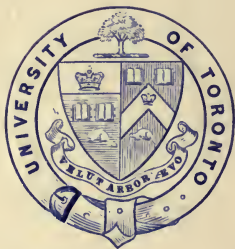




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KAVIENA



*A Native of New Caledonia throwing the spear.*



*A Sandwich Islander Dipping*



THE HISTORY



# CIRCUMNAVIGATION

OF

## THE GLOBE;

AND

PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

---

"What perils daunt him? not the mighty deep  
With all its panoply of waves and storms!  
Not the round world itself, with northern ice  
And torrid zones, and southern ice again!  
Man has dared all, and, like the Ariel sprite,  
He girdles round the world."

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THE GLOBE

THE GLOBE

NEW YORK, 1857



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THE GLOBE



## P R E F A C E.

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THERE are few subjects that have to such an extent attracted the attention and gratified the curiosity of mankind, in all ages, as the narratives that have been given to the world of the voyages and adventures of distinguished navigators. The description of foreign and distant lands, and of the strange and diversified races that inhabit them, is calculated to produce in the minds of young and old an impression as powerful as any that can be called forth by the most highly wrought tales of fiction. This may be accounted for, partly from the novelty and striking nature of the scenes described, and partly from the air of truthfulness that pervades most narratives of the kind, which carries along with it the sober judgment as well as the admiration of the reader.

The object of the present work is to furnish a comprehensive history of the various circumnavigations of the globe, and to describe, at the same time, the gradual progress of discovery in Polynesia, and those

other portions of the earth that lie remote from European shores.

The innumerable islands that lie scattered over the surface of the broad Pacific have ever, since the day when it was first descried from the heights of Darien by Vasco Nunez de Balboa (A. D. 1513), occupied an important place in public attention. In few regions of the earth does Nature put on such an attractive aspect, or pour forth such a lavish profusion of her bounteous gifts. Under a mild and most genial climate, the fertile soil produces in abundance the choicest fruits and flowers, and rich and varied vegetation clothes the land from its ocean margin to the summits of the loftiest mountains. This is the region of the bread-fruit tree, where, as if the Almighty had granted an exemption from the original curse, the inhabitants neither plough nor sow, but gather at their ease "the unreaped harvest of unfurrowed fields;" and it will not appear surprising that the earliest visitors imagined they beheld the land described in the golden age of the classic poets. As Humboldt has remarked, "the state of half civilization in which these islanders are found gives a peculiar charm to the description of their manners. Such pictures have more attraction than those which portray the solemn gravity of the inhabitants of the Missouri or the Maranon."

In every compendium of voyages, a prominent place has always been assigned to the discoveries and adventures of those navigators whose course has led them

to encompass the world—an enterprise first accomplished by the daring and skill of Magellan (A.D. 1520), though that intrepid commander did not survive to witness the successful termination of the voyage. But, in most of the early works of this nature, the general dryness of the narratives, the obscurity of the details, and the frequent repetitions, tend rather to repel than to excite the attention of the reader. The voluminous character, also, of most collections cannot but deter the great majority of inquirers. In one of these (*Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, par M. Albert Montemont, in 8vo, Paris 1833–35) the “*Voyages autour du Monde*” occupy about twenty volumes; to which our own “*Pinkerton’s Voyages and Travels*” furnish a sufficient parallel. The excellent work of Admiral Burney may be said to be almost the only one in which an attempt has been made to arrange into a connected narrative this mass of crude materials, and to throw the light of recent research upon the obscurity of the early writers. But the “*Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*” is chiefly addressed to the professional and scientific student; and though it consists of five volumes quarto, it only brings the annals of maritime enterprise down to the commencement of the reign of George III.—thus leaving untouched the epoch of Cook’s voyages, the most interesting and important of the whole. And it must not be overlooked that Admiral Burney’s work, however excellent in its day, has now become, in a great measure, antiquated, owing to the immense ac-

cessions which geographical knowledge has received since his time.

In later times, the investigations of Mariner and D'Urville have added greatly to our knowledge of the Tonga Archipelago and the Feejee Islands; Otaheite, the Society and Sandwich Islands, have been faithfully elucidated by the Rev. Mr. Ellis, Messrs. Bennet and Tyerman, and the American missionary, Mr. Stewart. The officers of H.M.S. *Blonde*, and MM. Morineau and Botta, have also enlarged our acquaintance with the last-mentioned group. Much light has been thrown upon New Zealand by the writings of Cruise, Rutherford, Yate, Earle, and D'Urville; upon the Ladrone, the Navigators', and the Caroline Islands, by Freycinet and Kotzebue; while much information has been obtained in regard to the Coral Archipelago, the New Hebrides, and other groups, from the researches of some of the above-named voyagers, and of Billingshausen, M. Duperrey, Dillon, and Captain Beechey. The obscurity that hung over the fate of the unfortunate La Perouse created a deep interest throughout the civilized world, and to this generous feeling we are indebted for several valuable contributions to geographical knowledge on the part of the French, and especially to the detailed voyages of D'Entrecasteaux and Dumont D'Urville.

In the preparation of the present work, every care has been taken to turn to advantage the researches of the writers above mentioned, and of many others, as



far as they tended to the elucidation of the subject ; and, in the case of collections, such as those of Debrosses, Dalrymple, and Burney, the original authorities, whence they derived their information, have, where accessible, been in no instance neglected.

For some valuable information embodied in the account of Cook's voyages, the publishers have been indebted to the relatives of his family. The late Mr. Isaac Cragg-Smith kindly furnished them with the original manuscript of the great navigator's observations of the transit of Venus, a fac-simile of which accompanies this work.

The innumerable circumnavigations of the globe that have been accomplished since the death of Cook, have added immensely to the store of previously existing information ; and even to enumerate the names of the navigators would extend these prefatory remarks to an undue dimension. This increase of materials has greatly contributed to the accuracy of our information, and no pains have been spared to lay before the reader the results obtained from the investigations of the most eminent and trustworthy observers. Attention may be particularly directed to the voyages of the United States' Exploring Expedition, under Captain Wilkes ; and specially to those of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, under Sir James Ross and Commander Crozier, which first brought to light the existence of the great Antarctic Continent, with its stupendous ice-bound shores and lofty mountains.

With the exception of this last-named discovery, maritime enterprise has of late years been chiefly confined to the minute examination of the observations of previous navigators, and to the rectification of the errors into which they not unnaturally were led. In this work it will be found that every attention has been paid to the latest investigations, and the publishers are confident that their compendium, unencumbered by lengthy detail, will contain every fact deserving the notice of the student of maritime discovery.

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The Whaling Voyage of the Tuscan—Pitcairn's Island—Tahiti—The Marquesas—Caroline Island—Marine Phenomena—Sir James Clark Ross's Voyage—Captain Biscoe's and Captain Balleny's Antarctic Discoveries—Sir James Ross's Cruise in the Atlantic, and Progress to the South—Possession Island—Kerguelen Island—Captain d'Urville's and Captain Wilkes' Antarctic Explorations—Sir James Ross's First Cruise in the Antarctic Ocean—Discovery of the Antarctic Continent—Island-Flanks, Mountain-Ranges, Grand Volcano, Sublime Scenery, and Icy Barrier of that Continent—Aurora Australis—Embayment among Icebergs—Sir James's Second Antarctic Cruise—Perils among the Pack Ice—New Views of the Continent—Collision of the Ships—Visit to the Falkland Islands—Sir James's Third Cruise in the Antarctic Ocean, and Further Discoveries there, and Return to England—The United States Exploring Expedition—Researches and Perils of its several Ships in the Antarctic Ocean—Visit to the Friendly Islands and the Feejee Islands, and Tragic Occurrences at the latter—The Volcanoes of Kilauea and Mauno-Loa in Hawaii—Cruise and Shipwreck of the Peacock—Occurrences in Oregon and California—Homeward course of the Squadron.....Page 844

## CHAPTER XXII.

SIMPSON AND PFEIFFER.

Sir George Simpson's Tour Round the World—Whirl-tempest and  
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 sora, and Progress thence to Germany..... Page 888

# CIRCUMNAVIGATION

OF

## THE GLOBE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### *Discovery of the South Sea.*

Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients—Their Ignorance of a Sea to the East of China—First seen by Marco Polo—Progress of Modern Discovery—Columbus—Papal Bull of Partition—Cabral—Cabot—Cortereal—Pinzon—Vasco Nunez de Balboa hears of the South Sea—Its Discovery.

THE existence of the vast ocean which separates the continents of Asia and America was never imagined by the ancients; nor, indeed, do they appear to have had any certain knowledge that Asia on the east was bounded by the sea.

Homer had figured the world as a circle begirt by "the great strength of ocean," and this belief in a circumambient flood long continued to prevail. It was implicitly received by many geographers, and, being carried onwards with the advance of science, was from time to time reconciled to the varying theories and conjectures of the increased knowledge of succeeding ages.

CHAP. I.  
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Ideas of the  
ancients.

Homer.



## CHAP. I.

Supposed  
encircling  
ocean.

Ideas of  
Aristotle,  
Seneca, and  
Herodotus.

Progress of  
discovery.

Ptolemy.

Thus, long after the spherical form of the earth was taught, the existence of its ocean-girdle was credited; and in the geographical systems of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Mela, and others, the waters of the Atlantic were depicted as laving on the one hand the shores of Europe, and encircling on the other the mysterious regions of Scythia and India. Nay, so far had the speculations of philosophy outstripped the rude navigation of the times, that the possibility of crossing this unknown ocean was more than once contemplated. Having formed an estimate of the circumference of the globe, Aristotle conceived that the distance between the pillars of Hercules and India must be small, and that a communication might be effected between them. Seneca with more confidence affirmed, that with a fair wind a ship would sail from Spain to the Indies in a few days. But these notions were far from being universally received. Herodotus had early denied the existence of this circle of waters; and those who maintained the affirmative, reasoned on grounds manifestly hypothetical, and beyond the narrow limits of their knowledge. Of the northern countries of Asia they knew nothing, nor were they acquainted with the extensive regions beyond the Ganges,—a vast space that they filled with their Eastern Sea, which thus commenced where their information stopped, and all beyond was dark. The progress of discovery at length brought to light the existence of lands in those portions of the globe supposed to be covered by the ocean; but, proceeding with undue haste, it was next imagined that Asia extended eastwards in an indefinite expanse. It was figured thus by Ptolemy, the last and greatest of the ancient geographers. He removed from his map the *Atlanticum Mare Orientale* (the eastern Atlantic), which had so long marked the confines of geographical research, and exhibited the continent as stretching far beyond the limits previously assigned to it. His knowledge did not enable him to delineate its eastern extremity, or the ocean beyond: he was therefore induced to terminate it by a boundary of “land unknown.”



With Ptolemy ceased, not only the advance of science, but even the memory of almost all that had been formerly known. The long night which succeeded the decline of the Roman empire was now closing in, and a dreary space intervened before its shadows were dispelled by the dawn of a brighter day than the world had yet witnessed.

The first gleam of light came from the East, where the Arabs pursued the study of geography with the utmost ardour. Their systems again revived the belief in a circumambient ocean, which bound the earth like a zone, and in which the world floated like an egg in a basin. That portion of this belt of waters which was imagined to flow round the north-eastern shores of Asia, they called by the name of "The Sea of Pitchy Darkness." The Atlantic had by the Greeks been regarded as a fairy scene, where the Islands of the Blest were placed, in which, under calm skies, surrounded by unruffled seas and amid groves of the sweetest odour, the favoured of the gods enjoyed everlasting peace and happiness. This fable found no place among the Arabs, who bestowed on that ocean the name of "The Sea of Darkness," and filled their imaginations with appalling pictures of its storms and dangers. Xerif al Edrisi, one of the most eminent of their geographers, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, observes,—

"No one has been able to verify any thing concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or, if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of this ocean, although they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking; for if they broke, it would be impossible for a ship to plough them."

CHAP. I.

Decline of  
geographical  
science.Arabian  
geographers.The Atlantic  
Ocean.Xerif al  
Edrisi.

But the mystery of this "Sea of Pitchy Darkness" was

## CHAP. I.

Marco Polo.

The court of  
Kublai Khan.Islands of  
the Indian  
Ocean.Zipangu or  
Japan.

at length removed. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, succeeded in penetrating across the Asiatic continent, and reached the farthest shores of China. He brought back to Europe tales of oriental pomp and magnificence far beyond any previous conception. His work exercised the greatest influence on the minds of that age, which, prone to belief in marvellous stories, found unbounded gratification in the glowing descriptions of the wealth of those eastern countries; the extent and architectural wonders of their cities; the numbers and glittering array of their armies; and, above all, the inconceivable splendour of the court of the great Kublai Khan, his vast palaces, his guards, his gay summer-residences, with their magnificent gardens watered by beautiful streams, and adorned with the fairest fruits and flowers. Among these visions of immeasurable riches, a prominent place was occupied by the sea which was found to be the eastern boundary of China. He drew a picture of it, widely differing from the gloom and tempests with which the Arabs had invested its waters. He spoke of its extent, so great, "that, according to the report of experienced pilots and mariners who frequent it, and to whom the truth must be known, it contains no fewer than seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, mostly inhabited." As to their products, he told that no trees grew there that did not yield a fragrant perfume. He dwelt on the abundance of their spices and drugs, and summed up the whole by declaring, that "it was impossible to estimate the value of the gold and other articles found in these islands!" But all others were outshone by the more lavish splendours of Zipangu, the modern Japan. There, were to be found abundance of precious stones, and large quantities of pearls, some white, and others of a beautiful pink colour. The inhabitants were of a fair complexion, well made, and of civilized manners. "They have gold," it is said, "in the greatest plenty, its sources being inexhaustible; but as the king does not allow of its being

exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, considerably thick; and the windows also have golden ornaments. So vast, indeed," exclaims the Venetian, "are the riches of the palace, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them!"\* Marco Polo was careful to explain, that the sea in which Zipangu and its neighbouring islands were placed was not a gulf or branch of the ocean, like the English or the Egean Seas, but a large and boundless expanse of waters.

CHAP. I.  
Palace of the  
sovereign of  
Japan.

Thus early was the Asiatic margin of the South Sea made known; but more than two centuries elapsed before its opposite boundary was reached, or a European ship was launched upon its waves.

The Atlantic shores of Africa were the first scenes of that career of modern discovery which characterized the spirit of the fifteenth century. The main object was the circumnavigation of that continent, in order to open a direct path to India, the grand source of commerce and wealth; and, under the auspices of Prince Henry of Portugal, this end was pursued with a steadiness and perseverance which produced the most important results. There was inspired a confidence, hitherto unfelt, in the art of navigation; its capabilities were much advanced, and the range of its enterprise extended far beyond all previous limits. A passion for maritime adventure was also spread throughout Europe, and men's minds were excited to daring undertakings and bold speculations. Attention was turned to the un-

Portuguese  
discoveries  
on the Afri-  
can coast.

\* The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the Thirteenth Century, translated from the Italian, with Notes by William Marsden, F.R.S. London, 1818. 4to, p. 569, *et seq.*

CHAP. I.  
Influence on  
Europe.

known waters of the Atlantic, and imagination wanted on in figuring the wealth, the wonders, and the mysteries of the lands that were hidden in its bosom. The fables of antiquity were revived; the Atalantis of Plato came again to be believed; and to its classic fictions were added the marvels of many a Gothic and monkish legend, and the visions of splendour seen in the glory of the setting sun. Yet all these glittering fancies failed to tempt any mariner to sail boldly forth into the ocean, and explore the secrets of its depths.

Columbus.

At length arose Christopher Columbus,—a man of whom it has been happily remarked, that the narrative of his life is the link which connects the history of the Old World with that of the New. From the study of ancient and modern geographers he became convinced of the existence of lands which might be reached by sailing westward. He argued that the earth was a sphere, and, following Ptolemy, he assigned to it a circumference of twenty-four hours. He estimated that fifteen of these were known to the ancients, and that what remained to be explored was occupied by the eastern countries of Asia and the sea seen by Marco Polo, which he believed to be identical with the Atlantic. He was therefore firmly assured, that, by proceeding westward across this ocean, he would arrive at the shores of the Asiatic continent and its neighbouring island of Zipangu, of which the glowing description left by the Venetian traveller seems to have constantly haunted his thoughts.

Supposed cir-  
cumference  
of the earth.

Departure of  
Columbus.

After many years of doubt and disappointment spent in soliciting various princes to engage in the enterprise, he at length set sail from Spain on the 3d of August 1492, and the 12th of October following landed on San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands. After cruising for some time among this cluster, believed by him to be part of the great archipelago mentioned by Marco Polo, he discovered the island of Cuba, which he concluded to be a portion of the continent of Asia. He next visited the beautiful island of Hayti or St Domingo,



and, having loaded his vessels with specimens of the inhabitants and productions of this new country, returned to Europe. In his third voyage, Columbus discovered the continent of America, and looked upon it as the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients,—the peninsula of Malacca in modern maps. As he sailed along its shores, he received tidings of a great water situated to the south, and, conceiving that it must be connected with the Gulf of Mexico, determined to search for the strait or channel of communication. His last voyage was dedicated to this fruitless attempt; and he died in the firm conviction that this southern sea was the Indian Ocean, and that the lands he had visited belonged to the eastern boundary of Asia. How very far did he under-estimate the grandeur of his achievements! He thought that he found but a new path to countries known of old, while he had in truth discovered a continent hitherto unimagined, yet rivalling the ancient world in extent. Who will not share in the regret which has been so eloquently expressed, that the gloom, the penury, and disappointment which overcast his latter years, were visited by none of those bright and consoling hopes which would have flowed from the revelation of the future glory of “the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages, which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!”\*

CHAP. I.

Discovery of  
the continent  
of America.

Mistaken  
estimate of  
the dis-  
covery.

To secure the possession of the vast countries discovered by Columbus, the King of Spain applied for the sanction of the Pope. Martin V. and other pontiffs had granted to Portugal all the countries which it might discover from Cape Bojador and Cape Nun to the Indies; and the Portuguese monarch now com-

Papal gift of  
the New  
World.

\* History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, by Washington Irving, vol. iv. p. 61,—an admirable book, in which industry of research, elegance and loftiness of thought and diction, have combined to rear a work, which, surpassing all others on the subject, will itself probably never be surpassed.

## CHAP. I.

Nature of the  
Papal Bull.

Important  
injunction.

plained that his neighbour in visiting America had violated the rights conferred on him by the Holy Father. While this complaint was undergoing investigation, the court of Castile exerted its influence with Pope Alexander VI. ; and on the 4th of May 1493, a Bull was issued, which most materially influenced the future course of maritime discovery. By this important document, the head of the Catholic Church, "with the plenitude of apostolic power, by the authority of God Omnipotent granted to him through blessed Peter, and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which he exercises upon earth," assigned to the Spanish sovereigns "all the islands and main-lands, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places, and towns, and with all their rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, discovered, and which shall be discovered," to the west of an ideal line drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of the Azores. Thus did Spain at once acquire "an empire far more extensive than that which seven centuries of warfare obtained for the Romans!"\* This munificent grant was accompanied with one important injunction: Alexander adjured the sovereigns "by the holy obedience which you owe us, that you appoint to the said main-lands and islands upright men and fearing God, learned, skilful, and expert in instructing the foresaid natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith, and in teaching them good morals, employing for that purpose all requisite diligence." The terrors of Divine wrath were thundered against those who should infringe the papal grant. "Let no person presume with rash boldness to contravene this our donation, decree, inhibition, and will. For if any person presumes to do so, be it known to him that he will incur

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\* Memoir of Columbus, by D. G. B. Spotorno, Professor of Eloquence in the University of Genoa, published in "Memorials of Columbus, or a Collection of authentic Documents of that celebrated Navigator, now first published from the original Manuscripts, by order of the Decurions of Genoa. Translated from the Spanish and Italian." London, 1823. 8vo.



the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul." \* Even by orthodox princes, however, these threatenings were held light. As has been remarked by Purchas, "the Portugalls regarded them not; and not the Bull, but other compromise stayed them from open hostilitie." By an agreement between the two nations of the Peninsula, concluded in 1494, it was covenanted, that the line of partition described in the ecclesiastical document should be extended 270 leagues farther to the west, and that all beyond this boundary should belong to Castile, and all to the eastward to Portugal. † Thus their territories were defined with sufficient certainty on one side of the globe; but the limits on the other were left perfectly vague, and became a fertile subject of dispute.

