do them further injury, and still offered to them the terms I had first proposed. They told my messenger to tell me, that they had killed my chief warrior (for such they supposed Mr. Downes to be;) that they had wounded several of my people, and compelled us to retreat. It was true, they said, we had killed two of them, and wounded many others; but considering their superior numbers, what was this compared to the injury they had done us. They had men to spare, we had not. If we were able to drive them from their valley, what could I promise myself by telling them of it. I must know they would not believe me until I had done it. They said they had counted our boats; they knew the number that each would carry, and were as well acquainted with my force as myself. They knew their strength, and the numbers they could oppose; and held our bouhies in more contempt than ever; they frequently missed fire, rarely killed, and the wounds they occasioned were not as painful as those of a spear or stone. They added, they knew they would prove perfectly useless to us should it come on to rain. They dared us to renew the contest; and assured us they would not retreat beyond where we had left them.

Overcome with fatigue, and discouraged by the formidable appearance of their fortress, my men also fatigued and disheartened from the number of wounded, I determined to leave them for the present, but meditated a severe

punishment for them. The Happahs had now descended the hills with their arms; the Shouemes appeared on the other side, and "the Typees have driven the white men," was the constant topic of conversation. We were still but a handful, and were surrounded by several thousand Indians; and although they professed friendship, I did not feel safe. I therefore directed every body to embark and proceed to the Essex Junior, anxious to know the state of lieutenant Downes. We had scarcely arrived at the ship before the Typees rushed on our allies, who had remained behind, and drove them into their canoes and into the water. We sprang into our boats, and pulled towards the shore, when they precipitately retreated, and our allies pursued in turn, and knocked over with a stone one of the Typee warriors, whose body they triumphantly bore off. Finding they would not face us in a clear space, and being perfectly sick of bush fighting, I returned to Massachusetts Bay with my boats, and directed the Essex Junior to follow when the wind suited.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Happahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the Tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages, and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge

of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. I gave the orders for marching, and sent word of my intentions to Gattanewa, in order that neither him nor his people might be alarmed by our warlike movements. I directed the party sent in advance to halt as soon as they had gained the top of the mountain until I came up with the main body. There I intended encamping for the night, should our men not be able to stand the fatigue of a longer march. Several gave out before we reached the summit, which we did in about three hours, with great difficulty. But after resting a short time, and finding ourselves refreshed, the moon shining out bright, and our guides informing us (though very incorrectly) that we were not more than six miles from the enemy, we again marched. Several Indians had joined us, but I had imposed silence on them, as we were under the necessity of passing a Happah village, and was fearful of their discovering us, and giving intelligence to the Typees. Not a whisper was heard from one end of the line to the other; our guides marched in front, and we followed in silence up and down the steep sides of rocks and mountains, through rivulets, thickets, and reed brakes, and by the sides of precipices which sometimes caused us to shudder. At twelve o'clock we could hear the drums beating in the Typee valley, accompanied by loud singing, and the number of lights in different parts of it induced me to believe they were rejoicing. I inquired the cause, and was informed by the Indians they were celebrating the victory they had obtained over us, and calling on their gods to give them rain, in order that it might render our bouhies useless. We soon arrived at the pathway leading from the top of the mountains into the valley. But the Indians told us that it would be impossible to descend it without daylight; that the mountain was almost perpendicular, and that in many places we should be under the necessity of lowering ourselves down with great caution, and that it would be even

necessary for them to assist us in the day-time to enable us to get down with safety. Believing from experience that when the natives considered the roads bad, they would prove really so to us, and finding that my men were much fatigued, and averse to risking their necks any longer at night, added to which, several of my stoutest men had given out, and were left under charge of the Indians on the road, I concluded that it would be most advisable to wait for daylight before we attempted to descend. We were in possession of the pathway to the valley, and could prevent the Happaes from giving them any intelligence of us; we were on a narrow ridge running between the valleys of the two tribes, well situated to guard against surprise, and defend ourselves from an attack from either; and what added to the convenience of our situation, we had a stream of water not far distant.

I had left a small party in charge of a hill, which appeared to me then a commanding situation; but after coming to my present determination, I sent a messenger to call them in, and after placing guards, we laid down on our arms. I had fallen into a dose, when an Indian came to inform me that it was coming on to rain very heavy, and as he expressed himself, would *mattee! mattee! bouhie*. This appearance of rain caused loud shouts of joy in the Typee valley and drums were beating in every quarter. I cautioned my men about taking care of their arms and ammunition; but from the violence of the rain, which soon poured down in torrents, I had little hope that a musket would be kept dry or a cartridge saved. Never, in the course of my life, did I spend a more anxious or disagreeable night, and I believe there were few with me who had ever seen its equal. A cold and piercing wind accompanied the deluge, for I can call it nothing else, and chilled us to the heart. Without room to keep ourselves warm by moving about, fearful of stirring, lest we might be precipitated into eternity down the steep sides of the mountains, for the ridge had now become so slippery we could scarcely keep our feet—we all anxiously looked for morning, and the first dawn of day, although the wind and rain still continued, was a cheering sight to us, notwithstanding our apprehensions for the fate of the ammunition and the condition of our muskets. We were all as perfect-

ly wet as though we had been under water the whole time, and we scarcely entertained a hope that a single cartridge or musket had escaped. The Indians kept exclaiming that our muskets were spoiled, and anxiously wished us to retreat in time; but notwithstanding my fears on the subject, I endeavoured to impress them with a belief that water could do them no injury. As soon as it was light enough, I went among my men and inquired into the state of their arms and ammunition. The first had escaped better than I had any reason to hope; but of the latter more than one half was wet and unfit for service.

The Happah village lay on one side of the mountain, as I before observed, the Typee on the other, and when it was light enough to see down into the valley of the latter, we were astonished at the greatness of the height we were elevated above them, and the steepness of the mountain by which we should have to descend to get to them. A narrow pathway pointed out the track, but it was soon lost among the cliffs. The Indians informed me that in the present slippery state of the mountain no one could descend, and as our men were much harassed with fatigue, overcome with hunger, shivering, and uncomfortable, I determined to take up my quarters in the Happah valley until next day, to enable us to refresh, and I hoped by that time the weather would prove more favourable. The chief soon arrived, and I communicated to him my intentions, directing him to send down and have houses provided for us, as also hogs and fruit, all of which he promised should be done. Before I left the hill, I determined, by firing a volley, to show the natives that our muskets had not received as much injury as they had expected, for I believed, under their impressions, at that moment, the Happahs would not have hesitated in making an attack on us, and to avoid any difficulties with them, I thought it best to convince them we were still formidable. I had other motives also for firing, the Tayeehs and Happahs, I knew, would accompany us into the Typee valley; and as I had put off our descent until the next day, I concluded that it would be best to give them timely notice of our approach, that they might be enabled to remove their women and children, their hogs, and most valuable effects. Although I felt it necessary to self-defence; to chastise them into

submission, I wished to prevent the innocent from suffering, or the pillage and destruction of their property. My own men, I knew, would be sufficiently occupied in fighting to prevent their plundering, but the Indians, who accompanied us, would be intent on that object alone. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicions of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley, which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Happahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had, in all appearance, been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted. After placing guards, and taking such precautions as our situation rendered necessary, I retired to sleep; my recommending to others to do the same was unnecessary. We saw no appearance of cooking hogs, however, no fruit was brought in, nor did the natives appear disposed to accommodate us further than to abandon to us their houses: every thing was taken out of them, and we were left to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could. I requested a mat to sleep on, but it was long, before one could be obtained. I wanted a piece of cloth to wrap round my loins, while my clothes were washing and drying, and it was with great difficulty I could get it; many of my people were complaining of hunger, and could get nothing to eat, although the valley abounded in hogs and fruit. The Happahs assembled about us, armed with

their clubs and spears; and the women, who had at first crowded round, now began to abandon us. Every thing bore the appearance of a hostile disposition, on the part of the Happahs, and our friends, the Tayeehs, cautioned us to be on our guard. I directed every one to keep their arms in their hands, ready to assemble at a moment's warning. I now sent for their chief and required to know if they were hostilely disposed. I told him it was necessary we should have something to eat, and that I expected his people to bring us hogs and fruit, and if they did not do so, I should be under the necessity of sending out parties to shoot them, and to cut down their fruit trees, as our people were too much fatigued to climb them. I also directed that they should lay by their spears and clubs. No notice being taken of these demands, I caused many of their spears and clubs to be taken from them and broken, and sent parties out to shoot hogs, while others were employed in cutting down cocoa-nut and banana trees until we had a sufficient supply. I now expostulated with them on their unfriendly conduct, compared their reception of us to that given by Gattanewa, and appealed to Tawatta and Mouina (who had both arrived) for the correctness of my statement.

The chiefs and the people of the Happah tribe now became intimidated, and brought and baked hogs in greater abundance than were required; friendship was re-established, and the women returned.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we equally divided our ammunition, and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day.

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three

or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

Many may censure my conduct as wanton and unjust. In the security of the fireside, and under the protection of the laws which are their safeguards, at all times, they may question the motives of my conduct, and deny the necessity which compelled me to pursue it. But let such reflect a moment on our peculiar situation—a handful of men residing among numerous warlike tribes, liable every moment to be attacked by them, and all cut off; our only hopes of safety was in convincing them of our great superiority over them, and from what we have already seen, we must either attack them or be attacked. I had received many wanton provocations from them; they refused to be on friendly terms with us; they attacked and insulted our friends, for being such; and repeated complaints were made to me on the subject. I had borne with their reproaches, and my moderation was called cowardice. I offered them friendship, and my offers were rejected with insulting scorn. I sent to them messengers, and they were dismissed with blows; hostilities had been commenced by them, and they believed they had obtained an advantage over us. A mere thread connected us with the other tribes; that once broken, our destruction was almost inevitable. They feared us and were our friends; should there be no longer cause for fear, should they no longer believe us invincible, instead of hostilities with the single tribe of Typees, we should, in all probability, have been at war with all on the island. The Happahs considered themselves a conquered

tribe, ready, at the first good opportunity, to shake off the yoke; the Shouemes and some others, if not conquered by our arms, were so by the apprehensions of them. They had been led to believe that no force could resist us, and had they been convinced that the Typees could keep us at bay, they must have felt satisfied that their united forces were capable of destroying us. A coalition would have been fatal to us—it was my duty to prevent it—and I saw no means of succeeding but by reducing the Typees before they could come to an understanding with the other tribes. By placing all on the same footing, I hoped to bring about a general peace, and secure the future tranquillity of the Island.

Wars are not always just, and are rarely free from excesses. However I may regret the harshness with which motives of self-preservation, that operate every where, compelled me to treat these high-spirited and incorrigible people, my conscience acquits me of any injustice; and no excesses were committed, but what the Typees had it in their power to stop by ceasing hostilities. The evils they experienced they brought upon themselves, and the blood of their relations and friends must be on their own heads. Had no opposition been made, none would have been killed—had they wished for peace, it would have been granted; but proud of the honour of being the greatest warriors on the island, they believed themselves invincible, and hoped to insult all others with impunity.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were

also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.— After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men were wounded, and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M'Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M'Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley. It became now necessary to guard against a useless consumption of ammunition, the scouting parties had returned, and some had expended all their cartridges. I exhorted them to be more careful of them, and after having given them a fresh supply, forbid any firing from the main body, unless we should be attacked by great numbers. I now left a party in this place, posted in a house, with the wounded, and another party in ambush behind a wall, and directed Mouina to lead us to the next village. Before marching, I sent a messenger to inform the Typees that we should cease

hostilities when they no longer made resistance, but so long as stones were thrown I should destroy their villages. No notice was taken of this message. We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, soon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees and all the young plants they could find. We had now arrived at the upper end of the valley, about nine miles from the beach, and at the foot of the water-fall above mentioned. The day was advancing; we had yet much to do, and it was necessary to hasten our return to the fort first taken, where we arrived after being about four hours absent, leaving behind us a scene of ruin and desolation. I had hoped that the Typees had now abandoned all further thoughts of resistance; but on my return to the fort I found the parties left there had been annoyed the whole time of my absence; but being sheltered from the stones, and short of ammunition, they had not fired on the enemy. This fort was situated exactly half-way up the valley. To return by the road we descended the hill would have been impossible, it became therefore necessary to go to the beach, where I was informed that the difficulty of ascending the mountains would not be so great. Many were exhausted with fatigue, and began to feel the cravings of hunger, and I ordered a halt, that all might rest and refresh themselves. After resting about half an hour, I directed the Indians to take care of our wounded. We formed the line of march and proceeded down the valley, and in our route destroyed several other villages, at all of which we had some skir-

mishing with the enemy. At one of those places, situated at the foot of a steep hill, they rolled enormous stones down, with a view of crushing us to death, but they did us no injury. The number of villages destroyed amounted to ten, and the plunder carried off by the Indians was very great, for we were too much engaged in fighting to prevent them, if it had been possible to do so. The Typees fought us to the last, and even at first harassed our rear on our return; but parties left in ambush soon put a stop to any further annoyance. We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude and equal strength and ingenuity.

In their fortification consisted the strength of the Typees. The usual fighting place with the other tribes was on the plain near the beach, and although they had frequently been engaged with the forces of several tribes combined, they had never before succeeded in compelling them to retire beyond the river, which, it will be remembered, is about one quarter of a mile from the fort.

There are but three entrances into this valley, one on the west which we descended, one on the east, and one from the beach. No force whatever had before dared to attack them on the west, on account of the impossibility of retreating, in case of a repulse, which they calculated on as certain. The passage on the east led from the valley of their friends, and that from the beach was guarded by fortresses deemed impregnable, and justly so against any force which could be brought against them unassisted

by artillery. On viewing the strength of this place, I could not help felicitating myself on the lucky circumstance which had induced me to attack them by land, for I believed we should have failed in an attempt on this place. I had determined, on first starting, not to return until I had destroyed this fort, and now intended putting my design in execution. To have thrown it down by removing the stones singly would have required more time than we had to spare, and concluding that, by our united efforts, we should be enabled to demolish the whole at once, I directed the Indians and my own men to put their shoulders to the wall, and endeavour, by efforts made at the same instant, to throw it down; but it was built with so much solidity that no impression could be made on it; we therefore left it as a monument to future generations of their skill and industry. This fortification appeared of ancient date, and time alone can destroy it. We succeeded in making a small breach in the wall through which we passed on our route to the beach, a route which was familiar to us, but had now become doubly intricate from the number of trees which had since been cut down and placed across the pathway, as much to impede our advance as to embarrass us in our retreat. We fancied the same had been practised on the bank of the river.

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us.

Gattanewa met me on the side of the hill as I was ascending. The old man's heart was full, he could not

speak; he placed both my hands on his head, rested his forehead on my knees, and after a short pause, raising himself, placed his hands on my breast, exclaimed, Gattane-wa! and then on his own, said, Opotee, to remind me we had exchanged names.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

I shall not fatigue myself or the reader by a longer account of this expedition. We spent the night with the Happahs, who supplied us most abundantly, and next morning, at daylight, started for Madison's Ville, where we arrived about eight o'clock, after an absence of three nights and two days, during which time we marched upwards of sixty miles, by paths which had never before been trodden but by the natives. Several of my stoutest men were for a long time laid up by sickness occasioned by their excessive fatigue, and one (corporal Mahan of the marines) died two days after his return.

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, despatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come on terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still

insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which, they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

Flags were now sent to me again from all the tribes in the island, even the most remote and inconsiderable, with large presents of hogs and fruit, and we had never at any time since we had been on the island experienced such abundance. It was now the source of regret to me that I was not supplied with salt, that we might be enabled to have cured a quantity of pork for our sea stock, which we might easily have done from the large supply on hand.

Our enclosure, although spacious, was not sufficient to contain the hogs we received. I therefore was under the necessity of sending them on board the different ships in as great numbers as could be kept there. Still, notwithstanding we killed pork on shore for our people every day, the number of hogs increased so fast that it became necessary to turn them out of the enclosure, and let them run, which was done after marking them by cutting off the right ear and slitting the left. I however previously informed the inhabitants of the valley of my intentions, and the mark I had put on them, in order that they might not kill them, which they promised they would not do, but on the contrary, would take care of them, and feed, and fatten them against my return. The number that I in this manner marked and turned loose did not fall short of five hundred, my ships were all full, no more could be taken on board, and a sufficient stock was reserved in the enclosure to supply us as long as we should remain here. I did not regret being overstocked, as it enabled me to leave so many in this valley, which was in some measure a compensation for those we had been supplied with by the inhabitants.

Peace now being established throughout the island, and the utmost harmony reigning, not only between us and the

Indians, but between the tribes; they mixed with one another about our village in the most friendly manner, and the different chiefs with the priests came daily to visit me. They were all much delighted that a general peace had been brought about, that they might now all visit the different parts of the island in safety; and many of the oldest men assured me that they had never before been out of the valley in which they were born. They repeatedly expressed their astonishment and admiration that I should have been enabled to effect so much in so short a time, and that I should have been able to extend my influence so far as to give them such complete protection, not only in the valley of Tieuhoy, but among the tribes with which they had been at war from the earliest periods, and had heretofore been considered their natural enemies. I informed them that I should shortly leave them, and should return again at the expiration of a year. I exhorted them to remain at peace with one another, and assured them that if they should be at war on my return, I should punish the tribes most in fault. They all gave me the strongest assurances of a disposition to remain on good terms, not only with me and my people, but with one another. The chiefs, the priests, and the principal persons of the tribes, affected to be very solicitous of forming a relationship with me by an exchange of names with some of my family. Some wished to bear the name of my brother, my son-in-law, my son, my brother-in-law, &c. and when all the male stock were exhausted, they as anxiously solicited the names of the other sex, and as many bore the names of the females of my family as of the males. The name of my son, however, was more desired than any other, and many old men, whose long gray beards rendered their appearance venerable, were known by the name of Pickineenee Opotee. The word pickineenee having by some means been introduced among them by the sailors of the ships which have touched there.

CHAPTER XV.

MADISON'S ISLAND—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS, &c

HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting of my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury. I directed them not to pull any of the fruit until they had consulted Wilson to know if it was ripe. Among all the seeds sown there was none which gave them so much pleasure as the wheat, which they called *maïé*. This is the name they gave the bread-fruit. They would not believe, however, at first that it was from this grain we made our bread (which they also called *maïé*, but sometimes potatoe) until I ground some of the grain between two stones, and showed them the flour. This produced from them the most joyous exclamations of *maïé! maïé! maïé!* and all began to clear away spots for sowing the grain, and bringing me leaves and cocoa-nut shells, begging

that I would give them some to take home to plant. When we first arrived at this island, we offered them our ship-bread, but they would not eat it, declaring it was made of coral rocks, and nowise to be compared to bread-fruit. But after we had got our oven to work, and issued fresh bread to the crew, they, particularly the women, became extravagantly fond of it, and there was no favour they would not grant, nor any risk they would not run to obtain a small loaf. They would swim off to the ships, about meal times, in large shoals, and wait there for the sailors to throw them pieces of bread, although the harbour was much infested with large and ravenous sharks, and one of the natives was devoured by them soon after our arrival. A string of beads, highly as they were valued, could be purchased for a loaf; and chiefs, after walking many miles over mountains to bring us presents of fruit and hogs, would return well satisfied, if I gave them a hot roll from the oven.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seeds, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats, and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvov, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other

trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as the model of perfection for all the sculptures of the Island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact, every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed toward the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, earrings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country. One of the canoes was more splendid than the others, and was situated nearer the grove. I inquired who the dignified personage might be who was seated in her stern, and was informed that this was the priest who had been killed, not long since, by the Happaes. The stench here was intolerable from the number of offerings which had been made; but, attracted by curiosity, I went to examine the

canoes more minutely, and found the bodies of two of the Typees, whom we had killed, in a bloated state, at the bottom of that of the priest, and many other human carcasses, with the flesh still on them, lying about the canoe. The other canoes, they informed me, belonged to different warriors who had been killed, or died not long since. I asked them why they had placed their effigies in the canoes, and also why they put the bodies of the dead Typees in that of the priest? they told me (as Wilson interpreted) that they were going to heaven, and that it was impossible to get there without canoes. The canoe of the priest being large, he was unable to manage it himself, nor was it right that he should, he being now a god. They had, therefore, placed in it the bodies of the Happahs and Typees, which had been killed since his death, to paddle him to the place of his destination; but he had not been able yet to start, for the want of a full crew, as it would require ten to paddle her, and as yet they had only procured eight. They told me also that the taboo, laid in consequence of his death, would continue until he had started on his voyage, which he would not be able to do until they had killed two more of their enemies, and by this means completed his crew. I inquired if he took any sea stock with him. They told me he did, and pointing to some red hogs in an enclosure, said that they were intended for him, as well as a quantity of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. which would be collected from the trees in the grove. I inquired if he had far to go; they replied, no: and pointing to a small square stone enclosure, informed me that was their heaven, that he was to go there. This place was tabooed, they told me, for every one except their priests.

Gattanewa was present at the time this information was given me by some of the priest's servants or underlings, who had the charge of the place, and resided in houses constructed for them in front of the grove. Sometime previous to this, I had been tabooed at my request, by Gattanewa. This gave me the privilege of visiting and examining all their places of religious worship, and I now took advantage of my right by going into the grove among the gods, accompanied by the attendants on the place. Wilson could not accompany me there, and I was not ena-

bled to make inquiry on many subjects. But I observed that they treated all their gods with little respect, frequently catching them by their large ears, drawing my attention to their wide mouths, their flat noses, and large eyes, and pointing out to me, by signs, all their other deformities. I told Wilson to inform them I thought they treated their gods very disrespectfully. They replied that those were, like themselves, mere attendants on their divinity, as they were on the priest; that I had not yet seen their greatest of all gods, that he was in a small house, which they pointed out, situated at the corner of the grove. On my expressing a desire to see him, after a short consultation among themselves, they brought him out on the branch of the cocoa-nut tree, when I was surprised to find him only a parcel of paper cloth secured to a piece of a spear, about four feet long. It in some measure resembled a child in swaddling clothes, and the part intended to represent the head had a number of strips of cloth hanging from it about a foot in length. I could not help laughing at the ridiculous appearance of the god they worshipped, in which they all joined me with a great deal of good humour, some of them dandling and nursing the god, as a child would her doll. They now asked me if I should like to see some of their religious ceremonies, and on my answering in the affirmative, they seated themselves in a ring, and placed the god, with the cocoa-nut branch under him, on the ground. One of them stood in the circle before the god, and as soon as the others began to sing and clap their hands, he fell to dancing with all his might, cutting a number of antic capers, then picking up the god, and whirling it over his shoulders several times, laid it down again, when a pause ensued. They now began another song, when the dancer, with no less violence than before, after whirling the god about, carried it out of the circle and laid it down on the ground; then shifted it from place to place, and afterwards returned it to the cocoa-nut branch within the circle. After a short pause the dancer asked the singers several questions with great earnestness, and on their all answering in the affirmative, he took up the god on the branch, and deposited it in the house. I inquired of Wilson the purport of the song; he told me they were singing the praises of their god; but

this was all he could tell me. The inquiries of the dancer were, whether this was not the greatest of all gods, whether they were not bound to sacrifice their lives to preserve him, and whether, if they should lose him, there would not be an end of their race. They showed me an abundance of plumes and other ornaments belonging to their divinity, and in front of the house, where he was kept, there was a kind of sedan chair, ornamented with leaves and cloth in the most fanciful manner, which was for the purpose of carrying their god on some ceremony. I endeavoured to ascertain whether they had an idea of a future state of rewards and punishments, and the nature of their heaven. As respects the latter article, they believed it to be an island, somewhere in the sky, abounding with every thing desirable; that those killed in war and carried off by their friends, go there, provided they are furnished with a canoe and provisions; but that those who are carried off by the enemy, never reach it, unless a sufficient number of the enemy can be obtained to paddle his canoe there. For this reason they were so anxious to procure a crew for their priest, who was killed and carried off by the Happahs. They have neither rewards nor punishments in this world, and I could not learn that they expected any in the next. Their religion, however, is like a plaything, an amusement to them; and I very much doubt whether they, at any moment, give it a serious thought. Their priests and jugglers manage those matters for them; what they tell them they believe, and do not put themselves to the trouble of considering whether it is right or wrong. If the priest tells them they shall have rain within a certain period, they believe him; if it does not rain agreeably to his prediction, they think no more of it. They deal greatly in charms and incantations; by them they believe they can procure the death of their enemies, and effect the cure of the most dangerous wounds and sickness. The priests are their principal surgeons and physicians; they lose many of their patients; still the people believe them none the less. They are not fond of trouble, and least of all, the trouble of thinking. They are very credulous, and will as readily believe in one religion as another. I have explained to them the nature of the Christian religion, in a manner to suit their ideas;

they listened with much attention, appeared pleased with the novelty of it, and agreed that our God must be greater than theirs. Had a catholic priest been with me at the moment, he might have made converts of every individual in the valley. It is difficult to obtain a correct idea of their religion. I do not believe that one native in a thousand can explain the nature of it; the priests themselves appear much at a loss. Tawattaa attached himself to Mr. Adams, having learnt that he was our priest. Mr. Adams endeavoured to collect from him some notions of his religion, and among other things inquired of him whether, according to their belief, the body was translated to the other world, or only the spirit. The priest, after a considerable pause, at length replied, that the flesh and bones went to the earth, but that all within went to the sky. From his manner, however, the question seemed greatly to embarrass him, and it appeared as though a new field was opened to his view.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods; to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

When we were at war with the Typees, the Happahs and Tayeehs made a strict search in the houses of the enemy for the skulls of their ancestors, who had been slain in battle, knowing where they were deposited. Many were found, and the possessors seemed rejoiced

that they had recovered from the enemy so inestimable a relic. Dr. Hoffman seeing a man with three or four skulls strung round his waist, asked him for them, and they were given up immediately, although they had belonged to his father, brother, and near relations. Next day several appeared at the village with skulls to traffic for harpoons. A very old man came to the village as a representative from one of the tribes, and wishing to make me a present, but having nothing else to give me, took from his neck a string of bones cut in the form of their gods, and assured me they were the bones of his grandmother.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention. He asked me if the place was not very fine; and it was on this occasion that he tabooed me, in order to give me an opportunity of approaching the gods, and examining them more closely. The whole ceremony of tabooing me consisted in taking a piece of white cloth from the hole through his ear, and tying it around my hat as a band. I wore this badge for several days, and, simple as it was, every one I passed would call out *taboo*, and avoid touching me. I inquired the cause of this ceremony of Gattanewa; he told me he was going to catch tortoise for the gods, and that he should have to pray to them several days and nights for success, during which time he would be tabooed, and dare not enter a house frequented by women.

White among those people is considered sacred. A white flag is an emblem of peace, and a white flag marks out their tabooed and most sacred places. They have also a method of designating the places which are tabooed by bundles of long sticks, about half the size of the wrist, with the bark stripped off and placed on end. These are planted on all the platforms of stones, where women are not permitted to approach, and this practice appears more generally adopted than any other. The sticks employed on such occasions are of a very light and white kind of soft wood, (used by the natives for producing fire by friction,) of the bark of which they make cordage of a handsome and strong quality.

It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do. Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they

will save their hogs for years in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

I gave Gattanewa some hogs of an English breed, and requested him not to kill any until they had become numerous. He told me he would not; that he intended to have a feast for his mother, and that he should not give it until he had an hundred English hogs, when he should kill the whole of them. When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small-chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom

of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of the mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

The fish-hooks, made of the mother-of-pearl, are intended chiefly for catching bonetas, and are used in trolling, without bait; they consist of two pieces, one of which is nearly as long as the finger. The mother-of-pearl, which possesses, naturally, a high and beautiful polish, attracts the fish by its glittering appearance, and serves the double purpose of a bait, and as a shank for the hook, to the lower end of which, a piece of bone is secured on the concave side, bending upwards, and inwards towards the shank, and is sharpened at the point, but without any barb. This serves the purpose of a point to the hook, and where this bone is attached to the mother-of-pearl, a few hog's bristles are secured across to give it in towing the appearance of a fish. To the hole, where the bone is attached to the mother-of-pearl, the line is made fast, and passes to the upper part of the piece of shell where it is secured, forming a chord to the arch which it presents. When the fish seizes this bait, and becomes hooked by the point of bone, this cord, by the strain on the line, so secures him to the hook that he rarely disengages himself. The contrivance is ingenious, and has been adopted by all the South Sea Islanders.

The harpoon is nearly straight, when made either of bone or wood; the ends slope off to points in different directions; on one side is a notch cut in to secure it to a pole by means of a slight lashing; the opposite side has a jog for the end of the pole to rest against; in the middle of the harpoon is a hole for the harpoon line to be rove through. When the fish is struck, the staff disengages itself, and the harpoon becomes a toggle, which perfectly secures him. They give the preference, however, to our iron harpoons, which are, in fact, with them, the most valuable form which iron can be put into, as they are much used in striking the sun and devil fish, which frequent the coasts and bays of this island, and although this fish is

very sluggish, and requires little dexterity to take it, there are some who are trained to the business, and pride themselves greatly on their skill. The sons and grandsons of chiefs are those who are most expert in the use of the harpoon. In the bow of each canoe is an elevated place for the harpooner to stand, and when he strikes the fish, he springs with his whole might with the harpoon, and drives it up to the socket. This appears to be an awkward and very improper method of using the iron harpoon. But such was their mode with those made of bone and wood, which required an extraordinary force to drive them into the fish, and when they changed their instruments they continued their old practice. They go out frequently with the young harpooners to exercise them in striking, and generally make choice of a time when the sea is rough, to accustom them to balance themselves in the bow of the canoe, in which consists the chief of their art. The skin of the devil fish is used by them to make heads to their drums. It also, as well as that of the shark, is used for rasps in the working of wood into different forms, which is done by securing slips of it to pieces of wood something in the form of a razor strop.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short.

sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their head entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was informed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Fleurien, in his account of the Marquesas, says that the men are in the habit of tying a ligature around the extremity of a certain part of the body, which proves that they are not subject to circumcision. The same is done, as I before observed, at the Island of Ooahoogah, and it is also

the practice here. But notwithstanding this, they are all circumcised, not in the manner of Jews, but by having the foreskin slit; and the instrument used for this purpose is a shark's tooth. The operation is performed on children by the priests, and on those occasions they have feasts, abundant in proportion to the wealth of the parents. Nor is Mr. Fleuriën's opinion, as to the object of those ligatures, more correct. He supposes it to be a refinement of voluptuousness, the only end of which is that of preserving to the part always covered the greater irritability when it ceases to be so. Those ligatures are put on from a refinement in modesty, not of sensuality. The uncovered extremity of this member is the only part which they believe they ought to be ashamed to show, and when this is secured by the aforesaid ligature, every other covering may be laid aside without violating decency. It is rarely worn except when they are in every other respect naked, and then even where most private, and when occupied in fishing, and the greater part of the time in the water, this covering is carefully kept on, and nothing whatever can induce them at such times to dispense with it. Is this depravity? Is this want of modesty? or is it not rather holding up an example of decency to civilized man, who, with the most unblushing disregard to shame on such occasions, exposes to view a part which the merest savage assiduously conceals?

The shark's tooth is also used by the women to scarify themselves, to show the excess of their grief, particularly on the death of a husband. But like those of other parts of the world, on such occasions, their grief (if excessive) is not lasting. I have seen a woman, whose wounds were still unhealed—deep wounds inflicted on her neck, breast, and arms, for the loss of her husband, who had been devoured by a shark. She presented herself at our village, and joined in the general traffic of favours.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretch-

ed with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing, after being washed, it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

In the manufacturing of whales' teeth into earrings, pearl shells into fish-hooks, and, indeed, in the working of all kind of shells, bone, and ivory, a piece of iron hoop for a saw, and some sand and coral rock, are their only implements. The iron hoop is used with sand, without being notched, in the manner that our stonecutters cut their slabs, and the coral serves to give them a polish. The same tools, with the addition of a *tokay*, which has already been described, are employed in the formation of their spears, war clubs, coffins, cradles, and their various household utensils. Before the introduction of iron, sharks' teeth were used for saws, and a kind of stone adze supplied the place of the iron *tokay*, and, indeed, the attachment for stone tools is now so great, that many prefer them to iron. I have frequently seen them throw aside a hatchet, and make use of a sharp stone to cut down small trees, sharpen stakes, &c.

I inquired of Gattanewa when iron was first introduced on the island. He informed me, that many years after Haii brought them hogs, some people of the same colour as themselves, (but not tattooed,) having long black hair, came in a vessel with two masts, and anchored in a bay called Anahoo, on the other side of the island, and brought with them some nails, which they exchanged for hogs and fruit. The nails were so highly esteemed, and found so useful, that the natives flocked from all parts to have holes

bored through shells and other hard substances, and gave the proprietors of them a hog each for the use of a nail a few hours.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay a great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbood* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the corpse of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance. This appendage to their dress, I am informed, is common to all the islands of the groups of Marquesas and Washington; indeed we saw several at Rooahoogah.

Mr. Fleurien, in his narrative of the voyage of Captain Marchand, gives the following description of the fans seen by that navigator while at St. Christiana: "Among their ornaments, we may likewise reckon large fans, formed of the fibres of some plaited bark or coarse grass, which they frequently whiten with lime, and which they make use of to cool themselves; and parasols made of large palm leaves, which they adorn with feathers of different sizes and various colours." (Page 156, vol. i.)

This description is badly calculated to give a correct

idea of their neatness, I may say elegance, which is not surpassed by any other work to be found among them. In his description of their stilts, he is very minute and accurate, and equally incorrect in his conjectures as to their use. He supposes them intended for the purpose of fording the streams, which he believes are occasioned by the frequent inundations to which he thinks the island is liable. I can assure Mr. Fleurien that they are used only for amusement. Can it be supposed, for a moment, that a nation of people who are amphibious, who are one half of their time in the water, who are in the habit of bathing at almost every stream, who are almost destitute of clothing, and perfectly naked from the upper part of the thighs downwards, would fall on so ridiculous an expedient for crossing the insignificant rivulets of an island, whose circumference does not exceed twenty leagues, rivulets which the greater part of the year are nearly dry, and at all times barely afford sufficient water for a ship?

They are used, as I before observed, solely for amusement. They enter into their gymnastic exercises, they run with them, and endeavour to trip one another. They are curiously wrought; and as Mr. Fleurien wrote his description of those of the island of St. Christiana, with a pair of stilts before him, and as the description answers exactly to those of Nooaheevah, (Madison's Island,) I take the liberty of using the words of that elegant writer.

"The care they take to build their houses on stone platforms, which raise them to a certain elevation above the ground, has already indicated that their island must be exposed to inundations; and the use which they make of stilts, confirms this opinion. These stilts, to which the English voyagers appear not to have paid attention, are contrived in a manner which announces that the inundations are not regular, but vary in their height: and want, which is the parent of industry, has suggested to the inhabitants of St. Christiana a method as simple as it is ingenious, by which this help, that is necessary to them for keeping up a communication with each other in the rainy season, may be employed equally as well in the highest waters, as the lowest. For this purpose each stilt is composed of two pieces: the one, of hard wood, and of a single piece, may be called the step; the other is a pole

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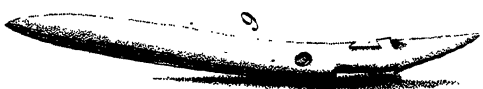
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No 1, 2, 3, 4, Stills of the Islanders; No 5, 6, Fish Hooks.

of light wood, more or less long according to the stature of the person who is to make use of it. The step is eleven or twelve inches in length, an inch and a half in thickness ; and its breadth, which is four inches at the top, is reduced to half an inch at the bottom. The hind part is hollowed out like a gutter or scupper, in order to be applied against the pole, as a check or fish is, in sea terms, applied against a mast ; and it is fastened to the pole at the height required by that of the waters, by sennit or lashings of cocoa-nut bass : the upper lashing passes through an oblong hole, pierced in the thickness of the step ; and the lower one embraces, with several turns, the thin part, and confines it against the pole. The projecting part, which I should call the clog, and on which the foot is to rest crosswise, bends upwards as it branches from the pole : this clog is an inch and a half in thickness ; and its shape is nearly that of the prow of a ship, or of a rostrum, or, if the reader please, that of a truncated nautilus. The under part of this sort or shell is slightly striated throughout its whole surface, and the striæ commence from the two sides in order to join in the lower part on the middle, and there form a continued web ; its upper surface is almost flat for receiving the foot, and it is in like manner ornamented with striæ of no great depth, which form regular series of salient angles and of re-entering angles. The clog is supported by the bust of a human figure, in the attitude of a Cariatides, wrought in a grotesque manner, which greatly resembles a support of the Egyptian kind ; it has below it a second figure of the same kind, but smaller, the head of which is placed below the breasts of the larger one ; the hands of the latter are placed flat on the stomach, and its body is terminated by a long sheath, in order to form the lower and pointed part of the step. The arms, as well as the other parts of the body of the two figures, are angularly striated, like the upper face of the clog. The natives of Santa Christiana make a very dexterous use of their stilts, and would, in a race, dispute the palm with our most experienced herdsmen in stalking with theirs over the heaths of Bordeaux. The pains taken by the former in ornamenting with sculpture, those which they had invented, may prove that they set on them a great value, for this work, executed on a very hard wood, with the sort of tools which they employ,

must cost them much trouble, and require a very considerable portion of time : besides, they are seen amusing themselves in keeping up the habit of walking with stilts ; this exercise enters into their games, and constitutes a part of their gymnastics." (Page 178, vol. i. Marchand's Voyage.)

CHAPTER XVII.

MADISON'S ISLAND—ANIMALS—INSECTS—FISH—FRUIT—DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND—ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO.

THE only quadrupeds we found on the island were hogs, rats, cats, and dogs. Cats I did not see, but I was informed they were to be found wild in the woods, where they had retired from the dwellings of the natives. Of dogs I only saw two, and they belonged to Mr. Maury and the people with him. But I was informed there were one or two more on the east side of the island; neither of these animals appeared to be held in any kind of estimation by the natives. The cats appeared familiar to them; and they are much afraid of the dogs, particularly the two large mastiffs belonging to us.

Agreeable to the tradition of Gattanewa, who is, perhaps, the greatest historian among them, cats were first brought to St. Christiana about forty years since by a god called *Hitahita*, and thence some of the breed were brought in canoes to this island. The people in the canoes, which brought the cats, said that *Hitahita* came in a canoe, as large as a small island; they had never seen a vessel of that description before, nor had they ever heard of one. This god they said killed a man, and from that circumstance I am induced to believe that he could have been no other than Captain Cook,* who anchored at that Island with the *Resolution* in 1773, in the bay which he named after his ship,—but which had before, in 1595, been called by Mendana *La Madre de Dios*.—The day after he anchored, one of the natives endeavoured to carry off one of the gang-way stanchions, and was shot in the act. This circumstance is related in the account of captain Cook's voyage, and the time agreeing so exactly with the traditions of the natives, there cannot be a doubt of his having left the cats, although in this journal no mention is made of his having done so.

It seems very extraordinary that the natives of that

* Cook was at this time bound to Otaheita, and it is not improbable that the frequent use of the name of that island, among the crew of his ships, the sound of which approaches so near to *Hitahita*, may be the cause of his bearing this name.

island possess no traditionary accounts of Mendana's having been there, for there cannot be a doubt as to the bay where he anchored. Captain Cook, although he has filched from it the name given by the Spaniards, identifies the place with that visited by Mendana; and even if he had not acknowledged it to be the same, the similarity of their descriptions would put it beyond all doubt. He first says, "on the 6th of April we discovered an island, when we were in lat. 9°. 20'. and long. 138°. 14'. we were about nine leagues distance from it. We soon discovered another, more extensive than the former, and presently afterwards a third and a fourth. These were the Marquesas, discovered in 1595 by Mendana. After various unsuccessful trials to come to an anchor, we came at last before Mendana's port, and anchored in thirty-four fathoms water, at the entrance of the bay." After which he gives the following description of the bay where he anchored. "The port of Madre de Dios, which was named Resolution Bay, is situated not far from the middle of the west side of St. Christiana, under the highest land in the island. The south point of the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill. The north point is not so high, and rises in a more gentle slope. In the bay are two sandy coves; in each of which is a rivulet of excellent water. For wooding and watering, the northern cove is most convenient. We saw here the little cascade mentioned by Quiras, Mendana's pilot; but the village is in the other cove."

I conceive it unnecessary to insert the Spanish description of the bay; it is sufficient to show that Captain Cook felt satisfied that this was the bay of *La Madre de Dios*, so named by Mendana, to convince every one that it was the same. It only seems strange that the natives should have no accounts of his having been there, although the period was also marked by the Spaniards with the blood of their countrymen. Two centuries, however, are to these islanders almost an eternity; and during the time that has elapsed, some circumstance unknown to us may have obliterated their traditions.

The animals of the reptile kind are lizards and centipedes—of the first, from some superstitious notions, the natives are very much afraid, as they are also of their eggs; they are the common small lizard, and perfectly harmless. Of

the centipedes, which are considered by us as poisonous, they appear to be nowise afraid, and small children will amuse themselves with them on chips and sticks, but I never saw any of them handle them.

Cockroaches and flies were very numerous, and the latter very troublesome, as well also as a small kind of gnat, the bite of which often becomes much inflamed, and very sore and painful. They insinuate themselves under the wristbands, inside the collar, behind the ears, under the trowsers, &c. and the pain of their sting can be compared only to splinters on fire thrust into the flesh. But what seems very extraordinary, after being a few weeks on the island, they are no longer troublesome. With the cockroaches we were soon infested on board the ship. They were taken on board in the sails, the wood, and in the seamen's clothing; for every night when they came on shore on liberty, their blankets, and frequently their mattresses, were brought with them, which were generally well stocked by those animals on their return on board.

We found here the common dunghill fowl, in small numbers, which appear to be esteemed only for the plumage of the cocks. Three or four were brought to me as presents by the chiefs of the tribes, but the tail feathers of all had been previously plucked out. Hens, we saw none—either in our valley or that of the Happahs; and although several cocks were seen in the valley of the Typees, no hens were among them. This scarcity of hens seems somewhat unaccountable, and had I not seen some cocks very young, I should be induced to believe, they were brought for traffic from some of the other islands. But it can hardly be supposed that any of those islanders are such adepts in trade as to prevent (with views to their own gain) the breed from getting to Nooaheevah. It seems probable that where there are cocks there are also hens. The hens are, perhaps, disregarded, and permitted to run wild, or are killed and eaten, while the cocks only are preserved for the beauty of the plumage.

The island affords a variety of birds, four of which only I had an opportunity of examining. A dove, which is very abundant, with beautiful green plumage like a parrot. A blue kind of paroquet. A bird resembling a lark, and a

beautiful white bird with black legs and bill, and web-footed, which is seen frequently hovering over and lighting on the trees. This must certainly be an aquatic bird, from its being web-footed, yet I never saw it frequent the water, although it generally kept about the trees, low down in the valley. Nothing can exceed the whiteness and delicacy of the feathers of this bird; its body is not larger than that of a snipe; its wings are long, and apparently intended for a great flight; its head is large, and rather disproportioned to its size, and its eyes are prominent and black.

Fish were not caught in abundance, either by the natives or ourselves; our constant occupations did not admit of our devoting much time to that object, and their mode of fishing might not have succeeded so well as ours. We saw in the bay vast numbers of albacores, or, as they are sometimes called, (and are so called by the natives,) cavalas, which were in constant pursuit of shoals of small fish, not dissimilar in their appearance to the anchovy. Of this small kind of fish, the boys of the ship caught great numbers with a kind of scoop net, alongside of the frigate. A small red fish, rather longer and thicker than the finger, was frequently brought to me by the natives, and was remarkable for its delicacy. Several other kinds of fish, some resembling a perch in form and size, and some shaped like the pargee, but with variegated colours, were also brought. But I never at any time saw a large fish which had been taken by them except a devil fish. This last-mentioned fish, with sharks and porpoises, frequent the bay: the manner of catching the latter is truly surprising. When a shoal comes in, they get outside of them with their canoes, and forming a semi-circle, by splashing with their paddles, hallooing, and jumping overboard, so alarm the fish, that they push for shoal water, and thence to the beach, where the natives pursue and take them. In this manner whole shoals are caught.

This island, besides the fruit and vegetables already mentioned, produces a fruit somewhat resembling a large bean. While in the pod, and when roasted, its taste is like that of a chesnut; it grows on a tree of moderate height, but is not abundant.

An apple, in shape, and nearly in colour resembling a red pepper—it is aqueous and cooling, but rather insipid;

the natives are very fond of it. It contains a hard round stone in the centre, and I could never learn whether it grew on a tree or a vine.

The fruit, formerly mentioned as resembling a walnut, and producing much oil. It appears they were eaten by the Spaniards, and by Captain Marchand's crew at St. Christina, and were found to be of an excellent flavour. But although they were much relished, they were found to be a pernicious fruit, occasioning all those who had eaten of them, violent retchings, or violent colics, followed by strong purging. It is stated that the natives ate of them without experiencing any of these effects. At Nooaheevah they are never used but for the purpose of ripening bananas, agreeably to the method formerly mentioned, (they possessing a heating quality) except when baked and used as candles. They give a brilliant light, but require a person to attend them constantly, as one will not burn more than two minutes.

Pine-apples of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cultivation, and the castor-oil bean are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gatanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God—that every one should worship, that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We

would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants. The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully persuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak

the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different countries of England.

The natives of Nooaheevah are more beautiful in their proportions than either. I have had those of the three other places on board my ship, and in point of beauty and intelligence of countenance they bear no comparison. The Sandwich Islander, the Otaheitan, and the New Zealander, had long resided among white men; they had fallen into their vices, and indulged in the same food; they were no longer in a state of nature; they had, like us, become corrupt, and while the honest guileless face of the Nooaheevan shone with benevolence, good nature, and intelligence, the downcast eye and sullen looks of the others marked their inferiority and degeneracy. Guilt, of which, from their intercourse with us, they had become sensible, had already marked their countenances; every emanation of their souls could not be perceived by their features, as by those of the honest naked Nooaheevan. While I am on this subject, it may not be improper to take some notice of the traditions of those people, which may lead to some idea of the manner by which these islands became peopled. Many conjectures on this subject have been started. Some suppose they were peopled from the west, but the general opinion is, that the first inhabitants came from the east, for few are willing to admit that God created the human species (great and distinct as are the varieties) elsewhere than in Paradise. I believe that this island was not inhabited from the commencement of the world, because its general appearance indicates that many centuries have not elapsed since it was thrown out of the ocean by volcanoes. It is not less irregular in its surface, than the islands composing the group of Gallipagos, but it is evidently older, and more covered with verdure, which has consequently produced streams of water, and rendered it more suitable for the residence of man. The same may be said of all the islands composing the groups of Marquesas and Washing-

ton. In touching on this subject, I expect to show, that a considerable degree of confidence should be placed, not only in their historical relations, but in their accounts of islands which have yet remained undiscovered by navigators.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. The Friendly Islands are about thirty-five degrees to the westward of the Washington group, and this circumstance may, by some, be considered as an insurmountable obstacle to the navigation from the former to the latter, on the supposition that the winds in this part of the world always blow from the eastward. If this was the case, and there were no intermediate islands, the difficulty of getting so far to windward in canoes, however perfect, would be great, and perhaps it would have been altogether impossible to have surmounted them. This, however, is not the case; the winds, sometimes for several days together, blow from the northwest, as well as from the southwest, and remove all difficulties as to the navigation from the leeward to the windward islands. This I myself experienced on leaving the islands, for in three days from the time of my departure, I made nine degrees of longitude easterly, the winds blowing chiefly from N.N.E. to N.W. A continuation of winds equally favourable would have enabled me in twelve days to have navigated from the Friendly to the Washington Islands. But it is not likely that the N.W. or S.W. winds prevail for so long a period at any one time, nor was it necessary Oataia should have made so short a passage. He had many places where he could stop and recruit among the Society Islands and the Archipelago situated along windward, as well as many other islands scattered along his track. They speak the same language, and, in fact, are of the

same nation. On his arrival at one island they could inform him of the existence of another, further to windward : and his adventurous spirit led him on from island to island, until he reached Nooaheevah. Months, nay years, may have appeared to him short, while engaged in this pursuit, naturally proud of the honour of having proceeded farther than any of his countrymen, and the glory of founding a new colony. No doubt he visited those of the whole group in succession, but gave the preference to this on account of its size and beauty. His eldest son was named Po, or night. Opposite this valley, where he established himself, is the island called by the natives *Ooapoo*, or, *there is night*. May not this lead us to conjecture that he here fixed his first born. But still it may be objected, that in such frail machines as the double canoes of the South Sea Islands, it would be impossible to perform so long a navigation as from the Society Islands to Nooaheevah. From the accounts given us by Captain Cook, it appears that the natives of that cluster, are remarkable for their skill in navigation ; that they are guided in the day by the sun, and in the night by the stars ; and when these are not observed, they have recourse to the points from whence the winds come upon their vessel. But if at such times the winds and waves should shift, they are quite bewildered, and often miss their intended port, and sometimes are heard of no more. It is not probable they are always lost where there are so many islands to afford them shelter ; and indeed it may be supposed, that they are capable of keeping a kind of dead reckoning for a few hours, which the first sight of the sun or stars would enable them to correct. Captain Cook made several experiments as to the sailing of their canoes, and found with the breezes, which generally blow in that sea, that they would sail close hauled, on an average seven or eight miles an hour, which must be acknowledged is very good sailing. If this was the case, of which we have no reason to doubt, all difficulties, as to the passage of Oataia from Vavao to Nooaheevah, seem removed ; for the canoes of Nooaheevah, although not so perfect as those of some other islands, are capable of keeping the sea for a great length of time.

The cocoa-nut tree, as I before remarked, was said to

have been brought from Ootoopoo, an island which is supposed by the natives to be situated somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena.

None of our navigators have yet discovered an island of that name, so situated. But in examining the chart of *Tupia*, that native of the island of *Ulitea*, who left it with Captain Cook on his first voyage, we find nearly in the place assigned by the natives of *Nooaheevah* to *Ootoopoo*, an island called *Ootoo. Po*, which signifies night, black, or dark, may be an addition of our islanders, or an omission of *Tupia's*. This chart, although not drawn with the accuracy which could be expected from our hydrographers, was nevertheless constructed by Sir Joseph Banks under the direction of *Tupia*, and was of great assistance to Cook and other navigators in discovering the islands he has named. He had himself visited upwards of eighty, of which he gave the names, and among others, he has named the islands composing the Marquesas group, as they are called by the natives. As this was done on the first voyage of Cook, and as they were not known to Europeans before that period, but by the name of saints, which the Spaniards gave them, it could not have been from those he derived his knowledge of them, but from some of the navigators of this great nation. *Tupia*, although the greatest voyager of his nation, does not pretend that he ever was so far to windward. The intercourse between the most distant of those islands does not seem difficult, or even rare, to the natives, although to us it may seem so extraordinary. We are apt to forget that those islands are situated in an ocean seldom troubled by tempests, and from its remarkable serenity, denominated the Pacific. Of the existence of *Ootoo* or *Ootoopoo*, there cannot be a doubt. *Tupia* received such information from the accounts of other navigators, as enabled him to give it a position on his chart near fifty years ago, and the position now ascribed to it by *Gattanewa*, differs little from that of *Tupia*.

Of *Nookuâhe* and *Kappenooa*, which lay four days sail to leeward of Madison's Island, I know not how they obtained their information. But the island of *Pooheka*, they say they have seen, of a clear day, from the heights of Robert's Island, and the smoke from the fires they say are frequently visible. Four days sailing, agreeably to the

rate estimated by Captain Cook, would place *Nookuáhe* and *Kappenooa* about twelve degrees to the west of Madison's Island, and nearly in this spot Tupia has placed an island which he calls *O-Heevapatto*. Captain Marchand, and Captain Ingraham of Boston, (before him,) both discovered strong appearances of land to leeward of them, in the W.S.W. quarter, in their route from the southern to the northern part of Washington Group, and nearly in the place ascribed by the natives to *Pooheka*. That land exists in that quarter, there cannot be a doubt. For two successive days the clouds were arrested in one point of the horizon, and several of the seamen declared they plainly distinguished land. No known navigator has yet traversed that part of the ocean, and except from the information of Tupia and the natives of Nooaheevah, we are ignorant of this portion of the world. Perhaps a group of equal importance to that of which we now treat, may there exist, and I regret that the object of my cruise would not admit of my deviating so far, as to clear up a point so interesting to geography.

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months.

I now found it necessary to restrain the liberty I had heretofore given to my people, and directed that every person should remain on board, and work late and early, to hasten the departure of the ship. But three of my crew, determined to have a parting kiss, swam on shore at night, and were caught on the beach and brought to me. I immediately caused them to be confined in irons, and determined to check any farther disobedience of my orders by the most exemplary punishment. I next morning had them punished at the gangway, and set them to work in chains with my prisoners. This severity excited some discontents and murmurings among the crew, but it effectually prevented a recurrence of this offence.

Nooaheevah had many charms for a sailor; and had part of my crew felt disposed to remain there, I knew they

would not absent themselves until the moment before my departure. This severity had the desired effect ; whatever might have been their disposition, none thought proper to absent themselves except a lazy negro, whom I took on board through charity at 'Tumbez, and who, from his insignificance, was not missed until after we had sailed. This affair had, however, like to have ended seriously ; my crew did not see the same motives for restraint as myself ; they had long been indulged, and they thought it now hard to be deprived of their usual liberty. They were restless, discontented, and unhappy. The girls lined the beach from morning until night, and every moment importuned me to take the taboos off the men, and laughingly expressed their grief by dipping their fingers into the sea and touching their eyes ; so as to let the salt-water trickle down their cheeks. Others would seize a chip, and holding it in the manner of a shark's tooth, declared they would cut themselves to pieces in despair ; some threatened to beat their brains out with a spear of grass, some to drown themselves, and all were determined to inflict on themselves some dreadful punishment, if I did not permit their sweethearts to come on shore. The men did not bear it with so much good humour : their situation, they said, was worse than slavery, and one Robert White declared, on board the *Essex Junior*, that the crew of the *Essex* had come to a resolution not to weigh her anchor, or if they should be compelled to get the ship under way, in three days' time after leaving the port, to hoist their own flag. When this was reported to me it became necessary to notice it, and with such a variety of characters as compose the crew of a ship of war, none but energetic measures will answer. I was willing to let them ease their minds by a little grumbling. It was no more than what I expected, but a threat of this kind was carrying matters rather too far. I called all hands on the larboard-side of the quarter-deck, and after stating to them the necessity of getting the ship in readiness for sea with all possible despatch, informed them that was the sole cause of their confinement, which was by no means intended as a punishment to them, as their conduct had not merited any, but to the contrary, had met my entire approbation. I then represented the serious consequences which would be likely

to result, should all hands so far forget their duty to the service, and their respect to my orders, as to follow the example of those who were now under punishment for going on shore without leave. All seemed impressed with a sense of the necessity of strict subordination. I now informed them of the report which had been circulated, and assured them that although I gave no credit to it, should such an event take place, I would without hesitation, put a match to the magazine, and blow them all to eternity. I added, "perhaps there may be some grounds for the report, let me see who are and who are not disposed to obey my orders; you who are inclined to get the ship under way come on the starboard side, and you who are otherwise disposed, remain where you are." All hastened to the starboard side. I now called out White: he advanced, trembling. I informed them this was the man who had circulated a report so injurious to the character of the crew, and indignation was marked on every countenance. An Indian canoe was paddling by the ship; I directed the fellow to get into her, and never let me see his face again. All now returned cheerfully to their duty. The prizes Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period. My orders to him, which were very full, I was under the necessity of destroying at the time of my capture, as well as several parts of my Journal of this period, as it would have been highly improper to have let it fall into the enemy's hands. Should lieutenant Gamble arrive safe, I shall hope to have

it in my power to add them to another edition, and supply the places of the charts and drawings, of which I have been ungenerously deprived by the enemy.

I also gave Mr. King orders to proceed to the United States with the *New Zealander*, and prepared to sail with the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, with a full supply of provisions, leaving an abundance for nine months on board the prizes.

Massachusetts's Bay is one of the finest in the world. It affords safe anchorage, good shelter and landing; convenient watering places, abundance of refreshments, and a welcome and hospitable reception from the natives. It is easy of egress, and not more difficult of access than would be desirable for defence. Light and baffling winds generally make it necessary that large ships should warp into the harbour. It is every where free from danger; may be easily defended; and you may choose your depth of water, from four to thirty fathoms, clean, sandy bottom.

On leaving this place I had no sick on board my ship; my crew had never appeared at any time in better health. I had as yet met with only one case of the scurvy among them, and this was so extraordinary that I cannot help noticing it. It did not appear until a few days before my departure from the island, and although the man had been employed and slept on shore during the whole of my stay, had the most abundant supply of vegetables and fruit, and had not, during the time, ate one meal of salt provisions, still he was so much afflicted with the disease, that I found it necessary to leave him there with scarcely a hope that he will recover.

This man was about forty years of age, of slender make, and apparently of a lethargic melancholy disposition. He partook of none of the amusements of the rest of the crew, and probably this disposition might have first laid the foundation of a disease which lay lurking in the system, and for the want of a proper stimulus to the mind, at length shot forth with so much vigour.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The *Otaheitan* I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as

his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours ; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow ; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboard undiscovered, and was seen no more.

Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up ; whether he hoped to reach the shore ; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say ; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.

Prior to leaving the bay, I delivered to Mr. Downes the following orders ; and as it was not absolutely necessary that the ships should remain together, I made the best of my way, regardless of the Essex Junior. But the two ships sailed so near alike, that we rarely lost sight of her for more than a few hours, during several days together.

*U. S. frigate Essex, Massachusetts's Bay, Madison's Island,
9th December, 1813.*

SIR,

In case of separation, you will proceed with the ship under your command for the island of Mocha, off which place you will cruise until I join you, which will be as soon as possible. If you should take any prizes it will be well to anchor them there, or at the island of St. Maries, until we meet.

You must endeavour to prevent (by every means in your power) the enemy from gaining intelligence of your being on the coast, as it is my present intention to cruise between Mocha and Valparaiso as long as our provisions will last. Should so long a time elapse without your seeing

me, as to justify the belief of my being lost or taken, you will proceed to Valparaiso to renew your stock of provisions, and if after a reasonable time you gain no intelligence of me, you will please to act agreeably to your own discretion.

While you cruise off Mocha, keep the island bearing about east, distant ten or twelve leagues, and it will be advisable to look occasionally into the harbour.

With sentiments of respect,

Your obedient servant,

Signed,

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes, commanding
the U. S. armed prize-ship Essex
Junior, Massachusetts Bay.*

On leaving Madison's Island, I was enabled to pass between Hood's Island and Dominica, and from the prevalence of N. W. winds, I on the 18th found myself in the longitude of 131° west.

I shall not fatigue the reader with an account of the uninteresting passage of a month to the coast of Chili. The first land we made was the island of Mocha, from whence we ran down and anchored at St. Maries, where we filled our water-casks, looked into Conception, where we found only one English vessel, and thence proceeded to cruise off Valparaiso.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EVENTS AT VALPARAISO, PREVIOUS TO THE CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX.

It may be recollected by those who have read the first edition of this Journal, that the narrative ended with my arrival at Valparaiso. The particulars of the capture of the Essex are stated in my official letter to the Secretary of the navy, written on my passage home. That letter refers to circumstances which require some further statements to make them fully understood; and which I had not time to prepare and arrange for the first edition of my Journal. I shall now proceed to give a brief relation of the events which occurred at Valparaiso, previous to my capture; together with the material events of my passage home to the United States.

On the 3d of February I anchored in the bay of Valparaiso, exchanged salutes with the battery, went on shore to pay my respects to the Governor, and the next day received his visit under a salute. The Governor was accompanied by his wife and several of his officers.

The Essex Junior was directed to cruise off the port, to intercept the enemy's merchant vessels, and to apprise me of the appearance of any of his ships of war. In the meantime, every effort was made to get the Essex ready for sea, while my crew were allowed by turns to go ashore on liberty. The attention and hospitality of the people of Valparaiso seemed to increase; and not having had an opportunity to return their civilities on my former visit, I took advantage of the present occasion, to supply the omission. On the evening of the seventh, I invited the officers of the government, their families, and all the other respectable inhabitants, to an entertainment on board the Essex. To give Lt. Downes an opportunity to participate in these gayeties, I directed him to anchor his vessel, but so as to save a full view of the sea.

The dancing continued until midnight; after which Lt. Downes repaired to his vessel, got her under way, and

proceeded to sea. We had not yet taken down the awnings, flags, &c. which we usually employed on these occasions for the decorations of ships of war, nor got clear of the confusion which so large a company naturally occasioned, before the Essex Junior made a signal for two enemy's ships in sight. At this time, one half of my crew were on shore; but, having established a signal for them to repair on board, I caused a gun to be fired, and after directing the ship to be prepared for action, repaired on board the Essex Junior, and went out to reconnoitre. Both vessels had the appearance of frigates. Upon this I directed Lt. Downes to run into port, and take a position where we could mutually defend each other.

On my return to the Essex, at half past seven, one hour and a half only after the enemy came in sight, I found the ship completely prepared for action, and every man on board, and at his post. We had now only to act on the defensive. At eight o'clock the two ships came into the harbour; the frigate, which proved to be the Phœbe, Captain Hillyar, ranging up alongside of the Essex, and between her and the Essex Junior, within a few yards of the former. The Phœbe was fully prepared for action.

Captain Hillyar very politely inquired after my health; to which inquiry I returned the usual compliment. And here it may be proper to observe, that Captain Hillyar and myself had been acquainted in the Mediterranean. While his family resided at Gibraltar, I was in the habit of visiting them frequently, and had spent many pleasant hours in their company. For Captain Hillyar and his family I entertained the highest respect; and among the American officers generally, no officer of the British navy was so great a favourite as Captain Hillyar. The former paid to his family greater attentions than to any other persons similarly situated; and on the other hand, were always received with the like in return. On one occasion, during the absence of Captain Hillyar, they placed themselves under the protection of Commodore Rodgers, and came in his ship from Malta to Gibraltar; where Mrs. Hillyar joined her husband. But, to proceed with my narrative:

Finding the Phœbe was approaching nearer than prudence or a strict neutrality would justify me in permitting, I observed to Captain Hillyar, that my ship was perfectly

prepared for action, but that I should only act on the defensive. He immediately answered, as he leaned over the quarter, in a careless and indifferent manner: "O, Sir, I have no intention of getting on board of you." I told him again, if he did fall on board of me, there would be much bloodshed. He repeated his assurances, with the same *nonchalance*, that such was not his intention. Finding, however, that he luffed up so as to cause his ship to take aback, whereby her jib-boom came across my forecastle, I immediately called all hands to board the enemy, directing them, if the ships' hulls touched, to spring upon the deck of the *Phœbe*. At this moment, not a gun from the *Phœbe* could be brought to bear on either the *Essex* or *Essex Junior*, while her bow was exposed to the raking fire of the one, and her stern to that of the other. Her consort, which proved to be the *Cherub*, of 28 guns, was too far off to leeward, to afford any assistance.