CHAP. I.

Contempt of  
the Papal  
Bull.Agreement  
between  
Spain and  
Portugal.

\* The original Bull may be consulted in Purchas, vol. i. p. 13-15. A translation from a copy exhibiting some variations, but of no great consequence, is inserted in the "Memorials of Columbus" above quoted, document xxxvii. p. 172-183. This last has been followed in the quotations given in the present work. The copy in Purchas is accompanied by a chapter of "Animadversions on the said Bull of Pope Alexander," which cannot fail to gratify the curious in abuse and invective, in which it will scarcely yield the palm to any of the "flytings" of our earlier Scottish poets; or to the controversial writings of Scaliger, Milton, or Salmasius. In one sentence Alexander is called "Heire of all the Vices of all the Popes,"—"the Plague-sore into that Chayre of Pestylence,"—"the Monster of Men, or indeed rather an incarnate Devill,"—so necessary did Purchas consider it "not to suffer this Bull to passe unbaited!"

† This agreement (sometimes called the treaty of Tordesillas) was concluded on 7th June, but was not subscribed by Ferdinand till 2d July 1493, and by John not till 27th February 1494. It was confirmed by a Bull in 1506. The late Admiral Burney, whose work we will have occasion so often to mention with respect, writes of this agreement,—"*At the instance of the Portuguese, with the consent of the Pope, in 1494 the line of partition was by agreement removed 270 leagues more to the west; that it might accord with their possessions in the Brazils.*"—Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. i. p. 4. It is impossible to admit the existence of the motive here assigned; for Brazil was not discovered by Cabral until six years after the date of the agreement.—Purchas, vol. i. p. 30. Robertson's Hist. of America, book ii. Irving's Columbus, iii. 147, and authorities there quoted.—It is proper to mention that Burney is by no means singular in this mistake.

## CHAP. I.

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Passage of  
the Cape of  
Good Hope.

Meantime, the Portuguese had achieved the grand object which they had so long laboured to attain. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern extremity of Africa, which he named the Cape of Storms; but the Portuguese monarch gave it the more auspicious title of Good Hope. Eleven years after, Vasco de Gama doubled this dreaded promontory, and conducted a fleet to the rich shores of India,—an event which was destined to exercise on the career of American discovery more than an indirect influence, powerful as that was. The vast treasures which Portugal drew from countries where the harvest of the adventurer was prepared before he visited the field, mightily inflamed the avidity of Spain, and breathed a new spirit of ardour into her enterprises. Nor did the former kingdom fail to contribute her exertions towards extending the knowledge of the new continent. In the year 1500, the second expedition which was fitted out for India, under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, standing westward to clear the shores of Africa, discovered the coast of Brazil, and took possession of it in name of the Portuguese crown. It has been well observed by an eminent writer on this subject, “that Columbus’ discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them a few years later to the knowledge of that extensive continent.” \*

Discovery of  
Brazil.

Ideas sug-  
gested by this  
discovery.

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\* Robertson’s History of America, book ii. Care must be taken not to overvalue the merits of Cabral. It should be recollected that his discovery was the result of chance; and farther, that Brazil had been visited some months previously by Diego Lepe, and still earlier by Vicente Yanez Pinzon, who was the first to cross the equator in the Atlantic.

We have seen that even Portugal yielded but a scanty deference to the right which the Pope had usurped of bestowing the world at his will ; and England was still less inclined to acquiesce in such an assumption of power. So early as 1497, an armament sailed from this country, conducted, under letters-patent from Henry VII., by John Cabot, a native of Venice settled at Bristol, and by his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sanchez.\* The object appears to have been to find a western passage northwards of the new Spanish discoveries, and by this route to reach India. In prosecution of this great scheme, Cabot, on the 24th of June 1497, approached the American continent, probably at Newfoundland ; and his son Sebastian, in two successive voyages, performed in 1498 and 1517, explored a large extent of the coast, from Hudson's Bay on the north as far as Florida on the south. Although unsuccessful in the attainment of their immediate purpose, these expeditions have justly entitled the English to the high distinction of being the first discoverers of the mainland of America,—Columbus not having seen any part of it till the 1st of August 1498. In 1500, three years after the first voyage of Cabot, Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese gentleman, under the sanction of King Emanuel, pursued the track of the Cabots with the same views. Sailing along the east coast of Newfoundland, he reached the northern extremity of that island, and entered the mouth of the St Lawrence, which, with no small show of probability, he concluded to be the opening into the west that he was seeking. He proceeded also along the coast of Labrador, and appears to have advanced nearly as far as to Hudson's Bay.

CHAP. I.  
English  
adventure.

Voyage of  
John Cabot.

Discovery of  
the mainland  
of America.

\* A late acute writer has started a question as to the comparative agency of John and Sebastian Cabot. (Memoir of Sebastian Cabot. London, 1831 ; p. 42, *et seq.*) This point has been amply considered in a previous volume of this Library, to which reference is made for a minute relation of the discoveries of the Cabots.—Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, chap. i., and Appendix. Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX.

## CHAP. I.

Zeal and  
activity of  
Spain.

National  
enthusiasm  
excited.

Spanish  
voyagers.

While England and Portugal were thus examining the coasts of the New World, Spain, which had first opened the path, pursued it with unabated zeal and activity. The peculiar circumstances of that country afforded much encouragement to the spirit of adventure. The long war she had waged with the Moors, and the high and romantic feelings which animated that contest, fostered a strong desire of excitement, and an ardent love of enterprise, which found in the regions discovered by Columbus an ample and inexhaustible field. "Chivalry left the land and launched upon the deep; the Spanish cavalier embarked in the caravel of the discoverer." Year after year her ports poured forth fresh expeditions, while national enthusiasm was almost daily excited by rumours of new countries far richer and more fertile than any previously known. The details of these navigations, however, more properly belong to another work; and it will be sufficient in this place briefly to allude to their chief results. In 1500, Rodrigo de Bastides explored the northern coast of Tierra Firma, from the Gulf of Darien to Cape de Vela, from about the 73d to the 79th degree of west longitude. In the same year, Vicente Yanez Pinzon doubled Cape San Augustine, discovered the Maragnon or River of Amazons, and sailed northward along the coast to the island of Trinidad. The same active voyager engaged in several other expeditions; and in one of these, in which he was accompanied by Diaz de Solis, made known to Europeans the province of Yucatan. Almost contemporaneously with the first voyage of Pinzon, his townsman, Diego Lepe, pursuing nearly the same path, added largely to the knowledge of the coasts of Brazil. In 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon set sail in quest of the fabled island of Bimini, where flowed the miraculous Fountain of Youth, whose waters were of such wonderful power that whosoever bathed in them was restored to the vigour of early manhood. Though this fairy region was in vain sought for, the important discovery of the blooming coast of Florida was achieved.





DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN BY VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.





In the succeeding year, 1513, the Spaniards at length reached that ocean of which they had heard many vague rumours from the natives of Tierra Firme. The honour of this discovery is due to Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a man sprung from a decayed family, and who, first appearing in the New World as a mere soldier of fortune, of dissolute habits and of desperate hopes, had, by courage and intrigue, raised himself to the government of a small colony established at Santa Maria in Darien. In one of his forays against the native inhabitants, when in this command, he procured a large quantity of gold. While he was dividing the treasure among his followers, much disputing took place in the presence of a young cacique, who, disdainingly brawling for what seemed to him so mean an object, struck the scales with his hand, and scattered the gold on the ground, exclaiming, "Why should you quarrel for such a trifle? If this gold is indeed so precious in your eyes, that for it you forsake your homes, invade the peaceful lands of strangers, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a province where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold those lofty mountains!" he said, pointing to the south, "beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels not much less than yours, and furnished like them with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold is as plentiful and common among these people of the south as iron is among you Spaniards." From the moment in which he heard this intelligence, the mind of Vasco Nunez became occupied with this one object, and he steadfastly devoted all his thoughts and actions to the discovery of the southern sea indicated by this chief. Many difficulties, however, retarded the undertaking, and it was not till the 1st of September 1513 that he set forth, accompanied by no more than a hundred and ninety soldiers. After incredible toil in

CHAP. I.

Vasco Nunez  
de Balboa.Discovery  
of goldNew object  
of ambition.

## CHAP. I.

Discovery of  
the Pacific  
Ocean.

marching through hostile tribes, he at length approached the base of the last ridge he had to climb, and rested there for the night. On the 26th of September, with the first glimmering of light, he commenced the ascent, and by ten o'clock had reached the brow of the mountain, from the summit of which he was assured he would see the promised ocean. Here Vasco Nunez made his followers halt, and mounted alone to the bare hill-top. What must have been his emotions when he reached the summit! Below him extended forests, green fields, and winding rivers, and beyond he beheld the South Sea, illuminated by the morning sun. At this glorious sight he fell on his knees, and extending his arms towards the ocean, and weeping for joy, returned thanks to Heaven for being the first European who had been permitted to behold these long-sought waters. He then made signs to his companions to ascend, and when they obtained a view of the magnificent scene, a priest who was among them began to chant the anthem "Te deum laudamus," all the rest kneeling and joining in the solemn strain. This burst of pious enthusiasm is strangely contrasted with the feelings of avarice to which, even in the moment of exultation, their leader surrendered his mind, when he congratulated them on the prospect "of becoming, by the favour of Christ, the richest Spaniards that ever came to the Indies." After this he caused a tall tree to be felled, and formed into a cross, which was erected on the spot whence he first beheld the western deep. He then began to descend from the mountains to the shores of the new-found ocean; and on the 29th of September reached a vast bay, named by him San Miguel, from the festival on which it was discovered. Unfurling a banner, whereon was painted a figure of the Virgin with the arms of Castile at her feet, he marched with his drawn sword in his hand and his buckler on his shoulder knee-deep into the rushing tide, and, in a loud voice, took possession of the sea and of all the shores it washed. He concluded the ceremony by cutting with his dagger a cross on a tree that grew in the

Religious  
enthusiasm  
and avarice.

Bay of San  
Miguel.

water ; and his followers, dispersing themselves in the forest, expressed their devotion by carving similar marks with their weapons. Vasco Nunez then betook himself to pillage : he exacted from the natives contributions in gold and provisions ; and being told of a country to the south, where the people possessed abundance of gold, and used beasts of burden, the rude figure of the lama traced on the beach suggested to him the camel, and confirmed him in the opinion that he had reached “ the gates of the East Indies.” From the circumstance of the ocean having been first descried from the Isthmus of Darien, which runs nearly east and west, it received the name of the South Sea,—a title which, however accurately applied to the part first seen, is employed with little propriety to designate the whole vast expanse of the Pacific. Tidings of this great discovery were immediately transmitted to Spain, and received with delight and triumph. But instead of rewarding so important a service, the court despatched a governor to supersede Balboa, who, by the perfidy of his successor, was publicly executed in 1517.\*

CHAP. I.

Spoils of the natives.

Name of the new ocean.

Meantime the colony on the Darien continued to extend their knowledge of the western ocean, to make excursions in barks, and to form small settlements in the vicinity. Larger vessels were soon constructed ; and violently taking possession of some small islands in the Gulf of San Miguel, which they named the Pearl Islands, the Spaniards extorted from their conquered subjects a large annual tribute drawn from the treasures of the deep.

Darien colony.

As the hope decayed of finding a passage to India through a strait in the American continent, the design was formed of establishing a regular intercourse by the Isthmus of Darien ; and a settlement was accordingly fixed at Panama, whence vessels were to visit the eastern

Settlement at Panama.

\* The extraordinary career of Vasco Nunez de Balboa has of late been invested with a new interest by the elegant memoir of Don Manuel Josef Quintana,—an English translation of which, by Mrs Hodson, appeared at Edinburgh in 1832.

CHAP. I.  
 Causes of  
 failure.

shores of Asia. This scheme, however, failed of success. Within a month after the ships destined for the voyage had been launched, their planks were so destroyed by worms as to render them quite useless. No better success had followed an attempt which was made in 1515 to find an opening into the Austral Ocean, in more southern latitudes. The commander of the expedition, Juan Diaz de Solis, in exploring the country at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, fell into an ambuscade and lost his life. Upon this disaster, the undertaking was abandoned, and the vessels returned to Spain.

Timid navigation of the Pacific.

Such was the knowledge obtained of the South Sea prior to the year 1519. Its waters had indeed been discovered, and the highest hopes formed of its treasures as well as of the rich lands washed by its billows. But all attempts to explore its vast expanse had failed; and the seamen who boldly crossed the broad Atlantic were content to creep cautiously along the gulfs and creeks of this newly-reached ocean. No strait had yet been found to connect its waves with those of seas already known and navigated; it seemed to be hemmed in by inaccessible barriers; and the great continent of America, which had been regarded as a main object of discovery, was now in some degree considered as an obstacle in the path to farther enterprise.



## CHAPTER II.

*Circumnavigation of Magellan.*

Magellan's Birth and Services—Proposals to the Spanish Court accepted—Sails on his Voyage—Anchors at Port San Julian—Transactions there—Description of the Natives—Discovers the Strait—Enters the South Sea—The Unfortunate Islands—The Ladrões—The Island of Mazagua or Limasava—Zebu—Inter-course with the Natives—Death of Magellan—His Character—Fleet proceeds to Borneo—Arrives at Tidore—The Ship *Vitoria* reaches Spain—Fate of the *Trinidad*—Results of the Expedition.

THE glory of discovering a path to the South Sea, and of overcoming the difficulties which had hitherto impeded the navigation of its waters, is due to Fernando de Magalhães, Magalhaens, or, as it has been more commonly written in this country, Magellan.\* He was by birth a Portuguese, and sprung from a noble family. He had served in India with much honour under the standard of the famous Albuquerque, and had there made considerable acquirements in practical seamanship. To these were added no mean scientific attainments, and much information, derived from a correspondence with some of the first geographers and most

CHAP. II.  
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Fernando de  
Magellan.

\* In Hawkesworth's account of the first voyage of Captain Cook (Hawkes, Coll, vol. ii. p. 41, London, 1773), appears the following note:—"The celebrated navigator who discovered this streight was a native of Portugal, and his name, in the language of his country, was *Fernando de Magalhaens*; the Spaniards call him *Hernando Magalhães*, and the French *Magellan*, which is the orthography that has been generally adopted: a gentleman, the fifth in descent from this great adventurer, is now living in or near London, and communicated the true name of his ancestor to Mr [Sir Joseph] Banks, with a request that it might be inserted in this work."



## [CHAP. II

Motives for  
his under-  
taking.

Supposed  
discoveries  
of Martin  
Behem.

Rejection of  
Magellan's  
proposals.

successful navigators of those days. The grounds on which he projected his great undertaking have not been accurately recorded. It has been supposed he was struck with the circumstance that the South American continent trends still more to the westward in proportion as the higher latitudes are attained; that he concluded from this, that in shape it was probably similar to Africa; and that its southern extremity must be washed by an open sea, through which there would necessarily be an entrance into the ocean beyond. There have not been wanting persons, however, to ascribe the honour of this discovery to Martin Behem,—a distinguished geographer of that age, to whom also has been given the merit of having anticipated Columbus in finding the New World. But the pretensions set forth in behalf of this individual have been traced to an error in attributing to him the construction of a globe made many years after his death, which took place in 1506.\* This date is fatal to his claim, as at that time the South Sea itself was not discovered. It must be remembered, likewise, that for many years afterwards, the best mariners of Spain searched unsuccessfully for the strait in question, which they could hardly have missed, if, as is alleged, it had been laid down in the charts of Behem.

Magellan first made an offer of his service to his own sovereign, who, says Fray Gaspar,† “did not choose to

\* Irving's Columbus. Appendix, No. xii. vol. iv. p. 205-212. See also Burney's Discov. in the South Sea. i. 45-48.

† Conquest of the Philippine Islands. The principal authorities for the voyage of Magellan are Herrera, Barros, and Pigafetta. This last author, a native of Vicenza in Italy, accompanied the expedition. From an imperfect copy of his narrative, an account was compiled by Purchas, vol. i. book i. chap. ii. The first perfect edition was published from a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library, by C. Amoretti:—“Primo Viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo. Milano, 1800.” This has since been translated into the French and English languages. In the “Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by Alexander Dalrymple,” London, 1769, will be found translations of Herrera, Barros, and Gaspar, arranged in a manner that much facilitates a comparison between their varying statements. It is to be regretted that Dalrymple has only treated of the voyage

hear it, nor to give it any confidence, but dismissed him with a frown and singular disgrace, very different from what was due to the proposal of Magalhães, and the reputation he had acquired for his valour." Thus did Portugal, after having rejected the greatest honour in the career of discovery,—the finding of America,—spurn away the second,—the glory of the first circumnavigation of the globe.—Magellan, accompanied by Ruy Falero, a native astrologer who was associated with him in the enterprise, then determined to go to the Spanish court and tender the fame and profit of his undertaking to the Emperor Charles V. He arrived at Valladolid, where his majesty then was, about 1517, and his proposals were listened to with attention and respect. We are told by Herrera that he brought with him a globe fairly painted, on which he had described the lands and seas, and the track he meant to pursue, but carefully left the strait blank, that they might not anticipate his design. This precaution (if the tale is to be credited) was a bitter satire on the little faith to be reposed in the honour of princes, but it was not used without good reason; for Magellan had before him the example of John II. of Portugal, who, having gathered from Columbus the theory of his great project, with singular meanness, secretly despatched a vessel to make the attempt, and rob the discoverer of his honours.

CHAP. II.

Dismissal  
from Por-  
tugal.Visit to the  
Spanish  
court.Suspicious  
precautions.

The emperor, on considering the proposals of Magellan, was so much gratified as to confer on him several distinctions. Articles of agreement were drawn out to the following effect:—The navigator, and his countryman, Ruy Falero, agreed to reach the Moluccas by sailing to the west; it was stipulated that they were to enjoy a ten years' monopoly of the track which they explored, and to receive a twentieth part of all the revenue and profits, which, after deducting the expenses, should

Articles of  
agreement.

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of Magellan down to his entry into the Pacific. Burney has diligently examined all the authorities with his usual acumen and perseverance, and has woven the whole into a comprehensive and discriminating narrative.

## CHAP. II.

Title and  
privileges  
conceded.

accrue from their discoveries. He was also to enjoy the title of Adelantado over the seas and lands he should happen to make known. Certain privileges of merchandise were conceded to him and his associate, including a fifth part of all that the ships should bring home in the first voyage: the emperor agreed to furnish for the expedition five vessels, two of 130 tons, two of ninety, and one of sixty; and this fleet was to be victualled for two years, and provided with 234 men.

These articles were concluded in Saragossa, and Magellan then repaired to Seville, where, in the church of Santa Maria de la Vitoria de Triana, the royal standard of Spain was formally delivered to him; and he took a solemn oath that he would perform the voyage with all faithfulness as a good vassal of the emperor. His squadron was composed of the Trinidad, the San Antonio, the Vitoria, the Concepcion, and the Santiago; but the period of sailing was retarded by the interference of the Portuguese king, who threw every obstacle in the way of the enterprise which he himself had not either the spirit or the generosity to encourage. He even endeavoured to entice Magellan from the Spanish service by promises of more advantageous terms. Failing in this, he is supposed to have countenanced various reports which were circulated against the fame of the adventurer; while others among his countrymen predicted, that "the King of Spain would lose the expenses, for Fernando Magalhanes was a chattering fellow, and little reliance to be placed in him, and that he would not execute what he promised."\*

Magellan's  
squadron.