It is quite impossible for me to describe the consternation on board the *Phœbe*, when they saw every officer and man of the *Essex* armed with a cutlass and a brace of pistols, ready to jump on board. They had been informed by the boat of an English ship in Port, that the *Essex* was in great confusion, from the entertainment, and that the greater part of her crew were on shore. On witnessing this unexpected preparation for his reception, Captain Hillyar raised both his hands, and protested with the utmost vehemence, that he had no intention of getting on board of me; that it was altogether an accident that his ship had been taken aback; that he was exceedingly sorry she had been placed in that situation; and that he had no hostile intention in doing so.

The *Phœbe* was at this moment completely at my mercy. I could have destroyed her in fifteen minutes. The temptation was great; and the equivocal appearance of this near approach of the enemy might have justified my attacking him on the plea of self-defence. But I was disarmed by these assurances of Captain Hillyar; and accordingly, hailing lieut. Downes, told him not to commence hostilities without my orders, as it was my intention to allow Captain Hillyar to extricate himself from his disagreeable situation. The *Phœbe* accordingly separated from the *Essex*, drifted by my ships:

constantly exposed to their raking fire ; and after getting clear of them, anchored on the Eastern side of the harbour, within reach of her long eighteen pounders, but beyond the range of my carronades. The Cherub anchored within pistol-shot of my larboard bow, and, upon this, I ordered the Essex Junior to take a position that would place the Cherub between her fire and that of the Essex : an arrangement that gave great umbrage to her commander, Captain Tucker.

On going ashore, there was a general expression of astonishment among the officers of the government, and the people of Valparaiso, at my forbearance in not taking advantage of the opportunity which had thus presented itself for destroying the enemy. My reply was, that I had always respected the neutrality of their port, and should scrupulously continue to do so. Nor, although subsequent events have proved that Captain Hillyar was incapable of a similar forbearance, have I ever regretted, for a single moment, that I permitted him to escape, when, either by accident or design, he had placed himself entirely at my mercy. At no time, during the engagement which took place afterwards, or since, would I have changed situations or feelings with that officer.

Captain Hillyar and Captain Tucker, the day after their arrival, paid me a visit at the house of Mr. Blanco, where I generally staid while on shore. Their visit was soon returned, and a friendly intimacy established, not only between the commanders and myself, but the officers and boats' crews of the respective ships. No one, to have judged from appearances, would have supposed us to have been at war, our conduct towards each other bore so much the appearance of a friendly alliance. At our first interview, I took occasion to tell Captain Hillyar, it was very important that I should know of him, whether he intended to respect the neutrality of the port. He replied, with much emphasis and earnestness : "*You have paid so much respect to the neutrality of the port, that I feel myself bound in honour to respect it.*" I told him, the assurance was sufficient, and that it would place me more at ease, since I should now no longer feel it necessary to be always prepared for action.

In the course of this conversation, I adverted to a flag he

had hoisted, containing the following motto: "God and country; British sailors best rights; traitors offend both;" and asked him the object of it. He said it was in reply to my motto of "free trade and sailors' rights," which gave great offence to the British navy—whenever I hoisted that flag, he should not fail to hoist the other. I told him, my flag was intended solely for the purpose of pleasing ourselves, and not to insult the feelings of others; that his, on the contrary, was considered as highly insulting in the light of an offset against ours; and that, if he continued to hoist it, I should not fail to retort on him. The next day, this flag being hoisted, I displayed one bearing the motto of "God, our country, and Liberty—tyrants offend them." Three cheers followed on the part of the crew of the *Phœbe*, which were returned from my ship. The thing was taken in good part by Captain Hillyar; we talked freely and good humouredly of the object of his coming to that sea; the long hunt he had after me, and of my views in coming to Valparaiso. He asked me what I intended to do with my prizes; when I was going to sea; and various other inquiries were put and answered. I told him, whenever he sent away the *Cherub*, I should go to sea; that it would depend upon him altogether, when I departed; that, having thus met him, I should seek an opportunity of testing the force of the two ships. I added, that the *Essex* being smaller than the *Phœbe*, I did not feel that I should be justified to my country for losing my ship, if I gave him a challenge; but if he would challenge me, and send away the *Cherub*, I would have no hesitation in fighting him.

To these, and similar observations, Captain Hillyar would reply, that the results of naval actions were very uncertain: they depended on many contingencies—and the loss of a mast or a spar, often turned the fate of the day. He observed, that notwithstanding the inferiority of my ship, still, if I could come to close quarters with her carronades, I should no doubt do great execution. On the whole, therefore, he should trust to circumstances to bring us together, as he was not disposed to yield the advantage of a superior force, which would effectually blockade me until other ships arrived, and at all events, prevent my doing any further injury to the commerce of Britain.

As regarded my prizes, I informed him, they were only incumbrances to me, and I should take them to sea, and destroy them, the first opportunity. He told me I dared not do it while he was in sight. I replied, "we shall see."

Finding Captain Hillyar determined to yield none of the advantages of his superior force, and being informed there were other ships bound into the Pacific Ocean, in pursuit of me, I secretly resolved to take every means of provoking him to a contest with his single ship. The Cherub being quite near to the Essex, the respective crews occasionally amused themselves with singing songs, selecting those most appropriate to their situation and feelings. Some of these were of their own composition. The songs from the Cherub were better sung, but those of the Essex were more witty, and more to the point. The national tune of yankee doodle was the vehicle through which the crew of the Essex, in full chorus, conveyed their nautical sarcasms; while "the sweet little cherub that sits up aloft," was generally selected by their rivals. These things were not only tolerated, but encouraged, by the officers, through the whole of the first watch of the calm, delightful nights of Chili; much to the amusement of the people of Valparaiso, and the frequent annoyance of the crew of the Cherub. At length, Captain Hillyar requested me to put a stop to this practice, and I informed him, I certainly should not do so, while the singing continued on board the Cherub.

About this time, one of my prisoners made his escape, by jumping overboard, from the Essex Junior. A boat put off from the Cherub, to pick him up; and notwithstanding every effort on our part, he was carried on board the Cherub. This affair led to the following correspondence between Captain Hillyar and myself, in which the reader will perceive some little asperity, and the first which had showed itself since our meeting. I felt that Captain Hillyar had violated his pledge in permitting the rescue of this man, and could not forbear placing it in its true light. The reason of my not demanding his restoration, must be obvious to all, when it is considered how advantageous such a precedent would be to me, predisposed as the British sailors are, to desert at every opportunity.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Phæbe, Valparaiso, 9th Feb. 1814

SIR,

By an Englishman picked up by one of his majesty's sloop Cherub's boats, in a drowning state, Captain Tucker has been informed, that nine of our countrymen are suffering the miseries of close confinement, on board the American ship of war under your orders; and that the calamity of imprisonment is aggravated by their being kept in irons. As this mode of treatment is so contrary to any I have ever witnessed, during a very long servitude, as well as the usages of honourable warfare, may I beg (if the statement is just,) that you will do me the favour to interest yourself in their behalf.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 10th Feb. 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday. The information you have received from the prisoner who made his escape from my armed prize, and who was assisted in effecting it by the boat and crew of his majesty's ship Cherub, is correct as respects the situation of the remaining prisoners of war on board the Essex Junior, as well as those in the Frigate I have the honour to command.

When at the Island of Nooaheevah, my prisoners, while on their parole of honour, made a most diabolical attempt to possess themselves of my prize by means of poison, with a view of making their escape. I detected and secured them; and when I no longer apprehended further danger, I liberated them. Since my arrival here, I have again found it necessary to secure them, and those on board my prize have been confined two days.

I have not perhaps, had as long a servitude as Captain Hillyar; nor was it necessary I should, to learn honour and humanity. I deem it only necessary to say, that, of the many prisoners who have fallen into my hands since hostilities commenced between the United States and Great Britain, none have been confined but for my own security; or otherwise punished but when they deserved it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Our next meeting on shore, after this correspondence, was, however, very cordial. I made a proposition to put all my prisoners on board one of my prizes, without a cargo, and send her to England, with a passport, to secure her from capture; there to take in an equal number of American prisoners, and proceed with them to the United States. Captain Hillyar expressed some doubts of the propriety of this course, and adverted to a similar arrangement with the captain of the sloop of war *Alert*, captured by me, sent to St. John's, Newfoundland, with my prisoners, and thence to the United States, with an equal number of Americans. He wished, if possible, to see the correspondence respecting this arrangement.

In the course of this conversation, he mentioned the stories related to him by the man who made his escape from the *Essex Junior*, respecting my treatment of prisoners. Some of these were of the most extravagant and malicious kind; and if true, rendered me unworthy of my country. They had made an impression on the minds of the British officers, much to my disadvantage, and were calculated to operate greatly to the injury of the American prisoners that might hereafter fall into their hands. I felt it therefore due to my country and countrymen, as well as to my own honour, that the thing should be perfectly explained and understood. I accordingly wrote him the following letter, and received a reply—both of which I shall lay before the reader.

U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 23d Feb. 1814.

SIR,

As you have expressed some doubts respecting the correctness of an arrangement proposed by me for the disposal of the prisoners of war on board the ships under my command—and as those doubts were occasioned by a communication made by admiral Duckworth to the Secretary of the navy of the United States, of which you had not a perfect recollection, I have done myself the honour to transmit a copy of a letter from the Department, containing an extract from the aforesaid communication, by which you will be enabled to judge, whether the objections made by the admiral, can be here applied.

I also do myself the honour to send you the copy of a letter from the admiral to myself, as well as several other

communications of a private nature, and beg you to restore the originals, after you have perused and (if you think them of sufficient importance) taken a copy of them. I have been induced to do this, from a wish to remove certain impressions which have been made on the public mind, highly prejudicial to the character of an American officer; and I assure you, although I have endeavoured to perform, and shall continue to do, my duty to my country, to the utmost of my abilities, I disdain a mean and dishonourable act, whatever advantages may result from it. It has been my study to alleviate the miseries of war, and I have been rewarded in most instances, with the basest ingratitude.

British boats, with British subjects on board, daily pass and repass between the shore and the ships under your command, when far beyond the jurisdiction of this port. It has frequently been in my power to cut them off; but I have not done so, under the persuasion that American boats, under similar circumstances, would be permitted by you to pass unmolested. I beg you to inform me, whether my opinion is correct?

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.

H. B. M. ship Phæbe, off Valparaiso, 24th Feb. 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of yesterday, with its enclosures, and I beg you will accept my thanks for the trouble you have taken. The copy of Sir John Duckworth's letter, and the extracts accompanying it, confirm me in my opinion, that the cases are too nearly similar, to justify my acceding to your proposition of sending one of your prizes as a cartel; and the British government would certainly disapprove of the act.

The letters from your prisoners must be highly gratifying to your personal feelings—and I hope the individuals who have benefited by your humane attentions, will feel themselves bound in honour to rescue your character from every unjust and illiberal aspersion.

I certainly could have no objection to American boats passing in the way British do to us, under similar circumstances. They have all the Governor's permission.

I must now appeal to your humanity; repeat to you how anxious I am for the sufferings of my countrymen, at present your prisoners—and express my request, that you will liberate them here, as the only expedient I can think of. If you accede to it, I pledge myself that they shall not be permitted to serve on board any of his majesty's ships, under my orders; and I will write immediately to the British government, that an equal number of Americans may be restored to their country.

I have availed myself of your permission to copy some of the papers, and have taken the names of those who have acknowledged your goodness to them. The liberal minded will always do you justice—and a much higher reward awaits the performance of every Christian duty to an afflicted fellow-creature.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

David Porter, Esq. &c. &c.

It will be understood, from the foregoing letters, that the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* had gone to cruise, off the port. The circumstance that hastened their going to sea, was as follows: A signal from the Spanish Telegraph, on the hill, announced a sail in the offing. The morning being calm, I ordered the *Essex Junior* to get under way, and go in pursuit, towing her with the boats of the *Essex*. After reconnoitering the vessel, which proved to be a store ship of the enemy, the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* got under way, and made all sail to cut off the *Essex Junior* from the harbour, which they were near effecting, but for the timely aid of the *Essex's* boats, which again brought her safe to her old anchorage.

On the 25th of February, I sent a flag of truce on board the *Phœbe*, with the following note:

U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 25th Feb. 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and agreeably to your request and assurances, immediately liberated on parole, the British prisoners who were on board the vessels under my command. Their obligation, as well as a certificate of their liberation, are herewith enclosed.

My feelings have been greatly roused by the scandalous

reports which have been circulated respecting my conduct. Yet I hope I shall always have sufficient control over myself, to prevent any change in my conduct towards those whom the fortune of war may place in my power; for, though such a change might be just, it would not be generous. I fear I have done injury to my country, and my fellow-citizens, by the practice of liberating British subjects who have fallen into my hands, before they were exchanged. But the purity of my intentions was evident to admiral Duckworth, and so long as my country does not disapprove of this mode, I hope I may be the means of averting some of those evils incident to captivity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.

H. B. M. ship Phœbe, off Valparaiso, 26th Feb. 1814.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter announcing the liberation of my countrymen, as well as the accompanying obligation and certificate, and shall immediately transmit copies of the letter to the British government. I beg you will do me the honour to accept my sincere thanks for your attention to my request, and remain, with sentiments of respect and consideration, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

David Porter, Esq. &c. &c.

ABOUT this time, I thought it advisable to know the sailing of my ship, and that of the enemy. I therefore chose a favourable opportunity, when the British vessels were to leeward, and unable to cut me off, to get under way, and let them chase me. I soon ascertained that the Essex had greatly the advantage, and consequently believed I could, at almost any time, make my escape from them. I did not like, however, to abandon the hope of bringing the Phœbe to action; and notwithstanding my own impatience to depart, I determined to keep it under control, while I endeavoured to provoke my adversary to combat.

On the afternoon of the day on which the last letter was written, it being calm, and the two British ships far in the offing, I towed one of my prizes, the *Hector*, to sea ; and, when within the reach of their guns, set fire to her, and made my escape from them, notwithstanding every effort on their part, to cut me off. This insult had the desired effect. On the afternoon of the 27th, the *Cherub* was about two or three miles to leeward of the port, and the *Phœbe* was seen standing in for the harbour. At 5 o'clock she hove about, a short distance from me, with her head off shore, shortened sail, fired a gun to windward, and hoisted the flag containing the motto intended as an answer to mine. As every man on board my ship considered this a challenge, I did not hesitate a moment, to accept of it as such. I immediately hoisted my motto, fired a gun, and got under way. The *Phœbe* now stood off shore, and made sail. I followed her—increased sail—and was closing with her very fast, when, to my astonishment, she bore up before the wind, and ran down for her consort. My indignation was roused at this conduct, and I directed two shot to be fired ahead of her, to bring her to ; but she continued on her course. I consequently hauled my wind, and returned into port. When the *Phœbe* had joined her consort, both gave chase to me, and after I had anchored, came gallantly into the harbour together.

I confess I felt exceedingly indignant at this conduct of Captain Hillyar, and so expressed myself on shore, among the inhabitants. Certain of these expressions were communicated to the British residents in Valparaiso, and by them to Captain Hillyar. This state of affairs gave rise to another kind of annoyance. The *Cherub* was now too far off to hear the songs of the *Essex* ; but still feeling sore at some taunts of my crew, on the score of the late challenge, addressed some letters to them, of a very insulting character, which were brought to me. They informed me, they had answered them. I thought this a fair opportunity of rousing Captain Hillyar to offer battle again in earnest. I accordingly wrote the following letter, with this express object.

U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 14th March, 1814.

SIR,

THE two enclosed papers have been handed to me by my ship's company, and were delivered to one of my

seamen by a British prisoner on parole, as coming from your ship. One of my seamen has also assured me, that the crew of an English ship now in port, have showed him a letter bearing your signature, holding forth encouragement to my people, for deserting the cause in which they are now engaged. The style of the two papers is a sufficient evidence, that they were not written by a common sailor. But, although I have received the most positive assurances respecting the letter, my knowledge of the character of Captain Hillyar, will not permit me to believe him capable of so base an expedient to effect the object of his cruise—notwithstanding the circumstances, and alleged object of the *Phœbe's* flag might induce a suspicion. It appears that my ship's company have made some reply to the first of these papers; and it is highly probable, that it was couched in the ordinary language of sailors. The most insulting epithets have been applied to them, and in the most public manner. I have not therefore thought it proper to restrain that indignation my people have felt, in common with myself, at such proceedings. Their character, as well as my own, has been misunderstood; and if it is believed that we have wished to shake the loyalty of your seamen, I can positively assure you, our intentions have been equally misunderstood. It is not necessary for us to resort to so pitiful an expedient—and were it necessary, I should spurn it. My men are equally prepared with myself, to do our duty: they have given me innumerable proofs of their readiness at all times, to die in support of their country's cause: they have my unlimited confidence—I have theirs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.

To this letter Captain Hillyar returned a temperate reply, disclaiming in the strongest terms, the conduct I had attributed to him; retorting the charge, of his people being the aggressors in this paper war; charging my men with blasphemy; and finally hinting at various reports he had lately heard to my disadvantage, but which he wished not to believe. Some other letters passed between us; of which both the originals and copies were lost in my cap-

ture. The crews of the hostile ships also continued to carry on the war, in poetry and prose: and some of the poetical effusions of our opponents were so highly meritorious, as to cause a suspicion of their being the production of Captain Hillyar himself.

On the 16th of March, twelve days before my capture, the first lieutenant of the *Phœbe* came on board the *Essex*, under a flag of truce, and stated that he had a message from Captain Hillyar. Presuming it was another challenge, I required the presence of some of my officers, to which he consented. When they were assembled, I asked the purport of his message. He then stated, that Captain Hillyar had been informed, I had said that he acted in a cowardly manner, by running away from the *Essex*, after challenging her, but could not believe the report, and had sent him on board to ascertain the truth. I told him I had said so, and still thought so. He then stated, that Captain Hillyar had entrusted him to tell me, that his firing a gun, and hoisting the flag, was not intended as a challenge, but as a signal to the *Cherub*. I replied, that Captain Hillyar had informed me, the motto of the flag was intended for my ship, and that there was not a man, woman, or child in Valparaiso, that did not think it a challenge. He still repeated, that Captain Hillyar had desired him to assure me, it was not a challenge.

I told him in reply, that I had considered it one, but was bound to believe Captain Hillyar, if he said it was not. I added that, however it might be intended, I should always consider it a challenge, whenever he chose to send away the *Cherub*, and perform a similar manœuvre—and, under that impression, act precisely as I had done before. Again the officer assured me of the mistake; adding, that Captain Hillyar was a religious man, and did not approve of sending challenges.

I shall now close this part of my narrative, by laying before my readers two certificates, one from the only officer now alive, who was present at the foregoing conversation between Lt. Ingraham and myself. I would appeal to the candour of Lt. Ingraham himself, had he not been killed in the subsequent action.

“On Sunday the 27th February, 1814, at 5 P. M. the *Phœbe* ran close in with the harbour, hoisted an English

ensign, bearing the motto, "God and our country; British sailors' best rights; traitors offend them;" and fired a gun to windward. The sloop of war was about two and a half miles to leeward. The Essex immediately got under way, hoisted a flag bearing the motto, "God, our country, and liberty; tyrants offend them;" and fired a gun to windward. The Phœbe hove to, until the Essex was within gun-shot, when she bore up, and ran down for the sloop. Two shot were fired across her bows, to bring her to, but without effect. After chasing her as far as was prudent, Captain Porter observed, that their conduct was cowardly and dishonourable, and returned into port, where we came to anchor.

(Signed)

John Downes,
Wm. Odenheim,
Edward Barnwell,
Richard K. Hoffman,
John K. Shaw,
M. W. Bartowe,
Alexr. Montgomery,
Geo. W. Isaacs,
S. L. Duzenbery.

"On the 16th of March, 1814, Lt. Ingraham, first of the Phœbe, came on board the Essex, under a flag of truce, having a letter from Commodore Hillyar to Captain Porter. Lt. Ingraham informed Captain Porter, that Commodore Hillyar had heard Captain P. had called him a coward, for running away from the Essex, and begged to know if it was the case. Captain Porter informed him that, considering the circumstance of the challenge, and the conduct of the Phœbe in bearing up, he believed anything he could have said on the occasion, justifiable. Lt. Ingraham assured Captain Porter, that no challenge was intended, and that the gun was fired by accident. Captain P. said, he supposed it to be a challenge, at the time, and had accepted it; and that he should accept another, if given by the Phœbe; observing, "it cannot be expected that I would take upon myself the responsibility of challenging a 36 gun frigate, with a frigate of 32 guns; as my country would censure me, should I prove unsuccessful; but the

difference of force will not prevent my accepting a challenge given by Captain Hillyar.

The Phœbe and Cherub, everafter, kept close together, and showed a determination of not risking an action, unless they could both engage the Essex."

(Signed)

JOHN DOWNES.

THESE are the most important circumstances which preceded the capture of the Essex, in the bay of Valparaiso; the particulars of which are related in the following letter to the Secretary of the navy :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PORTER TO THE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Essex Junior, July 3d, 1814, at sea.

SIR,

I have done myself the honour to address you, repeatedly, since I left the Delaware; but have scarcely a hope that one of my letters has reached you, and therefore, consider it necessary to give you a brief history of my proceedings since that period.

I sailed from the Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812, and repaired, with all diligence, (agreeably to the instructions of Commodore Bainbridge,) to Port Praya, Fernando de Noronho, and Cape Frio, arriving at each place on the day appointed to meet him. On my passage from Port Praya to Fernando de Noronho, I captured his Britannic majesty's packet Nocton—and after taking out about eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, sent her under command of lieutenant Finch for America. I cruised off Rio de Janeiro, and about Cape Frio, until the 12th January, 1813, hearing frequently of the Commodore by vessels from Bahia. I here captured one schooner with hides and tallow; I sent her into Rio. The Montague, the admiral's ship, being in pursuit of me, my provisions now getting short, and finding it necessary to look out for a supply to enable me to meet the Commodore by the first of April, off St. Helena, I proceeded to the island of St. Catherine's, (the last place of rendezvous on the coast of

Brazil,) as the most likely to supply my wants, and, at the same time, afford me that intelligence necessary to enable me to elude the British ships of war on the coast, and expected there. I here could procure only wood, water, and rum, and a few bags of flour; and hearing of the Commodore's action with the Java, the capture of the Hornet by the Montague, and of a considerable augmentation of the British force on the coast, several being in pursuit of me, I found it necessary to get to sea as soon as possible. I now, agreeably to the Commodore's plan, stretched to the southward, scouring the coast as far as Rio de la Plata. I heard that Buenos Ayres was in a state of starvation, and could not supply our wants; and that the government of Montevideo was very inimical to us. The Commodore's instructions now left it completely discretionary with me what course to pursue, and I determined on following that which had not only met his approbation, but the approbation, of the then secretary of the navy. I accordingly shaped my course for the Pacific; and after suffering greatly from short allowance of provisions, and heavy gales off Cape Horn, (for which my ship and men were ill provided) I arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813. I here took in as much jerked beef, and other provisions, as my ship would conveniently stow, and ran down the coast of Chili and Peru. In this track I fell in with a Peruvian corsair, which had on board twenty-four Americans as prisoners, the crews of two whale ships, which she had taken on the coast of Chili. The Captain informed me that, as allies of Great Britain, they would capture all they should meet with, in expectation of a war between Spain and the United States. I consequently threw all his guns and ammunition into the sea, liberated the Americans, and wrote a respectful letter to the viceroy, explaining the cause of my proceedings, which I delivered to her Captain. I then proceeded for Lima, and recaptured one of the vessels as she was entering the port. From thence I shaped my course for the Gallipagos islands, where I cruised from the 17th April, until the 3d October, 1813. During this time I touched only once on the coast of America, which was for the purpose of procuring a supply of fresh water, as none is to be

found among those islands, which are perhaps the most barren and desolate of any known.

While among this group, I captured the following British ships, employed chiefly in the spermaceti whale fishery, viz :

LETTERS OF MARQUE.

			tons.	men.	guns.	pierced for
Montezuma,	-	-	270	21	2	
Policy,	-	-	175	26	10	18
Georgiana.	-	-	280	25	6	18
Greenwich,	-	-	338	25	10	20
Atlantic,	-	-	355	24	8	20
Rose,	-	-	220	21	8	20
Hector,	-	-	270	25	11	20
Catharine,	-	-	270	29	8	18
Seringapatam,	-	-	357	31	14	26
Charlton,	-	-	274	21	10	18
New Zealander,	-	-	259	23	8	18
Sir A. Hammond,	-	-	301	31	12	18
			3369	302	107	

As some of those ships were captured by boats, and others by prizes, my officers and men had several opportunities of showing their gallantry.

The *Rose* and *Charlton* were given up to the prisoners : the *Hector*, *Catharine*, and *Montezuma*, I sent to Valparaiso, where they were laid up. The *Policy*, *Georgiana*, and *New Zealander*, I sent for America ; the *Greenwich* I kept as a store ship, to contain the stores of my other prizes, necessary for us ; and the *Atlantic*, now called the *Essex Junior*, I equipped with twenty guns, and gave the command of her to lieutenant Downes.

Lieutenant Downes had convoyed the prizes to Valparaiso, and on his return, brought letters, informing me that a squadron under the command of Commodore James Hillyar, consisting of the frigate *Phoebe* of thirty-six guns, had sailed on the 6th July for this sea.—The *Raccoon* and *Cherub* had been seeking me for some time on the coast of Brazil, and on their return from their cruise, joined the

squadron sent in search of me to the Pacific. My ship, as it may be supposed, after being near a year at sea, required some repairs to put her in a state to meet them, which I determined to do, and bring them to action, if I could meet them on nearly equal terms. I proceeded, now, in company with the remainder of my prizes, to the island of Nooaheevah, or *Madison's* island, lying in the *Washington* group, discovered by a Captain Ingraham of Boston. Here I caulked and completely overhauled my ship, made for her a new set of water casks, her old ones being entirely decayed, and took on board from my prizes, provisions and stores for upwards of four months, and sailed for the coast of Chili on the 12th December, 1813. Previous to sailing, I secured the Seringapatam, Greenwich, and Sir Andrew Hammond, under the guns of a battery, which I had erected for their protection. After taking possession of this fine island for the United States, and establishing the most friendly intercourse with the natives, I left them under charge of lieutenant Gamble of the marines, with twenty-one men, with orders to repair to Valparaiso after a certain period.

I arrived on the coast of Chili on the 12th January, 1814; looked into Concepcion and Valparaiso, found at both places only three English vessels, and learned that the squadron which sailed from Rio de Janeiro for that sea had not been heard of since their departure, and were supposed to be lost in endeavouring to double Cape Horn.

I had completely broken up the British navigation in the Pacific; the vessels which had not been captured by me, were laid up, and dared not venture out. I had afforded the most ample protection to our own vessels, which were, on my arrival, very numerous and unprotected.—The valuable whale fishery there, is entirely destroyed, and the actual injury we have done them may be estimated at two and a half millions of dollars, independent of the expenses of the vessels in search of me. They have supplied me amply with sails, cordage, cables, anchors, provisions, medicines, and stores of every description—and the slops on board them have furnished clothing for the seamen. We had, in fact, lived on the enemy since I had been in that sea; every prize having proved a well found store ship for me. I had not yet been under the necessity of draw-

ing bills on the department for any object, and had been enabled to make considerable advances to my officers and crew on account of pay.

For the unexampled time we had kept the sea, my crew had continued remarkably healthy; I had but one case of the scurvy, and had lost only the following men by death, viz :—

John S. Cowan, lieutenant,
 Robert Miller, surgeon,
 Levi Holmes, o. seaman,
 Edward Sweeny, do.
 Samuel Groce, seaman,
 James Spafford, gunner's mate,
 Benjamin Geers, } qr. gunners,
 John Rodgers, }
 Andrew Mahan, corporal of marines,
 Lewis Price, private marine.

I had done all the injury that could be done to the British commerce in the Pacific, and still hoped to signalize my cruise by something more splendid before leaving that sea. I thought it not improbable that Commodore Hillyar might have kept his arrival secret, and believing that he would seek me at Valparaiso, as the most likely place to find me, I determined to cruise about that place, and should I fail of meeting him, hoped to be compensated by the capture of some merchant ships, said to be expected from England.

The *Phœbe*, agreeably to my expectations, came to seek me at Valparaiso, where I was anchored with the *Essex*, my armed prize the *Essex Junior*, under the command of lieutenant Downes, on the look-out off the harbour. But, contrary to the course I thought he would pursue, Commodore Hillyar brought with him the *Cherub* sloop of war, mounting twenty-eight guns, eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, eight twenty-fours, and two long nines on the quarter deck and forecastle, and a complement of a hundred and eighty men. The force of the *Phœbe* is as follows: thirty long eighteen pounders, sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, one howitzer, and six three pounders in the tops, in all fifty-three guns, and a complement of three hundred and twenty men; making a force of eighty-one

guns and five hundred men—in addition to which, they took on board the crew of an English letter of marque lying in port. Both ships had picked crews, and were sent into the Pacific in company with the *Racoon* of twenty-two guns, and a store-ship of twenty guns, for the express purpose of seeking the *Essex*, and were prepared with flags bearing the motto, "God and country; British sailors' best rights; traitors offend both." This was intended as a reply to my motto, "*Free trade and sailors' rights*," under the erroneous impression that my crew were chiefly Englishmen, or to counteract its effect on their own crews.—The force of the *Essex* was forty-six guns, forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves, and her crew, which had been much reduced by prizes, amounted only to two hundred and fifty-five men. The *Essex Junior*, which was intended chiefly as a store-ship, mounted twenty guns, ten eighteen pound carronades, and ten short sixes, with only sixty men on board. In reply to their motto, I wrote at my mizen—"God, our Country, and Liberty; tyrants offend them."