Mean jea-  
lousy of the  
Portuguese  
king.

Departure of  
Magellan.

At length this renowned leader sailed from San Lucar on the 20th, or, according to some accounts, on the 21st of September 1519. His first destination was the Canary Islands, where he stopped to take in wood and water; and on the 13th December following he came to anchor in a port, which was named Santa Lucia, in  $23\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of south latitude, and on the coast of Brazil.

\* Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. x.

This has sometimes been supposed the Rio de Janeiro of the Portuguese ; but modern observation does not confirm the opinion. The natives appeared a confiding, credulous, good-hearted race, and readily gave provisions in exchange for trifling wares ; half-a-dozen fowls were obtained for a king of spades, and the bargain was considered to be equally good by both parties. Pigafetta says,—“ They were very long lived, generally reaching 105 and sometimes 140 years of age.”

CHAP. II.

Natives of  
South  
America.

Weighing anchor on the 27th, the squadron sailed southward, and on the 11th January 1520, reached Cape Santa Maria on the Rio de la Plata, where they took in supplies. Near this place Juan Diaz de Solis about five years before had been murdered by the natives, on which account they kept at a distance from their visitors. Putting again to sea, and touching at different places, the fleet, on Easter Eve, came to anchor in a port which was named San Julian ; and there Magellan remained five months. Discontent, and at last open mutiny, broke out in his ships, the ringleaders being certain Spanish officers, who felt mortified at serving under a Portuguese commander. The first step taken to restore order, however much it might accord with the character of that rude age, cannot be reconciled with our notions of honourable conduct : a person was despatched with a letter to one of the captains, with orders to stab him whilst he was engaged in reading it. This commission being unscrupulously executed, and followed up by measures equally prompt in regard to the other mutineers, the authority of the captain-general was soon fully re-established.

Rio de la  
Plata.Mutiny in  
the squadron.

While the fleet lay in this harbour, the Santiago, one of the ships, made an exploratory cruise ; and on the 3d May, the anniversary of the Finding of the Holy Cross, discovered the river named Santa Cruz. Having advanced about three leagues farther to the south, the vessel was wrecked, though the crew, after suffering very great hardships, ultimately rejoined the squadron. The long period which they passed on that coast enabled

Cruise and  
wreck of the  
Santiago.



## CHAP. II.

Interview  
with a native.

Personal ap-  
pearance.

Natives on  
board the  
ships.

the Spaniards to form an intimate acquaintance with the natives. They had at first concluded that the country was uninhabited ; but one day an Indian, well made and of gigantic size, came capering and singing to the beach, throwing dust upon his head in token of amity. A seaman was forthwith sent on shore, and directed to imitate the gestures of this merry savage, who was of such immense stature, says Pigafetta, that a middle-sized Castilian only reached to his waist. He was large in proportion, and altogether a formidable apparition ; his broad face being stained red, save a yellow circle about his eyes, and two heart-shaped spots on his cheeks. His hair was covered with a white powder. His clothing, formed of the skin of the guanaco,\* covered his body from head to foot, being wrapped round the arms and legs, and sewed together all in one piece, like the dress of the ancient Irish. Shoes fabricated of the hide of the same animal, which made the feet appear round and large, procured for his whole tribe the name of Pata-gones, or *clumsy-hoofed*. The arms of this individual were a stout bow and arrows,—the former strung with gut, the latter tipped with flint-stones sharpened. He ascended the ship of the captain-general, where he appeared quite at his ease, ate, drank, and made merry, till, seeing his own image in a large steel mirror, he started back in alarm, and threw down four Spaniards. The good reception of this giant brought more to the beach, who were taken on board and feasted, six of them eating as much as would have satisfied twenty seamen. The first Indian had pointed to the sky, as if to inquire whether the Europeans had descended thence ; and they all wondered that the ships should be so large and the men so small. They were in general dressed and armed alike. They had short hair, and carried their arrows stuck in a fillet bound round their heads. They ran

\* The *camelus huanacus* of Linnæus, a species of lama. This animal, described by Pigafetta as having the body of a camel, the legs of a stag, the tail of a horse, and the head and ears of a mule, excited great amazement among the Spanish seamen.



with amazing swiftness, and devoured their meat raw as soon as it was obtained. These savages practised bleeding by rudely cupping the part affected, and produced vomiting by thrusting an arrow pretty far down the throat of the patient. Magellan wished to carry home some of this singular race; and European craft was basely opposed to Indian confidence and credulity. Fixing on two of the youngest and most handsome, he presented to them knives, glass beads, and mirrors, till their hands were filled; then rings of iron were offered; and as they were eager to possess them but could not take hold of any more articles, the fetters were put upon their legs, as if to enable them the more conveniently to carry these ornaments away. On discovering the treachery, they vainly struggled for freedom, and shrieked to their god *Setebos*.\* Besides these prisoners, the captain-general was desirous of securing two females, that the breed of giants might be introduced into Europe; but though the women, whose stature was not so remarkable, were far from beautiful, their husbands betrayed considerable symptoms of jealousy; and, as they were more seldom seen, an opportunity of entrapping them could not be found. It was therefore resolved to seize other two men, in the hope of effecting an exchange. Force, however, was not so successful as stratagem, and it was with difficulty that nine of the strongest Spaniards threw them down. One of the savages broke loose even

CHAP. II.

Perfidious  
capture of  
natives.

Attempt to  
seize other  
natives.

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\* "They say," writes Pigafetta, "that when any of them die, there appeare ten or twelve devils leaping and dancing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies painted with divers colours, and that among others there is one seene bigger than the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoycing. This great Devill they call *Setebos*, and call the lesse *Cheleule*."—*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 35. It has been supposed that from this passage Shakespeare borrowed the demon *Setebos*, introduced in the *Tempest*, act i. scene ii. :—

"I must obey: his art is of such power,  
It would control my dam's god, *Setebos*,  
And make a vassal of him."

There are other passages in the play of which the hint may have been taken from the narrative of Pigafetta

## CHAP. II.

Escape of a  
captive.

in spite of every effort to detain him ; and in the end the plan failed, for the other made his escape, and Magellan lost one of his own men, who was shot with a poisoned arrow in the pursuit. His companions, who fired on the runaways, "were unable," says Pigafetta, "to hit any, on account of their not escaping in a straight line, but leaping from one side to another, and getting on as swiftly as horses at a full gallop."

Departure  
from San  
Julian.

On the 21st August, the fleet left Port San Julian, after taking possession of the country for the King of Spain by the customary ceremonial of erecting a cross,—the symbol of salvation, so often degraded into an ensign of rapacity and cruelty in the fairest portions of the New World. Two months were afterwards passed at Santa Cruz, where the squadron was well supplied with wood and water ; and, on the 18th October, standing southward, they discovered Cape de las Virgines, and shortly afterwards the desired strait. After careful examination of the entrance, a council was held, at which the pilot, Estevan Gomez, voted for returning to Spain to refit ; while the more resolute spirits recommended that they should proceed and complete their discovery.\* Magellan heard all in silence, and then firmly declared, that were he, instead of the slighter hardships already suffered, reduced to eat the hides on the ship's yards, his determination was to make good his promise to the emperor. On pain of death, every one was forbidden to speak of the shortness of provisions or of home,—which, though a somewhat unsatisfactory mode of stifling the pangs of hunger

The Strait  
discovered.

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\* Gomez was by birth a Portuguese ; and it has been alleged, that the insidious advice which he gave on this occasion, and his mutiny and desertion at a later period, were dictated by a desire to promote the interests of Portugal. See Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 126.—Another motive for the treachery of Gomez has been assigned by Pigafetta, viz. that he had previously engaged himself in the Spanish service, and had been appointed to, or promised the command of, a small squadron, to sail on a projected enterprise, which was laid aside on the arrival of Magellan in Spain.

or the longings of affection, equally well answered the purpose of the captain-general. Pigafetta makes no mention of the council; but says the whole crew were persuaded that the strait had no western outlet, and would not have explored it but for the firmness of Magellan.

CHAP. II.  
Firmness of  
Magellan.

Two vessels were sent to examine the opening, and a hurricane coming on drove them violently thirty-six hours, during which they were in momentary alarm lest they should be forced ashore. The coasts more than once seemed to approach each other, on which the voyagers gave themselves up for lost; but new channels successively opened, into which they gladly entered. In this manner they were led on till they had penetrated the First and Second Gut, when the gale having abated, they thought it most prudent to retrace their course, and report what they had observed to the commander. Two days had already passed, and the captain-general was not without fear that his consorts must have been cast away in the tempest; while smoke being observed on shore, it was concluded to be a signal made by those who had had the good fortune to escape. Just at this instant, however, the ships were seen returning under full sail, with flags flying; as they came nearer, the crews fired their bombards and uttered shouts of joy. These salutations were repeated by their anxious companions; and, on learning the result of the search, the whole squadron advanced, having named the land where the smoke was seen Tierra del Fuego. On reaching the expanse into which the Second Gut opens, an inlet to the south-east was observed, and two vessels were despatched to explore it, while the others steered to the south-west. Estevan Gomez was pilot in one of the ships sent on the former service; and, knowing that Magellan no longer lay between him and the open sea, he incited the crew to mutiny, threw the captain into chains, and under the darkness of night put about the helm and shaped his course homeward. This recreant had on board with

Exploring  
the Strait.

Sailing of the  
whole fleet.

Mutiny of  
Estevan  
Gomez.

## CHAP. II.

Death of one  
of the cap-  
tives.

him one of the giants, whom he calculated upon being the first to present at the court of Spain ; but the poor prisoner pined under the heat of the tropical regions, and died on approaching the line. In the mean time, the commander of the expedition pursued the channel to the south-west, and anchored at the mouth of a river, where he resolved to wait the arrival of the other vessels ; he ordered a boat, however, to proceed and reconnoitre, and on the third day the sailors returned with the intelligence that they had seen the end of the strait, and the ocean beyond it. “ We wept for joy,” says Pigafetta, “ and the cape was denominated *El Capo Deseado*, for in truth we had long wished to see it.” Public thanksgiving was also made ; and after spending several days in a vain search for the deserter, and erecting several standards in conspicuous situations, the three remaining ships stood towards the western mouth of the strait, which they reached thirty-seven days after discovering Cape de las Virgines. Magellan entitled this long-sought passage the Strait of the Patagonians,—a name which has been justly superseded by that of the discoverer. He found it to be so deep, that anchorage could only be obtained by approaching near to the shore ; and estimated the length of it at 110 leagues. Pigafetta relates, that during the voyage he “ talked with the Patagonian giant ” on board of the captain-general’s ship, and obtained some words of his native language, so as to form a small vocabulary, which, as far as subsequent inquiries afford the means of judging, is substantially correct.

First sight  
of the Pacific  
Ocean.

Name of the  
Strait.

Northward  
Course.

It was the 28th of November when the small squadron gained the open sea, and held a northerly course, in order to reach a milder climate (the crews having already suffered severely from extreme cold), as well as to escape the storms usually encountered about the western opening of the strait.

Island of San  
Pablo.

On the 24th January 1521, they discovered an island, which was named San Pablo in memory of the Patagonian, who had died, after being baptized, it is alleged,



at his own request ; and on the 4th February another small island was seen, and called Tiburones, or Sharks' Island. The crews had now suffered so much from the want of provisions and fresh water, and from the ravages of the scurvy,\* that, depressed by their condition and prospects, they named these discoveries Las Desventuradas, or the Unfortunate Islands. Their sufferings, for three months and twenty days after entering the Pacific, were painful in the extreme. Nineteen died of scurvy ; and the situation of the remainder, reduced to chew the leather found about the ship, and to drink putrid water, was in the highest degree deplorable. Even sawdust was eaten, and mice were in such request as to sell for half a ducat a-piece. Their only solace was a continuance of delightful weather, and of fair winds which carried them smoothly onwards. To this circumstance the South Sea owes its name of Pacific,—a title which many succeeding seamen have thought it ill deserves. On the 6th of March were discovered three beautiful and apparently fertile islands, inhabited, and therefore likely to afford succour to the fleet. The Indians immediately came off in their canoes, bringing cocoa-nuts, yams, and rice. Their complexion was olive-brown, and their form handsome ; they stained the teeth black and red, and some of them wore long beards, with the hair of their heads hanging down to the girdle. On these poor islanders, whose pilfering propensities obtained for this group the appellation of the Ladrones (or Thieves), the captain-general took

CHAP. II.  
Tiburones or  
Sharks'  
Island.

Origin of the  
name Pacific  
Ocean.

Native  
supplies.

\* As Pigafetta describes the effects of this disease without naming it, it is obvious that to its severity was then added the terror of a new and strange visitation. "Our greatest misfortune," he says, "was being attacked by a malady in which the gums swelled so as to hide the teeth as well in the upper as the lower jaw, whence those affected thus were incapable of chewing their food. Besides those who died, we had from twenty-five to thirty sailors ill, who suffered dreadful pains in their arms, legs, and other parts of the body." Some years later, when the crews of Cartier were seized by the same disorder, it appeared to them also equally novel and loathsome.—See *Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America*, p. 64.



CHAP. II.  
Cruel re-  
venge on the  
natives.

Ineffectual  
retaliation.

signal vengeance for a small offence. A skiff was stolen from the stern of the capitana, or admiral's ship, upon which Magellan landed with ninety men, plundered their provisions, and burnt fifty or sixty of their houses,\* which were built of wood, having a roof of boards covered with leaves about four feet in length, probably those of the bananier (*musa pisang*). He also killed some of the natives, to whom the arrow was an unknown weapon, and who when pierced by the shafts of the Spaniards, excited pity by vain attempts to extract them. They had lances tipped with fish-bone; and when the invaders retreated, they followed with about 100 canoes, variously painted, black, white, or red, and showed fish, as if disposed to renew their traffic; but on getting near they pelted the people in the ships with stones, and then took to flight. The boats of these savages resembled gondolas, and were furnished with a sail of

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\* P. le Gobien, in his History of the Ladrone or Marian Islands, has asserted, that at the time Magellan arrived, the natives were altogether ignorant of fire, and that, when for the first time they saw it consuming their houses, they regarded it as an animal which attached itself to the wood, and fed upon it. This tale has been adopted by the Abbé Raynal, in his History of the East and West Indies, and has served him as a topic for ample declamation; and the Abbé Prévost, in his "Histoire générale des Voyages," has also given it credit, quoting as his authority the narrative of Pigafetta. As, however, was very early remarked by the President de Brosses, in his "Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes," Pigafetta, credulous and fabulous as he is, has made no mention of this circumstance. This alone might be held sufficient to disprove the unsupported assertion of Le Gobien. But, as Malte-Brun has observed (English Translat. vol. iii. p. 618), "*these islands are filled with volcanoes,*"—a circumstance of which Raynal was not aware, as he accounts for this supposed ignorance of fire, by assuming the fact that here there are "none of those terrible volcanoes, the destructive traces of which are indelibly marked on the face of the globe." Nor is this all; a later French navigator remarks, "Les insulaires chez qui on assure que le feu étoit inconnu avoient dans leurs langues les mots *feu, bruler, charbon, braise, four, griller, bouillir, &c., et fabriquoient, avant l'arrivée des Européens dans leurs îles, des poteries évidemment soumises à l'action du feu.*"—Voyage autour du Monde, exécuté sur les Corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne pendant les années 1817-18-19 et 20. Par M. Louis de Freycinet—Historique, tome ii. p. 166. See also pp. 322, 434.

palm-leaves, which was hoisted at the one side, while, to balance it, a beam or out-rigger was fastened to the other. Vessels of the same construction were afterwards observed in the South Sea by Anson and Cook, who very much admired the ingenuity of the contrivance. From the 16th to the 18th of March, other islands were discovered, forming the group then called the Archipelago of St Lazarus, but now known as part of the Philippines. The inhabitants were found to be a friendly and comparatively civilized people. They wore ornaments of gold; and, though otherwise nearly naked, displayed cotton head-dresses embroidered with silk. They were tattooed, and had their bodies perfumed with aromatic oils. They cultivated the land and formed stores of spices; they used harpoons and nets in fishing; and had cutlasses, clubs, lances, and bucklers, some of them ornamented with gold. On the 25th, the fleet left Humunu, the principal member of the group, and afterwards touched at some others in the same archipelago.

CHAP. II.

Native  
vessels.Discovery of  
the Philip-  
pine Islands.

At a small island named Mazagua, and supposed to be the Limasava of modern charts, a slave on board, by name Enrique, and a native of Sumatra, was able to make himself understood by the savages. He accordingly acted as the interpreter of Magellan in explaining the reasons of this visit on the part of the Spaniards, and in unfolding the terms of commerce and friendly intercourse which they wished to establish with them. Mutual presents were made, and ceremonial visits exchanged; the captain-general doing every thing likely to impress the Indian king with the power and superiority of Europeans and the dignity of the emperor his master. For this purpose he caused a sailor to be clothed in complete armour, and directed three others to cut at him with swords and endeavour to stab him. On seeing the mailed man remain unharmed amid this shower of steel, the island-prince was greatly surprised, and remarked, that a warrior so protected would be able to contend with a hundred. "Yes," replied the inter-

Communica-  
tion with the  
natives.Impressions  
produced on  
their minds.

CHAP. II. preter, in the name of the captain, "and each of the three vessels has 200 men armed in the same manner."

Reception on shore.

With this chief Magellan formed a close friendship; and two Spaniards being invited on shore to inspect the curiosities of the country, the chronicler of the voyage was sent as one of them. They partook of an entertainment with the Rajah Colambu, as he was called, and were served in vessels of porcelain. The king's manner of eating was to take alternately a mouthful of pork and a spoonful of wine, lifting his hands to heaven before he helped himself, and suddenly extending his left fist towards his visiter in such a manner that, on his first performing the ceremony, Pigafetta expected to receive a blow on the face. Seeing all the rest of the company go through the same gesticulations, the polite Vicentine conformed to the customs of the place, and having finished his repast, was otherwise very graciously treated, being introduced to the heir-apparent, and left at night to repose on a comfortable matting of reeds with pillows of leaves to support his head. Among the luxuries of Mazagua were candles made of gums, rolled up in the foliage of the palm-tree. The sovereign was a remarkably handsome man, of olive complexion, with long black hair; his body elegantly tattooed, and perfumed with storax and gum-benjamin. He was adorned with gold ear-rings, "and on each of his teeth," says the narrator, "were three golden dots, so placed one would have thought his teeth had been fastened with this metal."\* About his middle he wore a tunic of cotton cloth embroidered with silk, which descended to the knees; around his head was wrapped a silken turban or veil; while a dagger at his side, having a handle of gold and a scabbard of exquisitely carved wood, completed the costume of this barbaric ruler. It was

The sovereign of Mazagua.

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\* Peron mentions small spots of silver on the fore-teeth of some of the people of Timor, fixed to the enamel by a kind of mastic, so firmly that he could not pick them off with his nails; and the man who wore them ate before him without seeming to feel any inconvenience from their whimsical finery.

observed that his subjects enlivened themselves by constantly chewing betel and areca, mixed with a portion of lime. They acknowledged one Supreme Being, whom they called Abba, and worshipped, by lifting their hands towards heaven. At this time was Magellan first seized with the violent desire of making proselytes, in which he easily succeeded. On Easter Day, a party landed to say mass, and all their ceremonies were exactly imitated by the natives. Some of the Spaniards afterwards received the communion; which being ended, "the captain," says Pigafetta, "exhibited a dance with swords, with which the king and his brother seemed much delighted." A large cross garnished with nails and a crown of thorns was then erected on the top of a hill, and the Indians were told that, if duly adored, it would defend them from thunder, tempests, and all calamities. The men then formed into battalions, and having astonished the savages by a discharge of musketry, returned to the ships. Such were the first missionary labours among these islands! Gold was seen in some abundance; but iron was obviously much more valued, as one of the natives preferred a knife to a doubloon in exchange for some provisions. The commodities brought to the ships were hogs, goats, fowls, rice, millet, maize, cocoa-nuts, oranges, citrons, ginger, and bananas. At the request of the rajah, part of the Spanish crew went on shore to help him in gathering in his crop of rice; but the poor prince, who had assisted on the previous day at mass and afterwards at a banquet, had yielded so far to intemperance that all business was deferred till the morrow, when the seamen discharged this neighbourly office, and shortly afterwards saw harvest-home in Mazagua.

Ideas of a  
Supreme  
Being.

Value at-  
tached to  
iron.

On the 5th of April the fleet sailed, the king attending it in his pirogue. Being unable to keep up with the squadron, he and his retinue were taken on board; and on the 7th of the same month they entered the harbour of Zebu,—an island rendered memorable by the first settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines.

Sailing of the  
fleet.



## CHAP. II.

Island of  
Zebu.

The accounts which the captain-general had received of the riches and power of the sovereign, made it a point of good policy to impress him and his subjects with the greatness of their visiters. The ships therefore entered the port with their colours flying; and a grand salute from all the cannon caused great consternation among the islanders, about 2000 of whom, armed with spears and shields, stood at the water-side, gazing with astonishment at a sight so new to them. An ambassador, attended by the interpreter Enrique, was sent on shore, charged with a message importing the high consideration which "the greatest monarch on earth," and his captain-general, Magellan, entertained for the King of Zebu. He also announced that the fleet had come to take in provisions, and give merchandise in exchange. The prince, who acted through his ministers, made the strangers welcome, though he insisted on the payment of certain dues. These, however, were dispensed with, in consequence of the representations of a Moorish merchant then in the island, who had heard of the Portuguese conquests in the East; and in a few days, every requisite ceremony being observed, a treaty offensive and defensive was formed. In manners and in social condition this people did not appear to differ from the natives of Mazagua. Their religion, it is true, whatever it was, sat but lightly upon them; for in a few days Magellan converted and baptized half their number. The rite was administered on shore, where a rude chapel was erected. Mass was performed, and every ceremony was observed which could deepen the impression of sanctity; among which, the firing of guns from the ships was not forgotten. The royal family, the Rajah of Mazagua, and many persons of rank, were the first converts; the king receiving the name of Carlos, in honour of the emperor. Among these sudden Christians were also the queen and ladies of the court. Baptism was likewise administered to the eldest princess, daughter of his majesty and wife of his nephew the heir-apparent, a young and beautiful woman. She

Reception of  
Magellan by  
the king.

Sudden conversion of the  
natives.



usually wore a robe of black and white cloth, and on her head a tiara of date-leaves. "Her mouth and nails," adds Pigafetta, "were of a very lively red." One day the queen came in state to hear mass. She was dressed in a garment like that of her daughter, with a silk veil striped with gold flung over her head and shoulders; and three young girls walked before her, each carrying one of the royal hats. The attendants were numerous, wearing small veils and girdles, or short petticoats of palm-cloth. Her majesty bowed to the altar, and having seated herself on a cushion of embroidered silk, was with the rest sprinkled by the captain-general with rose-water,—“a scent,” says the writer already quoted, “in which the women of this country much delight.”

CHAP. II.

Attendance  
of the queen  
at mass.

A cure performed on the king's brother, who after being baptized recovered of a dangerous illness, completed Magellan's triumph. Pigafetta gravely relates, “we were all of us ocular witnesses of this miracle.” By way of help, however, to the supernatural agency, a restorative cordial was immediately administered, and repeated during five days, until the sick man was able to go abroad. The fashionable religion of the court spread rapidly. The cross was set up, idols were broken, amid zealous shouts of “Viva la Castilla!” in honour of the Spanish monarch, and in less than fourteen days from the arrival of the squadron the whole inhabitants of Zebu and the neighbouring islands were baptized, save those of one infidel village, which the captain-general burnt in punishment of their obstinacy, and then erected a cross amidst the ashes and ruins.

Cure effected  
by Magellan.

Among other customs, the Zebuians drank their wine by sucking it through a reed. At an entertainment given by the prince, the heir-apparent, four singing-girls were introduced. One beat a drum, another the kettle-drum, the third two smaller instruments of the same description, and the fourth struck cymbals against each other; and as they kept excellent time, the effect was pleasing. The kettle drum was of metal, and in form

Entertain-  
ment given  
by the  
prince.

## CHAP. II.

Native  
music.

and tone somewhat like European bells. Other young women played on gongs ; and the islanders had a musical instrument resembling the bagpipe, as well as a sort of violin with copper strings. Their houses were raised on posts, and divided into chambers, the open space below serving as a shed for domestic animals and poultry. Provisions were plentiful, and the Indians everywhere showed hospitality to their visitors, constantly inviting them to eat and drink. They appeared indeed, to place much of their enjoyment in the pleasures of the table, at which they often remained four or five hours.

Exaction of  
tribute.

Magellan availed himself of the submissive and respectful demeanour of these people, and exacted from them and the chiefs of the neighbouring islands a tribute, which seems to have been willingly paid. The King of Matan alone refused to acknowledge this new sovereignty, and with much spirit replied to the demand, that as strangers he wished to show them all suitable courtesy, and had sent a present, but he owed no obedience to those he had never seen before, and would pay them none. This answer greatly incensed the captain-general, now above measure elated with the success which had attended his late labours. He forthwith resolved to punish the refractory chief, refusing to listen to the arguments of his officers, and particularly to those of Juan Serrano, who remonstrated with him on the impolicy of his design. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, being a Saturday, which Magellan always considered his fortunate day, he landed with forty-nine of his people clothed in mail, and began an attack on about 1500 Indians. The King of Zebu attended his ally with a force ; but his active services were declined, and his men remained in their boats. The battle between crossbows and musketry on the one side, and arrows and wooden lances on the other, raged many hours. The natives, brave from the onset, rose in courage when they became familiarized with the Spanish fire, which did comparatively little execution. A party of the latter was detached to burn a village, in the hope that the destruction of their

Impolitic  
attack on the  
natives.

houses would overawe and induce them to disperse ; but the sight of the flames only exasperated them the more, and some of them hastening to the spot, fell upon their enemies and killed two. They soon learned to take aim at the legs of the assailants, which were not protected by mail ; and pressing closer and harder upon their ranks, threw them into disorder, and compelled them to give way on all sides. Only seven or eight men now remained with their leader, who, besides, was wounded in the limbs by a poisoned arrow. He was also repeatedly struck on the head with stones ; his helmet was twice dashed off ; a lance thrust between the bars wounded him in the temple ; and his sword-arm being disabled, he could no longer defend himself. The fight continued till they were up to the knees in water ; and at last an Indian struck Magellan on the leg. He fell on his face, and as the islanders crowded about him was seen to turn several times towards his companions ; but they were unable either to rescue him or revenge his death, and made for the boats. "Thus," says Pigafetta, "perished our guide, our light, and our support !"

CHAP. II.  
 Courage and  
 skill of the  
 natives.

Death of  
 Magellan.

Though the rash warfare waged with the unoffending chief of Matan cannot be vindicated on any principle of justice, the premature and violent death, in the very middle of his career, of a navigator and discoverer second only to Columbus, will ever be a cause of regret. Magellan was eminently endowed with the qualities necessary to a man engaged in adventures like those in which he spent his life. He had a quick and ready mind, ever fertile in expedients, and never wanting in self-possession. He possessed the rare talent of command ; being no less beloved than respected by his crews, though Spanish pride and national jealousy made the officers sometimes murmur against his authority. He was a skilful and experienced seaman ; prompt, resolute, and inflexible ; having a high sense of his own dignity, and maintaining it with becoming spirit. When, on one occasion, certain of the pilots remonstrated with him on the direction of his course, his only answer was, that

Character of  
 the Admiral.

## CHAP. II.

Personal appearance.

their duty was to follow him, not to ask questions. In personal appearance, he was rather mean; his stature was short, and he was lame from a wound which he had received in battle with the Moors. His former voyage to India, which he extended to Malacca, and the successful one he had just made, entitle him to be named the first circumnavigator of the globe. The unfortunate circumstances which led him to abandon his native country, in order to serve her foe and rival, long rendered his memory odious in Portugal. The only land, indeed, in which his fame was not acknowledged was the country which gave him birth. "The Portugall authors," says Purchas, "speake of him nothing but treason, and cry out upon him as a traitor for sowing seeds likely to produce warre 'twixt Castile and Portugall: Nor doe I in those thinges undertake to justifie him. But out of his whatsoever evill, God produced this good to the world, that it was first by his meanes sayled round: Nor was his neglect of his countrey neglected, or revengefull mind unrevenged, as the sequele manifested by his untimely and violent death." It is impossible to condemn Magellan for carrying his rejected services to the Spanish court; though the necessity of such a step must for ever be deplored, both for his own and for his country's sake.\*

Hatred of him by the Portuguese.

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\* A generous feeling has hurried many writers into censures on the King of Portugal, the justice of which may perhaps be doubted. It must be recollected, that the proposal of Magellan to Emanuel went no farther than to undertake the doubtful search of a dangerous passage to the Moluccas; and that the Portuguese already enjoyed the monopoly of a safe and shorter route than that which he eventually explored. His majesty must also have been aware, that the discovery of a western passage to the Spice Islands was likely to give Spain an opportunity of asserting a right to those valuable possessions under the treaty of Tordesillas. These powerful reasons of state-policy, in an age when self-interest only was consulted in undertakings of discovery, ought surely to have been allowed some weight in favour of the Portuguese court, and, at any rate, to have obviated such obloquy as that of Dalrymple in the following sentence:—"Every public-spirited Portuguese must lament that oblivion has concealed the names of those ministers who



Eight Spaniards fell with their leader, and twenty-two were wounded. During the heat of the engagement the King of Zebu sat in his balanghay, gazing on the combat, which had doubtless produced a considerable change in his notions as to the prowess of his new allies; but towards its close he rendered some assistance which facilitated their re-embarkation. Though tempting offers were made to the people of Matan to give up the body of the captain-general, they would not part with so proud a trophy of victory. The result of this fatal battle put an end to the friendship of the new Christian king. He wished to make his peace with the offended sovereign of Matan, and by means of the treacherous slave Enrique, who, on the death of Magellan his master, refused, until compelled by threats, to continue his services as interpreter, formed a plan for seizing the ships, arms, and merchandise. The officers were invited on shore to a banquet, where they expected to receive, previous to their departure, a rich present of jewels, prepared before the death of Magellan for his Most Catholic Majesty. A party landed accordingly to the number of twenty-four; but from certain appearances which met their eyes, Juan Carvallo the pilot, and another Spaniard, suspected treachery, and returned to the ships. They had scarcely reached them, when the shrieks of the victims were heard. The anchors being instantly raised, the vessels were laid close to the shore and fired several shots upon the town. At this time Captain Juan Serrano was seen dragged to the edge of the water, wounded and tied hand and foot. He earnestly entreated his countrymen to desist from firing, and to ransom him from this cruel and treacherous people. They turned a deaf ear to his prayers; and he was thus left at the mercy of the islanders. Pigafetta relates that, "finding all his entreaties were vain, he uttered deep imprecations,

CHAP. II.

Loss of the Spaniards.

Treachery of the king of Zebu.

Massacre of the Spaniards.

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merit the eternal execration of their country, for being instrumental in depriving it of the services of so great a man as Magalhães."—  
Hist. Collect. of Discov. in the South Sea, vol. 1. p. 4.



## CHAP. II.

Heartless de-  
sertion of  
their com-  
rades.

Fate of the  
captives.

Reduction of  
the arma-  
ment.

Difficulty of  
obtaining  
provisions.

and appealed to the Almighty on the great day of judgment to exact account of his soul from Juan Carvallo, his fellow-gossip. His cries were, however, disregarded," continues the narrator, "and we set sail without ever hearing afterwards what became of him." This cruel abandonment of a friend is imputed to the hope which Carvallo entertained of succeeding to the command on the death of Serrano, the captains of the other ships being already massacred. It is but justice to the people of Zebu to mention, that one narrative of the voyage imputes the indiscriminate slaughter of the Spaniards to a quarrel arising between them and the natives, for insulting their women. Some years afterwards it was incidentally learned that, instead of being all murdered, eight of the Europeans were carried to China and sold as slaves. But the truth was never clearly ascertained.

The armament of Magellan next touched at the island of Bohol, where, finding their numbers so much reduced by sickness and the battle of Matan, they burned one of the ships, first removing the guns and stores into the others now commanded by Carvallo. At Zebu they had already heard of the Moluccas, their ultimate destination. They touched at Chippit in Mindanao on their way, and afterwards at Cagayan Sooloo, where they first heard of Borneo. In this voyage they were so badly provided with food, that several times hunger had nearly compelled them to abandon their ships, and establish themselves on some of the islands, where they meant to end their days. This purpose appears to have been particularly strong after leaving the last-mentioned anchorage, where the people used hollow reeds, through which by the force of their breath they darted poisoned arrows at their enemies, and had the hilts of their poniards ornamented with gold and precious stones. The trees, moreover, grew to a great height, but none of the necessary supplies could be obtained. They therefore sailed with heavy hearts and empty stomachs to Pulan, where provisions being very abundant, they acquired fresh courage to persevere in their voyage. Here a pilot

was procured, with whose assistance they steered towards Borneo, which island they reached on the 8th July 1521, and anchored three leagues from the city, which was computed to contain 25,000 families. It was built within high-water-mark, and the houses were raised on posts. At full tide the inhabitants communicated by boats, when the women sold their various commodities. The religion of Borneo was the Mohammedan. It abounded in wealth, and the natives are described as exhibiting a higher degree of civilisation and refinement than has been confirmed by subsequent accounts. Letters were known, and many of the arts flourished among them; they used brass coin in their commerce with one another, and distilled from rice the spirit known in the East by the name of arrack.

Presents were here exchanged, and after the ceremonial of introduction, permission to trade was granted. Elephants were sent to the water's side for the Spanish embassy; and a feast of veal, capons, several other kinds of fowl, and fish, was placed before them on the floor, while they sat on mats made of palm. After each mouthful they sipped arrack from porcelain cups. They were supplied with golden spoons to eat their rice; in their sleeping-apartment two wax flambeaux in silver candlesticks, and two large lamps with four lights to each, were kept burning all night, two men being appointed to attend to them. The king was a stout man about forty. When admitted to an interview, the deputation first passed through a large saloon thronged with courtiers, and then into an ante-room where were 300 guards armed with poniards. At the extremity of the apartment was a brocade curtain, and when this was drawn up the king was seen sitting at a table with a little child, and chewing betel, while close behind him were ranged his female attendants. No suitor was permitted to address his majesty personally, but communicated his business in the first place to a courtier, who told it to one of a higher rank, who again repeated it to a still greater dignitary, who, in his turn, by means of a

CHAP. II. |  
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Arrival at  
Borneo. |

Reception of  
the Spanish  
embassy. |

King of  
Borneo. |

## CHAP. II.

Indifference  
to the  
Spanish gifts.

hollow cane fixed in the wall, breathed it into the inner chamber to one of the principal officers, by whom it was ultimately conveyed to the royal ear. The monarch received the Spanish gifts with merely a slight movement of the head, discovering no eager or undignified curiosity, and returned presents of brocadé, and cloth of gold and silver. The courtiers were all naked, save a piece of ornamented cloth round their waists. On their fingers they wore many rings; and their poniards had golden handles set with gems. The curtain of the royal saloon, which was raised when the ceremony began, dropped at the conclusion, and all was over. Pigafetta was told that the king had two pearls as large as pullets' eggs, and so perfectly round that, placed on a polished table, they rolled continually. The productions of Borneo were rice, sugar-canes, ginger, camphor, gums, wax; fruits and vegetables in great variety; and among the animals were elephants, camels, horses, and buffaloes, asses, sheep, and goats. The people were peculiarly skilful in the manufacture of porcelain, which constituted a principal article of their merchandise. Their pirogues were ingeniously formed, and those used for state purposes had their prows carved and gilt.

Productions  
of Borneo.

Attack by the  
Spaniards.

The Spaniards, who seldom or never left any port they visited on good terms with the people, in real or affected alarm for an attack, seized several junks in the harbour, in which they knew there was a rich booty, and kidnapped some persons of quality.

Piratical pro-  
ceedings.

The authority of Carvallo, which had never been respected, was now set aside by the choice of Espinosa as captain-general. Sebastian del Cano, a Biscayan, was also made a commander; and the squadron forthwith commenced what more resembled a privateering cruise than a peaceful voyage of discovery and traffic, pillaging all the small vessels they met, and holding the passengers to ransom. Between the north cape of Borneo and the island of Cimbubon, they found a commodious port for careening,—a labour which occupied them forty-two days. They were destitute of man-

things necessary for making repairs; but the most serious inconvenience was the difficulty of procuring timber, which, although barefooted, they were obliged to drag from among the tangled and prickly bushes. It was among these thickets that Pigafetta found the famous animated leaf, the account of which tended so much at first to stamp his narrative with the character of fable. "What to me seemed most extraordinary," he says, "was to see trees, the leaves of which as they fell became animated. These leaves resemble those of the mulberry-tree, except in not being so long. Their stalk is short and pointed; and near the stalk, on one side and the other, they have two feet. Upon being touched they make away; but when crushed they yield no blood. I kept one in a box for nine days; on opening the box at the end of this time, the leaf was alive and walking round it. I am of opinion they live on air." Subsequent travellers have observed a similar phenomenon, and some conjecture that it is moved by an insect within; while others describe it as a species of bat, the wings of which exactly resemble a brown leaf with its fibres. Continuing their piratical voyage, they encountered a dreadful storm, and in their alarm vowed to set free a slave in honour of each of the three saints, Elmo, Nicholas, and Clare. The desired lights, the tokens of safety, having appeared on the mast-heads, and continued to shine two hours, the storm abated, and the promised offering was made.\* Touching at Sarrangan, they seized two natives, whom they compelled to act as their pilots to the long-sought Moluccas, which they at length reached, and on the 8th November anchored at Tidore. They met with a hospitable and kind re-

Extraordi-  
nary pheno-  
mena ob-  
served.

The ani-  
mated leaf.

Electric  
lights.

\* It may be proper to explain, that the electric lights, which in stormy weather are frequently seen flickering on the tips of the masts, were believed to represent the body of Saint Elmo, and regarded as a sure sign that there was no danger in the tempest. When the lights were three in number, two of them were supposed to mark the presence of Nicholas and Clare. The appearance of these lambent flames was hailed with the chanting of litanies and orisons.



CHAP. II. **Arrival at the Moluccas.** ception. The ships were visited by Almanzor, the sovereign of the island; a traffic in spices was commenced, and a factory established on shore, where trade soon became brisk, the native productions being readily given in exchange for red cloth, drinking-glasses, knives, and hatchets. This king was a Mohammedan, to which faith the Moors, at a period comparatively recent, had converted as many of the native princes of the East Indian Islands as they had stripped of their power.

**Productions of the islands.**

The Moluccas, which had been discovered by the Portuguese in the year 1511, were found to be five in number, lying on the west coast of a large island called Gilolo. They were named Tidore, Ternate, Motir, Bachian, and Maquian. Their best spices were nutmegs, cloves, ginger, and cinnamon, which grew almost spontaneously. The houses were built on piles or posts, and fenced round with cane hedges. The King of Bachian sent as a gift to the emperor two dead birds of exquisite beauty, which the natives called "birds of God," saying they came from Paradise. These animals, as well as the clove-tree, of which Pigafetta gives a description, are now well known. By the middle of December the cargoes were completed; and the Spanish commander, ready to depart, was charged with letters and presents, consisting of the rarest productions of the island, sent to the emperor his master by the King of Tidore. When about to sail, the Trinidad was found unfit for sea; and the Vitoria proceeded alone on the homeward voyage, with a crew of forty-seven Europeans, thirteen Indians, and also Molucca pilots. These native mariners entertained the Europeans with many a marvellous legend. While steering for Mindanao, before coming to the Moluccas, Pigafetta had heard of a tribe of hairy men, inhabiting a cape on the island Benaian, very fierce and warlike, and who were said to consume the hearts of their prisoners with lemon or orange juice; and he was now told of a people whose ears were so long, that the one served them for a mat-

**Abandonment of the Trinidad.**



tress and the other for a coverlet.\* He was also informed of a tree, which gave shelter to birds of sufficient size and strength to pounce upon an elephant, and bear him up into the air.