On getting their provisions on board, they went off the port for the purpose of blockading me, where they cruised for near six weeks; during which time I endeavoured to provoke a challenge, and frequently, but ineffectually, to bring the *Phœbe* alone to action, first with both my ships, and afterwards with my single ship, with both crews on board. I was several times under way, and ascertained that I had greatly the advantage in point of sailing, and once succeeded in closing within gun shot of the *Phœbe*, and commenced a fire on her, when she ran down for the *Cherub*, which was two and a half miles to leeward. This excited some surprise and expressions of indignation, as previous to my getting under way, she hove too off the port, hoisted her motto flag, and fired a gun to windward. Commodore Hillyar seemed determined to avoid a contest with me on nearly equal terms, and from his extreme prudence in keeping both his ships ever after constantly within hail of each other, there were no hopes of any advantages to my country from a longer stay in port. I therefore determined to put to sea the first opportunity which should offer; and I was the more strongly induced to do so, as I had gained certain intelligence that the *Tagus*, rated thirty-

eight, and two other frigates, had sailed for that sea in pursuit of me. I had also reason to expect the arrival of the *Raccoon* from the N. W. coast of America, where she had been sent for the purpose of destroying our fur establishment on the *Columbia*. A rendezvous was appointed for the *Essex Junior*, and every arrangement made for sailing, and I intended to let them chase me off, to give the *Essex Junior* an opportunity of escaping. On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, when I parted my larboard cable and dragged my starboard anchor directly out to sea. Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my top-gallant sails, which were set over single reefed top-sails, and braced up for this purpose. But on rounding the point a heavy squall struck the ship and carried away her main-top-mast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me, and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor within pistol shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible. The enemy continued to approach, showing an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled *Essex* was truly ridiculous, as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three P. M. made his attack, the *Phoebe* placing herself under my stern, and the *Cherub* on my starboard bow. But the *Cherub* soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half

an hour we so disabled both as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall the acting sailing master, assisted by Mr. Linscott the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times—but the fire of the enemy was so excessive, that before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several men had been killed and wounded—but my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were nowise discouraged—all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die, in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizzen, had been shot away—but **FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS** continued to fly at the fore.—Our ensign was replaced by another—and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizzen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship. The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack; he now placed himself, with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him without getting under way and becoming the assailant. My top-sail sheets and halliards were all shot away, as well as the jib and fore-top-mast-stay-sail-halliards. The only rope not cut was the flying-jib-halliards; and that being the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the *Phoebe* on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous;—I had let fall my fore-top-sail and fore-sail, but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us. Yet we were enabled, for a short time, to close with the enemy; and although our decks were now strewn with dead, and our cockpit filled with wounded, although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstance of the *Cherub*, being compelled to haul off.

She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with her long guns.—The *Phoebe*, from our disabled state, was enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremendous fire on us, which mowed down my brave companions by the dozen. Many of my guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them again from those which were disabled, and one gun in particular was three times manned—fifteen men were slain at it in the action. But, strange as it may appear, the Captain of it escaped with only a slight wound.—Finding that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing with him, and as the wind, for the moment, seemed to favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run her on shore, land my men and destroy her. Every thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approached the shore within musket shot, and I had no doubt of succeeding, when, in an instant, the wind shifted from the land (as is very common in this port in the latter part of the day) and payed our head down on the *Phoebe*, where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire. My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet, as her head was toward the enemy, and he to leeward of me, I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment lieutenant commandant Downes came on board to receive my orders, under the impression that I should soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me in the then wretched state of the *Essex*; and finding (from the enemy's putting his helm up) that my last attempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him, after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her in case of an attack. He took with him several of my wounded, leaving three of his boats crew on board to make room for them. The slaughter on board my ship had now become horrible, the enemy continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows to bring her head round: this succeeded. We again got our broadside to bear, and as the enemy was much crippled and unable to



Drawn by Capt. Porter

The A. A.



Engraved by W. Woodland

History.



hold his own, I have no doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun shot before he discovered we had anchored, had not the hawser unfortunately parted. My ship had taken fire several times during the action, but alarmingly so forward and aft; at this moment, the flames were bursting up each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving her; our distance from the shore did not exceed three-quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the magazine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder below served to increase the horrors of our situation—our boats were destroyed by the enemy's shot; I, therefore, directed those who could swim to jump overboard, and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it—some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our attention wholly to extinguishing the flames; and when we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the firing was kept up for some minutes, but the crew had by this time become so weakened, that they all declared to me the impossibility of making further resistance, and entreated me to surrender my ship to save the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition must prove ineffectual, almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews. I now sent for the officers of divisions to consult them; but what was my surprise to find only acting lieutenant Stephen Decatur M'Knight remaining, who confirmed the report respecting the condition of the guns on the gun-deck—those on the spar deck were not in a better state. Lieutenant Wilmer, after fighting most gallantly throughout the action, had been knocked overboard by a splinter while getting the sheet anchor from the bows, and was drowned. Acting lieutenant John G. Cowell, had lost a leg; Mr. Edward Barnewall, acting sailing master, had been carried below, after receiving two wounds, one in the breast and one in the face; and acting lieutenant William H. Odenheimer, had been knocked overboard from the quarter an instant before, and did not regain the ship until after the surrender. I was informed that the cock-pit, the steerage, the ward-room and the birth-deck, could contain no more wounded; that the

wounded were killed while the surgeons were dressing them, and that, unless something was speedily done to prevent it, the ship would soon sink from the number of shot holes in her bottom. And, on sending for the carpenter, he informed me that all his crew had been killed or wounded, and that he had been once over the side to stop the leaks, when his slings had been shot away, and it was with difficulty he was saved from drowning. The enemy, from the smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of our reaching him with our carronades, and the little apprehension that was excited by our fire, which had now become much slackened, was enabled to take aim at us as at a target; his shot never missed our hull, and my ship was cut up in a manner which was, perhaps, never before witnessed—in fine, I saw no hopes of saving her, and at twenty minutes after six P. M. gave the painful order to strike the colours. Seventy-five men, including officers were all that remained of my whole crew, after the action, capable of doing duty, and many of them severely wounded, some of whom have since died. *The enemy still continued his fire, and my brave, though unfortunate companions, were still falling about me. I directed an opposite gun to be fired, to show them we intended no further resistance; but they did not desist; four men were killed at my side, and others in different parts of the ship. I now believed he intended to show us no quarter, and that it would be as well to die with my flag flying as struck, and was on the point of again hoisting it, when about ten minutes after hauling the colours down he ceased firing!*

I cannot speak in sufficiently high terms of the conduct of those engaged for such an unparalleled length of time (under such circumstances) with me in the arduous and unequal contest—Let it suffice to say, that more bravery, skill, patriotism, and zeal, were never displayed on any occasion. Every one seemed determined to die in defence of their much loved country's cause, and nothing but views to humanity could ever have reconciled them to the surrender of the ship; they remembered their wounded and helpless shipmates below. To acting lieutenants M'Knight and Odenheimer I feel much indebted for their great exertions and bravery throughout the action, in fighting and encouraging the men at their divisions, for the

dexterous management of the long guns, and for their promptness in re-manning their guns as their crews were slaughtered. The conduct of that brave and heroic officer, acting lieutenant John G. Cowel, who lost his leg in the latter part of the action, excited the admiration of everyman in the ship, and after being wounded, would not consent to be taken below, until loss of blood rendered him insensible. Mr. Edward Barnewall acting sailing-master, whose activity and courage were equally conspicuous, returned on deck after his first wound, and remained after receiving his second until fainting with loss of blood.—Mr. Samuel B. Johnson, who had joined me the day before, and acted as marine officer, conducted himself with great bravery, and exerted himself in assisting at the long guns; the musketry after the first half hour being useless, from our great distance.

Mr. M. W. Bostwick, whom I had appointed acting purser of the *Essex Junior*, and who was on board my ship, did the duties of aid, in a manner which reflects on him the highest honour, and midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden, as well as acting midshipmen James Terry, James R. Lyman, and Samuel Duzenbury, and master's mate William Pierce, exerted themselves in the performance of their respective duties, and gave an earnest of their value to the service; the three first are too young to recommend for promotion.—The latter I beg leave to recommend for confirmation, as well as the acting lieutenants, and Messrs. Barnewall, Johnson, and Bostwick.

We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced—the defence of the *Essex* has not been less honourable to her officers and crew, than the capture of an equal force; and I now consider my situation less unpleasant than that of Commodore Hillyar, who, in violation of every principle of honour and generosity, and regardless of the rights of nations, attacked the *Essex* in her crippled state, within pistol shot of a neutral shore—when, for six weeks, I had daily offered him fair and honourable combat, on terms greatly to his advantage. The blood of the slain must be on his head, and he has yet to reconcile his conduct to heaven, to his conscience, and to the world.—The annexed extract of a letter from Commodore Hillyar, which

was written previously to his returning me my sword, will show his opinion of our conduct.

My loss has been dreadfully severe, fifty-eight killed, or have since died of their wounds, and among them lieutenant Cowell; thirty-nine were severely wounded, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one are missing—making in all one hundred and fifty-four, killed, wounded, and missing, a list of whose names is annexed.

The professional knowledge of Dr. Richard Hoffman, acting surgeon, and Dr. Alexander Montgomery, acting surgeon's mate, added to the assiduity and the benevolent attentions and assistance of Mr. D. P. Adams, the chaplain, saved the lives of many of the wounded—those gentlemen have been indefatigable in their attentions to them; the two first I beg leave to recommend for confirmation, and the latter to the notice of the department.

I must, in justification of myself, observe, that with our six twelve pounders only we fought this action, our carrouades being almost useless.

The loss in killed and wounded has been great with the enemy; among the former is the first lieutenant of the *Phoebe*, and of the latter, Captain Tucker of the *Cherub*, whose wounds are severe. Both the *Essex* and *Phoebe* were in a sinking state, and it was with difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso next morning. The shattered state of the *Essex* will, I believe, prevent her ever reaching England, and I also think it will be out of their power to repair the damages of the *Phoebe*, so as to enable her to double Cape Horn. All the masts and yards of the *Phoebe* and *Cherub* are badly crippled, and their hulls much cut up; the former had eighteen twelve pound shot through her below her water line, some three feet under water. Nothing but the smoothness of the water saved both the *Phoebe* and *Essex*.

I hope, sir, that our conduct may prove satisfactory to our country, and that it will testify it by obtaining our speedy exchange, that we may again have it in our power to prove our zeal.

Commodore Hillyar (I am informed) has thought proper to state to his government that the action only lasted forty-five minutes; should he have done so, the motive may be easily discovered—but the thousands of disinterested

witnesses, who covered the surrounding hills, can testify that we fought his ships near two hours and a half; upwards of fifty broadsides were fired by the enemy, agreeably to their own accounts, and upwards of seventy-five by ours: except the few minutes they were repairing damages, the firing was incessant.

Soon after my capture, I entered into an agreement with Commodore Hillyar to disarm my prize, the *Essex Junior*, and proceed with the survivors of my officers and crew to the United States, taking with me her officers and crew. He consented to grant her a passport to secure her from recapture. The ship was small, and we knew we had much to suffer, yet we hoped soon to reach our country in safety, that we might again have it in our power to serve it. This arrangement was attended with no additional expense, as she was abundantly supplied with provisions and stores for the voyage.

In justice to Commodore Hillyar, I must observe, that (although I can never be reconciled to the manner of his attack on the *Essex*, or to his conduct before the action,) he has, since our capture, shown the greatest humanity to my wounded, (whom he permitted me to land, on condition that the United States should bear their expenses,) and has endeavoured as much as lay in his power, to alleviate the distresses of war, by the most generous and delicate deportment towards myself, my officers, and crew. He gave orders that the property of every person should be respected; which orders, however, were not so strictly attended to as might have been expected; besides being deprived of books, charts, &c. &c. both myself and officers lost many articles of our clothing, some to a considerable amount. I should not have considered this last circumstance of sufficient importance to notice, did it not mark a striking difference between the navy of Great-Britain, and that of the United States, highly creditable to the latter.

By the arrival of the *Tagus* a few days after my capture, I was informed, that besides the ships which had arrived in the Pacific in pursuit of me, and those still expected, others were sent to cruize for me in the China seas, off New Zealand, Timor, and New Holland, and that another frigate was sent to the river La Plata.

To possess the *Essex*, it has cost the British government near six millions of dollars, and yet, sir, her capture was

owing entirely to accident; and if we consider the expedition with which naval contests are now decided, the action is a dishonour to them. Had they brought their ships boldly into action with a force so very superior, and having the choice of position, they should either have captured or destroyed us in one-fourth of the time they were about it.

During the action, our consul general, Mr. Poinsett, called on the governor of Valparaiso, and requested that the batteries might protect the *Essex*. This request was refused, but he promised that if she should succeed in fighting her way to the common anchorage, he would send an officer to the British commander, and request him to cease firing, but declined using force under any circumstances; and there is no doubt a perfect understanding existed between them. This conduct, added to the assistance given to the British, and their friendly reception after the action, and the strong bias of the faction which govern Chili in favour of the English, as well as their hostility to the Americans, induced Mr. Poinsett to leave that country. Under such circumstances, I did not conceive it would be proper for me to claim the restoration of my ship, confident that the claim would be made by my government to more effect. Finding some difficulty in the sale of my prizes, I had taken the *Hector* and *Catharine* to sea, and burnt them with their cargoes.

I exchanged lieutenant M'Knight,* Mr. Adams, and Mr. Lyman, and eleven seamen, for a part of the crew of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, and sailed from Valparaiso on the 27th April, where the enemy were still patching up their ships to put them in a state for proceeding to Rio de Janeiro, previous to going to England.

Annexed is a list of the remains of my crew to be exchanged, as also a copy of the correspondence between Commodore Hillyar and myself, on that subject. I also send you a list of the prisoners I have taken during my cruise, amounting to three hundred and forty-three.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*The honourable Secretary of the Navy
of the U. S. Washington.*

* For an account of the mysterious fate of Lieutenants M'Knight and Lyman, see Appendix.

P. S. To give you a correct idea of the state of the Essex at the time of her surrender, I send you the boatswain's and carpenter's report of damages; I also send you a report of the divisions.

It will be perceived by the foregoing narrative, that every means was resorted to on my part, to provoke the enemy to offer battle with his single ship, but without effect. For this I do not blame Captain Hillyar, since the interests of his country ought to have been, and undoubtedly were, paramount to every other consideration, on this occasion. The reader, however, will judge for himself, whether Captain Hillyar's attack on the Essex, then in a crippled state, and within the limits of a neutrality, which he had pledged himself to respect, was, setting aside the question of legality, either brave or magnanimous.

It was my intention to have explained the alteration in the conduct of the Chilian government towards myself, evinced in denying me a right to the protection accorded me by the laws of nations. But this would swell my narrative beyond the limits I had prescribed myself. The explanation may be found in those changes which have been so common in that country, torn by different factions, and in the meanness of that spirit, which takes part ever with the strongest. When I commanded the most powerful force in the Pacific, all were willing to serve me: but when Captain Hillyar appeared, with one still stronger, it became the great object to conciliate his friendship, by evincing hostility to me. It will be recollected, by those conversant with the history of the Chilian Revolution, that my particular friends the Carreras, were stripped of power, and thrown into prison, the government of Chili being usurped by their most inveterate enemies. Added to all this, Captain Hillyar was acting in the character of mediator between the viceroy of Peru, and the officers of the Chilian government; in which capacity, he at length caused the country to be delivered up to the royal troops, under a promise of a general and free pardon to those then in possession of power. For this service, Captain Hillyar was made an Hidalgo, and honoured with a con-

spicuous place in a religious procession, commemorative of the occasion, where he wore the habit of a friar, and bore in his hand a waxen candle.

Soon after the capture of the *Essex*, I was sent on board the *Phœbe*, by the officer who took possession of the *Essex*. I had no cause to complain of my treatment while there. Captain Hillyar's conduct was delicate and respectful. The instant of anchoring in Valparaiso, I was allowed to go on shore on parole, and the same privilege granted to my officers, as well as those of my crew who were wounded. The rest were placed under guard, on board a Spanish merchant ship, hired by Captain Hillyar for that purpose.

Under present circumstances, I could not expect any civilities from those in authority at Valparaiso. But the neglect of the governor and his officers was fully compensated by the kind attentions of the good citizens. When my wounded companions were brought on shore, they were borne to the place selected by me for a hospital, by the kind Chilians. The ladies of Valparaiso took upon themselves the task of providing for their necessities, and administering to the alleviation of their sufferings. At all times, women of the most respectable appearance attended at the hospital, who tendered their services gratuitously, to take care of the wounded. Without their aid, I have no doubt, many would have died, who now live to thank them. For myself, I shall never forget their gentle humanity; and if it should not be in my power to return it, I bequeath the remembrance as a legacy of gratitude to be repaid by my country.

After providing every thing in my power for the comfort of my wounded companions, I made a visit to the capital of Chili. I shall pass over the events of this journey, and hasten to a conclusion. On referring to the correspondence between myself and Captain Hillyar, in the appendix, it will be seen there was an arrangement made, for disarming the *Essex Junior*, and converting her into a cartel; which I considered highly advantageous, as it ensured the safety of a prize. This case was similar to that of the *Alert*, to which Captain Hillyar had objected, on a former occasion. His motives for acceding to such an arrangement at this time, were probably founded in

some apprehensions with respect to my crew, and the probable danger of trusting them on board of the *Phœbe*, which carried a large quantity of specie on freight to England.

The remainder of my brave crew were accordingly embarked in the *Essex Junior*; and on taking leave of Captain Hillyar, after acknowledging his attentions, I seized the opportunity to tell him, that though I should take every occasion to do him free justice in that respect, I should nevertheless be equally plain in making known his conduct in attacking me in the manner he had done. The tears came into his eyes, and, grasping my hand, he replied, "My dear Porter, you know not the responsibility that hung over me, with respect to your ship. Perhaps my life depended on my taking her." I asked no explanation at that time, and he gave none. He still has it in his power, however, to clear up the affair to the world; and if he can show that the responsibility rests on his government, I shall do him justice, with more pleasure than I now impeach his conduct. Until then, the stigma rests on him.

On leaving Valparaiso, every effort was made to reach home in time to fit out ships to proceed to the British channel, for the purpose of intercepting the *Phœbe* and her prize; and, favoured by the wind, of which we took every advantage, we arrived off Sandy Hook, in seventy-three days. Here we fell in with the *Saturn*, a British ship of war, commanded by Captain Nash, who treated me, in the first instance, with great civility; examined the papers of the *Essex Junior*; furnished me with late newspapers; and sent me some oranges—at the same time making offers of his services. The boarding officer endorsed my passport, and permitted the ship to proceed. She stood on in the same tack with the *Saturn*; and about two hours afterwards, was again brought to—the papers examined, and the ship's hold overhauled by a boat's crew and officer. I expressed my astonishment at such proceedings; and was informed that Captain Nash had his motives. It was added, that Captain Hillyar had no authority to make such arrangements; that the passport must go on board the *Saturn* again, and the *Essex Junior* be detained. I insisted, that the smallest detention would be

a violation of the contract on the part of the British, and declared I should consider myself a prisoner to Captain Nash, and no longer on my parole. I then offered my sword; assuring the officer, I delivered it with the same feelings I surrendered it to Captain Hillyar. He declined receiving it; went on board the *Saturn*; and returned with the information, that Captain Nash directed the *Essex Junior* to remain all night under the lee of the *Saturn*. I then said—I am your prisoner; I do not consider myself any longer bound by my contract with Captain Hillyar, which has thus been violated, and shall act accordingly.

At 7 the next morning, the wind being light from the southward, and the ships about thirty or forty miles off the eastern part of Long Island, within about musket shot of each other, I determined to attempt my escape. There appeared no disposition on the part of the enemy to liberate the *Essex Junior*, and I felt myself justified in this measure. A boat was accordingly lowered down, manned and armed; and I left with lieut. Downes the following message for Capt. Nash: "that Captain Porter was now satisfied, that most British officers were not only destitute of honour, but regardless of the honour of each other; that he was armed, and prepared to defend himself against his boats, if sent in pursuit of him; and that he must be met, if met at all, as an enemy." I now pulled off from the ship, keeping the *Essex Junior* in a direct line between my boat and the *Saturn*, and got nearly gun shot from her before they discovered me. At that instant, a fresh breeze sprang up, and the *Saturn* made all sail after us. Fortunately, however, a thick fog came on, upon which I changed my course, and entirely eluded farther pursuit. During the fog, I heard a firing; and on its clearing up, saw the *Saturn* in chase of the *Essex Junior*; which vessel was soon brought to. After rowing and sailing about sixty miles, I at last succeeded, with much difficulty and hazard, in reaching the town of Babylon, on Long Island, where, being strongly suspected of being a British officer, I was closely interrogated; and a story appearing rather extraordinary, was not credited. But on showing my commission, all doubts were removed, and from that moment, all united in affording me the most liberal hospitality.

On my arrival by land at New-York, the reception

given me by the inhabitants, as well as by those of every other place through which I passed, it becomes not me to record. It is sufficient to say, it has made an impression on my mind, never to be effaced.

The *Essex Junior*, after being detained the whole of the day following my escape, and ransacked for money; her crew mustered on deck, under pretence of detecting deserters; her officers insulted, and treated with shameful outrage; was at length dismissed, and arrived next day at New-York, where she was condemned and sold. In the language I used at that time and subsequently, with regard to the character and conduct of British naval officers, some persons have found great cause of offence. For my full justification, I rest on the foregoing narrative, with the documents by which it is supported. Years have passed away since I first made these assertions; but they have brought with them no experience but what confirms my first impressions.

My escape from unjustifiable detention by the captain of the *Saturn*, was asserted to be a breach of parole; and I have the most undeniable evidence, that admiral Cochrane mustered the officers of his fleet, on his quarter deck, declaring to them, that I was out of the pale of honour, and must be treated accordingly. The correspondence between the agents of the two governments, in the Appendix to this volume, will show, by admiral Cochrane's own distinct admission, that his government, on being made fully acquainted with the circumstances, declared me "discharged from my parole, and as free to serve in any capacity, as if I had never been made prisoner." Yet, notwithstanding all this, care has been taken to keep up the impression, that I remain still under this imputation of a breach of parole, by withholding, on all occasions, the public recantation of a charge publicly made, and—unanswerably refuted.

CHAPTER XIX.

TRANSACTIONS AT NOOAHEEVAH, AFTER CAPTAIN
PORTER'S DEPARTURE: COMPILED FROM THE
JOURNAL OF LT. GAMBLE.

HAVING thus continued the particulars of my cruise down to the arrival of the *Essex Junior* at New-York, it is now time to turn the attention of my readers to the prize ships left at Madison's Island, under the command of lieutenant (now Captain) Gamble, of the Marines, on the 13th of December, 1813; and to the events which occurred subsequently to that date. These were the *Greenwich*, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, and *Seringapatam*,* and their crews amounted, in the aggregate, to three officers, and twenty men, exclusive of six prisoners of war. Licut. Gamble was instructed to remain at the Island five and a half calendar months, and at the expiration thereof, in case he did not see or hear from me sooner, to repair to the port of Valparaiso on the Main. On arriving at Valparaiso, if he did not find the *Essex*, or instructions from me relative to the ships, he was authorized to dispose of the three prizes then laying at that port, remove their crews to those under his command, and repair to the United States.

For several days subsequently to the departure of the *Essex*, lieut. Gamble employed his men in completing the cargo of the *New Zealander* with oil from the other ships, in order that she might depart for the United States, at an early day. On the 15th, the weather being pleasant, and the wind fresh, the natives set fire to the dry grass in the valley, near the encampment, contrary to the injunctions of lieut. Gamble. He however, alarmed them considerably, by shooting over the heads of several, in the afternoon, as they were carrying torches near the houses, and setting fire to the grass. On the 16th, the wind blowing fresh from the N. E. the *Sir Andrew Hammond* parted her lower cable in a severe squall, and they were under the necessity of waiting for a land breeze, or a calm, in order to moor her effectually and safely. Six men on board the *New Zealander* were

* There was another—the *New Zealander*; but she departed for the United States, in a few days.

this day found sick; several with a severe attack of the dysentery, and others with pain in the head and joints. The next day the wind continued fresh, and the squalls, at intervals, more severe. At the close of the afternoon, two of the ships parted their halsers, and caused considerable trouble before they could again be secured. One of the white men, who was left on the island to trade with the natives, called upon lieut. Gamble, saying that he laboured under a violent attack of the dysentery, with the usual pain in the head and joints. He was immediately given a powerful emetic, and directed to take a dose of rhubarb as soon as it began to operate. This completely restored him to health in a few days. The squalls continued on the 18th, accompanied with frequent showers of rain. In the morning, Isaac Coffin, who deserted from the Essex, the day previous to her sailing, was brought down to the encampment from the valley, by one of the traders, who had been sent in quest of him, and confined in irons on board one of the ships. The *Typees* and *Happahs* made frequent inquiries of the traders, relative to the force under the command of lieut. Gamble, and were told that it amounted to one hundred men. Had they been aware of the fact, however, that the Americans could not muster even thirty men altogether, and that a number of them were in ill health, there can be no doubt, as subsequent events will show, that they would have attacked them at once in their canoes. The *Havvough* tribe still manifested a great degree of friendship and good order.

The rain ceased on the 20th, and the weather became quite clear and sultry. Lieut. Gamble was informed, that during the latter part of December, and the months of January and February, they have here frequent squalls of wind, and very often torrents of rain. Indeed, from the 17th of December, 1813, until the 1st of May, 1814, (the period of his departure,) scarcely a day passed without rain, and high winds from the N. E. The sick were all recovering, except Pettinger, a Marine, who was greatly debilitated by an obstinate wound in the left thigh.

It was now deemed prudent to take more effectual measures for the defence of themselves and the ships. To this end, all hands were employed in landing six cannon from the *Seringapatam*, and mounting them behind the

breastwork, called Madison's fort, thrown up by my orders, on the summit of a high hill, near the encampment, and completely commanding the bay. What most astonished the Americans, however, this day, was the appearance of the simple Otaheitan, who, as my readers will recollect, threw himself from the Essex into the sea, when twenty miles from land, in consequence of a blow he received from the boatswain's mate. His story was at once amusing, and almost incredible. *Tamaha* stated, with his accustomed artlessness, that he became intoxicated in the afternoon of the frigate's departure from the Island, and in the evening, unobserved by any one, fell overboard from the ship's head. She was then off Comptroller's Bay, and about twenty miles from the land. He was drawn down under the frigate, and bruised in several parts of his body. After remaining in the water one day and two nights, and making several fruitless attempts to regain the shore, on account of the violence of the surf, he at length succeeded; but found himself so exhausted, by long-continued exertion, and the bruises he received under the frigate's bottom, that he was unable to stand, or to help himself in any way whatever. At this critical moment, to his extreme surprise, one of the *Typees*, against whom he had recently taken an active part in the war waged against them, came down to his assistance, and very kindly took him to his house. He remained there four days, when the humane and generous *Typee* brought him to the encampment in a canoe. Lieut. Gamble very properly rewarded the latter for his charitable behaviour, and had the satisfaction to see him leave the encampment under a deep impression of the noble conduct he had evinced towards an enemy, and of the value of the bounty he received.

Exclusive of the bruising, there was nothing uncommon to a Sandwich Islander, in passing under the bottom of a ship. Lieut. Gamble himself, a few days after, had no difficulty in engaging one of the natives of *Nooaheevah* to dive down in five and a half fathoms water, and fasten a rope to the fluke of an anchor. But to remain two nights and a day in the water without food, and, in all probability, without any thing to buoy him up, is a circumstance that may justly excite astonishment. The next day, *Tamaha* obtained permission to go ashore for the purpose of getting a piece

of cloth, and a fan, given him by one of the *Typees*, which he said, were still in the canoe that brought him down. Lieut. Gamble, with an eye to his personal safety, charged him to sleep within the encampment, and to return on board the *Greenwich* in the morning. *Tamaha* promised to comply with his injunctions, but was not seen again for several days.

For some time Lieut. Gamble had employed two men daily, in digging up ground for a garden, and had already planted several kinds of seed. He was informed, that the natives of the adjacent valley had recently been in the habit of killing the swine left behind by me for the use of the ships. On the 22d, therefore, he sent a messenger to advise them not to kill any more, and without delay, to replace those they had killed, by others from their own stock. To this they returned for answer, that they knew he had but twenty men, and that, as *Opotee* had left the island, they did not care for him, nor would they restore the swine. The next day he acquainted *Gattaneva* with the predatory incursions of his people, and with the insolent reply they had sent him; assuring the chief, that they had, the preceding day, killed forty swine, and shut up twice as many in their houses; and that, unless they immediately restored the latter, and replaced the number killed, by as many from their own stock, he would march forthwith into the valley, and destroy all they had. The chief replied, that he had repeatedly warned his people not to steal the swine, but that they paid no attention to what he said, and despised his warnings. Seeing that was the case, he was given to understand, that no war would be made upon him personally, but only upon those who had stolen the swine. Some villain had spread a report among the natives, that the effective force of the whites amounted only to twenty men, and this, in a great degree, accounted for their rapacity and insolence. So bold had they indeed become at this time, that one of them, in the afternoon, even within sight of the encampment, ventured to carry away a pig. What were their real motives for this strange conduct, it is hard to conceive. Lieut. Gamble had used every effort within his power to conciliate their esteem, and given them the strongest assurances, that he would pay for the cocoa-nuts, bananas, and every thing else he received from them.

Under existing circumstances, however, it became absolutely necessary to attack them before the departure of the *New Zealander*, not alone to chastise them for their rapacity and insolence, and to recover the stolen animals, but to remove the impression of the weakness of the Americans, under which they evidently now laboured. Having therefore made the necessary arrangements to defend themselves against an attack, of which there appeared to be every prospect, in recovering the swine, at 9 A. M. on the 24th, he landed the whole of his effective force; having previously distributed the sick and the lame on board the different ships, with orders to fire one cannon from each ship, as soon as they heard the report of his musket, which was the only signal he could then establish. In addition to this, the guns were pricked, primed, and properly directed to bear upon a village on the summit of a hill, distant about one mile and a half, where he intended to commence the attack. On this hill a great number of the natives had collected together, for the purpose of annoying the Americans as they marched up the valley. At half past 9, Lieut. Gamble commenced his march, with thirty-five armed men, in single file, having an officer in front and rear, in order to show to the greatest advantage. At 10 A. M. having advanced within a quarter of a mile of the village, the signal musket was fired, and immediately answered by the guns from the ships, and one from the fort. The party then proceeded to the summit of the hill, without opposition; and on reaching it, to their great surprise, instead of two or three thousand of the natives, prepared to attack them, they found only an old chief, who advanced with a flag of truce. He stated, that his people, on seeing so many white men advancing against them, had all turned cowards, and fled over the hills, and that they were now willing to replace all the swine they had killed by others from their own stock. Lieut. Gamble replied, that this was no more than what he had often requested; and since they had chosen to put him to the trouble of marching against them, each village must agree to requite him by sending down to the encampment forty swine, together with the thieves who had recently committed so many depredations upon him. The chief rejoined, that so far as respected the swine, they would accede to his terms;

but that, in respect to the thieves, it was impossible to bring them in, they having absconded over the hills, and sought refuge among the *Happahs*. Lieut. Gamble now marched his men over several of their public squares, and found a number of the natives prepared with swine and cocoanuts, to conciliate his favour. At half past 11, A. M. he set out for the encampment with five chiefs, and two of their greatest warriors, prisoners of war; apprising them, at the same time, that he intended to detain them on board the *Greenwich*, as hostages, until the restoration of the swine, and surrender of the thieves; and that, in case these stipulations were not complied with in twelve hours, he would put them all to death, and march immediately again into the valley, in quest of his property and the rogues. Although the day closed very pleasantly and advantageously for the Americans, yet, as it rained with great violence in the early part of it, they were under considerable apprehension lest their ammunition, though well secured, might be spoiled.

Lieut. Gamble could account in no other way for the cowardice of the natives, seeing the extensive preparations they had made to assail him, than that they must have been deceived as to the actual amount of the force under his command. For, having previously understood that he could muster no more than twenty men, and now conceiving, very probably, from the manner in which he marched, that he had five times that number, they became confused and terrified, and without further reconnoitering, fled in every direction. The effect may, however, be attributed, with more propriety, to the firing of the cannon on board the ships, and at the fort; as this must necessarily have created a greater panic among them; and, moreover, induced them to believe that a reinforcement could be called up by the Americans, in case it should become necessary.

On visiting the *New Zealander* this day, lieut. Gamble found several of her crew attacked with an unusual and strange swelling in the legs. Upon inquiry, it appeared that some had suffered with this novel complaint nearly two weeks. In every case the inflammation seated itself at the second joint of the leg, and in one or two, the knees were swollen to the size of the body. By applying pow-

erful poultices to them, however, they were gradually reduced to their natural size.

On the 25th, the natives gave an earnest of their intention to comply with the exactions of lieut. Gamble, by bringing down to the encampment twenty-seven swine, and a quantity of cocoa-nuts. They were extremely alarmed, however, at the detention of the hostages, and lieut. Gamble, in order to reap the full benefit of the crisis, despatched one of the chiefs on shore, with a flag of truce, to inform them of the close confinement of his fellow-prisoners, and of lieut. Gamble's unalterable determination to shoot them all, unless the stipulations of the treaty were fulfilled before sunset. This seasonable measure had its full effect. As the day was closing, lieut. Gamble went on shore, and found eighty swine, with five hundred cocoa-nuts, brought down for him by the natives, but not one of the thieves. These, upon inquiry, were found to have abandoned their dwellings, and secreted themselves among the *Happahs*. The next day he brought the hostages upon deck, and sent for Wilson, the interpreter, (who had just returned in an open boat, from *Rooahhoogah*, after an absence of five days,) to inform them, that if they would engage to be vigilant, and use their utmost efforts to apprehend the thieves as soon as they returned from among the *Happahs*, he would immediately release them. To this they very readily assented, and were accordingly released. The chiefs had no sooner gained the shore, than they immediately attacked the swine thieves, and ran one of them through the body with a spear; and the survivors, again taking to their heels, sought their usual refuge with the *Happah* tribe.

Having understood, a few days before, from an authentic source, that *Tamaha* resided clandestinely, among the *Typees*, lieut. Gamble was induced, this day, to despatch a messenger for him, and to have him brought down to the ships. The following morning the messenger returned with *Tamaha*, who, from motives of policy, was sent on board the *New Zealander*, and in her he sailed again for the United States, the next day, at 12 A. M. This ship proceeded without interruption, to within a day's sail of New-York, when she was unfortunately retaken by a British cruiser, many of whom were at that time hovering

upon the coast. What became of *Tamaha*, subsequently to this event, is not known, except that he was claimed as a subject of Britain, and compelled to serve under her flag.

Lieut. Gamble now employed his men in filling the ground tier of the ships with salt water; and, to ensure greater safety in the night, divided them into four watches.

One watch was permitted to go ashore every night, at 4 A. M. under an express proviso to return on board in the morning, or at any time of the night, when he fired a musket as a signal of alarm. The *New Zealander* having departed, and his effective force being thereby greatly reduced, he thought proper to admonish them against the smallest inattention to the duties assigned them; and above all, not to sleep during the watch. But notwithstanding these salutary admonitions, so dull, or so inconsiderate, were some of them, that two were caught asleep in the first watch of the very same night, and, of consequence, subjected themselves to chastisement, as well as to a stoppage of their grog.

The rain commenced again on the 31st. The day preceding, lieut. Gamble visited Lewis's Bay, with a view of procuring bananas; which he effected, without any difficulty. The natives, though evidently alarmed, received him with great kindness, and immediately made preparations to bake a hog for his repast; but, as the night was fast approaching, he declined the favour, and departed with the present of two hogs, a quantity of cocoa-nuts, several bunches of bananas, and a war-club from the old chief.

The natives of the adjacent valley, since the late incursion of the Americans, remained very quiet, and manifested the greatest friendship towards them. They had brought down to the encampment about five hundred cocoa-nuts, and otherwise gave unequivocal tokens of their good will and esteem. On the 2d of January, 1814, the rain came down in torrents, and for the first time since his arrival at the Marquesas, lieut. Gamble heard it thunder. Several of the garden seeds had already come forth, and bore a very fresh and flourishing appearance; but as the mice abounded greatly on the island, he was under considerable apprehensions that they would totally destroy them.

Having received information on the eighth, that the

natives of the valleys bordering on the Iec Bay, had gone to war with a tribe about thirty miles distant, at 10 A. M. he set out for the Bay, with two boats and twelve armed men, accompanied by *Gattanewa*, the aged chief. On landing, he was informed that the chief of the valley had hid himself among the rocks, and that the people generally were busily employed in removing their property to the interior. They had already taken the life of an innocent man, who came up to the village, ignorant of the commencement of hostilities; and therefore lieut. Gamble deemed it necessary to demand why they went to war. He reminded them of the promise they made me, to live in peace, and not to engage in war unless I directed them; endeavoured to convince them, that no advantages could be gained by warring among themselves; and recapitulated some of the evils they had already experienced in plundering, and shedding blood. To this it was answered, that the chiefs, and the people in general, were averse to the war; and, on farther inquiry, lieut. Gamble learnt, that about two hundred of the tribe who resided at the opposite extremity of the valley, and among whom the assassin just alluded to, had taken up his abode, were the sole cause of the disturbance. As the readiest way, therefore, of putting an end to the quarrel, he directed the chiefs to apprehend the assassin, and deliver him up within two days, upon pain of being attacked with his whole force. They replied, that they had already been in search of him that morning, with an intention of taking his life, but that, in consequence of his absconding, with all his abettors, over the hills, they had not met with success. They added, however, that by way of inflicting some injury upon the enemy, they had brought down all the swine and bananas they could find, and intended going up again in the morning for more. These spoils were immediately offered to lieut. Gamble; but as his chief object was to terminate, at once, all enmity between the contending parties, he desired them not to plunder any more, but to use all their efforts in apprehending and bringing down the assassin; to which they readily assented.

Some persons may perhaps be at a loss to conceive, why lieut. Gamble should take so deep an interest in the affairs of the natives, and especially, why he should subject

himself to the trouble and the danger of intermeddling with the disputes of tribes residing comparatively at a distance from him. But to such, unacquainted, as they must be, with the real nature of his situation, it will be enough to say, that he found by experience, that the smallest relaxation in the system of order, established by me for the tranquillity of the island, was attended with the worst consequences; and that therefore, to follow up the policy of that system, and to take a lively interest in all their concerns, were the best possible methods of consulting his own safety, as well as the harmony and advantage of the natives themselves. The intercourse I held with them was founded upon an unalterable determination to indulge them on all proper occasions—to conciliate their good wishes, as far as practicable—and to reconcile them to each other, as speedily as possible, whenever a dispute arose; and in pursuing the same course, lieut. Gamble had the satisfaction to find, that his intercourse with them was placed upon the best possible footing, at least for the present. On some occasions indeed, it became necessary to resort to force, in order to bring them to a sense of their duty; but these were chiefly when evil disposed persons excited their jealousy, or circulated malicious rumours concerning their neighbours or their friends. Having restored tranquillity among the tribes at the lee Bay, as far as circumstances would permit, and made a hearty dinner upon bread-fruit, roasted bananas, and a hog nicely baked by the natives, lieut. Gamble set out for the ships, with nineteen bunches of banana, twenty-one swine, thirty cocoa-nuts, and some bread-fruit, which the natives insisted on his receiving.

On the 10th, the carpenter was employed in repairing the boats, and all hands besides, in putting the vessels in order. Fresh bread was daily issued to the crews, and swine killed four times a week. No intelligence had been received concerning the remote natives of the leeward bay, except that they had slain a native, of the tribe at Lewis's Bay, recently visited by lieut. Gamble, in revenge for the assassination of him who came, ignorant of hostilities, up to the village of the latter, a few days before. The recent rains had caused every vegetable in the garden to put on the most flourishing appearance, and to promise an early return for the labour and attention bestowed upon their cultivation.

In breaking up the after hold of the Seringapatam, six swivels and four blunderbusses were found, and immediately landed, to be mounted at the fort. My readers will find, on referring to the viiith chapter of this Journal, that this ship, at the time of her capture, mounted several guns, and was strongly manned. She had already made prize of an American whale ship; but, on demanding her commission, her commander informed me, with the utmost terror in his countenance, that he had none. Now, however probable it may be, that the guns I saw on board her were obtained by the captain, without the knowledge of his owners, since his arrival in the Pacific Ocean, yet I leave them to judge, whether these swivels and blunderbusses were not concealed in the hold of the ship, previously to her departure from England, and that, too, with the knowledge of her owners, and the revenue officers, in order to commence a course of piratical depredation upon the supposed defenceless whale ships of the United States?

An instance of extraordinary superstition occurred on the 15th of January, in the person of *Gattanewa*, the aged chief, who had only returned from the valley of Lewis's Bay two days before. He stated to lieut. Gamble, that he was extremely ill, and much alarmed; the *Happah* tribe having, by some means or other, stolen a lock of his hair, and buried it in a plantain leaf, for the purpose of taking his life. Lieut. Gamble used every argument to undeceive him; and endeavoured to expose the ridiculous fallacy of the notion to which the old man had given way. But it was all in vain: die he must, unless the lock and the plantain leaf were brought to him; and to obtain them, he had offered the *Happahs* the greater part of his property. The *Happahs*, however, were inexorable, and bent upon his destruction; and the poor, deluded chief earnestly begged of lieut. Gamble, to advise him what to do. He complained of an excessive pain in the head, breast, and sides; and, taking these afflictions into consideration, lieut. Gamble suggested the propriety of using some medicine, and being bled. He expressed a wish to be bled immediately; but as twilight had already set in, lieut. Gamble deferred it until morning. The next day, at 8 A. M. *Gattanewa* despatched a messenger for lieut. Gamble, who, on arriving at his house, found at least three hundred men, women, and children, collected together, to

witness the operation. After taking about seven ounces of blood from him, he fainted, and the spectators immediately called out to know whether he had killed him. Lieut. Gamble directed the interpreter to assure them, that the loss of seven ounces of blood, would not deprive a man of life; and that in the course of two or three hours, the old chief would be greatly relieved. The next day, the pains had nearly ceased, but the disorder of his mind continued as obstinate as ever; and, in truth, there could be no great hope of his recovery from it, however much he himself might feel disposed to think so, while those around him incessantly inculcated the idea of its impossibility. On the 17th, lieut. Gamble visited him again, and was much surprised to find him better.

As he had no disposition to use the least rigour towards the natives beyond what necessity required, lieut. Gamble made known to the swine thieves, that he should exact no farther damages from them, provided they would build a house for him, within the breastwork, on the hill, and another near the water, for his boat. To these terms they acceded at once, and so industriously did they labour at the buildings, that before the close of the ensuing day, one of them was completed. The garden still continued to flourish, but the mice had entirely destroyed the beans.

An event now occurred of more serious importance to the welfare of the Americans than any which had yet taken place since the departure of the Essex. In order to keep the natives in total ignorance of the weakness of his force, as well as of the manner in which the duties of the ships were performed. Lieut. Gamble had given positive orders to the crews of the Sir Andrew Hammond and Seringapatam, not to suffer male or female to come alongside, or on-board, on any pretence whatever. Notwithstanding this unequivocal regulation, he had for some time suspected the crews of these ships of carrying bread secretly on shore, for the natives, and permitting females to come on board at night. He was not long left in doubt, for, on the morning of the 20th, one of the men who had watched on shore the preceding night, reported, that at the hour of five he saw a female swim from one of the ships, with a large bundle of bread. That no scruple might arise, in regard to the fact, a boat was sent to these ships the fol-

lowing night, at 10 o'clock, with orders to say, in case of being hailed, that they came to borrow an hour-glass. She had no sooner arrived alongside of the Seringapatam, than midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, who had concealed themselves in the stern-sheets, sprang on board; and finding the watch extremely alarmed, they rushed immediately into the cabin, where they saw three females in the act of jumping out of the windows, one with a large bundle of bread under her arm. Having secured them properly, the midshipmen next visited the Sir Andrew Hammond; and although no fair intruders were found on board, there was every reason to suspect that they had first landed from her; the boat having been discovered by the crew of this ship, as she was passing to the Seringapatam. This done, the boat returned to the Greenwich, and lieut. Gamble conceived it to be his duty not only to chastise the men, and stop their grog, but also to inflict a little punishment upon the female intruders. Let not my fair readers impute a want of gallantry, and perhaps of humanity, to lieut. Gamble, for having, on this occasion, inflicted a slight punishment upon three of the most abandoned females of the island. He is not that man. If they reflect for a moment, that he was placed with a set of lazy, thoughtless fellows, who would sooner risk a general massacre, than arouse from their stupid apathy, in the midst of forty thousand savages, all anxiously waiting for the first relaxation of vigilance, to take advantage of his weakness, they will see the propriety of preventing, by all possible means, the visits of those females, who could not but discern and report that weakness. To my mind it appears perfectly clear, that, had it not been for these clandestine visits, the sad disaster which afterwards happened, would not have taken place. But to prevent, as far as practicable, the occurrence of a similar scene, midshipmen Feltus and Clapp were directed to send on board the Greenwich, from the two other ships, all the harpoons, lances, and pieces of iron; and to take an accurate inventory of all the stores, provisions, and other articles on board.

For several days the rain had descended in frequent showers, attended with violent squalls of wind. The hands of the Greenwich were employed, on the 22d, in digging up ground for another garden; and those of the

two other ships in performing various duties on board. Out of the whole number, only eighteen were fit for duty; and as, at the frigate's departure, they had chosen to have their full allowance of liquor continued, in preference to a more economical consumption, they had this day the sad satisfaction of drinking the last can of grog. *Guttaneva*, the deluded chief, still continued extremely ill in imagination, and would not be persuaded that the *Happah* tribe had any other intention towards him, than that of taking his life. I may as well mention here, however, that it was not many days before he recovered, without any aid, either from the stolen lock, or plantain leaf.

A flag-staff having been erected, the day previous, in Madison's fort, on the 30th the American ensign was hoisted on it for the first time since my departure, under a salute of five guns. At the close of the day, some peas and beans were planted in the new garden, and an army of ants discovered in full attack upon the water-melon vines of the old.

The supply of swine and vegetables now became precarious, and neither could be obtained at *Nooaheevah* without fighting, or paying large whales' teeth for them. Being weak-handed, and without large whales' teeth, lieut. Gamble determined on paying a visit to the windward islands, and accordingly, all hands were employed, on the 2d of February, in preparing the *Sir Andrew Hammond* for sea. He was the more induced to take this step, as the natives of these islands were always willing to barter swine and vegetables for bits of old iron, of which he had an abundance. And in order to ensure the safety of the property left behind, against the pillage of the natives, it was deemed prudent to take with him a few of the chiefs, as hostages for the good conduct of their people, and all the traders, besides eight of his own men. In overhauling the rigging of the ship, it was found to be nearly all unfit for service; the British crew having cut it in pieces on the eve of their capture; in order, as they thought, to render her totally unmanageable. On the 7th, however, at an early hour in the morning, the ship was unmoored; and, having received on board seven of the principal men of the valley, she stood out of the Bay. On the 10th, at 9 A. M. lieut Gamble *hove to*, off the island of Dominica, and having sent a

boat on shore, was unable to procure more than six swine, a few bunches of banana, and about fifty cocoa-nuts. The natives, however, promised to furnish him with a hundred swine, provided he would come to an anchor in the Bay, and aid them in a war against their enemies. To these terms lieut. Gamble could not, for obvious reasons, assent; and he therefore stood on to a small Bay, a short distance ahead; at which he procured three swine, two pumpkins, and a bushel of sweet potatoes. He next came to an anchor at Resolution Bay, and permitted the natives to visit the ship. The prospect for trade at first appeared unfavourable, as the chiefs and men of property had all gone across to the island of Dominica, for the purpose of warring against the natives, who had violated one of the *taboo* laws against fishing in a certain cove. Indeed, with a single exception, the natives of every place at which the Sir Andrew Hammond touched, were all found to be at war with their neighbours, and equally desirous of obtaining the co-operation of lieut. Gamble and his men. But though circumstances were very inauspicious to a peaceable trader, before leaving the Bay, lieut. Gamble purchased upwards of thirty swine, six dozen fowls, some cloths of their own manufacture, a quantity of bread-fruit, and many other articles of value. The ship was now put before the wind, for the island of *Roahooogah*, but as on nearing it the wind became adverse, and quite fresh, it was deemed most prudent to bear away for *Noaaheevah*, which, on the 16th, after an absence of nine days, lieut. Gamble had the pleasure to reach in safety, and to find all things in proper order. During this period, the proceeds of his traffic amounted, in the aggregate, to forty swine, six dozen fowls, a quantity of fine bread-fruit, two bushels of sweet potatoes, and many other articles of essential use. The natives of the neighbouring islands appeared to have an intimate knowledge of what was going on at *Noaaheevah*, as they all anxiously inquired when the ships were to leave the Bay, and when *Opotee* was expected to return.

The first dish of lettuce was served up on the 19th; and the general appearance of the garden bid fair to produce a profusion of melons and cucumbers, in the course of two or three weeks. No event of importance occurred until the 28th, when, as lieut. Gamble was walking aft on the quar-

ter deck of the Greenwich, about four in the morning, he saw a man apparently bathing in the surf; but soon after, hearing him call out for help, he was convinced that the poor fellow was struggling for life. A boat was immediately ordered to pull towards him with all possible expedition; but alas! John Witter, a marine, had already disappeared. The loss even of some one of the worthless scoundrels with whom lieut. Gamble was surrounded, would, at this time, have proved severe; but in parting with this faithful German, he felt that one of his main supports had fallen from him. On the 6th of March, Isaac Coffin left the encampment without permission, under pretence of washing his clothes at a brook, distant about half a mile. As he did not return on the firing of the usual gun at sunset, lieut. Gamble strongly suspected him to have deserted; and therefore at 9 P. M. taking eight of his best men, armed with muskets, cutlasses, and pistols, he went in search of him. In marching through the valley, but few of the natives were found awake; and these, after being informed of the object of his visit, were cautioned to remain quiet. Having proceeded about two miles within the land, a girl, who accompanied the party in the character of guide, pointed to a house not far off, in which, she said, the deserter would be found. There being no other way for him to escape, except through a small door, lieut. Gamble placed his men in front of the house, and then went in himself. He found the fellow dozing in the midst of a group of natives; and, after ordering him a severe flogging, set out with him for the ships, without being molested by any one. The natives appeared to be greatly alarmed when lieut. Gamble reproached them for having knowingly harboured one of his men; and, on being threatened with punishment, gave evident signs of their conviction, that such conduct towards him was illiberal and unjust.

During the night of the 8th, the rain, as usual, fell, at intervals, in showers, accompanied by heavy claps of thunder, and sharp flashes of lightning. On the 10th, the sentinel on shore gave the alarm of *a sail in sight!* and all hands were immediately called to prepare for defence. The stranger, however, proved to be no other than a large war canoe, standing into the Bay, from *Rooahogah*, carrying a lateen sail, at least twenty-five feet high, and crowded

with natives.—The garden still continued in a flourishing state. Several dishes of lettuce had already been served up; and, on the 14th, lieut. Gamble and his companions enjoyed the rare luxury of a mess of turnips and cucumbers.

But the frowns of fortune again soon appeared. The watchman on board the Greenwich, in the night of the 18th, at 2 o'clock, called out, that the boat was missing from alongside. The alarm was immediately given, and on examination, lieut. Gamble discovered that John Robinson, who had recently suffered punishment for theft, Isaac Coffin, the deserter, Peter C. Swook, and John Welch, had made their escape. It could scarcely be credited at first, that men, even of the lowest order in society, surrounded by savages, and without the possibility of reaching a civilized part of the world, in an open boat, could seriously think of deserting. But on a nearer investigation of the matter, such was found to be actually the case. They had taken with them from the Greenwich, three muskets, and nearly all the cartridges; from the Seringapatam, five muskets, five barrels of powder, all the carpenter's tools, two cords of boat boards, an English ensign, a compass, all the clothes of Joseph Curtis, two shirts of midshipman Feltus, a hat belonging to one of the seamen, some provisions—and many other articles, of minor value. Lieut. Gamble instantly ordered the only one of the remaining boats to be manned, in which he could possibly hope to overtake them, but the villains had taken the precaution to scuttle her, and she was therefore of no use. Not having a sufficient number of hands to man two boats; ignorant of the course they had taken; and not knowing in whom to place confidence—he determined, for the present, to relinquish the pursuit. The next morning, while at breakfast, the men on deck cried out, that the natives were coming down, in a large body, to attack them. Lieut. Gamble immediately ran up, and perceived a great multitude of the islanders within a short distance of the encampment. In these circumstances, not a moment was to be lost. The guns were cast loose, and loaded with grape-shot, and the men on shore directed to repair on board the Greenwich, with their muskets; but before they left the beach, lieut. Gamble discovered that the natives were merely bringing down vegetables, and were wholly unarmed. Being unable,

however, to account for so large a concourse, apparently on so trivial an occasion, he directed the matches to be kept lighted, and the men to remain at their quarters, whilst he went on shore to inquire the cause. On landing, he was met by one of the chiefs, who stated, that they had brought down a quantity of bread-fruit, and several bunches of banana, which they intended as a present for him. Lieut. Gamble accepted of the present, but still could not account for so singular an instance of generosity. Since the departure of the *Essex*, not more than fifty of the natives had visited the encampment at any one time; but, on the present occasion, they amounted, in number, to at least two or three hundred. Perhaps they were impressed with the idea, that the ships were shortly to leave the Island, and therefore brought down the bread-fruit and bananas as a last offering of their friendship and good will. This appears the more probable, as lieut. Gamble learnt on the 24th, that some malicious person (whom he strongly suspected to be Wilson, the interpreter,) had reported among the natives, that *Opotee* would not return; and that the Americans intended to depart, in a few days, with two of the vessels then at anchor in the Bay.

The women of *Nooaheevah* possess a considerable degree of cunning; and though among us, the following instance would not be deemed of any consequence, yet, in a rude, uncultivated islander, it may well pass for an ingenious trick. Lieut. Gamble noticed, for several days, that none of the natives ventured out in their canoes to catch fish; and upon inquiry, he learnt, that an old woman had reported, in their hearing, that he intended to carry them on board one of the ships, and to confine them in irons, as soon as he caught them out. It seems, she took this effectual method to punish them for refusing her a regular supply of fish, which she had recently demanded of them.

In the evening of the 26th, the *Seringapatam* parted her lower cable; and nothing but the fasts between her and the *Sir Andrew Hammond* prevented her from running on shore. The following night, at 5 o'clock, she again parted the same cable, and drifted in 15 feet water, (she drawing full 14,) and before the hands had every thing properly secured, the *Sir Andrew Hammond* floated within ten feet of the rocks, and was in the utmost danger. By indefati-

gable exertions, however, they were both drawn into deeper water, and soon secured, in the best manner that circumstances would permit. The garden had now, for some time, yielded them regularly a mess of cucumbers three times a week; and on the 4th of April, they had the pleasure to gather from it several fine musk-melons. The violence of the rain, during the early part of the 5th, far exceeded every thing lieut. Gamble had ever witnessed; and on the following morning, torrents were seen in every direction, rushing down the hills in beautiful cascades. Such was the extent of the sudden inundation, that the men on shore were under the necessity of abandoning their dwellings, and seek shelter in a lumber house, upon a more elevated spot. Lieut. Gamble found the water at least two feet deep in all the other buildings, and alongside the Greenwich it had become sufficiently fresh to slake his thirst.

The hands were now employed in removing every article from the shore on board the ships; and lieut. Gamble, beginning to despair of my return, deemed it most prudent to put the vessels in a condition to meet the worst. Accordingly, several boatloads of provisions and other articles were sent on board the Sir Andrew Hammond and Seringapatam, and stowed so as to bring them down by the stern. On the 14th, the men commenced rigging the ships, and otherwise preparing them for sea. The Sir Andrew Hammond was armed with fourteen carronades; and the Seringapatam with ten long nine pounders, four twelve pound carronades, and four long six pounders. Being considerably straitened in the article of linseed oil, lieut. Gamble, after several unsuccessful experiments, had the good fortune to find an excellent substitute in the juice of a nut, called by the natives *Haamah*. In mixing this with paint, it proved to answer equally as well as the linseed oil; and though the nuts were at first reported to be very scarce, yet seven men, in the course of a day, gathered twelve baskets, at a place distant about six miles from the Bay.

The natives of the adjacent valley had, for the last six weeks, been employed in making preparations to celebrate a great feast, called by them the *Coeecah*; which commenced on the morning of the 28th. From all parts of the

island, they assembled at the grand public square allotted for that purpose; and, after feasting and dancing three days, they returned peaceably to their homes. On this occasion, at least three hundred swine were baked, and all the fish which had been taken during the period above-mentioned, were cooked for preservation, without having the entrails taken out. Several of the men requested permission to go ashore for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity at the *Coecah*, and lieut. Gamble, having understood that it was expressly forbidden by one of their *Taboo* laws, to injure any person during the feast, complied with their request.

The ships having parted their cables so often, two or three of the anchors were lost. For some time the men had endeavoured to recover them with grapnels, but in vain; and on the 2d of May, one of the natives was engaged to try his luck in diving. He made choice of an anchor lying in six and a half fathoms of water, on some part of which, the noose of a whale line had been previously hooked; and dove down to fasten a rope around the fluke. This service he performed with apparent ease; and the men were enabled to raise the anchor, without any farther difficulty. He received a harpoon and whale's tooth, as a reward for his trouble, and was so highly gratified, that he desired to know when he might come down to dive again.

But the dreadful catastrophe now drew near; and my readers will confess, that, had it not been for the uncommon firmness and resolution, displayed by lieut. Gamble and his companions, they could not have survived the struggle. As this terminated his sojourning on the island, I shall take the opportunity to remark, that the temperature of the atmosphere, almost without any variation, stood at 83° of Fahrenheit, and never exceeded 85°.

On the 3d of May, lieut. Gamble discovered that the boat-sail had been stolen by some person on board the *Greenwich*; and, from all accounts, it appeared, that suspicion could be fixed upon no one, with so much probability, as upon Belcher, the boatswain's mate. The following day he was informed by one of the seamen, that most of the men were forming a scheme, either to mutiny, or make their escape in one of the ships; and that Belcher,

and four of the prisoners of war, were the chief instigators of the plan.

For the present, he determined to pay no farther attention to the subject, than the strictest prudence required; and, at the same time, by way of guarding against the worst, to remove all the arms from shore, and all the muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and ammunition from the Seringapatam, on board his own ship. On the 6th, matters wore a more alarming aspect; and the sudden change in the countenances of the men, plainly indicated, that an awful explosion was soon to take place. The situation of lieutenant Gamble became extremely critical and dangerous. He was at most, enabled to man only one vessel, after mustering every effective hand; and on leaving the Bay, he foresaw the necessity of destroying two of the ships. Seeing the expediency, however, of meeting the shock with boldness and resolution, he continued to prepare for an attack; and although every stratagem was used to gain an insight into the intentions of his men, no one fact could be ascertained with sufficient precision to authorize the confinement of either of the suspected persons. He considered Belcher, the only petty officer under his command, a consummate villain; and had not the smallest doubt, but that, if he attempted to confine one half of the men, the residue would either make an attack upon him, or escape in a ship. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that he became extremely impatient to leave the place.

The 7th commenced with clear weather, and a light breeze from the land. Part of the men were employed in carrying two large oil tanks, and a quantity of rigging, from the Greenwich to the Seringapatam; the cooper and carpenter in caulking her deck; midshipman Clapp in painting her larboard side; two of the marines on shore, in extracting oil from the *Haamah* nuts; and another on board the Greenwich, in repairing the muskets. At 2 P. M. lieutenant Gamble went on board the Seringapatam, for the purpose of stowing the tanks to the best advantage; and having ordered one of the men to get into the larboard tank to receive the articles which were to be deposited in it, he went upon deck. In passing the main hatch, a few moments after, he observed them throwing the articles very carelessly into the tank; and again ordered the same fellow

into it, as before. Upon this, the villain called out, in a loud voice, that he would not obey the order, nor do any more work on board the ship. Scarcely had the words escaped his lips, when all the men on deck threw down their hats, and made the same declaration. One of them then drew a large knife from his bosom, and desired his accomplices to lay hold of lieut. Gamble; whereupon the latter made an effort to get into a boat, then alongside the ship; but before he had reached the gunwale, he was seized with great violence, by six or seven of the mutineers, and, after a short struggle, thrown back upon the deck. His hands were immediately tied behind him, and his legs crossed, and bound so tight as to cause him great pain. This done, he was thrown down upon the birth-deck—from thence dragged into the cabin—and forthwith thrust into the *run*, by three men, in the roughest manner.* He was soon joined by his unfortunate companions, midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, who were thrust down in the same harsh manner. The scuttle was then nailed down, and a sentinel placed to guard it. While in the act of tying him upon deck, lieut. Gamble inquired what they meant by treating him in this manner; and he was answered by Martin Stanley, who raised a maul over his head, that if he spoke another word, he would beat his brains out. Not intimidated, however, by this ferocious threat, lieut. Gamble repeated the question; and in particular, demanded the reason of their mutinous conduct. In reply, it was stated, that they had been detained as prisoners long enough, 'in the damned place,' and were now determined to regain their liberty. As soon as the three officers were properly secured in the *run*, as before stated, the mutineers gave three cheers, and hoisted the English flag. They next proceeded in two parties, the one on shore, to spike the guns in the fort, and bring off all the powder, and the other to the ships Greenwich and Sir Andrew Hammond, to spike their guns also, and to plunder them of small arms, and other valuable articles. Having accomplished these objects, they sent for Robert White, who was expelled by me from the Essex, for attempting to excite mutiny in her

* Some of my readers may perhaps require to be told, that the *run* is that part of a ship directly under the cabin floor, without a window, or the smallest aperture to admit the light.

crew ; and having received him on board, they bent some of the sails, unmoored the ship, and with a light breeze stood out of the Bay. Lieut. Gamble and his companions found their confinement almost insupportable, on account of the close air of their prison. and having several times requested to be admitted into the cabin, the two latter were at length released. By the persuasions of midshipman Clapp, however, the former was also soon after brought into the cabin, and seated on a chest, near the skylight, with two men to guard him, armed with his own pistols, loaded and cocked. Lieut. Gamble again desired one of these men to inform him, who were of his party, and what were their names. He answered, that they amounted at least to twelve or fourteen in number; and that their names were,

Thomas Belcher, boatswain's mate.
 Robert George, seaman.
 Richard Power, do.
 James Duncan, cooper. (Prisoner of war.)
 William Stiles, do.
 Martin Stanley, ord. seaman.
 Joseph Curtis,
 James Morrison, (Prisoner of war.)
 Lewis Ronsford, do.
 James Bantum,
 Jeremiah Workman,
 Robert Lambries, (Prisoner of war.)
 William Clark, do.

Among all these, lieut. Gamble had the satisfaction to find, there was not a single American; and it is therefore with peculiar pleasure, that I here insert the names of those who took no part with the mutineers.

William Worth, seaman.
 Richard Sansbury, O. seaman.
 Joseph Burnham, do.
 Benjamin Bispham, marine.
 Peter Caddington, do.
 John Pittenger, do.
 Thomas Gibbs, cook.
 John Thomas, servant.