CHAP. II.  
Extravagant  
marvels.

The *Vitoria* touched at different places in the voyage to Spain, and, after a mutiny and the loss of twenty-one men, passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 6th May 1522. Being reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, the officers anchored in the harbour of Santiago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands belonging to the Portuguese, on what, according to their reckoning, was Wednesday the 9th July, but which, in fact, proved Thursday the 10th—a difference which was extremely perplexing at first, though a little reflection soon enabled Pigafetta to perceive the reason.† Some provisions were obtained before the quarter whence the ship had come was suspected; but the truth being at length discovered, in consequence of a sailor offering some spices in exchange for refreshments, the boat was seized, and the people on board seeing preparations making for an attack, crowded sail and escaped.

Passage of  
the Cape of  
Good Hope.

Difference of  
reckoning.

Attempt to  
seize the  
vessel.

On Saturday the 6th September 1522, after a voyage of three years' duration, in which upwards of 14,600

\* The classical reader will be amused by the coincidence between the narratives of the Molucca pilots and the wonders related by Strabo, who recounts this among other legends brought from the East by the soldiers of Alexander the Great.

† To illustrate the fact mentioned in the text, let us suppose a ship sailing westward *keeps pace* with the sun, it is evident that the crew would have continual day, or it would be the *same* day to them during their circumnavigation of the earth; whereas the people, who remained at the place the vessel departed from, would have a night in the mean time, and consequently must reckon a day more than the voyagers. If the ship sailed eastward, an opposite effect would be produced; for, by constantly *meeting* the sun every morning at an earlier hour, a whole day is gained in the tour of the globe. Hence, if two ships should set out at the same time from any port, and sail round the world, the one eastward and the other westward, so as to meet again at the same port, they will be found to differ *two* days in reckoning their time at their return.—Keith on the Use of the Globes, p. 42. A beautiful illustration of the phenomenon will also be found in Sir J. F. W. Herschel's Treatise on Astronomy (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), p. 137.

- CHAP. II leagues of sea had been traversed, Sebastian del Cano brought the Vitoria into San Lucar, and on the 8th proceeded up the river to Seville. Pigafetta, from whom every historian of this remarkable voyage borrows so largely, concludes his narrative in language almost poetical:—"This, our wonderful ship, taking her departure from the Straits of Gibraltar, and sailing southwards through the great ocean towards the Antarctic Pole, and then turning west, followed that course so long that, passing round, she came into the east, and thence again into the west, not by sailing back, but proceeding constantly forward; so compassing about the globe of the world, until she marvellously regained her native country Spain." The crew on reaching Seville walked in their shirts, barefooted, and carrying tapers in their hands, to church, to offer thanks for their safe return; eighteen men, out of sixty who sailed from the Moluccas, being all that came home in the Vitoria. The vessel itself became the theme of poets and romancers; but though some have asserted that she was preserved till she fell to pieces, Oviedo, a contemporary writer, states that she was lost on her return from a voyage to St'Domingo. The commander, Sebastian del Cano, escaped the neglect which was the common fate of Spanish discoverers. He was liberally rewarded, and obtained letters-patent of nobility, with a Globe for a crest, and the motto *Primus me circumdedisti* (You first encompassed me).
- Arrival at San Lucar. The Trinidad was less fortunate than her consort. After having refitted, she attempted to recross the Pacific, but was nearly wrecked; and being driven back, the crew were made prisoners by the Portuguese, whose jealousy of Spanish enterprise in these parts was now violently inflamed by the late transactions at the Moluccas.
- Thanksgiving services. The voyage of Magellan was attended by the most important results; it effected the communication so long desired between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and removed the barriers which had hitherto obstructed
- Rewards of Sebastian del Cano.
- Fate of the Trinidad.
- Results of the voyage.

European navigation in the latter sea. It opened a new path to the riches of India and the spices of the contiguous islands; and in fact achieved what Columbus and his companions had so long endeavoured to accomplish. It ascertained the southern boundary of the American continent, and the extent of the great sea which divides Asia from that portion of the globe. In its progress he discovered the Unfortunate Islands, the islands Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan, four others of the group of the Ladrões, and the Philippines or Archipelago of St Lazarus. He also demonstrated the spherical form of the earth beyond the possibility of doubt; and accomplished what had baffled, even on the threshold, every drevious navigator.

CHAP. II.

New way  
opened to  
India.Demonstra-  
tion of the  
spherical  
form of the  
earth.

## CHAPTER III.

*Discoveries and Circumnavigations from Magellan to the End of the Sixteenth Century.*

Expedition of Loyasa—Discovery of Papua or New Guinea—Voyage of Saavedra—of Villalobos—Of Legaspi—Of Juan Fernandez—Expedition of Mendana, and Discovery of the Solomon Islands—John Oxenham, the first Englishman that sailed on the Pacific—Circumnavigation of Sir Francis Drake—Expedition of Sarmiento—Circumnavigation of Cavendish—His Second Voyage—The Falkland Islands discovered—Expedition of Sir Richard Hawkins—Second Voyage of Mendana—The Marquesas—Santa Cruz—Expedition of five Dutch Vessels—Circumnavigation of Van Noort—Retrospect.

CHAP. III. ALL the seas and lands discovered by Magellan were declared by Spain to be her exclusive possession,—an assumption which the other European States, especially Portugal, were unwilling to acknowledge. The privilege of sailing by this track to the Moluccas, as well as those islands themselves, the principal advantages gained by the recent discoveries, were claimed on the double title of the papal grant and the alleged cession by the native princes. But John III., the Portuguese monarch, was equally tenacious of his rights. The old dispute as to a boundary and partition line was renewed, and referred to a convocation of learned cosmographers and skilful pilots, who met near Badajos, and parted as they met; the commissioners of both crowns being alike obstinate in their claims. The respective governments were thus left to establish their rival pretensions as they should find most convenient; and Spain, accordingly, lost no time in fitting out an expedition to secure the full benefit of Magellan's labours.

Assumption  
by Spain.

Disputed of  
Spanish  
claims by  
Portugal.



This armament consisted of seven vessels, of which Garcia Jofre de Loyasa, a knight of St John, was appointed captain-general; Sebastian del Cano and other survivors of the former enterprise going out under his command. The squadron sailed from Corunna on the 24th July 1525. Every precaution having been taken to ensure the success of the voyage, the fleet at first proceeded prosperously. But accidents soon occurred, and to the still imperfect state of nautical science we must impute many of the subsequent disasters of Loyasa. The captain-general was separated from the other ships; the strait so lately discovered had already become uncertain; Sebastian del Cano's vessel was wrecked near Cape de las Virgines; the others were injured; one of them was forced to the southward,\* and two, after suffering much damage, appear to have been conducted back to Spain. In short, it was April before they entered the sound; the passage proving tedious and dismal, and the crew having suffered much from the extreme cold. Few natives were seen, and those who appeared showed signs of a hostile disposition, probably from recollecting how their confidence was abused by their former visitors. On the 26th May, the fleet reached the South Sea, but was almost immediately dispersed in a storm. Two of the vessels steered for New Spain, and in their course endured much from want of provisions; the sailors having little else to subsist on than the birds which they caught in the rigging. Of the two remaining ships, one ran aground

CHAP. III.

New arma-  
ment fitted  
out.Disasters at-  
tendant on  
the voyage.Reception by  
the natives.Want of pro-  
visions.

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\* The Spaniards claim an important discovery in consequence of this accidental circumstance. The San Lesmes, a bark commanded by Francisco de Hozes, is reported to have been driven to 55° south in the gale, and the captain affirmed that he had seen the end of Tierra del Fuego. This a Spanish writer supposes to have been Cape Horn; while Burney thinks it more probable that it was Staten Land, the certain discovery of which is, however, of much later date. The extent of projecting land between the eastern entrance to the strait and Cape Horn makes it unlikely that it could have been seen by the crew of the San Lesmes.—Chron. Hist. of Discov. in South Sea, vol. i. p. 134.



CHAP. III. at the island of Sanghir, after the crew had mutinied  
 Mutiny and and thrown overboard the captain, his brother, and the  
 deaths. pilot ; while the other, which carried the admiral and  
 his second in command, held north-west. Both these  
 officers were now sick ; and, four days after crossing  
 the line, being the 30th of July 1526, Loyasa died, and  
 Del Cano, who had weathered so many dangers, expired  
 in less than a week. Alonzo de Salazar, who succeeded  
 to the charge, steered for the Ladrones, and, in 14°  
 north, discovered the island which he named San Bar-  
 tolome, the native appellation of which has been lately  
 ascertained to be Poulousouk.\* Between Magellan's  
 Strait and the latitude now specified, thirty-eight of the  
 Sufferings seamen perished, and the survivors were so enfeebled  
 and priva- that they thought proper to entrap eleven Indians to  
 tions. work the pumps. Salazar, the third commander, died ;  
 and it was November before they came to anchor at  
 Zamafo, a port in an island belonging to their ally the  
 King of Tidore. On reaching the Moluccas, disputes  
 immediately arose between the Spaniards and the Por-  
 tuguese governor settled at Ternate ; and a petty mari-  
 time warfare ensued, which was prosecuted several  
 years with various degrees of activity and success,—the  
 people of Tidore supporting their former friends, while  
 those of Ternate espoused the cause of their rivals.

Discovery of In the course of this year, 1526, Papua was dis-  
 Papua. covered by Don Jorge de Meneses, in his passage from  
 Malacca to the Spice Islands, of which he had been ap-  
 pointed governor by the court of Portugal. About the  
 same period, Diego da Rocha made himself acquainted  
 with the islands De Sequeira ; believed to be a part of  
 those which in modern times bear the name of Pelew,  
 and belong to the extensive archipelago of the Carolines.† In the course of the following summer, the

\* Voyage autour du Monde, par M. L. de Freycinet. Historique, tome ii. pp. 69, 70.

† " Les îles qu'il [Diego da Rocha] nomma *Sequeira*, ne paroissent être autres, en effet, que les *Matelotas*, situées dans l'E. N. E. des Palaos."—Freycinet, *in op. cit.*, tome ii. p. 76.

fourth captain-general of Loyasa's squadron died, as was alleged, by poison administered at the instigation of the Portuguese governor; and shortly afterwards, his ship, which had been much damaged by repeated actions, was declared unfit for the homeward voyage.

In the same season, the celebrated Hernan Cortes equipped three vessels for the Spice Isles, which sailed from New Spain on the eve of All Saints under the command of his kinsman Alvaro de Saavedra. Two of them were almost immediately separated from the admiral, who, pursuing his course alone, after leaving the Ladrones, discovered on Twelfth Day a cluster of islands, to which, from this circumstance, he gave the name of Los Reyes, or The Kings.\* The men were naked, save a piece of matting about their middle,—tall robust, and swarthy, with long hair, and rough beards. They had large canoes, and were armed with canelances. When Saavedra, after a run of little more than two months, reached the Moluccas, he was immediately attacked by the Portuguese, but supported by his countrymen, the residue of Loyasa's fleet, who had now built a brigantine. Having completed his cargo, he sailed for New Spain on the 3d June 1528,—an eastward voyage that for a series of years baffled the most skilful navigators. Land was reached, which the Spaniards named Isla del Oro, in the belief that it abounded in gold. There is, however, reason to conclude that it was Papua, afterwards called New Guinea, from the resemblance between the natives and the negroes on the coast of Africa. They were black, with short crisped hair, and had the features of that distinctive race of Polynesia, since termed Oceanic negroes, who are found in many of those groups which are scattered throughout the vast Pacific, sometimes mixed with the other great family by which these islands are

CHAP. III.

Treachery of the Portuguese.

Hernan Cortes equips an expedition.

Arrival at the Moluccas.

Papua or New Guinea.

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\* They are included in the Caroline range, and are supposed to be identical with the Egoi Islands of the present maps.—Freycinet, tome ii. p. 76.

## CHAP. III.

Second  
voyage for  
New Spain.

The Caroline  
Islands.

Appearance  
of the  
women.

peopled, but generally apart. Saavedra, finding the wind unfavourable, was obliged to return to the Moluccas; nor was his second attempt to reach New Spain, in the following year, more fortunate. In this voyage he once more touched at Papua. When formerly there he had made three captives, two of whom, on again seeing the beloved shores of their native land, plunged into the sea while the ship was yet distant; but the third, who was more tractable, and had by this time been baptized, remained as envoy from his new friends to his ancient countrymen, and to establish an amicable traffic. When the vessel neared the beach, he also left her, in order to swim ashore; but, without being allowed to land, he was assailed and murdered, as an outcast and renegade, in presence of his Christian patrons. A group of small islands (part of the Carolines) in 7° north, were, from the circumstance of the natives being tattooed or painted, named *Los Pintados*. To the north-east of this cluster, several low ones, well peopled, were discovered, and named *Los Buenos Jardines*.\* At this place Saavedra dropped anchor, and the inhabitants drew near the shore, waving a flag. A number of men came on board accompanied by a female, who touched each of the Spaniards in succession, and was from that circumstance supposed to be a sorceress brought for the purpose of discovering what kind of beings they were. Both sexes were light-complexioned and tattooed. The women were beautiful, with agreeable features and long black hair, and wore dresses of fine matting. Saavedra, on landing, was met by a promiscuous band advancing in a certain order, with tambourines and festal songs. To gratify the curiosity of their chief, a musket was fired, which struck them with such terror that the greater part immediately fled in their canoes to a station

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\* " Nous reconnoissons dans les premieres [*Los Pintados*] une portion des îles *Ralik*, et dans les secondes [*Los Buenos Jardines*] l'extrémité nord des *Radak*, groupe exploré long-temps après [1816-17] par le capitaine russe *Kotzebue*."—*Freycinet*, tome ii. p. 76.

three leagues distant, whence they were with difficulty induced to return. These islands afforded abundance of cocoa-nuts and other vegetable productions. The commander died soon after leaving the Good Gardens;\* and, after vainly attempting to reach New Spain, the ship once more returned to the Moluccas. After sustaining many varieties of fortune, the Spaniards, finding that they could procure no reinforcements from their own country, consented to abandon the settlement, on condition of being furnished with means to convey them home. They accordingly departed for Cochin in 1534, but did not reach Europe till 1537, after an absence of twelve years. "Though the honour," says Burney, "of sending forth the second ship that encircled the globe cannot be claimed by the Spanish nation, it is nevertheless a justice due to the memory of the few of Loyasa's and Saavedra's men who reached their native country, to notice them as the navigators who the second time performed that tour."†

CHAP. III.  
Disasters of  
the Spanish  
voyagers.

Return to  
Europe.

Several voyages had in the mean time been attempted by private adventurers; but they all proved abortive,

Private ad-  
venturers.

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\* To Saavedra is ascribed the bold idea of cutting a canal from sea to sea through the Isthmus of Darien. This project, which has been often revived, very early engaged the attention of Spain. It is discussed in Jos. Acosta's History of the Indies,—who urges against the design an opinion, that one sea being higher than the other, the undertaking must be attended by some awful calamity to the globe. Observations made under the patronage of Bolivar, and completed in 1829, seem to show that the levels of the two oceans are different; but as our ideas of a canal no longer imply a channel through which the waters of the one sea should flow into the other, the apprehensions that occurred to the Spanish historian have ceased to appal us. The chief obstacle is the enormous expense; for it seems now to be sufficiently proved that either a canal or a railway is quite practicable (See Royal Society Transactions for 1830);—indeed, it is reported that the construction of the latter has been determined on by the government of New Granada. A cut was in fact made in 1788, connecting a tributary of the San Juan with a branch of the Quito, and thus opening a communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, during the rainy season, for the canoes of the country, which draw from one to two feet of water.

† Chron. Hist. of Discov. in South Sea, vol. i. p. 161.



## CHAP. III.

Cession of  
the Spanish  
claims to the  
Portuguese.

New Spanish  
squadron.

Settlement in  
the Philip-  
pines.

and the passage by Magellan's Straits, as well as the schemes which began to be entertained for opening a communication through the Isthmus of Darien, were abandoned, when, in 1529, the Emperor Charles V. mortgaged or ceded to Portugal his right to all the islands west of the Ladrones, for 350,000 ducats (£108,181, 15s.) The discoveries now opening in other quarters likewise contributed to divert attention from this point. The peninsula of California was visited a few years afterwards. Its gulf and outer shores were examined by Cortes in 1536; new settlements were also every year rising in Mexico and Peru, which engrossed the cares of the Spanish governor; and it was not till the year 1542, that, forgetting the cession to Portugal, a squadron was once more fitted out, destined for the Archipelago of St Lazarus. This was the work of Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, and the command was intrusted to his brother-in-law, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos. He discovered the island of San Tomas, in latitude 18° 30' north, and a cluster, which he named El Coral. On the 6th January 1543, at 35 leagues from the Coral Isles, the fleet passed ten islands belonging to the group of the Carolines, and probably the same with Saavedra's Gardens.—The squadron coasted along Mindanao, and on reaching Sarangan, an island near the south part of Mindanao, resolved to establish in it that settlement which was the chief purpose of their expedition. This the natives, though at first hospitable and friendly, stoutly opposed; but the captain-general, having already taken formal possession of all the islands for the emperor, determined to make good his point, and accordingly, attacking their forces, compelled them to retreat. Here the Spaniards raised their first harvest of Indian corn in the Philip-pines,—the name now given by Villalobos to the archipelago, in compliment to the Prince-royal of Spain. The inhabitants of several islands in a short time became more friendly; traffic was established; and this success once more excited the jealous apprehensions of the Portuguese, and induced them to foment intrigues

among the native chiefs who favoured the different European leaders. In the progress of events, the conduct of Villalobos was marked by perfidy to the allies he had gained, and by treachery to his sovereign. In despite of the remonstrances of his officers, he accepted unworthy terms from the Portuguese, and provided himself a passage home in one of their ships. But his main object was defeated, for he died at Amboyna of sickness and chagrin,—thus eluding the vengeance of the country which he had betrayed.

CHAP. III.

Renewel  
jealousy of  
the Portu-  
guese.

The commencement of a new reign is a period proverbial for energy and activity. Among the first acts of Philip II. was an order issued to the Viceroy of Mexico for the final conquest of the Philippines. The Fray Andres de Urdaneta, a celebrated cosmographer and navigator, who, after sailing with Loyasa, had become a monk, was requested to accompany an expedition for this purpose; and to him the honour was given of nominating the captain-general, his own profession forbidding him to hold any secular rank. His choice fell upon Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a person of great prudence, who sailed with four ships from Navidad in New Spain on the 21st November 1564. On the 9th January following, they discovered a small island, which they named De los Barbudos, on account of the large beards of the natives, and next morning a circle of islets, which were called De los Plazeres, from the shoals which ran between them. A similar group were perceived on the 12th, named Las Hermanas, or The Sisters; and are supposed to be the same with the Pescadores and Arrecifes of modern charts. The squadron touched at the Ladrones, and without seeing other land made the Philippines, where, according to the sealed orders received from the king, they were to form a settlement. On the 13th of February, they anchored near the east part of the island Tandaya. The natives wore the semblance of friendship; and an alliance was made with the chiefs, according to the customs of their country, the parties drawing blood from their arms and

Accession of  
Philip II.New expedi-  
tion of dis-  
covery.Arrival at  
the Philip-  
pines.

## CHAP. III.

Singular  
pledge of  
mutual  
fidelity.

breasts, and mingling it with wine or water, in which they pledged mutual fidelity.\* In this ceremony the captain-general declined to join, alleging that there was no person on the other side of sufficient rank to contract with him. The Indians, however, could not be so far ensnared as to become the dupes of European policy, remarking that the Spaniards gave "good words but bad works." The fleet sailed from place to place, but small progress was made in gaining the confidence of the people, who were now fully alive to the intentions of their visitors. One station after another was abandoned, and though a good understanding was established with the chief of Bohol, with whom Legaspi performed the ceremony of bleeding, Zebu was at last selected as the centre of colonization. There the Spaniards carried matters in a higher tone than they had hitherto assumed. The tardiness of the people to acknowledge the offered civilities of the voyagers was used as a pretext for aggression, and the foundation of the first Spanish colony in the Philippines was laid in the ashes of the sacked capital. Hostilities continued to be waged for a time between the islanders and the invaders; but at last a peace was concluded. The news of the settlement was carried back to America by the Fray Andres Urdaneta, the pilot-monk, who sailed on the first June, and on the third of October reached Acapulco,—an exploit highly extolled at the time, as the passage across the Pacific from west to east, so necessary to facilitate the communication between the Philippines and the mother-country, had hitherto baffled every navigator. By following a course to the 43d degree of north latitude fair winds were obtained; and the homeward voyage long continued to be made to New Spain by the same track, which acquired the name of Urdaneta's Passage. The occupation of Manilla soon followed that of Zebu,

Jealousy and  
violence of  
the Spaniards.

Urdaneta's  
passage.

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\* The classical reader will not need to be reminded that Herodotus records similar customs as prevalent among the Scythians and other nations.

and became the insular capital of the Spaniards in the eastern world. CHAP. III.

Geographical discovery and maritime enterprise were now to receive a new spirit from that extraordinary career of conquest which, commenced by Hernan Cortes almost contemporaneously with the voyage of Magellan, had already extended over the greater part of the western coast of South America. In the year 1563, Juan Fernandez, a Spanish pilot, in the passage from Peru to the new establishments in Chili, had stood out to sea in the hopes of finding favourable winds, and in his progress descried two islands; one of which was called Mas-afuera, while the other received the name of its discoverer, and has since acquired much celebrity as the supposed scene of Defoe's romance of Robinson Crusoe.

Occupation  
of Manilla.

Juan  
Fernandez.

In the year 1567, Lopez Garcia de Castro, the viceroy of Peru, fitted out the first expedition which sailed from that country expressly for the purpose of discovery. He intrusted the command to Alvaro de Mendana de Neyra, who departed from Callao, the port of Lima, on the 10th of January. Having directed his progress westward a distance which is variously stated by different writers, he reached a small island inhabited by copper-coloured savages, and named it the Isla de Jesus. Shortly after, he discovered a large shoal, which he called Baxos de la Candelaria (Candlemas Shoals), and from this descried an extensive land, for which he set sail, and anchored in a harbour, that received the appellation of Santa Ysabel de la Estrella (St Isabel of the Star). The inhabitants were of a bronze complexion, had woolly hair, and wore no covering save round their waists. They were divided into tribes, and engaged in continual warfare with one another. They seemed to be cannibals; but their usual food consisted of coconuts, and a species of root which they called *venaus*. Having first, with the characteristic devotion of the age, caused mass to be celebrated on these new-found shores, Mendana constructed a brig large enough to carry thirty men, which was despatched to explore the

Expedition  
of discovery  
from Peru.

Islands dis-  
covered.



CHAP. III. neighbouring coasts. The result was the discovery of an archipelago consisting of eighteen islands, some of which were found to be 300 leagues in circumference, though of several others no definite knowledge was obtained. The names of Santa Ysabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, San Christoval, and El Nombre de Dios, were bestowed on the principal ones; while the group received the general appellation of the Solomon Islands, from a belief that they had supplied the gold and treasure employed in the building of the Temple.\* The air was extremely salubrious; the fertile soil offered ample resources for a dense population, and the rivers washed down great quantities of the precious metals. This archipelago, however, was not explored without several rencounters taking place between the Spaniards and the savages, who fought with much valour. After this rapid survey, Mendana returned to Peru in the beginning of March 1568. Many years passed ere any farther knowledge of his discoveries was sought; and their situation long furnished a perplexing theme for the discussion of geographers.

Juan Fernandez. In the year 1574, Juan Fernandez visited two small islands lying near the continent of America, which were named San Felix and San Amber. About the same period, a discovery is ascribed to him of a more doubtful character. Sailing from the coast of Chili,

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\* The minds of the early discoverers seem to have been constantly inflamed by the description of the wealth of Solomon, who "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones," and whose "drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold; none were of silver; it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon."—1 Kings, x. 21, 27. The land of Ophir, from which the navy of Hiram brought gold and "great plenty of almug-trees, and precious stones," was the object of continual search; and Columbus, among his other dreams, believed that he found this source of Jewish splendour in Hispaniola and Veragua.—Irving's Columbus, vol. iii. p. 251, and vol. iv. p. 59. The true position of Ophir is yet a *questio vexata* among geographers. It has been placed in India, in Arabia, in Africa, and even in Peru. Etymology, the never failing support of such speculations, comes in aid of this last hypothesis with the expression "gold of Parvaim."

about the latitude of 40° south,\* he is reported to have reached, after a voyage of a month, the coast of a continent which seemed to be very fertile and well cultivated. The people were white, wore fine attire, and were of an amiable and peaceful disposition. Several large rivers fell into the sea, and altogether it “appeared much better and richer than Peru.” This country has been supposed by some to be New Zealand; others are inclined wholly to discredit the voyage; and the data are certainly too meagre to warrant the identification of this supposed continent with any of the islands in the Pacific known to geography.

CHAP. III.

Doubtful discoveries.

The year 1575 witnessed the first launching of a bark by an English seaman in the waves of the South Sea,—a feat which was accomplished by John Oxenham, a native of Plymouth. Landing on the north side of Darien, he marched across the neck of land; and having built a small vessel, he intrusted himself to the ocean, and steered for the Pearl Islands. There he captured two rich prizes, and returned with his spoil to recross the isthmus,—an attempt in which he was slain.

John Oxenham.

Success and fate.

Unfortunate as was the issue of this enterprise, it did not chill the ardour nor damp the courage of our

\* It is to be regretted that the learned Burney should have lessened the value of his important work by the loose and unscholarlike fashion of departing from the words of his author, even while pretending to quote literally. This practice has led him into numerous mistakes. Thus, in relating the discovery of Fernandez, he takes occasion to quote the Memorial of Doctor Juan Luis Arias, published by Dalrymple (Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 53), as to the following effect:—“Arias says, ‘The pilot, Juan Fernandez, sailed from the coast of Chili, a little more or less than forty degrees, in a small ship, with certain of his companions,’ &c.”—Chron. Hist. of Discovery, vol. i. p. 300. But the passage, as it stands in Dalrymple, is materially different: “A pilot, named Juan Fernandez, who discovered the track from Lima to Chili, by going to the westward (which till then had been made with much difficulty, as they kept along shore, where the southerly winds almost constantly prevail), sailing from the coast of Chili, about the latitude of forty degrees, little more or less, in a small ship, with some of his companions,” &c.—Vol. i. p. 53. It will be seen that Burney thus quotes Arias as specifying the *longitude*, while in truth he only indicates the *latitude*.

CHAP. III. countrymen. Within two years was commenced the first voyage round the globe performed by the British, in the person of the renowned Sir Francis Drake. When, from a "goodly and great high tree" on the Isthmus of Darien, this bold navigator first saw the South Sea, we are told that "he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea." Several years elapsed before this wish was gratified; but at length, on the 13th December 1577, he was enabled to set sail from Plymouth with a fleet of five vessels, bearing 164 men. He made the eastern inlet to the Straits of Magellan on the 20th of August, and in seventeen days after entered the Pacific. Here he encountered a succession of storms, during one of which he was driven far to the southward, when, it is probable, he discovered Cape Horn. "He fell in," says an old narrator, "with the uttermost part of land towards the South Pole; which uttermost cape or headland of all these islands, stands near in the 56th degree, without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southwards, but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope." When the weather became fair, Drake stood to the northward, and cruised along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, capturing the vessels of the Spaniards and plundering their towns. In the hope of finding a north-east passage or strait, he still continued his course, and explored a country, which he named New Albion, to the 48th degree of north latitude. It was then determined to run westward, and return to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. After sailing sixty-eight days, he discovered some islands, to which he gave the name of the Thieves, and which have been conjectured to be identical with some of those called the Pelew in the Caroline archipelago.\* From these he proceeded to the Philippines;

CHAP. III.

Sir Francis Drake.

Storms in the Pacific.

Capture of prizes.

Islands discovered.

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\* "Drake découvrit des îles, qu'il nomma *Islands of Thieves*, et qui paroissent être les îles situées au sud de Yap. Elles portent sur la carte No. 7 de notre Atlas hydrographique, le nom d'îles



Engraved by J. Boerburgh.





and after touching at Java and other places, set sail for England. On the 15th June 1580, he passed the southern point of Africa, which, says an old author, "is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth ;" \* and on the 26th of September anchored safely at Plymouth, after an absence of two years and nearly ten months. In geographical discovery Drake's voyage was barren, but it gave a new spirit to the maritime enterprise of Britain, and brought wealth and fame to its commander. Queen Elizabeth honoured him by dining on board his ship, where she also conferred the distinction of knighthood ; for many years his vessel was preserved at Deptford ; and a chair, made from one of her planks and presented to the University of Oxford, has been celebrated by the muse of Cowley.†

CHAP. III.  
Passage of  
the Cape of  
Good Hope.

Honourable  
reception of  
Drake.

The unexpected appearance of Drake in the South Sea was a matter of serious alarm to the Spaniards. Their exclusive navigation of that ocean was now gone : and instead of gathering in peace the treasures which the islands in its bosom, and the opulent empires on its margin, might afford, they perceived that henceforth they would have to contend for their riches with a powerful and ambitious enemy. In fact, they soon saw the English successfully penetrating the Magellanic Straits,—a channel so difficult as to have given rise to a saying, "that the passage had closed up." It had, indeed, been little frequented by the Spaniards, who, it may be conjectured, found a more profitable employment in the colonization of their recent conquests. But the havoc which Drake carried along their coasts once more attracted their attention to the Straits, and, in 1579, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was despatched

Alarm of the  
Spaniards.

Renewed  
attention to  
the Magel-  
lanic Straits.

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*Lamoleao Ourou.* L'île Yap est nommée aussi *Eap* par quelques auteurs.—Freycinet, tome ii. p. 77.

\* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742.

† A copious narrative of the Life and Voyages of Drake has already appeared in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. V. Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.

## CHAP. III

Expedition  
of De Gam-  
boa.

Sufferings  
and failure  
of the colony.

Expedition  
of Cavendish.

Plundering  
of the Span-  
iards.

from Lima to survey them, and report the result of his observations. In pursuance of his advice, it was determined to fit out a powerful armament, with a design of fortifying the narrows, and thus closing against hostile intrusion what they considered the only portal of the Pacific. The fate of this expedition was singularly disastrous; nor was it until after making repeated attempts and sustaining much loss that they effected an entrance. Two cities were founded, named Nombre de Jesus and San Felipe, and peopled by Europeans, who had a supply of provisions for only eight months. On his voyage to Spain, the captain was taken prisoner by an English cruiser belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh. His unfortunate colony was speedily reduced to the greatest miseries; no attempt was made to send them succours from home; and, being thus abandoned to want and the frightful inclemencies of the weather, sad ravages were made among them. Only two who survived these dreadful sufferings returned to their native country.

The path to the South Sea once laid open, no long time elapsed ere it again became the scene of English adventure. In 1586, Mr Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of the county of Suffolk, fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition to the Pacific, and sailed from Plymouth on the 21st July. He reached the Straits of Magellan on the 6th January following, and cleared their farther outlet on the 24th of February. Like Drake, the object he had in view was plunder; and, like that navigator too, he stood along the western coast of America, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. At length, in November, glutted with spoil, he steered across the ocean, and in January 1588 made the Ladrone Islands. In the passage homeward he touched at St Helena, and first communicated to England its capabilities and advantages. He arrived at Plymouth on the 9th September, having circumnavigated the globe in two years and fifty days,—a period shorter than that required by either of his predecessors.



Engraved by J. Horsburgh.

THOMAS CAVENDISH





The chief contribution which this voyage made to geography was the discovery of Port Desire on the east coast of Patagonia. In a lucrative point of view it was so successful, that Cavendish resolved to engage in another expedition to the same quarter of the globe. Accordingly, he again left England, and, after a voyage of seven months, he entered the Strait of Magellan, on the 14th of April 1592. Dispirited by the storms which he encountered there, he determined, on the 15th of May, to retrace his course towards the coast of Brazil, and soon afterwards died on his passage home.

CHAP. III

Results of  
the voyage.

The voyage, though its results were not very gratifying, was marked by an incident of some importance. After repassing the Straits, one of the vessels under the command of Captain Davis, was separated from the squadron, and having met with adverse gales, was "driven in among certaine Isles never before discovered by any known relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare, east and northerly from the Streights, in which place, unlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to have ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie have perished." \* On this group he seems to have bestowed no name; but they are now known by the designation of the Falkland Islands.† After this occurrence Davis succeeded in reaching the South Sea; but, returning almost immediately, his ship eventually arrived at Bearhaven in Ireland, in June 1593, with only sixteen persons remaining of seventy-six who left England. Of the expeditions now briefly noticed, which constitute so important an era in the naval history of this country, and abound with spirit-stirring adventures, a copious narrative has been given in a preceding volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.‡

Discovery of  
the Falkland  
Islands.Return of  
Captain  
Davis.

\* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 846.

† Burney seems to have been among the first to vindicate Davis' claim to the discovery of this group, which it was supposed was formerly seen by Sir Richard Hawkins.—Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 103.

‡ Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier. For a farther account of Davis, one of England's most intrepid seamen,

## CHAP. III.

—  
Expedition of  
Sir Richard  
Hawkins.

We have shortly to mention yet another expedition fitted out in the reign of Elizabeth. This was undertaken by Sir Richard Hawkins, who sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of June 1593. In his passage towards the Strait, he observed the islands formerly seen by Davis, though he appears to have considered them as altogether unknown. "The land," he says, "for that it was discovered in the reign of Queene Elizabeth, my souereigne lady and mistris, and a mayden queene, and at my cost and aduenture, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endeavours, I gave it the name of Hawkins' Maiden-land."\* Sir Richard reached the South Sea, and began to follow the example of his more illustrious predecessors, Drake and Cavendish; but his fortune proved very different. On the 22d of June 1594, his ship was captured near Cape de San Francisco, and carried into Panama, in honour of which event that city was illuminated.

Capture of  
his vessel.

This was the last voyage in the Pacific made by English navigators for many years. The course of our narrative accordingly turns again to the expeditions of the Spaniards.

Plans of  
Phillip II.

In 1594, Philip II., in a letter to the Viceroy of Peru, recommended "the encouragement of enterprises for new discoveries and settlements, as the best means to disembarass the land from many idle gentry;" and in compliance with this suggestion, an armament was prepared next year to effect a settlement in the island of San Christoval, one of the Solomon archipelago, visited, as has been already narrated, in 1567. The fleet consisted of four vessels supplied with 378 men, of whom 280 were soldiers; it was commanded by Alvaro de Mendana, by whom the islands had been discovered, under the title of Adelantado, and the chief pilot was

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who, having effected discoveries in the extreme regions of the north and the south which have immortalized his name, was doomed to perish in a quarrel in the East Indies, the reader is referred to the Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions

\* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1384.

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros,—a name which afterwards became famous in the annals of nautical adventure. The adelantado was accompanied by his wife, the Donna Ysabel Berreto, and, as was usual in those days, a certain number of priests sailed on board the armada.

CHAP. III.

Preparations  
for coloniza-  
tion.

On the 16th of June 1595, Mendana, leaving Payta, pursued a course nearly due west until the 21st July, when he was in latitude 10° 50' S., and, by the reckoning of Quiros, 1000 leagues distant from Lima. On that day an island was discovered and named La Madalena; and the adelantado, believing it to be the land he sought, there was much rejoicing among the crew, and *Te Deum laudamus* was sung with great devotion. Next day, when they drew near the shore, there sallied forth in rude procession about seventy canoes, and at the same time many of the inhabitants made towards the ships by swimming. They were in complexion nearly white, of good stature, and finely formed; and on their faces and bodies were delineated representations of fishes and other devices. The Spanish chroniclers extol the gentle manners and the beauty of these natives very highly. "There came," says Figueroa,\* "among others, two lads paddling their canoe, whose eyes were fixed on the ship; they had beautiful faces, and the most promising animation of countenance; and were in all things so becoming, that the pilot-mayor (Quiros) affirmed nothing in his life ever caused him so much regret as the leaving such fine creatures to be lost in that country." Short as was the intercourse which the Spaniards had with these gentle savages, it was marked by bloodshed and

Discovery of  
Las Mar-  
quesas.Treatment of  
the natives.

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\* "Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza Quarto Marques de Canete, por El Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. Madrid, 1613." An almost literal translation of so much of this work as relates to Mendana's voyage will be found in Dalrymple's Hist. Coll., vol i. pp. 57-94 and 185-203. This translation has been used in the present account. There has been preserved another narrative of the voyage in a letter written by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, the pilot-mayor, to Don Antonio Merga, and published by him in "Sucesos de las Philipinas. Mexico, 1609." This is also to be found in Dalrymple's excellent work.



## CHAP. III.

Names of the  
group of  
Islands.

Ceremony of  
taking pos-  
session.

New course  
pursued.

Dissatisfac-  
tion of the  
crew.

violence. When Mendana had passed the south end of La Madalena, he descried three other islands, and this circumstance for the first time convinced him that he was not among the Solomon group. He named these newly discovered ones La Dominica, Santa Christina, and San Pedro, and gave to the whole cluster the title of Las Marquesas de Mendoza. A spacious harbour was soon observed in Santa Christina, and named Port Madre de Dios; and the fleet having been safely anchored, the adelantado and the Lady Ysabel landed. On this occasion mass was performed with much ceremony, the natives standing silently by, kneeling when the strangers knelt, and endeavouring generally to imitate their gestures. Prayers were then said, and in the name of the King of Spain possession was taken of the islands,—a formality which was completed by the sowing of some maize. A large party of soldiers being left on shore, soon fell into hostilities with the natives, drove them from their houses, and hunted them with slaughter into the woods.

At length, on the 5th of August, the adelantado set sail from Las Marquesas, assuring the crews that on the third or fourth day they would reach the Solomons. More than a fortnight passed, however, and no land was seen, till on the 20th they discovered four small and low islands with sandy beaches, and covered with palms and other trees. These were named San Bernardo, and a similar one, descried nine days after, was, from its lonely situation, called La Solitaria. It has been conjectured to be identical with one of the Desventuradas of Magellan.\* The ships passed on, pursuing the same course, but discontent and disappointment soon broke out on board. Of the land, long since predicted by the adelantado as near at hand, no signs had yet appeared; and some of the crew scrupled not to say that they were going no one knew whither. Amid these murmurs of dissatisfaction, Mendana, we are told, went about with

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 175.

a rosary ever in his hand, wearing an air of devotion and severely reprehending all profaneness of speech.