About 8 o'clock in the evening, after much difficulty, the ship got out of the Bay. Shortly after, Ronsford, one of the men who guarded lieut. Gamble, fired off one of the pistols, the ball passing nearly in a horizontal direction, just below the ankle of the latter, through his left heel: whether by accident or design, lieut. Gamble could not ascertain; but the act had no sooner been perpetrated, than several muskets were pointed at him, through the skylight, and nothing but the expostulations of the guard prevented their contents from being lodged in him. At 9, the maintopsail was backed, and the officers were informed that a boat was in readiness to receive them. Lieut. Gamble expostulated with them upon the wanton barbarity of turning him into an open boat, without arms and ammunition to defend himself against the natives; and, after a few moments' consultation, they agreed to furnish him with two muskets, and a keg of cartridges. Midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, William Worth, and Richard Sansbury, had already entered the boat, and in passing over the deck, lieut. Gamble found each man armed with a musket and a pair of pistols. Their situation in the boat did not tend much to lessen the misfortunes by which they were surrounded. They were at least three miles from the entrance of the Bay—the boat was half full of water—midshipman Clapp was employed incessantly in baling—and, although weakened by the loss of blood, and enduring great pain from his wound, lieut. Gamble was under the necessity of steering, while the remaining three exerted themselves at the oars. After toiling two hours, however, they had the good fortune to reach the Greenwich, and found on board her Ross and Burdenelle, two of the traders, who resided near the Bay. These men represented, that Wilson, the interpreter, was the chief instigator of all that had happened; that he had assured the natives, they had now nothing to fear from the Americans, as they were destitute of arms and ammunition. Having passed a restless night, lieut. Gamble and his party employed themselves, during the whole of the 8th, in removing the sails, and other articles of value, from the Greenwich to the Sir Andrew Hammond, and in making preparations to embark the remainder of the property on shore. The natives already began to plunder, and Worth had the misfortune to

be robbed, the night previous, of all his clothes, by Wilson, or some worthless fellow in his employ. To prevent the recurrence of similar depredations, and with an eye to greater security, the Sir Andrew Hammond was moored farther out in the Bay.

Early on the 9th. the midshipmen and hands went ashore for the purpose of launching a raft, which had been used to remove articles to and from the ships; and this having been effected, after some difficulty, with the assistance of the natives, they returned on board, at 8 o'clock, to breakfast. At the expiration of an hour, they again proceeded to the shore, and commenced loading the raft. Shortly after, Burdenelle, the trader, came down in haste, to inform the party, that Wilson was then at his house; and, without farther ceremony, Worth and Coddington, armed with the signal musket, ran up immediately to secure him. In the meantime, the midshipmen, with Burdenelle, visited the Sir Andrew Hammond, to report what had happened, and to request a boat to convey Wilson on board. To this lieut. Gamble assented with great reluctance, on account of the distrust he felt towards the natives, under present circumstances, and the fatal consequences which must ensue, in case his friends were attacked by a superior force. But, after the lapse of half an hour, the boat returned without Wilson, he having made his escape to a distant tribe. Midshipman Feltus and Burdenelle were now extremely anxious to ransack his house, for the purpose of recovering the property which the villain had stolen in their absence, and especially the powder he received from the mutineers. They had been assured by the natives, that Wilson should not receive the least assistance or protection from them; and for this reason, were the more desirous of undertaking the laudable, though somewhat hazardous, task. At half past eleven they set out, accompanied by four men, armed with three muskets only; and, although scarcely able to walk, on account of the acute pain of his wound, lieut. Gamble got upon deck, and earnestly cautioned them against having any intercourse with the natives, or running any risk of an attack. So many suspicious events had occurred since his return to the island, that it was impossible for him utterly to devest his mind of a fearful jealousy towards the natives; especially

when he reflected, that no longer than the night previous, they had robbed the traders of all their muskets, and otherwise evinced an uncommon degree of hostility. To add to the miseries of his situation, lieut. Gamble, now that he needed them most, had the mortification to find that the mutineers had stolen his trumpet and spy-glass, as well as several very valuable charts.

The anxieties of lieut. Gamble, in regard to the fate of his friends who had just gone ashore, proved, in the end, to be too well founded. Midshipman Clapp, who had remained upon deck since the departure of the boat, came into the cabin about half past twelve, and announced that the boat was then in the surf, surrounded by a number of the natives. Lieut. Gamble went immediately upon deck, and taking with him a keg of cartridges, a lighted match, and other necessary implements, proceeded, in a leaky boat, with midshipman Clapp, Sansbury, and Bispham, to the other ship; leaving only Pittenger, the cripple, behind.* They had not yet reached the Sir Andrew Hammond, when the natives were discovered in possession of the boat, and, a few moments after, running in all directions, with the property of the traders, as well as the swine and other effects, belonging to the encampment. On reaching the ship, several of her guns were immediately loaded, and fired at the enemy, within the encampment, and on the beach; but just as the second round was about to be discharged, two white men were seen throwing up their arms in token of distress; and immediately after, swimming, with all possible exertion, towards the ship. Seeing the urgency of the occasion, midshipman Clapp, with Sansbury and Bispham, instantly sprang into the boat, then half filled with water, and with their utmost efforts, rowed towards the unfortunate men.

Lieut. Gamble now remained alone on board the ship, enduring the severest pain from his wound, and labouring under a violent fever—while two boats, crowded with savages, were approaching him, and a great number besides, were endeavouring to launch a war canoe for the same purpose. Aware, however, that a few shots from the cannon could alone repel them, and prevent their massa-

* It is here necessary to mention, that the mutineers did not spike any of the guns of the Sir Andrew Hammond, except those which were loaded.

creing every *soul* in the boat, as well as himself, he made a last desperate effort, and hobbled upon one leg, from gun to gun, firing them off as fast as he could. And, notwithstanding the many difficulties under which he laboured, so happily did he direct the pieces, that the two hostile boats were forced back—the natives on shore were driven from their war canoe—and midshipman Clapp enabled to save the lives of the exhausted men, who were struggling amidst the waves.

The two men proved to be Worth and Coddington, the latter severely wounded in the head, by a stone thrown from the sling of a native. He swam at least half a mile, with the blood streaming from his ears and wound, and on gaining the ship, was scarcely able to ascend from the boat without assistance. They reported, what lieut. Gamble, with a heavy heart, had anticipated: that midshipmen Feltus, Burdenelle, Thomas Gibbs, and John Thomas, were massacred by the natives; and that Ross, the trader, who was engaged at his house, in preparing to leave the island, must inevitably have shared the same fate.

In reflecting upon this melancholy event, my readers cannot but form some idea of the poignant feelings under which I labour, in common with lieut. Gamble. To the latter, especially, the stroke came with redoubled severity; for he loved young Feltus with the tenderness of a brother, and ever felt a deep anxiety in his fate. In the sixteenth year of his age, and possessed of every accomplishment that could command respect and admiration, he was at the same time actuated by a noble ambition, which no untoward circumstances could repress. He bid fair to become an ornament to his profession, and an honour to his country. Those who knew him personally, admired his youthful gallantry; and placed, as he was, under the command of lieut. Gamble, by his own request, I cannot but lament, that so cruel a destiny should have awaited his intrepidity and spirit.

Being now reduced to the necessity of leaving the island, as speedily as possible, lieut. Gamble despatched a boat to the Greenwich, for Pittenger, and some articles, of which he then stood in need. Himself and midshipman Clapp were employed, during the interval, in firing upon the enemy, and Worth in bending the only sails that circum-

stances would permit—the spanker and jib. Some of the guns were occasionally directed at the fort, where a multitude of the enemy had collected together, with Wilson at their head, and were endeavouring to extract the spikes from the guns. At 4 P. M. the Greenwich was set on fire; and all things being in readiness, the cable of the Sir Andrew Hammond was cut, and with a fine breeze from the land, she stood out of the Bay. The night was dark, and the course of the ship was guided chiefly by the flames of the Greenwich.

In the morning, lieut. Gamble was under the disagreeable necessity of cutting away the anchor, which still hung in the water; the crew not having sufficient strength to raise it on the bow of the ship; and in attempting to hoist up the boat, it broke in two parts—so that he found himself obliged to put to sea in a leaky ship, without a boat or an anchor to help himself in distress. At 8 A. M. of the following day, they set the mizzen topsail, and employed themselves immediately, in bending the other sails. The only seaman on board was Worth, whose good management in working the ship out of the Bay, prevented her from being stranded on the rocks.

Having only six cartridges left, and without the means of conducting a voyage to the continent, lieut. Gamble, after mature deliberation, considered it best to steer the ship for the Sandwich Islands, at some one of which, he hoped to meet with relief. It was probable that he might there man his vessel in a more effectual manner, from some of the American ships who were in the habit of frequenting those Islands; or, at least, receive such assistance as would enable him to proceed in safety to Valparaiso. The state of his crew was as follows:

Himself—Severely wounded in the heel.

Midshipman Clapp—In good health.

Bispham, do.

Coddington—Wounded in the head.

Worth—A fractured leg.

Sansbury—Rheumatism.

Burnham—An old man, just cured of the scurvy.

Pittenger—A cripple.

So that, of the whole number on board, only two were actually fit for duty, and only one acquainted with the management of a ship. Nothing material occurred until they reached the island of *Owyhee*, which was on the 23d. The weather had continued pleasant, and no accident of any kind happened to retard their progress. On rounding the Southern extremity of the Island, a number of the natives came off in canoes, with some cocoa-nuts to trade. They informed lieut. Gamble, that *Tamahamaah*, the king, resided at *Taeigh* Bay; and fifteen of them, expressing a wish to remain on board the ship that night, he ordered them to sleep on the birth-deck, while the crew remained on the quarter deck, with pikes by their sides—the only weapon on board the ship. In coasting along the N. W. side of the Island, on the 24th, several canoes came off in the afternoon, with swine, poultry, fruit, and vegetables; and the ship being a great distance from the shore, lieut. Gamble permitted the natives to stay on board that night. In the morning, they left the ship, with the greater part of their swine, &c. not having seen any thing on board for which they would willingly exchange them. They now stood towards the northern part of the island, and, at sunset, three natives came off in a canoe, with a few water-melons; but, contrary to their custom, as soon as these were disposed of, they returned in great haste to the shore. At daylight, on the 28th, they hove to, off the northern point of the island; the weather being so cloudy and hazy, as to prevent their seeing the land. The ship, however, had not been long in this situation, before she was discovered to be in the midst of the surf and breakers, and apparently within pistol-shot of the shore. Lieut. Gamble immediately ordered her to be wore round, and in a few moments, had the good fortune to see her clear of the most imminent danger. They now passed between several of the Islands, and in the afternoon of the 31st, came to off *Whyateetee* Bay, on the S. W. side of the island of *Wahoo*. An American, by the name of Harbottle, came off in a canoe, and gave a very flattering account of the state of things on shore. He kindly undertook to pilot the ship into the Bay; and at lieut. Gamble's request, despatched the canoe ashore, with a note for Captain Nathaniel Winship, a native of America, describing the state of the vessel,

and earnestly requesting his assistance to bring her into the Bay.

By the advice of Captain Winship, lieut. Gamble displayed the American flag, in order to show the people on shore to what nation he belonged. Soon after, several canoes visited the ship; and in a short time he had a sufficient number of men on board to work her into the Bay. Captain Winship sent him an anchor, and some provisions for the crew, with an invitation to come and sup with him on shore; of which lieut. Gamble very gladly accepted. The next day, some of the natives were detected in stealing clothes from the men; and in consequence thereof, an order was given, that no canoes but those belonging to white men, or to the king, should visit the ship. Lieut. Gamble greatly regretted not finding at this Island, the captains William Davis and Jonathan Winship, with their ships, (according to previous intimation,) as from these he had calculated to receive such assistance as would enable him to proceed to the main. But they had gone upon a secret expedition; and from the accounts received on shore, he foresaw the necessity of returning, as early as possible, to *Owyhee*, in order to procure the outfits he then needed. *Tamahamaah* resided at *Owyhee*, and all naval stores were generally sold under his eye. As there was a prospect, however, of shipping a number of American seamen, who were wandering about *Whyateetee* Bay, he determined not to weigh anchor until he had made the attempt; and in the course of a few days, succeeded beyond expectation. While on shore, he was informed, by Captain Winship, that a ship had looked into the harbour on the 22d, and then stood off again under all sail. From the description given of her, as seen at a distance, lieut. Gamble did not doubt but that she was the *Seringapatam*, with which, my readers will recollect, the mutineers, at the Island of *Noaaheetah*, made their escape. Captain Winship treated lieut. Gamble with that frank liberality and kindness, which distinguish the Americans, in every part of the world; and entertained him constantly, at his house, with such comforts as the nature of his situation could afford. Nor were some of the natives less backward in bestowing their favours. The two chiefs, or head men of the Island, *Maha* and *Mytie*, visited the ship, accord-

ing to custom; and as soon as they returned on shore, expressed their satisfaction by sending off a quantity of fresh vegetables for the use of the crew.

At daylight on the 3d of June, a signal gun was fired from the ship, and a number of canoes immediately put off to tow her into the inner harbour, for the purpose of being anchored in a safer place. At eight o'clock, she was, with some difficulty, brought through the narrow channel of the Bay, and moored in perfect security, within a short distance of the shore. For this service, the natives received each a piece of new iron hoop, and left the ship, well satisfied with their reward. Besides Captain Winship, lieutenant Gamble here met with three Americans, Navarrow, Butler, and Marshall; who had recently been officers of American ships, and were now living unemployed on the Island. From Mr. Navarrow midshipman Clapp was so fortunate as to purchase a pair of pistols, and some clothes, of which he stood greatly in need. Mr. Marshall had been mate of the American ship Lark, Captain Holmes, from New-York, which, in the month of April, upset in a gale of wind, in the latitude of the Sandwich Islands. The crew remained upon the hull of the vessel two weeks, when she drifted among the rocks, on the island of *Mowee*. The natives no sooner discovered the wreck, than they ran down immediately to it, and plundered the officers and crew of every article they possessed.

At sunset on the 4th, the natives reported that they had seen a strange sail off Diamond hill; and lieutenant Gamble, being extremely desirous of leaving the island as soon as possible, set all hands to work the following morning, in repairing some serious defects in the ship. Two of the hands were sent on shore to patch up an old boat which Captain Winship had given him, being the best in his possession; and from *Haamah Mytie* he was fortunate enough to purchase a good canoe, for ten dollars; for *Haamah Mytie* would trade for nothing but cash. The crew were now of sufficient strength to manage the ship in the worst of weather, nine men having entered for an indefinite period, and received each an advance, not exceeding fifteen dollars, in new iron hoops. Taking all things into consideration, Captain Winship was quite comfortably situated at *Whya-tootee* Bay. He had already resided on the Island upwards

of two years, and had so far succeeded in introducing the arts of civilized life into this remote quarter of the globe, as to make a sufficient quantity of butter and cheese for his own use. A melon appeared every day of the year upon his table, and his garden produced all kinds of vegetables in abundance.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION OF LIEUT. GAMBLE'S ADVENTURES.

HAVING received a box of tea from a Spanish gentleman who had resided on the Island upwards of twenty years, together with several goats, swine, and vegetables, from different persons near the Bay, lieut. Gamble weighed anchor on the 11th of June, and left *Waohoo*, one of the richest of the Sandwich Islands. *Maha*, and about forty of his people, took passage in the ship, with five tons of *paie*, a food extracted from the *taro* root, and a quantity of dried fish, which they were taking to *Tamaahmaah*, the king. They had been prevented, for some time, by the roughness of the sea, from carrying this tribute in their canoes; and therefore very eagerly embraced the opportunity which the Sir Andrew Hammond afforded.

But the hour of misfortune again approached. At daylight on the 13th, a strange sail was discovered, close in with *Owyhee*, and directly ahead. Being now too near to effect a retreat, and having every reason to suppose her to be the American ship *Albatross*, daily expected at *Waohoo*, lieut. Gamble concluded to stand towards her. On nearing her, he was impressed with an idea that she might perhaps be the *Seringapatam*; and therefore, to make her recapture certain, he ordered the guns to be cast loose, and as many of them to be loaded as the powder and ball on board would permit. At half past 7, the stranger showed a signal at the foremast-head, but being destitute of spy-glasses and trumpets, lieut. Gamble was unable to distinguish it, or to ascertain, by hailing, what it meant. He was still, however, under the impression, that she was either an American ship from Canton, or one of the Northwestern traders; having understood, from some person on board, that these vessels had established for themselves a set of signals, and were in the habit of displaying them on meeting with a ship. His doubts were soon cleared up. At 8 it fell perfectly calm, and the stranger, having hoisted American colours, lieut. Gamble was now convinced, that

she was a ship of war, and an enemy. Shortly after he received a shot, and was immediately taken possession of by the British national ship *Cherub*, Captain Tucker, one of the captors of the *Essex*. Lieut. Gamble was ordered to repair, forthwith, on board the *Cherub*, and, apprehensive of being pilfered in his absence, he requested midshipman Clapp to take care of his things: but the latter having also been brought on board in the second boat, they had the mortification to find themselves robbed of a number of valuable articles, including a sextant, two tea-spoons, several books, and the pistols, which midshipman Clapp had recently purchased.

On reaching the *Cherub*, lieut. Gamble was politely received by Captain Tucker, and introduced to the gentlemen of the wardroom; while midshipman Clapp was made acquainted with his future companions in the steerage. Captain Tucker requested his surgeon to dress the wound in lieut. Gamble's heel, with which he very cheerfully complied. But no stroke of adversity came with so much pain to the feelings of lieut. Gamble, as the capture of the *Essex*, with which he was now, for the first time, made acquainted. He had already suffered under a series of afflictions which but few men besides could have endured, and now, to hear of the loss of that ship, seemed to fill up the cup of his misery. It was some alleviation of his feelings, however, to hear even Captain Tucker confess, that he never saw a ship make so desperate a resistance; and that "he had expected to see her colours lowered an hour before 'FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS' came down."

In the afternoon of the 15th, the *Cherub* and her prize came to an anchor in *Ranheina* Bay, at the island of *Mowee*, for the purpose of procuring wood and water. In the mean time, lieut. Gamble was surprised to hear, that his men ~~had been robbed of the greater part of their clothing, and~~ that several of their chests had been forcibly broken open. He made a representation of this ungenerous conduct to Captain Tucker, but without effect. The unfortunate natives too, who had taken passage in the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, (with the exception of *Maha*, and four or five others,) were compelled to jump overboard; and must certainly have perished, had they not been picked up by some of the fishermen; as the ships were at that time at least six

miles from the land. I must here apprise my readers, that the swine and vegetables purchased by lieut. Gamble at *Waoohoo*, previous to his capture, were paid for in new iron hoops; and that as these hoops were weighed out to *Tamaahmaah's* agent, on that island, he requested lieut. Gamble to take them with him to *Tamaahmaah*, as the swine and vegetables all belonged to him. Accordingly, when the ships arrived at *Mowee*, which was in the vicinity of *Tamaahmaah's* residence, lieut. Gamble explained these facts to Captain Tucker, and was very desirous of having the hoops immediately landed. But Captain Tucker refused his assent to so just a proposition, averring that every thing in the *Sir Andrew Hammond* must go home, as prize of war; and it followed of course, that not only was *Tamaahmaah* wrongfully deprived of these iron hoops, but the poor natives who had taken passage in her, were deprived of their five tons of *paie* and dried fish. What were the motives of Captain Tucker for this conduct, it is hard to determine. Perhaps, however, he was desirous of injuring the credit of the Americans with the natives of the Sandwich Islands. If this was his object, he might have spared himself the trouble. *Tamaahmaah* knows too well who are his real friends, and who are not, to be the dupe of such an artifice.

The ships now made the best of their way for the island of *Atooi*, a fellow by the name of Betty (who had resided at the Islands 16 years, and collected considerable property by supplying American ships,) having informed Captain Tucker, that the American ship *Charon*, *Whittemore*, was then at that Island. At daylight on the 18th, in sight of the Island, a sail was discovered on the weather beam, and at 9 o'clock, the *Cherub* came up with, and captured her. She proved to be the *Charon*, but without a cargo, and her captain just then happened, luckily, to be on shore. Her crew were immediately removed to the *Cherub*, and a prize-master and men sent on board. Early on the 19th, another sail was discovered, with her fore and mizzen-top-gallant-masts struck, and the *Cherub* immediately gave chase. At 9, she displayed Portuguese colours, and the *Cherub*, having hoisted the American ensign and pendant, fired a shot and brought her to. A boat was then despatched for her commander, and having returned with

Mr. Thomas, an American gentleman, who exhibited the ship's papers, she was, after a short detention, permitted to proceed. The Cherub, in company with the Charon and Sir Andrew Hammond, soon after, hove to off *Whymea* Bay, at the island of *Otooi*, and Captain Whittemore having, for some cause or other, come off to the Charon, the evening before, he was brought on board the Cherub, and, to the surprise of lieut. Gamble, introduced into the steerage of the ship. There being property near this Bay, to the amount of eighty thousand pounds, belonging to the Captains Whittemore and Jonathan Winship, the latter then being on the Island, Captain Tucker, for four days, employed every stratagem to gain possession of it, without effect. He at first began to wheedle the proprietor or king of the Island; using all his efforts to entice him on board the Cherub; but the king declared his determination to protect the property at the risk of his life, and would by no means condescend to pay Captain Tucker a visit. He, at the same time, despatched several messengers in succession, to inform him, that he would supply the ships with whatever swine and vegetables they might want, provided they came to an anchor; but not otherwise. Not disheartened, however, by this resolute behaviour of the king, Captain Tucker next adopted a more imposing scheme. His first lieutenant, Mr. Whitewood, being looked upon as a very artful and plausible man, was sent on shore in the evening, to see Captain Winship, and to pay his respects to the king. Of his conference with the latter, little is known, except that he persisted, as usual, in his determination not to visit the ship, and to protect, to the uttermost, the neutral property under his care. Captain Winship received him with the politeness of a gentleman, and soon convinced him of the folly of his errand. Not willing, however, to dismiss the baffled emissary, without some compensation for his trouble, Captain Winship presented him with six bottles of Madeira wine; together with several other articles for the use of the ship, and then bade him a hearty adieu. Soon after his return on board the Cherub, Captain Whittemore was very properly removed from the steerage into the ward-room, and introduced to the gentlemen who occupied that part of the ship.

On the 22d, Captain Tucker despatched the Charon

and Sir Andrew Hammond for Rio de Janeiro, by the way of Valparaiso ; and deeming it necessary to send midshipman Clapp in the former, for the purpose of condemning her in the vice-admiralty court, lieut. Gamble was in consequence, to his extreme regret, separated from that valuable friend. The *Cherub* now bore away for the island of *Waohoo*, but, owing to light winds, and a strong current setting to leeward, she did not reach it until the 28th. It appeared, at first, to be the intention of Captain Tucker to look into *Whyateetee* Bay, and to try his fortune with the proprietor or king. But that king was *Maha*, whom Captain Tucker had so shamefully treated on board the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, at the time of her capture ; and there was also another Winship near him, to consult and advise with. Captain Tucker was likewise well aware that he had exasperated the king of *Otooi*, as well as *Maha*, and the survivors of his forty companions, by depriving them of their *paie*, dried fish, and iron hoops ; and that it was more than probable, some of these had returned to *Waohoo*, and stirred up a just resentment against him. Under these circumstances, therefore, he considered it prudent not to touch at *Waohoo*, and stood directly for *Owyhee*.

My readers may well imagine, that the situation of lieut. Gamble on board the *Cherub*, was not one of the most agreeable. Unable to take exercise on account of the severity of his wound ; shut up among strangers, on board a ship of war, in a warm climate ; at an almost hopeless distance from his native country, and with no prospect of reaching it within a reasonable period : it is no wonder that he regretted even his separation from the island of *Nooaheevah*, and sighed heartily for *Gattanewa* and his tribe. For the rest, his fellow-prisoners who fared with the crew, complained frequently of the want of food ; and although they had all, except Pittenger, regained their health, yet this poor fellow still laboured under the torments of a morbid leg, and often endured the most excruciating pain.

Nothing worthy of note occurred until the 4th of July, except the mustering of the ship's company and prisoners of war, on the Sunday preceding, and the reading of the morning service by Captain Tucker. This being the anniversary of the declaration of our Independence, the gen-

tle men of the ward-room, with a liberality of feeling which does them great credit, ordered a suitable dinner, with an extra bottle of wine; and Captain Whittemore and lieut. Gamble had the happiness to commemorate that glorious event, notwithstanding their confinement as prisoners of war, on board an enemy's ship.

Having reached *Owyhee* on the 6th, Captain Tucker sent a messenger on shore, with an invitation to the king to come on board and dine with him. At three o'clock P. M. His Majesty appeared, attended by his prime minister, Mr. Pitt, (!!!) and a numerous retinue. Lieut. Gamble was honoured with a seat at the table, near these great personages, and was not a little amused to see them indulge so freely in the wine and other luxuries of the dessert. The next day, lieut. Gamble, by request, accompanied Captain Tucker on shore, and visited the king's house. Here they met with an Englishman by the name of Jennings, who had commanded the brig *Forrester*, bound from England to the N. W. coast of America; but the said Jennings having shot one of his crew for attempting to excite a mutiny, was very safely set on shore at *Owyhee*, by the survivors. Shortly after, a man, calling himself John Young, entered the royal mansion; and not aware that lieut. Gamble was an American, he gave Captain Tucker a very particular account of the ships of the United States, then in those seas. He stated, that the *Albatross*, Captain Smith, was daily expected from Canton, with twenty thousand dollars in specie, and a quantity of dry goods; and the *O'Cain*, Captain Winship, from the Russian settlements on the N. W. Coast. He described minutely the state of affairs on the islands of *Wahoo*, *Otooi*, and *Owyhee*, and appeared extremely anxious to place the property of the Americans in the hands of their enemy. This ungrateful man had resided more than twenty-five years on *Owyhee*, and during that period had received from the American traders, exclusively, upwards of ten thousand dollars in cash, for supplies. After going through with his narrative, lieut. Gamble thought proper to announce his real character; when the astonished ingrate, with shame upon his countenance, sneaked silyly out of the way. Nothing farther transpired at the king's residence; and at 4 P. M. they returned on board the ship. The day following, the king, attended by Young, and four of his wives, (weighing each —

400 pounds!) dined on board with Captain Tucker; and having taken leave of the ship towards evening, he got under sail for the island of *Mowee*, to procure a fresh supply of wood and water. The weather continued clear and pleasant, and at times sultry; the thermometer vibrating generally between 81° and 83° of Fahrenheit.

At 5 P. M. of the 10th, the *Cherub* was moored, head and stern, in *Ranheina* Bay, at the island of *Mowee*, and the hands immediately commenced bringing on board wood, water, vegetables, and swine. On the morrow, lieutenant Gamble went on shore with the purser, but the weather was so excessively warm, and the walking so unpleasant, on account of the red dust with which the ground was covered, that they returned again on board, after a short stay. The next day, the ship was unmoored, and with a light breeze, stood to the N. W. for the island of *Waohoo*. At half past one she came to, off *Whyateete* Bay, and waited for a canoe to come alongside. Shortly after, William Davis, one of the traders, approached, and kindly offered to pilot the ship into the Bay; but Captain Tucker, for obvious reasons, did not consider it prudent to avail himself of the offer, choosing rather to remain where he was. Davis stated, that Captain Winship had for some days past, been extremely ill with a *calculus*, to which he had long been subject, and stood in great need of medical aid. Captain Tucker, with great liberality, assured lieutenant Gamble and Captain Whittemore, that if Captain Winship would come off to the ship, he should receive such assistance as it was in his power to afford him, and requested them to forward a note to Captain Winship to that effect; adding that the latter should be at liberty to return on shore, whenever he thought proper. This proposition was very readily acceded to, and the sufferer in a short time appeared on board, scarcely able to stand. He received instructions from the surgeon of the *Cherub*, in regard to the treatment of his disorder, and then returned on shore with Davis, in good spirits, although apparently enduring great pain. The *Cherub* now made sail, and stood for the island of *Otooi*, being disguised with a false poop, and other stratagems, in order to decoy the king, or Captain Winship, of the *O'Cain*, on board; Captain Tucker having learnt, that the latter was, with his ship, at this island, by the last accounts received from it. Accordingly, on the 15th, at meridian, he

hove to, off *Whymea* Bay, and displayed the American flag: but no person appearing to take notice of it, he bore away for the island of *Oneehow*. In the morning, at 11 A. M. the ship was brought to, off the S. W. point of the island, and soon after, a canoe, with seven of the natives, came alongside. They informed him, that the O'Cain and the *Mercurio* (the Portuguese ship, of which mention is made a few pages back) had left the island for the main, two days since; and Captain Tucker, despairing of any farther success among the Sandwich Islands, now bent his course apparently for the Marquesas.

And here I cannot avoid recording a specimen of the Captain's manners, at a time when, of all others, he should have set a better example to those around him; considering the station he filled. A few days before leaving the Sandwich Islands, he sent for Mr. Lathrop, the late chief mate of Captain Whittemore's ship, and put several questions to him, with a view of ascertaining the state of Captain Whittemore's property at *Otoo*, and the best means of gaining possession of it. To these questions, Mr. Lathrop, very justly and very honestly, did not conceive it his duty to give answer; and Captain Tucker, instead of doing justice to the motives of this upright man, turned him out of the cabin, in the most ignominious manner, and with language unbecoming his station and character.

On the 21st, six days after leaving the Islands, being in lat. $12^{\circ}.42'$ N. and $155^{\circ}.53'$ W. longitude, Captain Whittemore, Mr. Whitewood, the first lieutenant, and the sailing-master, went upon deck, for the purpose of taking an observation; but Captain Tucker would not lend them a sextant, and of course they were disappointed. What were his reasons for this strange conduct, I cannot pretend to determine.

During the passage to Valparaiso, which was subsequently found to be the destination of the ship, no events of any particular interest occurred. This passage was performed by the *Cherub* in the unexampled space of ten weeks; whereas the dullest merchant vessels commonly perform it in six. In fact, from the favourable state of the weather, it was the general opinion on board, that they ought to have gained sight of the continent in eighteen days after leaving the Sandwich Islands. From this cir-

circumstance, it will very naturally be inferred, that Captain Tucker does not possess that practical knowledge of seamanship, to which officers of his grade have usually attained.

On the 13th, an order was issued, that the fire in the galley should thenceforth be extinguished daily, at 2 P. M. in consequence of which, lieut. Gamble was deprived of a cup of tea in the afternoon; one of the best comforts his delicate health required. These, and other regulations of a similar nature, as will be seen anon, were not lost upon the fertile genius of *Jack*; and Captain Tucker had soon the satisfaction of being generally known throughout the ship, by the whimsical title of '*Mr. Garrick*.'

At 6 A. M. on the 16th, land was descried from the mast-head, and being then in lat. 14°. 58'. south, and long. 147°. 48'. west, it could have been no other than Prince of Wales' Island—at least, this was the general opinion on board. Having lost sight of it on the weather quarter, at 10 A. M. of the same day, Recreation Island was discovered, bearing S. E. in lat. 15°. 13'. south, and long. 148°. 53'. west, nearly. This island was first discovered by Roggewin, in 1712; and in all probability, has seldom or never been visited since. On the 17th, land was again descried from the mast-head, which proved to be *Miatea*, one of the Society Islands; although Captain Tucker at first mistook it, very strangely, for *Otaheite*. It now appeared to be his intention to call at the latter for refreshments; and after three days search, he was so fortunate as to find out *Matavai Bay*; almost as well known to navigators, as the harbour of New-York. The charts of the harbour are generally known to be correct; and no difficulty can occur in running by them directly into the Bay; yet, from some novel cause or other, the captain did not conceive it prudent to run his ship in, without a previous examination; and Mr. Oakey, the master, was accordingly despatched for that purpose. In the course of an hour, Mr. Oakey signified that there was good anchorage in the Bay; but the ship had now drifted far to leeward; and she was consequently compelled to haul off for the night. The next day, however, at 10 A. M. she was brought safely to an anchor in the Bay, in 12 fathoms water, Point Venus bearing N. N. E. and the Bluff S. W. by S.