On the night of the 7th of September, land was at length perceived; and on that same night one of the vessels disappeared and was no more seen. At sunrise the land was ascertained to be an island of large extent; and was forthwith named Santa Cruz. Another was seen to the northward, on which there was a volcano in great activity. When first observed, it had a regularly formed peak; but this was destroyed a few days after by an eruption of such violence as to be felt on board the ships, though at the distance of ten leagues. The natives were immediately recognised by Mendana as of a kindred race with the inhabitants of the Solomons, yet they appeared to speak a different language. Their hair was woolly, and frequently stained white, red, and other colours; they had ornaments of bone or teeth round their necks, and used bows and arrows. Their warlike disposition was evinced by their commencing an attack on the Spaniards. This was, indeed, quickly repelled; but the ferocity of the savages and the cruelty of the voyagers kept up a continued warfare during their stay. The adelantado at length determined to form a settlement on the margin of a bay, which from its goodly aspect was named La Graciosa. The ground was soon cleared and several houses built. Sedition and mutiny, however, now made their appearance, and it was found necessary to punish three of the conspirators with death. The inhumanity of his people towards the natives reached at the same time a height altogether unprecedented. A chief, Malipe, whom Quiros calls "our greatest friend and lord of the island," was murdered by some of the crew, apparently without the slightest cause or pretext; though, to the honour of Mendana, it should be mentioned that he inflicted death on the perpetrators of this cruel outrage. But this was among the last of his acts, disease and care having already reduced him to the utmost extremity. On the 17th of October, which was marked by a total eclipse of the

CHAP III.

Santa Cruz  
discovered.Warfare with  
the natives.Mutiny and  
cruelty.

## CHAP. III.

—  
Death of  
Mendana.

His charac-  
ter.

Death of the  
new captain-  
general.

moon, he made his will, leaving his authority to his wife, Donna Ysabel, and constituting her brother, Don Lorenzo Berreto, captain-general under her. He was so weak that he could scarcely subscribe his name to this document, and he only survived till midnight. His character may be given in the words of Figueroa: "He was known to be very eager to accomplish whatever he put hand to; he was zealous for the honour of God and the service of the king; of high mind, which had engaged him in the former voyages and discoveries; good actions gave him pleasure, and he detested bad; he was very courteous and sweet-tempered; not too apt to give reasons, and therefore not desirous of them; more solicitous of works than words. He appeared to be well in regard to his own conscience. He never passed for high, so that it was the opinion that he knew more than he performed."\* The melancholy rites of burial were celebrated with suitable pomp. The coffin was borne on the shoulders of eight officers, and the soldiers marched with muskets reversed, and dragging their colours in the dust.

Shortly after, the new captain-general was wounded in a skirmish with the natives, and died on the 2d November. The vicar soon followed him,—“a loss,” says Figueroa, “such as the sins of these unfortunate pilgrims deserved; it served as a stroke to tell them they were displeasing to God, when, after so many corporeal afflictions, he took from them their spiritual

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\* Burney seems to have been disposed to look only on the dark side of Mendana's character: "His merits," it is observed, "as a navigator, or as a commander, have not contributed towards rendering him conspicuous; and it is remarked in *Figueroa* that his death was lamented ONLY by his relations and his favourites."—Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 162. This certainly is not a fair representation of Figueroa's statement, which runs thus:—"The governess and her friends were much affected by his death, others were glad of it. *It is to be supposed these were the worst people in the company, to whom his goodness gave offence; for it is impossible for one who lives in dread to love that which occasions his fear; and particularly when the wicked have the good to judge of their evil works.*"—Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 190.

comfort." Continued misfortunes had now reduced the settlement to a state so helpless that twenty determined savages could have destroyed it without danger; and the Donna Ysabel, bereft of her husband and brother, and discouraged by so many evils, resolved to abandon the projected colony. Having accordingly embarked all the settlers, and taken on board the corpse of the adelantado, the three vessels which now composed the fleet set sail on the 18th of November, after a stay at Santa Cruz of two months and eight days.

CHAP. III.

The colony abandoned.

It was intended to seek the island of San Christoval; "but," says Quiros, "when we continued on the course two days and saw nothing, on the petition of all the people, who spoke aloud, the governess commanded me to take the route for the city of Manilla." In their voyage thither, an island was discovered about thirty leagues in circuit, and clothed with trees and herbage. No name seems at that time to have been assigned to it, and though its position is very imperfectly indicated, it may be conjectured to be one of the Carolines.\* Two of the vessels reached the Philippines after much privation; the third was found stranded on the coast with all her sails set, but her people were dead.†

Discovery of one of the Carolines.

Shortly after this disastrous expedition, the Spaniards were alarmed by the appearance of a new foe in the ocean which they had ever regarded as their own. This unexpected enemy was the Dutch, who, fired alike by the hatred of the nation which had so long oppressed them, and stimulated by hopes of gain, determined to carry the hostilities, hitherto confined to the plains of the Low Countries, far beyond the bounds of Europe, and to attack the possessions of their former tyrants in India and the South Seas.

Appearance of the Spaniards in the South Seas.

\* It is thus noticed by M. de Freycinet, apparently on the authority of Texeira:—"En 1595, Quiros, successeur de Mendana, fit la découverte de l'île *Hogoleu*, qui d'abord reçut des Espagnols le nom de *Quirosa*, puis celui de *Torrès*, d'un capitaine de cette nation."

—Voyage autour du Monde. Historique, tome ii. p. 77.

† Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 58, note.



## CHAP. III.

First Dutch  
expedition.

Dispersion of  
the squa-  
dron.

William  
Adams the  
chief pilot.

In June 1598, five vessels left Holland for the purpose of sailing to the East Indies by the Straits of Magellan, and cruising against the Spaniards on the coasts of Chili and Peru. On the 6th of the following April, they entered the Straits; but in consequence of some unforeseen difficulties, they were obliged to winter in Green Bay, where they suffered much from cold and want, many of the men dying of hunger. They had also repeated conflicts with the natives, who are described as being of formidable stature, with red bodies and long hair, and animated with such implacable hatred against the Dutch, that they tore from their graves the bodies of some sailors, which they mangled or altogether removed. On the 3d of September, the squadron reached the South Sea, but was soon dispersed in a storm, and never again met. Sibald de Weert re-passed the Straits, and after seeing some of the islands discovered by Davis, and which now received the name of Sibald de Weert, brought home to the Maes, in July 1600, the only ship that returned to Holland. Dirck Gherritz, in the yacht commanded by him, was driven to 64° south latitude, where he got sight of land, supposed to be the South Shetland Isles.\* An Englishman, named William Adams, acted as chief pilot in the squadron, and the vessel in which he sailed stood over to the coast of Japan, where they were detained, but kindly treated. Adams built two ships for the emperor, and became so great a favourite, that he granted him a living "like unto a lordship in England, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen" for servants; but he failed to obtain permission to return home, though he greatly desired to "see his poore wife and children, according to conscience and nature."† Finding that he could not prevail for himself, he interceded for his companions, who,

\* This fact seems to have been little regarded, and does not affect the merit of Captain Smith's discovery in 1818.

† "William Adams,—his Voyage by the Magellan Straits to Japan, written in two letters by himselfe."—Purchas, vol. i. p. 128.

being allowed to depart, joined a Dutch fleet under General Matelief. Their captain was killed in an engagement with the Portuguese off Malacca, after which all trace of them is lost. News of the death of Adams, at Firando in Japan, was brought to this country in 1621.

CHAP. III.

His death at  
Firando.

Almost contemporaneously with this expedition, some Dutch merchants fitted out four ships under Olivier Van Noort, who sailed from Goree on the 13th September 1598, with objects similar to those contemplated by De Weert. A voyage of a year and seven days brought them to Port Desire, where they careened their three vessels, having previously burned one as unserviceable; and, according to Purchas, they took in this place penguins to the number of "50,000, being as bigge as geese, with egges innumerable, which proved very refreshing to the diseased."\* Some natives being observed on the north shore, the general landed with twenty men, and as the savages had disappeared they proceeded into the country. Five sailors left in charge of the boats straggled to some distance; upon which about thirty Patagonians, tall, fierce, tawny, and "painted to the degree of terror," attacked them, murdered three, and wounded another with an arrow. By the time the general and his party returned, the assailants had all fled, and none were again seen near the place. After entering the Straits, the ships were approached from the south coast by a single man, who was pursued and ineffectually fired at. A more convenient opportunity, as the Dutchmen conceived, for revenging the death of their three comrades occurred at the smaller of the Penguin Islands. As the boats neared the land, about forty natives, thinking they came in search of the birds which abound there, threw some from the top of a cliff, made signs for them not to land, and discharged arrows when these intimations were disregarded. The Hollanders were not slow to retaliate with musketry;

Second  
Dutch expedi-  
tion.Conflict  
with the  
natives.Occurrence  
at the Pen-  
guin Islands.

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\* Purchas, vol. i. p. 72.

CHAP. III.  
Slaughter of  
the natives.

Cruel exter-  
mination.

which soon drove the savages from the rock. They again rallied, however, on the side of a hill at the mouth of a cavern, and fought with the utmost determination until the destructive fire of the Dutch left not one man alive. In the interior of the grotto were found huddled together the women and children; mothers had placed their own bodies as a protection before their offspring, and many of both were wounded. The invaders committed no farther outrage, except carrying off four boys and two girls. One of the former having been taught to speak Dutch, afterwards informed his captors that they had exterminated the males of a whole tribe,—a deed which, as it is related without any expressions of regret or pity, was probably never regarded by the perpetrators as being in the least more atrocious than if they had cut down so many trees for the use of their squadron. Sibald de Weert's ship was seen in the Straits, and that commander made a request to be supplied with some biscuit; but his countryman coolly answered, that he had no more than was sufficient for his own use, and if he should exhaust his stores, this was not a part of the world where bread could be purchased.

Visit to the  
Philippines.

Theft of the  
natives.

Along the west coast of South America some prizes of little consequence were made, and when near the equator they stood across towards the Philippines. At Guahan, in the Ladrones, about 200 canoes came off to barter, the people in them shouting, "Hierro, hierro!" (iron, iron!) and in their eagerness oversetting each other's boats,—a catastrophe which occasioned much confusion, but no loss of life, as they were all expert swimmers. The Dutch did not find them honourable in their transactions, as they covered baskets of shells with a thin layer of rice at top, and if they had an opportunity, pulled a sword from the scabbard, and leaping into the sea, eluded, by diving, the bullets of the enraged owners. The women were no less expert in such exercises than the men, as was ascertained by dropping bits of iron, which they fetched up from the



bottom. Thence Van Noort proceeded in a leisurely manner, capturing trading vessels, burning villages, and carrying off provisions as occasion served. His force was now reduced to two ships, the Mauritius and Eendracht. He learnt from some Chinese that the capital of the Spanish settlements was well fortified, and the harbour sufficiently protected. He therefore anchored off the entrance of the bay, to intercept the craft bound thither. After some time, the colonists sailed out to attack them; when their admiral, De Morga, confident in a large superiority of numbers, ran directly aboard of the Mauritius, and, getting possession of the deck, pulled down the flag. The Hollanders, however, continued to fight, though in a skulking manner, when Van Noort, tired of this tedious and ineffectual warfare, told his men, that if they did not come out and encounter the enemy more vigorously, he would set fire to the magazine and blow up the ship. They did so accordingly, and drove the Spaniards back into their own vessel, which, having been damaged in boarding, soon after went down. Most of the seamen were saved by the country-boats; but numbers also were shot, knocked on the head, or killed with pikes by the Dutch, who refused quarter. The Eendracht, seeing the colours of the Mauritius lowered, and thinking the captain-general had surrendered, took to flight, but was pursued and captured; upon which the prisoners being conveyed to Manilla, were immediately executed as pirates. Without any farther adventure of consequence, and having added nothing to the knowledge of the South Sea, Van Noort brought his ship to anchor before the city of Amsterdam on the 26th of August 1601.

CHAP. III.

Captures and  
spoliation.Fight with  
the Spaniards.Return to  
Holland.

This was the first circumnavigation performed by the Dutch, and was remarkable for the rigour with which discipline was enforced. In many of the Spanish expeditions mutinies broke out which could not be subdued without the sacrifice of several lives; but here, although a spirit of insubordination was repeatedly



## CHAP. III.

Rigorous  
severity of  
discipline.

displayed, it seems to have been uniformly checked before spreading to any considerable extent. Individuals who had been found guilty were put ashore at various points; and, among others, the second in command was left in Patagonia with a little bread and wine. Every thing of this nature was done with the sanction of a council of war,\* whose sentences were occasionally marked by no little severity: in one case they caused a seaman's hand to be pinned to the mast with a knife, where he was condemned to remain till he could release himself by slitting it open. This cruel punishment was formerly usual in cases where an assault had been committed upon the pilot or commander.

Summary of  
the progress  
of discovery.

The voyage of Van Noort closes the long list of enterprises made in the sixteenth century; and, before passing on to the events of the seventeenth, it may not be improper briefly to glance at the progress of discovery among the islands and along the coasts of the South Sea since the time when Vasco Nunez, from the mountain-peak of Darien, beheld "below him extended a vast chaos of rock and forest, and green savannas and wandering streams, while at a distance the waters of the promised ocean glittered in the morning sun." †

\* Burney (*Chron. Hist. Discov.*, vol. ii. p. 209) says, it does not appear who composed this tribunal; but the original account of the voyage mentions that the "council of war" gave a judgment which it also attributes to the "general and his officers." This makes it sufficiently plain of whom the council in a Dutch fleet consisted; and further, one of the letters of William Adams states, that all the pilots in the squadron expressed in the council an opinion which so displeased the captains that they excluded them for the future from their deliberations.—*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 129.

† *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus*, p. 173. Washington Irving has described this event, "one of the most beautiful and striking incidents in the history of the New World," with even more than his usual elegance. It is in itself so picturesque as to be barely susceptible of farther embellishment from poetry, though Mr Irving considers that the fate of Nunez "might furnish a theme of wonderful interest for a poem or a drama." His great discovery has been happily alluded to in a beautiful sonnet by a young poet, who, however, has confounded him with the conqueror of Mexico:—

The continent of America, constituting the western boundary of this vast ocean, had already been explored from the white cliffs of New Albion, in 48° north latitude, to Cape Pilares on Tierra del Fuego, in 54° south. Some imperfect knowledge had been obtained of lands even still farther south: Drake had seen the promontory which afterwards received the dreaded name of Cape Horn, and the Dutch had descried the bleak islands now called New South Shetland. Magellan had laid open the strait which bears his name, and was then looked on as the only entrance from the Atlantic into the South Sea. Along the coast had been discovered several islands, the principal of which were Chiloe, Mocha, Mas-afuera, Juan Fernandez, San Felix, San Amber or Ambrosio, Lobos, Los Galapagos, Cocos, San Tomas, and the Pearl Islands. The eastern boundary of the South Sea was less accurately known. Yet on that side the Japan Islands, Formosa, the Philippines or Archipelago of St Lazarus, Borneo, the Moluccas, Papua or New Guinea, had all been more or less minutely examined, and might be held to define with sufficient accuracy the eastern limits of the Pacific, from the latitude of 40° north to that of 10° on the opposite side of the equator. Southward of this all was unknown and unexplored; and the geographers of the period, bold in their ignorance, delineated the capes, the gulfs, the promontories, bays, islands, and coast of a great continent extending from the vicinity of New Guinea to the neighbourhood of Tierra del Fuego, under the name of *TERRA AUSTRALIS NONDUM COGNITA*. Of the innumerable clusters of islands with which the South Sea is studded, very few had been at this time discovered. Las Desventuradas, the Ladrones or Ma-

CHAP. III.

Extent of  
land ex-  
plored.Islands dis-  
covered.Imaginary  
southern  
continent.

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“ Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
 When a new planet swims into his ker,  
 Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes  
 He stared at the Pacific, and all his men  
 Looked at each other with a wild surmise,  
 Silent, upon a peak in Darien.”

## CHAP. III.

Islands discovered in the South Sea.

rians, the Sequeira or Pelew, and several others of the Carolines ; the islands of San Bernardo, Las Marquesas, Solitaria, the Solomons, Santa Cruz, and a few smaller groups, were all that were known of those countries and islands, the extent and number of which have at length claimed for them the rank of a fifth division of the globe.

Circumnavigations of the globe.

During this period the earth had been sailed round four times. Of these circumnavigations, the first was effected by Spaniards under a Portuguese commander ; the second and the third by the English ; and the fourth by the Dutch.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Circumnavigations and Discoveries of the Seventeenth Century.*

Voyage of Quiros—La Sagitaria—Australia del Espiritu Santo—Luis Vaez de Torres discovers the Strait between New Holland and New Guinea—Circumnavigation of Spilbergen—Of Schouten and Le Maire—Discovery of Staten Land and Cape Horn—Cocos, Good Hope, and Horn Islands—New Ireland—Expedition of the Nodals—Discovery of New Holland by Dirck Hatichs—Circumnavigation of the Nassau Fleet—Voyage of Tasman—Discovery of Van Diemen's Land, of New Zealand, and the Friendly Islands—Voyages of Hendrick Brower and La Roche—Expeditions of the Buccaneers—Discovery of Davis' or Easter Island—Voyage of Strong, and Discovery of Falkland Sound—Retrospect.

THERE had long been an abatement in the ardour of that passion for adventure which formerly inflamed the hearts of the Spanish nation, afforded to her chivalrous youth so many harvests of gain, and extended her sceptre over regions of great extent, wealth, and beauty. Avarice had become sated with the gold already obtained, or, chilled by the frequent disappointment of its eager hopes, had become suspicious and distrustful of future promises. Enthusiasm had been quenched by the misfortunes of those whose beginning had been the most prosperous and seemed most certain of success. Religious zeal had found, in the lands already explored, ampler bounds than it could occupy. National policy required rather the permanent security and improvement of conquered countries, than a search after new regions. There had even arisen a superstitious feeling against the discovery of the South Sea, as if it had been

CHAP. IV.

Causes of abatement of the passion for adventure.

Requirements of policy.



## CHAP. IV.

Superstitious  
fears.

an impious intrusion into the secrets of nature. The untimely fate of all who had been principally concerned in this great event was now recollected. It was told, that Vasco Nunez had been beheaded,—that Magellan had fallen by the hands of the infidels,—that his companion, the astrologer Ruy Falero, had died raving mad,—and that the seaman De Lepe, who had first descried the Strait from the topmast, had abandoned Christ to follow Mohammed. But the spirit which had glowed so long was not wholly dead, and we have yet to record the actions of one of the most distinguished navigators whom Spain has produced.

Pedro Fernandez de  
Quiros,

Undaunted by the hardships and ill success of the last voyage of Alvaro de Mendana, the pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, returned to Peru, eager to engage in fresh adventures, and, as one of his memorials expresses it, “to plough up the waters of the unknown sea, and to seek out the undiscovered lands around the antarctic pole—the centre of that horizon.”\* Arguing upon grounds which were received by many, even down to our own day; he asserted the existence of a vast southern continent, or at least of a mass of islands, the antipodes of the greater part of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The viceroy, to whom he detailed his views, heartily approved of the project; but the limits of his authority hindered him from furnishing means for its execution, and he therefore sent him to Spain with letters of recommendation to the king and his ministers. These were successful. Quiros left the court “with the most honourable schedules which had ever passed the

Arguments  
for the exist-  
ence of a  
southern  
continent.

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\* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 98. The chief authorities for the voyage of Quiros are his own memorials (which are inserted in Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 145-174; and in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1427), together with the relations of Figueroa and Torquemada (Monarchia Indiana, Seville, 1615, and Madrid, 1723), both translated by Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 95-144. In Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 467-478, Appendix, No. i. was printed, for the first time, the “Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres, concerning the discoveries of Quiros as his almirante. Dated Manilla, 12th July 1607;” translated by Mr Dalrymple from a Spanish MS. in his possession.

council of state," and arriving at Lima and "throwing into oblivion all that he had endured for eleven years in the pursuit of so important an object,"\* he began to prepare for his long-cherished enterprise.

CHAP. IV.  
Preparations for new discovery.