As soon as the ship was perfectly secured at her moor-

ings, the crew commenced repairing the rigging, and bringing wood and water on board. The weather was exceedingly warm during the night, and the thermometer mostly stood at 83°. of Fahrenheit. In the course of the following day, upwards of one hundred canoes came off to the ship, loaded with several kinds of fruit and vegetables; but Captain Tucker peremptorily forbade any person on board trading with them. Sick as he was, lieut. Gamble could not gain permission to moisten his parched lips with the juice of an orange, nor Mr. Lathrop, (Captain Whittemore's mate) who had subsisted for more than two months, upon a scanty allowance of salt beef and pork, to purchase a pineapple, which one of the natives offered him for some trifle in his hand. What were the strange motives which induced Captain Tucker to adopt such a preposterous course of conduct, I am at a loss to conceive. Being informed on the morning of the 20th, that this very original commander had ordered the prisoners to assist in hoisting the water-casks on board, lieut. Gamble immediately apprized them, that it was perfectly optional to obey or disobey the order; and that therefore they might retire, if they chose, from the work. The poor fellows, however, had been promised an additional supply of food, as a reward for their labour, and their allowance being but scanty, they preferred remaining at work. The next day, one of the men who had charge of the wooding party, came off in haste to the ship, and informed Captain Tucker that two of his comrades had made their escape. Captain Tucker appeared greatly surprised, seeing he had appointed a guard of marines to attend the parties on shore, for the express purpose of preventing desertion. A number of Otaheitans, however, were immediately sent in pursuit of the fugitives, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, one of them was apprehended, and brought on board. The same day, Captain Tucker was so good as to appoint his gunner factor to the ship's company, for trading with the natives: but as the ship weighed anchor at 10 o'clock the next morning, no time was allowed to notify the natives of this indulgence; and, of course, it was perfectly useless. Had it been otherwise, the company might have provided themselves with a stock of fruit and vegetables for a long voyage, which they were now obliged to undertake in a comparatively dis-

tressed state. The island produces potatoes, yams, plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, water-melons, lemons, limes, oranges, &c. &c. in abundance.

At 4 P. M. of the 22d, the ship standing to the west, between the islands of *Otaheite* and *Emao*, a canoe came alongside, with an answer from the resident British Missionaries, to a letter Captain Tucker had previously sent them; and with a notification of their intention to visit the ship. But the Captain kept on his course, and the Society Islands were soon out of sight. On the 25th, at 9 A. M. all hands were mustered to witness the punishment of the deserter, King, who received three dozen lashes for the pains he had taken to quit his king's service at *Otaheite*.

From the 23d of August until the arrival of the *Cherub* at Valparaiso, on the 23d of September following, nothing of material interest transpired. In approaching the coast, the thermometer fell gradually to 56°. and on the 20th of September, the water became deeply tinged, and many aquatic birds flew about the ship. Captain Tucker entered the port of Valparaiso under the American ensign and pendant, and with 'FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS' at his foremast head. As the ship drew near, lieut. Gamble was extremely disappointed at seeing the old Spanish flag displayed in the forts; but a boat soon came alongside, with the agreeable intelligence, that the patriots were still advancing in their great work, and intended shortly again to hoist their own flag. The viceroy of Peru had refused to sanction the preliminaries of peace, drawn up by Captain Hillyar, between the governments of Peru and Chili, chiefly because by one of the articles, the Patriots were required to receive all foreign vessels under the Royal flag. As soon as the governor and citizens of Valparaiso descried the American colours on board the *Cherub*, they believed her to be a ship of that nation, and became highly animated with the idea of so welcome a visiter; but on seeing them replaced by the British flag, their countenances suddenly fell, and every thing betokened the deepest chagrin. Besides several Spanish vessels, there were lying here at this time, the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, the *Charon*, an English brig, and the *Montezuma*, one of the prizes to the *Essex*. The two first had arrived 34 days previous, from the Sandwich Islands, and lieut. Gamble had once more the pleasure

of meeting with his friend and fellow-sufferer, midshipman Clapp, with whom he went ashore in the afternoon. Among the strange pieces of news which they learnt at this place, was a story, calculated to bias the minds of the patriots—that the king of England, after sending 20,000 troops to the United States, under the command of 'lord Wellington,' had created the said 'lord' emperor of North America, in reward for his good conduct!

On gaining the shore, lieut. Gamble repaired immediately to the house of that excellent man, Mr. Blanco, the American vice-consul; who received him in his arms, as a father, and entertained him in the most friendly manner, during the whole of his stay at Valparaiso. This friendship was not alone confined to Mr. Blanco; the people in general were rejoiced to see an officer of the Essex, and always spoke in the highest terms, of the conduct of her brave crew, on the day of their capture. Lieut. Gamble found here about twenty of the crew of the Essex, in a destitute condition; and was told that several others had enlisted in the army at Santiago. Whatever may have been the behaviour of the former subsequently to my departure from Valparaiso, I am pretty well convinced, that their sufferings must have been owing entirely to their own misconduct; for the generous patriots will never let an honest tar suffer, while the means of relief are to be had.

As Captain Tucker, contrary to every principle of sound reason and humanity, would not permit Captain Whittemore to leave the ship for a moment, whilst the other prisoners were all allowed to go on shore, and even to take lodgings in the town, lieut. Gamble thought proper to represent the matter to the Governor, through the medium of Mr. Blanco, in order to obtain some relief. The grounds of this extraordinary oppression, I confess myself unable to comprehend. Captain Whittemore had invariably supported the character of a gentleman, and had on no occasion excited the ill humour of the commander of the Cherub. There was one circumstance, however, that probably operated with some force upon the mind of the British captain. My readers will remember how actively he laboured, by fair and by foul means, to get hold of Captain Whittemore's property at the island of *Otoo*, and how completely his views were frustrated. Now, to people of

a particular turn of mind, no better reason could offer for punishing a fellow-creature, than a refusal to sacrifice to their rapacity the honest gains of industry, under colour of prize of war.

Notwithstanding appearances were at first unfavourable, in the course of a day or two Captain Whittemore received permission to go on shore, from the commander of the *Cherub*, accompanied by the agreeable intelligence, that this indulgence was owing entirely to the interference of the Governor. Encouraged by this instance of lenity, lieut. Gamble was induced to apply for a similar relaxation in regard to his men, who had already been confined four months on board the ship, upon short allowance; pledging himself, at the same time, for their good behaviour, and punctual return: but Capt. Tucker stopped him short, with a positive denial. Unfortunately for Captain Whittemore, he did not long enjoy the privilege of going ashore, for on the fifth day after the granting of it, he, by some unavoidable accident, was prevented from being on board *precisely* at sunset; and, as might have been expected, the indulgence was promptly countermanded.

The whole town was thrown into a sudden alarm on the night of the 1st of October, and the people generally took up arms, on account of some secret news which had just been received from Santiago. On the day following, intelligence reached them, that the patriot general O'Higgins, after gallantly defeating a superior force of the enemy, and dispersing them with great loss, had treacherously surrendered his whole army to the Royalists; who, in consequence, were hourly expected to march into Santiago. This disheartening news excited the greatest consternation at Valparaiso; and, to add to the misfortunes of its inhabitants, an order was received by the Governor from the President of Chili, requiring him to spike all the cannon in the forts—throw the shot into the sea—blow up the magazine—set fire to the shipping—burn the town—and then to repair as speedily as possible, with all his troops, to Santiago. An order like this could not fail to operate in the most distressing manner, upon the citizens. The unhappy women were driven almost to distraction, at seeing their husbands torn from them perhaps for ever; and their ears were incessantly stunned with the cries of misery from

every part of the town. Despair and death hung upon the countenances of all ; for, knowing the vindictive ferocity of the Royalists, they anticipated from their hands a general confiscation of property, and banishment, or death. So awful, indeed, had the crisis become, that lieut. Gamble was earnestly advised to repair on board the Cherub, for the sake of ensuring the safety of his person.

Having held a consultation with the proper officers, the Governor, in part, carried into execution the order he had received, by spiking the cannon, and throwing the powder and shot into the sea : after which he proceeded with his troops to Calleatto, there to remain until farther orders. The citizens of Valparaiso being now utterly defenceless, began to think of making a virtue of necessity, and with few exceptions, assumed the badge of the Royalists, making great preparations to receive the new Governor in style. On the 5th, it was announced in public, that the army of the Patriots had been totally defeated, and that the President of Chili, with Don Lewis Carrera, his brother, had made their escape with three hundred men, and a great sum of money. The Royalists soon after entered Santiago, and bestowed great honours upon a young man, who had been punished and imprisoned by the Patriots for conveying secret information to the enemy. On the 6th, this person was expected at Valparaiso, and great preparations were made to receive him. The old Spanish flag was again hoisted ; and Mr. Blanco, with several other patriots, were under the necessity of going out to meet him, for the purpose of escorting him into town. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the Royal standard was displayed from the windows of almost every house. At 12 o'clock, this august personage (who, a few days before, had received 300 lashes from the Patriots!) made his appearance, attended by a retinue of 200 horsemen, shouting 'long live the king!' which was promptly echoed by the populace. No outrages of any kind were committed ; and the rabble appeared to be strictly guarded from plundering the citizens. The next day, the new governor arrived in a Spanish sloop of war from Concepcion, and was received apparently with great friendship. The citizens all sent in their *adhesion*, except Mr. Romenes, who resolved to support the character of a Patriot, and under present circum-

stances, to remain perfectly neutral. He alone exhibited the true firmness of a resolute mind; for the rest, with the singular dexterity of cowards, sacrificed every honourable feeling to gain the good will of the rapacious tyrants who now ruled over them. In the evening, Mr. Blanco gave a splendid entertainment in honour of the Governor's arrival, and lieut. Gamble was invited to attend. Among the group at the entertainment, he recognized the Governor—a small man, about sixty-five years of age, and no way distinguished in his appearance. He had spent his days chiefly in the Spanish navy, and was then actually in command of a sloop of war.

On the 9th, Captain Tucker dressed his vessel in the colours of different nations, taking due care to drag the American flag in the water, and at 10 A. M. with the prizes, fired a grand salute in answer to one of 21 guns from the Spanish sloop of war and forts. The Governor gave a dinner and a ball, at the first of which neither Mr. Romenes nor Lt. Gamble were invited, because, as Mr. Blanco stated, they had not paid their respects to his Excellency. An order was issued on the 11th, for the people to come forward and take the oath of allegiance, and for the town to be illuminated three nights in succession. Notwithstanding this great display of pageantry, the Patriots, in spite of their well-timed dissimulation, gave evident signs of alarm.

The next day, Captain Tucker notified his intention of sailing on the 13th, and Lt. Gamble, in consequence thereof, took leave of his friends and repaired on board. But instead of sailing at the time appointed, the Captain again dressed his vessel in various colours, and at noon fired a salute of 21 guns in answer to a grand salute from the Spanish sloop and forts. On the morning following, however, a gun was fired, and the signal hoisted for getting under way—but the Cherub still remained where she was. At sunset on the 14th, the forts and ships fired a salute of 21 guns, and at 8 o'clock in the evening Captain Tucker sent up three sky-rockets, and burnt five blue lights. The cause of all this noise and confusion, Lt. Gamble could not at first conceive; but early in the morning, a signal was made of three ships in sight, and at 10 o'clock the British frigates *Tagus* and *Briton*, with the *Raccoon* sloop, came to anchor in the Bay.

The frigates had just returned from a cruise of four months among the Gallipagos and Washington islands, without meeting a single vessel of any description, and their crews, for more than six weeks, had been upon short allowance. Several of their men were dangerously ill, and not a few in a convalescent state. On coming to an anchor, they fired a salute of 13 guns, which was promptly returned by the fort. The next day, Lt. Gamble obtained permission to visit the Briton, for the purpose of learning some particulars relative to the island of *Nooaheevah*. Her Captain, Sir Thomas Staines, informed him, that Midshipman Feltus and all his companions, excepting Ross, were beyond doubt massacred by the natives before the Sir Andrew Hammond got clear of the Bay. Ross fled into the mountains and remained there for some time; but being at length exhausted with hunger, he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of an old chief, who very kindly took him under his protection. The villain, Wilson, complained that he had been robbed by the men under command of Lt. Gamble, and declared that he was perfectly ignorant of the intention of the savages to murder young Feltus and his friends. The guns were all removed from the fort, and the houses demolished. The remains of the Greenwich were still visible, but, excepting a few copper bolts, nothing was taken from the wreck. Peter C. Swook, one of the perfidious rogues who deserted in an open boat, previous to the mutiny at *Nooaheevah*, entered on board the Briton at St. Christiana;* his three companions, who with him had safely gained that port, paid a visit to the ship at the same time, but declined entering.

The Raccoon had made a useless voyage to Columbia river, and was last from Lima. The American traders at the mouth of this river, sold their furs and their whole establishment to the Hudson-Bay company, some time before the arrival of the Raccoon. In coming out of the river on her way home, she struck twice upon a sand-bar, and besides knocking off her false keel, and starting several planks from the bow, she was otherwise so seriously injured as to require three pumps to be kept going in order to keep her afloat. In consequence of this, the Captain was obliged to heave her out at St. Francisco on the coast of California.

* St. Christiana is one of the Marquesas Islands, and about three days sail from *Nooaheevah*.

On the 15th, shortly after the frigates and sloop had come to anchor, the *Cherub* got under way, and at noon, having received the Captain with Mr. Romenes and his family on board, she commenced sailing to and fro across the Bay for their amusement. At 5, P. M. she again anchored, and Mrs. Romenes with her companions, after saluting Lt. Gamble in the most affectionate manner, took leave of the ship. The Captain announced, the next day, his intention of waiting for the *Raccoon*, which it was supposed would probably detain them a week longer; but on the 18th, at 2. P. M. a signal was made for the prizes to weigh anchor, and at 6 the *Cherub* followed out of the Bay.

During their stay at Valparaiso no rain had fallen, and the weather daily became more mild and pleasant. Potatoes, cabbage, and sallad were the only vegetables they could procure, and there was no fruit to be had excepting oranges. The troubled state of their country very probably prevented the Chilians from paying that attention to the culture of their gardens, which under more favourable circumstances they would not have neglected to bestow upon them.

My readers perhaps will be pleased at my indulging them in this place, with Lt. Gamble's account of a comic adventure, which occurred on board the *Cherub*, a few days previous to her departure from Valparaiso Bay. Her Captain (now called Mr. Garrick) assembled his crew upon the quarter deck, and addressed them "in a very refined and eloquent speech." He stated that England was now at peace with all the world, America being too contemptible to be considered as an enemy. That king George intended to flog the Yankees as a schoolmaster would flog his scholars; (here the sailors laughed) and that the States would soon again be brought under their legitimate king, &c. &c.

During the passage to Rio de Janeiro, whither the *Cherub* and her two prizes were now bound, no event of great interest occurred. In approaching Cape Horn, the thermometer fell gradually from 58° to 36° , and the weather became tempestuous with frequent storms of hail and rain. In lat. $56^{\circ} 15'$ south, long. $73^{\circ} 49'$ west, the sun rose a little before 4. A. M. and set at 8 P. M.; so that the day consisted at least of 18 hours. November 7th the island of Diego Ramirez in sight, bearing N. E. distant about 25 miles, a number of Cape pigeons came flying around the ship, and the albatross,

which had not been seen since the departure from Valparaiso, now hovered about in flocks. On the 8th, the Cherub had fairly entered the Atlantic ocean, and I need not describe to my readers the joy of Lt. Gamble, in being once more blessed with a prospect of reaching his native land. For six months he had been confined to the ship as a prisoner of war, and it is no wonder that he was now more anxious than ever to be freed from the capricious authority of an enemy, who seemed to be governed by no settled principle of courtesy in his conduct to his prisoners.

On the 10th, the wind blew a violent gale from the W. S. W. and the prizes were lost sight of. At 9 A. M. the helmsman being rather inattentive to his duty, the ship broached to, in a heavy swell, and a sea which struck her, knocked in the after gun-deck ports, and stove in all the bulwarks of the larboard waist. The ship took in a great quantity of water; the trunks in the gun-room were afloat; and on the birth-deck the water was a foot deep. The pumps were kept constantly going for two hours; and it was with the utmost difficulty she could be guarded against a similar accident in encountering the heavy swells. After passing a stormy night, rendered dismal at times by violent squalls of hail and rain, at daylight the Sir Andrew Hammond was discovered on the larboard quarter; but the Charon was not to be seen. Great anxiety was felt for the safety of this ship, having only 9 men on board, and of this number only two were seamen.

On the 18th, the thermometer stood again as high as 58°.—At 5 P. M. a sail was discovered on the weather bow, apparently standing to the north; and at 6 the next morning, the Charon again joined company, after an absence of ten days. Lieut. Gamble had now so far recovered from his wound as to be able to take exercise without his crutch; and this he was in the habit of doing on the quarter deck. But what bounds are there to the senseless whims of a conceited commander?—On the evening of the 25th, while walking the quarter deck as usual, he received an order to go below, without the least provocation or cause therefor. Conduct like this, I leave to the comments of my readers.

On the 27th, at 2 P. M. a sail was discovered, bearing N. W. distant about seven miles. She was soon made out

to be a large ship, standing for the Cherub under a press of canvass; and at 4 P. M. the Achilles, of 74 guns, (but mounting 86) hove to on the weather beam, and ordered Captain Tucker on board. By the return of the boat, lieut. Gamble learnt that she was last from Rio de Janeiro, in search of the American frigate Guerriere, which had several times been seen off the mouth of the harbour.* He was more pleased to learn, however, of the capture of the British ships Reindeer and Epervier, by the U. S. ships Peacock and Wasp, and of the arrival of the Epervier at Savannah, with some thousands of pounds specie on board. The next day at 2 P. M. land was discovered, bearing W. N. W., distant about eight miles; and at 6 the next morning, the Cherub, with her prizes, came to an anchor in Rio de Janeiro Bay, about four miles below fort Santa Cruz.—On the 29th, at noon, they again weighed anchor to proceed into the harbour; and passing by the Portuguese guard ship, the Queen, a beautiful vessel of 74 guns, they anchored in the safe and commodious harbour before the town. At this time, there were lying in the harbour, the British sloop of war Penguin, (afterwards sunk by the U. S. ship Hornet) and a large ship with 200 convicts on board, bound to port Jackson.

The day following, lieut. Gamble was so fortunate as to obtain permission to lodge in town; and on landing, he had the pleasure to meet with several American gentlemen, not a few of them, like himself, extremely desirous to go home. His first business was to address a note to Mr. Sumpter, the American minister, describing his situation; and the next day he was received by that gentleman in the most friendly manner, and invited to his house. He met with little encouragement as to an early prospect of proceeding to the United States; but there being here at this time upwards of 60 American prisoners of war besides himself, a hope was held out, that some neutral vessel might be chartered to carry them home, under a passport from the British admiral then in command. The weather was now excessively warm, and the thermometer generally stood at 84°. and 88°. Captain Whittemore and his officers came ashore on the 2d of December, and lieut. Gamble,

* The Guerriere was at this time fitting for sea at Philadelphia

with his friend, Mr. Clapp, were furnished by Mr. Sumpter with horses to visit him at his seat, three miles from town.

On the 18th, a grand salute was fired, in commemoration of the Queen's birthday, now fourscore years of age. On this occasion, the chapel of the Prince Regent was ornamented in the most splendid style. The sumptuous dresses of the priests, combined with the glitter of the massive gold and silver candlesticks in every part of the building, could not fail to have a very dazzling effect.

After being detained a month on board the Cherub, in the harbour, the rest of the prisoners of war were landed; and Mr. Sumpter, after many fruitless attempts, was at length enabled to purchase a fishing smack, of 80 tons burthen, to convey them home. By the 8th of February, 1815, the heat had become so oppressive as to make it almost insufferable to venture out; the mean temperature of the air being about 89°. No rain had fallen for some days; and the dust of the streets, together with the heat of the atmosphere, prevented the citizens from walking or riding any distance with comfort, except when the cool sea-breezes blew into the Bay. To his extreme surprise and regret, Mr. Sumpter was this day notified by the British consul-general, that the cartel could not be permitted to proceed, in consequence of instructions received from England, *on the 28th of December last*. Many doubted this allegation; for they could not believe that admiral Dixon and the consul-general were so far lost to a sense of honour, as to put Mr. Sumpter to the trouble and expense of purchasing a vessel, and, by their own act, constituting that vessel a cartel in due form, and then, a month after, when the cartel was on the eve of sailing, to countermand these solemn stipulations, solely on account of instructions received forty-two days before. If it be admitted, that instructions to that effect were actually received on the 28th of December, as alleged by the consul-general, then was not he, or admiral Dixon, in duty bound to apprise Mr. Sumpter of that fact, before they assented to his purchase of the vessel, and before even they themselves constituted that vessel a cartel? For my own part, I confess myself unable to construe the matter in any other light, than as a wanton breach of honour, and a shameful violation of the terms of a written agreement, *officially* entered into between the legal representatives of two separate states.

A brig from England brought the preliminaries of peace between that country and the United States of America, on the 25th, and on the 17th of March, lieut. Gamble and Captain Whittemore engaged passages in a Swedish ship for Portsmouth, England. The ship sailed on the 22d, but the former was prevented, by a severe bilious attack, from going in her; and Captain Whittemore proceeded on the voyage alone. Being advised, however, by his physician, to leave the place as soon as possible, lieut. Gamble agreed for a passage to England in the British packet, and made the necessary preparations for his departure. But the English minister refused to grant him a passport—and of course he was obliged to remain. On the 10th of April, however, he once more engaged a passage in the Swedish ship *Good Hope*; and after a farther delay of six weeks, was so fortunate as to enter upon the Voyage to Havre de Grace, in France, whither the vessel was bound.

The track of this voyage is so well known, that I need scarcely detain my readers with any farther remarks. But as some of them, no doubt, will be anxious to accompany lieut. Gamble to the United States, seeing they have already followed him so far, I shall, for their satisfaction, take a rapid view of this part of his narrative, before closing this work.

The *Good Hope* being deeply laden, and, withal, a dull sailer, no great prospect appeared of a speedy passage. Her general progress through the water varied from two to four knots; and, owing to adverse winds and currents, she was 300 miles farther from the port of destination, on the 7th day out, than when at Rio de Janeiro. After being sixteen days at sea, however, she again came up with the latitude of her departure, and at midnight, on the 14th of June, crossed the Equinoctial line. The phosphoric glittering of the sea, on the evening of the 25th, far exceeded every thing of the kind lieut. Gamble had ever witnessed. The surface of the water had a grand and brilliant appearance, and the wake of the ship, as far as the eye could reach, seemed like one vast sheet of fire.

But a happier prospect, in due course of time, began to dawn upon the exhausted spirits of lieut. Gamble; for the *Good Hope*, like the snail, *slow and sure*, by the 30th of July brought him in sight of the American flag; and the next day he had the good fortune to remove on board the

Oliver Elsworth, fifteen days from Havre de Grace, bound to New-York. The captain of this ship treated him in the politest manner; and on the 27th of August, after encountering a dreadful gale, lieut. Gamble had the inexpressible joy, to come once more within view of his native land, after an absence of two years and ten months.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COMMODORE HILLYAR TO ME.

Phœbe, April 4th, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,

NEITHER in our conversations, nor in the accompanying letter, have I mentioned your sword. Ascribe my remissness in the first instance to forgetfulness; I consider it only in my servant's possession with my own, until the master may please to call for it; and although I omitted, at the moment of presentation, from my mind being much engrossed in attending to professional duties, to offer its restoration, the hand that received will be most gladly extended to put it in possession of him who wore it so honourably in defending his country's cause.

Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

Captain Porter.

A return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on board the late United States frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty-five men, David Porter, Esq. commander, in an action fought on the 28th of March, 1814, in the port of Valparaiso, with the British frigate *Phœbe*, of thirty-six guns and three hundred and twenty men, James Hillyar, Esq. commander, and the sloop of war *Cherub*, mounting twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men, commanded by T. Tucker, Esq.

Killed in action, and have since died of their wounds.

James P. Wilmer, first lieut. George Hill, ward-room
John G. Cowel, acting 3d — cook.

lieutenant.

George Wyne, seaman,

Henry Kennedy, boatswain's
mate.

Joseph Ferrell, ditto,
Samuel Miller, ditto,

VOE. II.

30

W. Smith, boatswain's mate.	Thomas Johnson, seaman.
Francis Bland, qr. master.	Philip Thomas, ditto,
Rheul Marshall, qr. gunner.	Thomas Nordyke, ditto,
Thomas Baily, boats yeo.	William White, ditto,
John Adams, cooper.	Thomas Mitchell, ditto,
Wm. Johnston, carp. crew.	William Lee, ditto,
Henry Vickers, ditto,	Peter Allan, ditto,
Zach. Mayfield, arm. crew.	John Alvison, ditto,
William Christopher, cap- tain forecastle.	John C. Kilian, ditto,
Nathaniel Jones, capt. mast.	Benjamin Hazen, ditto,
Joseph Thomas, captain maintop.	Peter Johnston, ditto,
John Russel, ditto,	Thomas Brannock, ditto,
Francis Green, captain's ser- vant.	Thomas Brown, ditto,
Frederick Hall, seaman,	Cornelius Thompson, ditto.
James Anderson, ditto,	John Lings, ditto,
George Hallet, ditto,	George Douglass, ditto,
Thomas Terry, ditto,	John Ripley, ditto,
Charles F. Norgran, ditto,	James Folger, ditto,
John Powell, ditto,	Daniel F. Casimere, ditto,
Thomas Davis, ditto,	William Jennings, ditto,
James Sellers, ditto,	Mark Hill, ditto,
John Clinton, ditto,	William Lee, ditto,
Robert Brown, ditto,	George Beden, ditto,
John Jackson, ditto,	Thomas Russell, ditto,
	Lewis T. Earle, ditto,
	Henry Buff, ditto,
	Wm. Williams, ditto.—58.

Severely wounded.

Edward Barnewall, acting master,	Isaac Vallence, capt. stew- ard,
Edward Linscott, boatswain,	Leonard Green, quarter- gunner,
Wm. Kingsbury, boatswain,	Enoch M. Miley, ditto,
Essex Junior,	William Whitney, captain foretop,
George Rensinger, master at arms,	Thomas Milburn, captain mast,
Bennet Field, armourer,	Ephraim Baker, captain waist,
Otis Gale, armourer's crew,	Emero Males, seaman,
Jasper Reed, ditto,	
John M'Kinzey, ship car- penter,	

John Stone, seaman,	Peter Anderson, seaman,
John Lazaro, ditto,	John Johnson, ditto,
William Wood, ditto,	Peter Ripple, ditto,
Francis Trepanny, ditto,	Thomas Oliver, ditto,
John Penn, ditto,	George Shields, ditto,
George Williams, ditto,	William Hamilton, ditto,
James Postell, ditto,	Thomas Andrews, ditto,
William Cole, ditto,	Daniel Gardner, ditto,
Henry Barker, ditto,	William Nichols, ditto,
John Glasseau, ditto,	Benjamin Bartley, ditto,
James Goldsborough, ditto,	Samuel M'Isaacs, ditto.—39.
Jacob Lodaway, ditto,	

Slightly wounded.

D. G. Faragut, midshipman,	George Brown, captain's ser-
George W. Isaacs, ditto,	vant,
John Langley, carpenter,	Shubal Cunningham, sea-
John Wible, carpenter's	man,
mate,	Robert Scatterby, ditto,
John Reuss, carpenter's	Antonio Sallee, ditto,
crew,	William Matthews, ditto,
Benj. Wadden, carptr.'s yeo,	George Love, ditto,
William Boyd, carpenter's	William Concord, ditto,
crew,	Daniel Hide, ditto,
David Navarro, sail-maker,	James Middleton, ditto,
John Francis, captain's cox-	Daniel Smith, ditto,
swain,	Joseph Williams, ordinary
Levi M'Cabe, quarter-mas-	seaman,
ter,	Frederick Hartwell, ditto,
George Stotenberg, captain's	William Burton, ditto,
after-guard,	John Jacks, ditto. Total, 26.
Wm. M'Donald, drummer,	

Missing.

George Martin, gunner's-	James Chase, seaman,
mate,	Barth. Tuckerman, ditto,
Adam Roche, quarter-gun-	Matthew Lawder, ditto,
ner,	William Holmes, ditto,
John Thompson, quarter-	John Bagnell, ditto,
master,	Thomas Hobbs, ditto,
Francis Davis, seaman,	Robert Harrison, ditto,

Edward Leford, seaman,	James M'Rea, seaman.
Thomas Parsons, ditto,	James Mahony, ditto,
Hugh Gibson, ditto,	John Deacon, ditto,
James Domas, ditto,	Simon Rodgers, ditto,
Thomas Carroll, ditto,	Elias W. Saddus, ditto,
Charles Moore, ditto,	John Owens, boy,
William Holland, ditto,	William Forseyth, ditto,
Henry Humphries, ditto,	George Slousher, marine,
William Taylor, ditto,	Thomas Ayres, ditto,
Charles M'Carty, ditto,	George Gable, do. Total 31.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed and have since died of their wounds,	-	58
Severely wounded,	- - - -	39
Slightly wounded,	- - - -	26
Missing,	- - - -	31
		—
Total,		154

After some conversation on the subject, the following correspondence took place :

Valparaiso, April 4th, 1814.

SIR,

TAKING into consideration the immense distance we are from our respective countries, the uncertainty of the future movements of his Britannic majesty's ships under my command, which precludes the possibility of my making a permanent arrangement for transporting the officers and crew late of the *Essex*, to Europe, and the fast approaching season which renders a passage round Cape Horn in some degree dangerous : I have the honour to propose for your approbation, the following articles, which I hope the government of the United States, as well as that of Great Britain, will deem satisfactory : and to request that, should you conceive them so, you will favour me with the necessary bond for their fulfilment.

1. The *Essex Junior* to be deprived of all her armament, and perfectly neutralized ; to be equipped for the voyage solely and wholly at the expense of the American government ; and to proceed with proper American officers and crew (of which I wish to be furnished with a list for

the purpose of giving the necessary passport) to any port of the United States of America that you may deem most proper.

2. Yourself, the officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, &c. composing your crew, to be exchanged immediately on their arrival in America, for an equal number of British prisoners of similar rank—Yourself and officers to be considered on their parole of honour until your and their exchange shall be effected.

In case of the foregoing articles being accepted, the Essex Junior will be expected to prepare immediately for the voyage, and to proceed on it before the expiration of the present month; should any of the wounded at that period be found incapable of removal, from not being sufficiently advanced in their recovery, the most humane attention shall be paid them; and they shall be forwarded home by the first favourable conveyance that may offer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,

Late Commander of the United States Frigate Essex, Valparaiso.

Valparaiso, April 5th, 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several favours of yesterday's date—

The conditions offered by you for our return to the United States are perfectly satisfactory to me, and I entertain no doubts of their being equally so to my country. I therefore do not hesitate to pledge my honour (the strongest bond I can give) that every article of the arrangement shall on our part be fully complied with. A list of the Essex Junior's crew shall be furnished you as soon as it can be made out, and her disarmament effected with all possible despatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

DAVID PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding his
Britannic majesty's frigate Phæbe,
Valparaiso.*

Commodore Hillyar sent me a paper certifying, that he had exchanged certain individuals therein named, making

part of the crew of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, for an equal number of the most severely wounded of my crew; this occasioned the following letters:

Valparaiso, 4th April, 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE received a paper signed by you, dated yesterday, stating that you had exchanged certain wounded prisoners, making part of my crew, for the captain and crew of the prize ship *Sir Andrew Hammond*, which paper I have taken the liberty to return to you, and protest in the strongest terms against such arrangement.

In the first place, the wounded and helpless individuals therein named, do not wish such exchange. One died last night, and several others expect to share his fate.

Secondly, should I from any circumstance be separated from them, which would be more likely to be the case than if they remained prisoners, their situation would be more deplorable than it is at present. Thirdly, this arrangement has been made without my consent; and on terms far from offering equal advantages to the United States.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding
H. B. M. frigate Phæbe.*

H. B. M. ship Phæbe, Valparaiso, April 4, 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, protesting against the arrangement I made in the paper you returned, and to express a regret that my wish, which was to alleviate and not increase, the afflictions of your wounded officers and crew, has failed of being gratified. I am sorry you have thought proper to mention the dead and the dying, as I so fully explained to you this morning, that in the event of the loss of any, other names should be added to the list. I shall now direct captain William Porter to consider himself still a prisoner of war on his parole; but as I have ordered the people to go on board the *Essex* to work, under the impression that no difficulty would arise, will liberate in exchange for them an equal number of prisoners, as their names, being seamen, will be found to follow each other on

your late ship's books, and give up also two mates or midshipmen, for the two mates which are of the English party. I hope this may prove satisfactory to your government and self.

I am yours, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

Captain D. Porter.

Valparaiso, 5th April, 1814.

SIR,

THE arrangement which you have suggested respecting the exchange of the seamen of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, for an equal number of the seamen of the late United States Frigate *Essex*, as they stand on the list furnished you, is perfectly satisfactory. It will be a great satisfaction to the three officers who accompany the *Essex*, to know that after your object in taking them with you shall be effected, there will be no difficulty in their proceeding immediately for the United States. I take the liberty therefore to suggest that they might be exchanged here for Captain William Porter and his three mates. This will be an accommodation to all parties, and reconcile the officers so exchanged to a separation from their friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

Commodore James Hillyar, commanding his majesty's frigate Phoebe.

A LIST OF PRISONERS LIBERATED ON PAROLE, TO PROCEED TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE *ESSEX JUNIOR*.

David Porter, captain,	H. W. Ogsden, midshipman,
William H. Odenheimer,	George Isaacs, ditto,
acting lieutenant,	D. G. Farragut, ditto,
Edward Barnewall, acting	James Terry, acting ditto,
master,	Samuel Dusenbury, ditto,
Richard K. Hoffman, acting	Wm. Pierce, master's mate,
surgeon,	Edward Linscott, boatswain,
Samuel B. Johnson, acting	George Green, boy,
marine officer,	Francis Barrel, ditto,
M. W. Bostwick, acting pur-	George Bartlet, seaman,
ser,	James Duffey, boy,
Alexander Montgomery, act-	James Nickerson, ditto,
ing surgeon's mate,	Isaac Bly, scaman,

Benjamin Hamilton, quarter-gunner,	London Reed, ordinary seaman,
Samuel Leach, seaman,	John Robinson, ditto,
George Stolenburg, ditto,	Amboy Howland, ditto,
James Midford, ditto,	John Harris, ditto,
Peter B. Vole, ditto,	Abraham Jackson, ditto,
William Robins, ditto,	Gadet Gay, ditto,
John Hollum, ditto,	James Ocean, boy,
Joseph Johnson, ditto,	Paul Mosure, ordinary seaman,
William Boyd, ditto,	Peter Amey, seaman,
Charles Duveal, ditto,	John Terry, ditto,
Daniel Smith, ditto,	Samuel Jones, ordinary seaman,
James Middleton, ditto,	John Harclay, ditto,
John Cresup, ditto,	Samuel West, quarter-master,
James Galley, ditto,	Andrew Smith, seaman,
John Downhill, ditto,	Thomas Ewing, ditto,
John Haden, cook,	Frederick Barnes, ditto,
Robert Stanwood, seaman,	Daniel Lombard, ditto,
Daniel Ross, quarter-gunner,	Anthony Cook, ditto,
Nicholas Johnston, seaman,	Barnet Sparling, ditto,
Robert Scatterly, ditto,	Shubael Cunningham, ditto,
Adam Williams, ord. seaman,	Gave Robertson, ditto,
Mark Antonio, seaman,	Samuel Johnson, ditto,
Thomas O. Loud, boy,	William Foster, ditto,
Nicholas Richter, seaman,	Jeremiah Bewell, ditto,
John White, seaman,	Sylvester Smith, ditto,
James Clark, ditto,	George Brown, ditto,
George Rex, ditto,	James Redding, ordinary seaman,
William Cullers, ditto,	Thomas Coleman, steward,
Marshal Gelles, ord. seaman,	John Davis, ordinary seaman,
Robert Taylor, ditto,	Matthew Tuckerman, ditto,
Mark Scott, seaman,	Severn Denton, seaman,
Thomas Edwards, gunner's yeo.	John Johnson, ditto,
John Gallagher, seaman,	Bennet Field, armourer,
James Spencer, boy,	George Kensinger, master at arms,
Samuel Howard, seaman,	
Francis Lemos, ord. seaman,	
John Batchelor, seaman,	
Robert Isgrig, ditto,	

John Stone, seaman,	Peter Anderson, seaman,
Francis Trepanny, ditto,	Peter Ripple, ditto,
George Williams, ditto,	John Glasseau, ditto,
Jacob Lodaway, ditto,	Isaac Valance, quarter-mas-
Thomas Milburn, ditto,	ter,
John Penn, ditto,	George Love, seaman,
Henry Barker, ditto,	Samuel M'Isaacs, boy,
William Hamilton, ordinary	William Godfrey, seaman,
seaman,	Jasper Reed, ditto,
Daniel Gardner, ditto,	Frederick Hartwell, ordina-
William Kingsbury, boat-	ry seaman,
swain's mate,	Ephraim Baker, ditto,
William Nichols, ordinary	Charles Hayes, quarter-gun-
seaman,	ner,
James Postell, seaman,	Otis Gale, seaman,
Benjamin Bartley, ordinary	William Whitney, seaman,
seaman,	Leon Green, quarter-mas-
James Goldsborough, sca-	ter,
man,	William Cole, seaman.
William Wood, ditto,	

MARINES.

P. G. Small, sergeant,	George Fritz, private,
John B. Yarnall, private,	John Andrews, ditto,
William Whitney, ditto,	Thomas King, ditto,
Henry Ashmore, ditto,	Isaac Stone, ditto,
John Fulsner, ditto,	Total, - - - - 132

COPY OF THE PASSPORT GIVEN BY CAPT. HILLYAR TO THE
ESSEX JUNIOR.

*By James Hillyar, Esq. Captain of his majesty's ship
Phæbe, and senior officer of his majesty's ships in
Valparaiso Bay.*

I HEREBY CERTIFY, that I have, on the part of his
Britannic Majesty, entered into an agreement with Captain
David Porter, of the United States navy, and late com-

mander of the frigate *Essex*, who, on the part of his government, engages as follows, to wit :

That himself, his officers and crew, will proceed to the United States in the ship called the *Essex Junior*, as a cartel, commanded by lieut. John Downes, of the United States navy, and having a crew, consisting of the officers and men named in the annexed list.

That the said Captain Porter, his officers and crew, a list of which is subjoined, will remain on board on parole, not to take arms against Great Britain until regularly exchanged ; and that he pledges his honour to fulfil the foregoing conditions.

I therefore request, that the said ship the *Essex Junior*, may be permitted to pass freely to the United States, without any impediment—and that the officers commanding his majesty's ships of war, as well as private armed vessels, and all others in authority under the British government, as also those in alliance with his said majesty, will give the said David Porter, his officers and crew, and the crew of the aforesaid ship called the *Essex Junior*, every aid and assistance, to enable them to arrive at the place of their destination.

And as it may become necessary for the *Essex Junior* to touch at one or more places for the purpose of obtaining refreshments and supplies, it is requested, that in such case, all to whom this passport may be presented, will give the persons on board said ship every facility in supplying their wants, and permit them to depart with her, without hindrance.

Given under my hand, on board his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, at Valparaiso, April, 1814.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR

Navy Department, July 13, 1814.

SIR,

I HAVE before me your letter of the 9th, which has been exhibited to the President, and received his attention.

The conduct of the commander of the *Saturn* has excited in his breast, as it must in every liberal and correct mind, the most indignant feelings.

The history and the presence of the brave remnant of the crew of the *Essex*, was alone calculated to inspire a generous sympathy, and courteous demeanour, though the highest safeguard known to civilized warfare had not guaranteed their exemption from molestation; and it is difficult to reconcile the absence of those feelings with the character which Captain Nash doubtless aspires to.

The circumstances of your escape from the *Essex Junior*, while under detention, would, it is believed, sustain yourself and your government in dissolving your parole; but as the *Essex Junior* was suffered to proceed under the original passport, though indecently detained and rudely treated, the scrupulously exact and liberal conduct of the government of the United States, in despite of the injustice and illiberality which it has received from the hands of the enemy, may possibly induce the President to waive the right which the violation in this case would enable him to assert.

The matter, however, is still under consideration, and will be decided upon in due time.

Your officers will, for the present, and until further order can be taken, remain attached to the *Essex Junior*. Your crew will be immediately paid off, upon a requisition being made upon the agent at New-York for the amount of the balances due them, which shall be remitted to him without delay. I have this day accepted purser Shaw's bills for \$29,000, approved by yourself.

You will proceed to join your friends at your pleasure; and, after having consoled them for your long absence, and reposed yourself, we shall be gratified with your presence here.

The court of inquiry will be ordered to be held either in Philadelphia or New-York, as may best suit your convenience. I confirm the purchase of the *Essex Junior*, for the navy of the United States, at the sum of \$25,000. You will please to transmit to this department the valuation made by the persons appointed by you for that purpose.

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. JONES,

*Captain David Porter, U. S. Navy,
New-York.*

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PORTER TO THE
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant.

You have no doubt before this received the passport given by Captain Hillyar, as well as further particulars from Captain Downes, in relation to the conduct of the captain of the *Saturn*. Captain Downes and the rest of the officers are fully of opinion that my escape alone was the cause of the liberation of the *Essex Junior*. I was a prisoner on parole, the conditions on which that parole was accepted were not respected; I was consequently no longer bound; I had the right of absolving myself from parole; I did so, and tendered myself a prisoner, offering to return my sword—the acceptance of which was refused. I could obtain no satisfactory information as to their intentions, and made my escape. Under such circumstances, I hope my country will never subject me to the humiliation of an exchange. It would be the cause of more triumph to the British naval officers than even the capture of the *Essex*. I am willing to take upon myself the risk of all consequences which may result from my being again taken prisoner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

To the honourable Secretary of the Navy.

Office of Commissary General of Prisoners, August 10, 1814.

SIR,

I BEG leave to transmit you, herewith, copies of three letters, of the 3d, 4th, and 9th instant, which have passed between Col. Thomas Barclay, the British Agent for prisoners of war, and myself, in relation to an exchange, proposed by me, of Captain Porter and the officers and crew of the United States' late frigate *Essex*.

You will remark, Sir, that the British Agent, although he considers, under the practice of his government, that their paroles "are null, and the officers and men at liberty to serve in like manner as if they had not been made prisoners," declines to exchange them against British officers and crews similarly situated: for these and other reasons.

given in my letter to him of the 9th instant, I have been instructed by the Secretary of State to declare the officers and crew of the *Essex* discharged from parole.

I have, therefore, the honour to announce to you, that Captain David Porter and other officers and the crew of the United States' late Frigate *Essex*, captured in March last, by the British ships of war under the command of Captain Hillyar, are accordingly declared discharged from their paroles taken by the said Captain Hillyar, and as free to serve, in any capacity, as if they had never been made prisoners.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. MASON.

*The Honourable William Jones,
Sec'y of the Navy.*

The foregoing is a copy of a letter this day received from the Commissary General of prisoners, in conformity with which the Commander and the other officers and the crew of the United States' late Frigate *Essex* are hereby declared "discharged from their paroles, and are as free to serve, in any capacity, as if they had never been made prisoners." You will therefore, govern yourself by this declaration, and communicate it to every officer and man concerned, in order that they may hold themselves in readiness for such service as may be required of them by this Department.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. JONES.

Navy Department, Aug. 11. 1814.

*Captain David Porter, U. S. Navy,
Chester, Penn.*



SMITH THOMPSON, ESQ. SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Department of State, Washington. 2d March, 1821.

SIR,

THE late Commodore Decatur having intimated a wish that an Inquiry should be instituted, through this De-

partment, in relation to his nephew, Lieutenant M'Knight and his companion, Midshipman Lyman, the necessary instructions were immediately given upon the subject; and I have the honour to send you, for the information of Colonel Decatur, the enclosed extract from a communication of Mr. Rush to this Department, in pursuance of the instructions referred to; by which it appears that these unfortunate young men were transferred from the Swedish vessel, in which they had embarked at Rio de Janeiro, to the United States sloop of war Wasp, (which is supposed to have perished at sea) on their voyage to England.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MR. RUSH TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[COPY.]

London, April 7, 1820.

SIR,

ON the receipt of your despatch, No. twenty-two, respecting Lieutenant M'Knight and Midshipman Lyman, which has heretofore been acknowledged, I thought it it would be best, before addressing myself to the Swedish Vice Consul at Dartmouth, to request of the Swedish minister at this Court, Baron Steirnel, that he would have the goodness to write a line to him, to say who I was, thinking thereby to ensure the more effectually a due attention to my communication.

Accordingly on the twenty-second of last month, the day after I was honoured with your despatch, I addressed to the minister a note, of which a copy is herewith sent, and on the twenty-fourth received an answer, accompanied by a letter directed to the Vice Consul, as I had requested. On the same day I proceeded to write myself to the Vice Consul such a letter as appeared best calculated to obtain all the information it might be in his power to afford, touching these two American officers, and transmitted with it the letter from the minister. A copy of my letter is enclosed. It seems that the Vice Consul had left Dartmouth for London before my letter reached him; but that he replied to it from London on the third day of this month. I

send his original letter. According to one of the suggestions in it, I thought proper to see him in person, and on the 4th instant wrote a note inviting him to an interview yesterday. He came, and brought the extracts from the log-book, which he had professed himself ready to produce.

These also I send, for greater satisfaction, in his own handwriting, reserving copies.

It will be seen from them, and with great interest, that the young men did in truth embark as his passengers from Rio de Janeiro for England, in the Swedish brig Adonis, on the twenty-second of August, 1814, but that on the ninth of October following they left his vessel, and went on board the United States' sloop of war Wasp, which crossed their path upon the ocean. They have thus, no-doubt, perished with all who were in that gallant ship. I have not thought it necessary to ask any more formal statement from Mr. Mollen. There is no reason to question the fairness of that he has afforded. He bears every appearance of being a highly respectable man. He had not before heard of the loss of the Wasp but through a vague rumour. These young gentlemen had evidently endeared themselves to him on their passage; he uttered a warm tribute to their merits, and joined in deploring their melancholy fate.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

RICHARD RUSH.

CAPTAIN MOLLEN TO RICHARD RUSH, ESQ.

April 3, 1820.

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your respected favour of the 24th ult., together with the Baron de Steirnel's of the same date. I waited on the Baron last Thursday, and communicated to him what I knew respecting Messrs. McKnight and Lyman, and would have attended your pleasure on Saturday, but was unexpectedly prevented.

The present is to solicit the favour of your appointing the day and time I may have the honour of waiting on you for the same purpose, and to know if you would wish me

to bring extracts from the Log-book, which is in my possession still.

I would not have presumed to take this precaution, only I am rather in ill health, and the distance being very great, as I am in London, I think a personal communication on this subject would be the most satisfactory to yourself; but I am equally willing to give a written statement of the facts if you please.

Ready at all times to attend your commands,

I have the honour to remain,

With the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. G. MOLLEN.

No. 43, Broad-street, Ratcliff.

EXTRACTS.

Extracts from the Journal kept on board the Swedish brig Adonis, during a voyage from Rio de Janeiro, towards Falmouth, in the year 1814.

August 22—Left Rio de Janeiro. Stephen Decatur McKnight, and James Lyman, passengers for England.

Oct. 9—In lat. $18^{\circ} 35'$ north, long. $30^{\circ} 10'$ west, sea account, at 8 o'clock in the morning discovered a strange sail giving chase to us, and fired several guns; she gaining very fast. At half past 10 o'clock hove to, and was boarded by an officer dressed in an English doctor's uniform, the vessel also hoisted English ensign. The officer proceeded to examine my ship's papers, &c. &c., likewise the letter-bags, and took from one of them a letter to the victualling office, London. Finding I had two American officers as passengers, he immediately left the ship, and went on board the sloop of war; he shortly after returned, took the American gentlemen with him, and went a second time on board the sloop. In about half an hour he returned again with Messrs. McKnight and Lyman, and they informed me that the vessel was the United States sloop of war the Wasp, commanded by Captain Bleaky, or Blake, last from France, where she had refitted; had lately sunk the Reindeer, English sloop of war, and another vessel

which sunk without their being able to save a single person, or learn the vessel's name—that Messrs. McKnight and Lyman had now determined to leave me and go on board the *Wasp*—paid me their passage in dollars at 5s. 9d. and having taken their luggage on board the *Wasp*, they made sail to the southward. Shortly after they had left, I found that Lieut. McKnight had left his writing desk behind; and I immediately made signal for the *Wasp* to return, and stood towards her; they, observing my signals, stood back, came along side, and sent their boat aboard for the writing desk, after which they sent me a log-line and some other presents, and made all sail in direction for the line; and, I have reason to suppose, for the convoy that passed on Thursday previous.”

In addition to the above, I beg leave to state, that, in consequence of the forementioned letter having been taken away, I gave notice at the post office at Falmouth of my having been boarded by the *Wasp*, and Messrs. McKnight and Lyman joining her.

[No. 1.]

Rio de Janeiro, August 19, 1814.

SIR,

HAVING been directed by Capt. Porter, in pursuance of some arrangement entered into between him and Capt. Hillyar, of the *Phœbe*, to come with the latter to this place, or to go to England, should it be required of us—We accordingly arrived here, and Capt. Hillyar, according to his promise, having given us the option of parting with him here, or accompanying him to England, we have been induced to prefer the separation here, because the time of his return to England is uncertain, and may be distant, and, because we are extremely anxious, being already exchanged, to return into the service. He has furnished us with protections, and we find an opportunity of going to England in a Swedish vessel, which will sail the day after to-morrow; and as there appears no chance of going more directly home, we are under the necessity of asking the favour of you to furnish us with the means of making the voyage to England, and from thence to the United States. We calculate that nine hundred dollars will answer our

purpose, and we will be much obliged if you can make any arrangements to procure us that sum.

We have the honour to be

Your obedient servants,

Signed,

S. D. McKNIGHT.

JAMES LYMAN.

To Thos. Sumpter, jr. Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States.

[No. 2.]

GENTLEMEN,

Rio de Janeiro, 19th August, 1814.

WITH every disposition imaginable to accommodate you personally, and to promote your views of getting home, I am sorry to say that I am entirely destitute of funds either public or private. The only mode in which I can serve you, and it appears to me to be the most regular, will be to endorse your bills on the Secretary of the Navy for the sum you desire, which may perhaps enable you to sell them here, though not without a great loss, or perhaps to agree with the Captain to receive your passage money in England, where probably you may sell the bill with little or no loss. This I will do, and have requested Mr. Rutter, should this arrangement answer, to make out bills in the above manner. This arrangement will enable you also, should you be enabled to obtain funds from any American Agent, to dispense with selling these bills.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

Lieut. Mc Knight,

Mid'n. James Lyman. }

(Signed,) THOMAS SUMPTER, Jr.

[No. 3.]

SIR,

Rio de Janeiro, August 19, 1814.

LIEUTENANT McKnight and Midshipman Lyman, having been sent here by Captain Porter, with the Captain of the *Phœbe*, which captured the *Essex*, and they being anxious to get home by the way of England, the only one open to them at present, and having applied to me to advance them nine hundred dollars to enable them to do so, I have not been able to accommodate them in any other way than by endorsing their bills for that sum on the Secretary of the Navy. The neutral Captain with whom they embark has agreed to receive payment in England for their passage, and should they not find any provision there, they will sell these bills for that purpose. I have the honour to advise you of this circumstance, and request the favour of

you to explain the motive of my conduct to the Secretary of the Navy, as they will on their part, so that the bills may be taken up, and the matter settled with that Department according to the provisions prescribed in such cases, of which I have no knowledge. You will perceive, that for want of some previous arrangement by Captain Porter to meet such a case, I could hardly refuse these gentlemen this sort of arrangement. I have been also under the necessity of advancing ninety millreas here to Mr. Lyman, and other small sums for some of the wounded of the Essex who have been landed here, which I shall add to my accounts and draw for when I may find an opportunity of selling bills on your Department, which cannot now be done here without a very great loss, which I shall endeavour to avoid by sending them to another place for sale.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, JUN.

*To the honourable James Monroe,
Secretary of State.*

[No. 4.]

*Memorandum from the office of Laurence Western, Esq.
Swedish Consul at Rio de Janeiro.*

John Gabriel Mollen, formerly master of a Swedish brig, (the Adonis,) who sailed from Rio de Janeiro the 21st August for a port on the continent, to touch at England for orders, and there arrived. At present Mollen is Swedish Vice Consul at Dartmouth in England. For further particulars, apply at the Swedish Consul's Office in London.

N. B. This Memorandum was given me in July, 1819.

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, JUN.

The Supercargo's name was David Campbell, employed at that time by the house of Joseph and Olof Hall, and Dixon, of Gottenburgh.

[No. 5.]

THESE ARE TO CERTIFY, that Mr. Stephen Decatur McKnight, late a lieutenant of the United States Frigate Essex, has, since his capture, been regularly exchanged; that he has proceeded in his majesty's ship under my command, to Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of making an affidavit necessary for the condemnation of the Essex, and, under a promise from me, that he should be allowed to go to America by the first favourable opportunity, con-

sidering himself as on his parole of honour, not to act against Great Britain until his arrival there, or under the immediate protection of his own flag, free from molestation or detention.

I do therefore request, that the said lieutenant McKnight may be permitted to proceed accordingly ; and should the Swedish brig he now sails in, arrive in England, that he may be allowed to embark from thence for the United States, in such a manner as the lords commissioners of the admiralty, or the commissioners of the transport board, may be pleased to direct.

Given on board his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, at Rio de Janeiro, this 19th of August, 1814.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR, *Captain*.

SIR,

Rio de Janeiro, 24th Sept. 1819.

WITHOUT being able to boast of any personal acquaintance with you, and without pretending to assume an interest in what concerns your family, beyond that which their public services have entitled all their countrymen to partake of, I take the liberty of offering to you all the information which I have been able to collect concerning Stephen Decatur McKnight, your nephew, of the *Essex* Frigate, whom I had the pleasure to know in the year 1814, and to esteem very highly, and whose probable loss on his way home I never can hear or think of without great sorrow.

The regard which I and all my family contracted for him during his short stay with us in that year, induced us to make frequent inquiries after him since his departure ; but although we have long had reason to apprehend that some accident had befallen him, we were never able to hear any thing certain of his fate, and that of his companion midshipman, Lyman.

I was surprised to hear in July from Captain Henly, of the Congress frigate, to whom I repeated my inquiries about him, that Mr. McKnight's relations had never heard any thing of him after he left this port, and that they believe, that the vessel in which he sailed for England never arrived there. My surprise at being informed that this was their opinion, arose from the following circumstances :

Having learned in 1816, that neither of these young gentlemen had ever returned to the United States, I inquired at the time, and found, nevertheless, that the vessel in

which they sailed for England had arrived there in safety. I therefore presumed, until I saw Captain Henley, that they must have been lost on the voyage, between England and the United States, and that their friends knew all that could be known or desired to be known, of their misfortune.

As they carried with them bills drawn by them on the Secretary of the navy, and endorsed by me for the express purpose of paying their passage, and copies of letters, such as these now enclosed to you, numbered 1, 2, 3, the last of which represents a special letter of advice to the Secretary of state, intended to accompany the bills ; it becomes difficult to account for the vessel's arriving without them, and for their not being heard of in any way by the Secretary of the navy, or Secretary of state. You will perceive that if they arrived in England in the vessel in which they sailed, it was necessary for them to sell the bills there, which these letters refer to, to pay their passage that far ; or otherwise, that they should have been furnished by our agent for prisoners there, with other means of doing so, and of going home, which would have brought their names in his accounts, and their arrival in, and their departure from, England, would have come to the knowledge of our government in one of these ways. On the other hand, as they left me without any other means of paying the Swedish captain than those to be derived from the sale of those bills in England, it was natural to presume, if they found an opportunity by leaving him, at sea, of getting home sooner, or of re-entering the service more expeditiously, which was the worthy motive of their impatience to depart from hence, and which was provided for in the paper, (No. 5,) that they would still have been obliged to transfer the bills to him for the same reason : and on this supposition the bills ought equally to have reached the Treasury soon after the arrival of the vessel in England, and the date of the transfer, or some other circumstance attending it, would probably have indicated how far they went in the Swedish vessel. But at all events, whatever became of the bills, as she reached England in safety, and her Captain is still there, according to the Memorandum, (No. 4,) he certainly must be able to give some account of them. The first question for him to answer is, if they did not reach England in his vessel, what did he do with them ? The next is, if he was not paid from these bills, how was he paid ?

I can see no way of resolving them, except by supposing

that they might have found another vessel at sea, and also the means of satisfying his demand otherwise in that vessel into which it was to suppose they passed from his. It certainly may be known from Captain Mollen how, when, and why, he parted with them. If they entered any other vessel, the fate of that vessel may be traced further, and may throw more light upon theirs than has hitherto been obtained. Perhaps they met with some of our cruisers; it may be with the unfortunate Wasp, which, according to what I remember of her cruise in that summer, may have crossed their path and taken them on board. There were, however, some privateers and letters of marque, which, about that period, left the American and European coasts for the purpose of cruising in the Indian and China seas, of whose return to the United States I have never heard. If it could be known, that from any cause they got on board any of the latter, and that any of them were wrecked upon the coasts of Africa or Asia, the discovery of these facts might authorize further inquiries after them; people who are wrecked on barbarous and desert coasts are not always lost. I should be sorry needlessly to excite fallacious hopes, or to contribute to revive unavailing anxieties on so delicate a subject as this is; but I really find it strange that this Captain should never have made any report, which seems to be the case, on his arrival in England, of such an incident as that of two passengers, whose destination was there, and whose profession was military, having left his ship at sea: I can see no reason why he should not have reported the fact at the first port he entered, either as a matter of obligation, custom, or news; and I can see none for theirs, desiring him to conceal the fact. Again, they may have been taken out of his ship by some British commander, who might have paid no respect to Captain Hillyar's exchange and protection, which I believe the British commander, who met with Captain Porter on our coast, was inclined to disregard; but I am equally at a loss to know why such commander or the Swede should suppress the publication of the fact.

No. 5 is a copy of Mr. McKnight's protection, which was taken by myself from the original given him by Captain Hillyar. That officer, who I know esteemed these young men, and your nephew in particular, very highly, gave him letters to England, and among them one for Mrs. Hill, yar, who, as I understood, lived not far from Portsmouth

or Plymouth, desiring her to receive him and his companion into her house, to furnish them money if they wanted, and to treat them as if they were his children.

It would have been natural for them, if they left the Swedish ship voluntarily, to have sent on Mrs. Hillyar's letters, and even to have written to her. As Mr. Adams, who soon followed them to England with Captain Hillyar, was probably at his house, he might have known whether she received any notice of them from such letters.

It is true that it seems almost too late to found any hopes of success upon the inquiries which a knowledge of these facts may now revive on the part of their friends; but when it is considered how many things are possible which do not appear to be probable, and after all, how nearly possibilities are allied to probabilities, sometimes on the side of good fortune as well as of evil, their friends, I am sure, will excuse me for throwing before them these glimpses, by which their course, after they left this place, may be traced farther than it has yet been followed, and which may at last direct them to certainty respecting them, which to many minds is less affecting on such occasions than such doubts as hang about the history of these mysterious young men.

I have, sir, delayed sending you these papers longer than was necessary, since I received the information from Captain Henley. It was because I then expected to have been in the United States sooner than I am now certain of finding a conveyance sufficiently safe and commodious for transporting thither, at this season of the year, so large a family as I am encumbered with. I therefore will detain them from you no longer on that account, and I accompany them with the observations I have made on the subject to which they relate, not more for the purpose of acquitting myself of a melancholy duty to their relations than from the anxiety which I feel to have what seems to me to be a mysterious transaction explained, as far as possible, by the Swedish captain. I am sorry that I did not know some years that it was believed in the United States, that the vessel they were in, as well as themselves, never reached England, when these traces of them might have been more useful perhaps than they may be now.

If this communication should be thought by you to contain any thing interesting to Mr. McKnight's friends, it will also be so to those of Mr. Lyman.

I think he told me he was a native of Connecticut; that

he went to the N. W. Coast and to Chili, in an American brig, which was sold in the latter country before he entered the service in the Essex, under Captain Porter. Perhaps this officer can remember and trace his connexions, and he will, no doubt, willingly give them any information which these papers may convey to them.

At all events, it will convey some consolation to Mr. McKnight's friends, to know the circumstances which regard him, if they should never know any more; that, young as he was, he had already by his gallantry and good conduct, entitled himself to be esteemed by his countrymen and their enemies. For myself, I felt a pride, under the circumstances in which our acquaintance was formed, at meeting with such an American as he was, and I enjoyed much pleasure from witnessing the true devotion which he showed for the cause of his country, which he promised to serve both with advantage and dignity. I have been extremely loath to reconcile my mind to the conviction, that he had perished. I remember that he had a mother living when he was here, of whom he spoke with much affection, and I think also of a sister or sisters, for whom he took with him some presents.

If this should be the last news they may hear of him, it will not be destitute of some comfort for them. Besides his signature to one of these letters, and our regard for him, the only remembrances which we find in our possession, is an Indian sling, which he brought from the Washington Islands, and which he gave me as such at our parting. Perhaps, at his age, he considered it a trophy (for I hear that he displayed great valour there as well as in the action at Valparaiso;) however this may be, I do myself the honour to put it in your hands, Sir. It is not because I set too little value on it that I am willing to part with it; but because his family will find many more motives for valuing it than I can have, and by thus accepting it from me, they will at the same time do me the favour of accepting the only mark of respect which I have the means of showing, both for his memory, if that is all that lives, and for their feelings towards him.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, JUN.

To Commodore Stephen Decatur.