Having built two vessels and a zabra (a kind of launch), the strongest and the best armed, says Torquemada, of any that had been seen on either sea, on the 21st of December 1605, he set sail from the port of Callao, having under him, as second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres.† Six Grey or Franciscan Friars accompanied the expedition; and, in conformity with their wonted respect for religion, guns were fired on the 25th during the day, and the ships were illuminated during the night, in honour of the solemn festival of the Nativity. On reaching the latitude of 26° south, Quiros considered it proper to pursue a more northerly track, in opposition to the advice of Torres, who thought that by advancing to 30° south there was greater probability of finding the desired continent. On the 26th of January 1606, between the parallels of 24° and 25° south latitude, and 1000 leagues west from Peru, land was seen. It was a low flat island, with a sandy surface, here and there diversified by a few trees, though apparently without inhabitants, and it received the name of La Encarnacion. Three days after another island was discovered; it was "plain and even a-top," might contain about twelve leagues, and was called San Juan Bautista.‡ From this Quiros sailed in a north-westerly direction, and on the 4th of February saw an island or group of islands, encircled by

Vessels provided for the expedition.

First discovery of land.

\* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 104.

† Cook, in the introduction to his second voyage, falls into the singular mistake of representing Torres as commander of the expedition, and Quiros only as pilot. Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, in the Years 1772-1775. 3d edition. London, 1779.—Gen. Introd. p. xii.

‡ It may be proper here to state, that the memorial of Torres has preserved a totally different nomenclature of the lands from that given by Quiros, and that for obvious reasons we have adopted the names bestowed by the latter.

## CHAP. IV.

Group of  
Islands dis-  
covered.

a reef and having a lagoon in the centre. This land, which was about thirty leagues in circuit, received the name of Santelmo. The next day four other islands were seen; they were barren and uninhabited, and resembled in all respects those previously discovered. They were called Los Quatros Coronadas; and two of a similar character, observed in the vicinity, were named San Miguel Archangel and Conversion de San Pablo.

La Decena.

On the 9th of February an island was seen in the north-east, and, from the circumstance of being the tenth which had met their eyes, received the appellation of La Decena. It appeared to be like those previously inspected, and the ships passed on. The next day a sailor on the topmast gave the cry of "Land a-head!" to the great joy of all on board. "It was," says Torres, "a low island, with a point to the south-east which was covered with palm-trees;"\* and the columns of smoke which rose from different parts showed that it was inhabited. The zabra was directed to search for an anchorage, and having found it in ten fathoms the boats were sent to effect a landing. About 100 Indians were seen upon the beach making signs of joy; but so great was the surf which broke upon the rocks, that the crews, with heavy hearts, abandoned their intention of landing and resolved to row back to the ships. "They were thus returning quite disconsolate," says Torquemada, "when a brave-spirited young man, Francisco Ponce, a native of Triana, slighting the danger, got up, saying, that if they should thus turn their faces from the first perils which their fate presented, what hope could there be of success in the event?" and with this threw himself into the sea and swam ashore. The islanders welcomed him with much apparent affection, frequently kissing his forehead, and encouraged by the example now set them, some others leapt into the sea and swam to land. The natives were in colour mulattoes, well limbed, and of good carriage; they were

Appearance  
of the  
natives.

Reception  
of the  
voyagers.

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 463.

naked, and armed, some with lances of thick wood, burnt at the ends and about twenty-seven palms in length, some with swords of the wood of the palm-tree, and not a few with great clubs. They lived in thatched houses, situated by the margin of the sea among groves of palms. A person who appeared to be a chief had on his head a kind of crown made of small black feathers, but so fine and soft that they looked like silk. In one of the woods was discovered what seemed to be an altar, rudely formed of stones; and "our people," says the Spanish chronicler, "solicitous where the Prince of Darkness had dwelt to place the royal standard whereby the Prince of Light gave life to us, with Christian zeal cut down a tree with their knives, which they formed into a cross and fixed in the middle of the place."\* The island was found to be divided by a narrow isthmus which was overflowed at high water; its latitude was between 17° 40' and 18° 30' south, and its longitude, as computed from the different accounts, has been fixed by Burney at 147° 2' west from Greenwich.† This discovery was named La Sagitaria, and has, by the most eminent geographers, been generally considered as identical with Otaheite. This opinion has been founded on the coincidence of position, on the similarity of the isthmus, on the resemblance in extent and form, and, above all, on the circumstance that no other island, widely as the Pacific has now been searched, is known to which the description will at all apply. But it must not be concealed that there are many and material objections to this theory. Torres expressly describes it as a "low island,"—a remark which is quite irreconcilable with the mountain-peaks of Otaheite; and even the account of the isthmus, in so far as regards its being overflowed at high water, does not agree. The other discrepancies are, that the shores of Sagitaria afforded no anchorage, and that its smaller peninsula must have been at least

CHAP. IV.

Arms and dwellings of the Islanders.

Christian zeal of the voyagers.

Supposed to be Otaheite.

Discrepancies now observable.

\* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 113.

† Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 282.



## CHAP. IV.

Later conclusions.

eight Spanish leagues in extent,—facts which are altogether inapplicable to Otaheite.\* Little weight, however, has been given to these remarks, and the identity of the two islands is now generally admitted; though, when all circumstances are considered, doubts may still be entertained as to the soundness of the conclusion.

Voyage resumed.

On the 12th of February, Quiros resumed his voyage, and, while yet in sight of La Sagitaria, saw a very low island, which he named La Fugitiva. On the 21st, another discovery was made of a plain and uninhabited spot, which was called El Peregrino. About this time a mutiny broke out on board his ship, headed by the chief pilot; it being the intention of the disaffected to make themselves masters of the vessel and sail in a direct course to the Philippines. The only punishment which Quiros inflicted, was to send the pilot as a prisoner on board the vessel commanded by Torres. On the 2d of March, a level island was seen to the westward; and on a nearer approach it was found to be inhabited. The intercourse with the natives was unfortunately hostile, and much blood was shed; but the beauty of their forms so struck the Spaniards, that they gave them the appellation of La Gente Hermosa. There is reason to believe that this is the same with the San Bernardo of Mendana.

Mutiny among the seamen.

New land discovered.

Quiros continued to sail westward in the parallel of 10° south upwards of thirty days. Towards the end of that period frequent signs of land were observed, and on the afternoon of the 7th of April a high and black coast was discovered. They failed to reach it, however, before the 9th, when it was found to be inhabited: many houses were descried on the beach and among the woods; and on a small islet, which had been converted into a rude fort, were about seventy dwellings. This island-fortress was taken possession of by the Spaniards

\* Wales' Remarks on Mr Foster's Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage round the World in the Years 1772-1775. London, 1778. Pp. 24, 25, 26.

without opposition,—the vicinity of Santa Cruz, and a knowledge of Mendana's transactions there, having taught the savages the fatal efficacy of fire-arms. The appellation of this country was Taumaco, and its inhabitants were apparently of different races,—some having a light copper-colour, with long hair,—others resembling mulattoes,—while a third class had the black skin and frizzled hair of the Oceanic negro. Their arms were bows and arrows, and they had large sailing canoes. From the chief, whose name was Tumay, Quiros obtained information of upwards of sixty islands, and, among others, of a large country called Manicolo. He determined to sail in quest of these, and on the 19th quitted Taumaco; and, changing his course to the southward, reached an island, which in appearance and in inhabitants resembled the one he had just left, and was by the natives denominated Tucopia. The voyagers still proceeded southward till they passed the latitude of  $14^{\circ}$ , at which point they pursued a westerly direction; and after one day's sailing, discovered a volcano surrounded by land, about three leagues in circuit, well wooded, and inhabited by black people with large beards. When near this island, which was named Nuestra Senora de la Luz, land was perceived to the westward; while in the south, and “towards the S.E.” was seen “other land still larger, which seemed to have no end, and was full of great mountains.” After some deliberation it was resolved to make for the island in the west, which received the name of Santa Maria; but, after touching there, Quiros determined to steer towards the high regions that lay to the south. On the 2d of May, he moved the vessels into a large bay, and, believing that he had at length discovered the great southern continent, gave it the name of AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO.

The bay, in honour of the festival on which they had entered it, was named San Felipe y Santiago; while a port far within, where they anchored, was called La Vera Cruz. This harbour, which could have con-

CHAP. IV.

Appearance  
of the  
natives.Information  
obtained of  
other Islands.Supposed  
discovery of  
the Southern  
continent.

CHAP. IV.  
Harbour and  
rivers.

High estima-  
tion of the  
new land.

Collision  
with the  
natives.

tained above a thousand ships, was situated between two streams, one of which was named Jordan and the other Salvador. Of these rivers one was equal in size to the Guadalquivir at Seville. "The strands of this bay," says Torquemada, "are broad, long, and clear; the sea is here still and pleasant, for although the winds blow strong, within the bay the water is scarce moved. There are in all parts in front of the sea pleasant and agreeable groves, extending to the sides of many mountains which were in sight; and also from the top of one, to which our people climbed, were perceived at a distance extremely fertile valleys, plain and beautiful; and various rivers winding amongst the green mountains. The whole is a country which, without doubt, has the advantage over those of America, and the best of the European will be well if it is equal."\*—"From the breaking of the dawn," says Quiros, "is heard through all the neighbouring wood a very great harmony of thousands of different birds, some to appearance nightingales, blackbirds, larks, and goldfinches, and infinite numbers of swallows, and besides them many other kinds of birds, even the chirping of grasshoppers and crickets. Every morning and evening were enjoyed sweet scents wafted from all kinds of flowers, amongst them that of orange-flowers and sweet basil."† As the boats rowed towards this second Eden, the islanders crowded to the beach, and endeavoured, by friendly signs, to prevent their landing. The Spaniards, however, leapt on shore; upon which a native chief drew a line on the ground with his bow, and made signs that the strangers should not pass beyond it. But Luis Vaez de Torres, thinking this would appear cowardly, stepped across the boundary, and strife instantly ensued. A flight of arrows, on the one side, was responded to by a discharge of musketry on the other, which killed the chief and several of his followers.

\* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 137.

† "Relation of a Memorial presented by Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros." Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 170.

From this time all peace was at an end ; the savages re-  
 jected every offer of conciliation, and by sudden ambus-  
 cade and open attack sought revenge for the blood of  
 their leader. This ceaseless enmity, and the failure of  
 provisions, determined Quiros to quit the place before  
 a month had elapsed. He had, however, previously  
 taken possession of the country in the name of the  
 king, and founded a city under the title of La Nueva  
 Jerusalem. The natives are described as black, cor-  
 pulent, and strong. Their houses are built of wood and  
 thatched, and they have plantations enclosed with pali-  
 sades. They are possessed of musical instruments re-  
 sembling the flute and drum ; they manufacture some  
 sort of earthen vessels, and build large canoes adapted to  
 long voyages.

CHAP. IV.

Abandon-  
ment of the  
country.

In endeavouring to quit the harbour of San Felipe y  
 Santiago, much stormy weather was encountered, and  
 for some reasons, which cannot now be ascertained,  
 Quiros parted company with his consort. After a vain  
 search for the island of Santa Cruz, he agreed, in com-  
 pliance with the opinion of his officers, to sail for Mexico,  
 where he arrived in the middle of October.

Departure  
for Mexico.

Still thirsting after discovery and adventure, he once  
 more repaired to the court of Spain, and continued  
 there several years, beseeching the throne for assistance  
 to pursue the search of new lands. So great was his  
 importunity that he is said to have presented no fewer  
 than fifty memorials. One of these, after discussing  
 in glowing language the beauty and fertility of the  
 Australia, thus concludes :—“Acquire, sire, since you  
 can, acquire heaven, eternal fame, and that new world  
 with all its promises. And since there is none who  
 solicits of your majesty the rewards for the glad tidings  
 of so great and signal a blessing of God, reserved for  
 your happy time, I, sire, supplicate them, and as such  
 my despatch, for the galleons are ready, and I have  
 many places to go to, and much to provide and to do.  
 If Christoval Colon’s conjectures did make him perti-  
 nacious, what I have seen, what I have felt, and what I

Return to  
Spain.Eagerness of  
Quiros for  
renewed  
adventure



CHAP. IV. offer, must make me so importunate." \* The solici-  
 tions of Quiros were at last crowned with success, and  
 in 1614 he set out on his way to Lima, in order to  
 arrange another expedition. But this gratification he  
 was doomed never to enjoy ; he died, while on his  
 journey, at Panama.

Death of  
 Quiros.

Proceeding  
 of Torres.

We now return to Torres, who, during two weeks  
 after the departure of Quiros, remained in the Bay of San  
 Felipe y Santiago. On leaving this he sailed along the  
 west side of the Australia del Espiritu Santo, which he  
 found to be well watered and possessed of many ports.  
 He also ascertained that it was no continent, but an  
 island. He continued to steer to the south-westward,  
 till he reached the 21° of south latitude, when he  
 changed his course to the north-east, and in 11½° en-  
 countered what he believed to be the eastern extremity  
 of New Guinea. Being unable to weather this point,  
 he directed his course to the westward, along the southern  
 coasts, and having sailed through the strait between New  
 Holland and New Guinea, which he was the first to  
 penetrate, arrived at Manilla in May 1607.

Position  
 occupied by  
 the Dutch.

Holland was now rising fast in the scale of maritime  
 importance, and gradually assuming that station which  
 the Spaniards had so long occupied. Following the  
 example first set by the English, the Dutch had already  
 sent two fleets into the South Sea, as is related in the  
 preceding chapter ; and, in pursuing the course of the  
 narrative, we now reach a period at which they hold the  
 most distinguished place in the history of navigation  
 and discovery. The cession of the Moluccas by Spain  
 to Portugal put an end for some time to the disputes  
 between these powers in the Pacific, and the union  
 of the two crowns in 1581 prevented any renewal of  
 the contests. The islands themselves, however, never  
 wholly submitted to the dominion of either of those  
 masters ; and when the Dutch, in 1599, first visited  
 Ternate, they found encouragement to establish a fac-

Reconcile-  
 ment and  
 union of  
 Spain and  
 Portugal.

\* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 173, 174.

tory ; where, from that time, they steadily pursued plans for securing an exclusive trade. Their East India Company (established in 1602) fitted out six vessels, which, under George Spilbergen, sailed from the Texel on the 8th of August 1614, destined to penetrate through the Straits of Magellan to the South Sea, there to cruise against the Spaniards, and to strengthen the power of their countrymen in the Spice Islands. They were furnished equally for war or for trade ; and so ably was the expedition conducted, that the five largest vessels reached the Moluccas in safety, after defeating Roderigo de Mendoza with a greatly superior force near the American coast. The Peruvian admiral had boasted that he would make prisoners or slay the whole of his enemies :—“ Two of my ships,” he said, “ would take all England ; how much more those Hens of Holland, after so long a journey has spent and wasted them !” \* In the encounter, the Low Country warriors betrayed nothing of the spirit of the fowl to which they were insultingly compared ; but the arrogant governor did not survive to encounter the ridicule which he had justly merited, for his vessel, after escaping from the conflict, went down at sea. It was not to be expected that a Dutchman, whose orders were to employ himself in fighting and traffic, should deviate from the accustomed track in search of new lands, or spend much time in investigating the character and manners of the people ; his voyage accordingly presents nothing that is now interesting in either of these respects, though the survey of the Straits of Magellan and of Manilla furnished to mariners better charts of these channels than any before executed. On the 29th March 1616, Spilbergen arrived at the Moluccas, and till the end of the year continued occupied with the affairs of his employers. He seems then to have left his own vessels, and, coming home in command of the Amsterdam and Zealand, arrived on the 1st July 1617.

CHAP. IV.

Dutch East  
India com-  
pany.Vain boast  
of the  
Peruvian  
admiral.Results of  
the voyage.

\* Purchas, vol. i. p. 31.

## CHAP. IV.

Exclusive  
charter of the  
Dutch East  
India com-  
pany.

Southern  
company  
formed.

The gold  
seekers.

By the charter of the Dutch East India Company, no other merchants were allowed to pass round the Cape of Good Hope or through the Straits of Magellan to the Moluccas,—a prohibition supposed to be sufficient to secure to that body an exclusive trade in the spices. Many English pilots were, however, about this time in the service of the United Provinces; and by their means, it is probable, was the fact made known, that Drake had discovered an open sea to the south of Tierra del Fuego. Accordingly, about the year 1613, some merchants, proceeding on this ground, imagined that a new passage might be found to India, and that they might thus acquire a right to participate in the gainful traffic to these regions. An expedition was accordingly planned, chiefly, as appears, by Isaac le Maire, a wealthy citizen of Amsterdam, and by William Schouten, a native of Hoorn, and an experienced mariner. Their object was not openly avowed: they obtained from the States-general the privilege of making the first four voyages to the places which they might discover, and formed themselves into an association under the name of the Southern Company; but as the destination of the vessels was not disclosed to the seamen, who were engaged to sail whithersoever their commanders chose, the other merchants were displeased because they could not penetrate the designs of their neighbours, and those who engaged in the enterprise were derisively denominated Gold Seekers.\*

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\* It is proper to observe, that the details of the voyage of Schouten and Le Maire are in many instances involved in doubt. Two accounts of their voyage were published shortly after its completion, written by the respective friends of the two navigators, and the discrepancies between these narratives, though they do not affect the more important events of the voyage, involve the minuter details in much perplexity. There is sometimes a difference between their reckonings of from twenty-five to forty-five minutes of latitude; they vary in their dates to the extent of eight or nine days; and even while they agree as to the substance of events, they differ as to the order of their occurrence. In the following account, we have endeavoured to reconcile their conflicting statements so far as possible; and where that was not practicable, have generally given preference

Schouten, accompanied by Jacob le Maire, the son of Isaac, in the capacity of supercargo, sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June 1615, with two ships, the Eendracht and Hoorn. It was not till the 25th of October, after they had crossed the line, that the crews were informed of the intentions of their leaders; and when told that they were steering by a new passage to the south of the Straits of Magellan, for the "Terra Australis" (probably the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros), some of them, that they might not forget the name, wrote it in their caps with chalk. The ships were conducted into Port Desire, where, during the process of careening, the Hoorn was accidentally burnt. On shore were found multitudes of birds like lapwings. A man, standing in one spot, could with his hands reach fifty-four nests, each containing three or four eggs. Thousands of these were carried on board and

CHAP. IV.  
—  
Sailing of the  
southern  
expedition.

Disaster at  
Port Desire.

to the authority of the first-published account, the *Journal of the Voyage of William Schouten*, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1617, in the Dutch and French languages, bearing in the latter the title of "Journal ou Description du Merveilleux Voyage de Guillaume Schouten." It was translated into Latin by De Bry in 1619, and an English translation appeared at London in the same year, and afterwards in Purchas, vol. i. p. 88-107. The second narrative of the voyage was printed at Amsterdam in 1622, under the title of "Journal et Miroir de la Navigation Australe de Jacques Le Maire, Chef et Conducteur de deux Navires." In addition to these have appeared various other relations, to which it is not necessary to advert, as they are of no authority, and contain nothing but what will be found in the two original authorities. But one exception must be made from this judgment,—the "Navigation Australe par Jac. le Maire et par W. Corn. Schouten," said to be compiled from the Journal of Adrian Claesz, and published in the "Recueil des Voyages à l'Établissement de la Comp. des Indes Orient." Translations of the Journals of Schouten and of Le Maire, and of parts of that attributed to Claesz, are inserted in Dalrymple's *Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii. p. 1-64. An able and critical narrative will be found in Burney's valuable work. This author, though he seems frequently to have preferred the account given by the friends of Le Maire, states with much candour that "on comparison, the fact appears that the greater portion of the *Navigation Australe de Le Maire* is taken from the *Journal du Merveilleux Voyage de W. Schouten*, and that the editor has endeavoured to disguise the plagiarism by verbal alterations."—*Chron. Hist. Discov.*, vol. ii. p. 360.



## CHAP. IV.

Game and provisions.

Sepulchral piles of stones.

used as food, to the no small saving, doubtless, of the five cheeses, and other provisions, which had been apportioned to each sailor for the voyage.\* On the mainland some pools of fresh water were found, by following the direction in which certain animals with long necks, supposed to be harts, but probably horses, were observed daily to repair for the purpose, as was rightly conjectured, of drinking. On the summits of hills and on elevated rocks were observed piles of stones, which some of the people had the curiosity to remove; and beneath, without any pit being dug, were found human skeletons, several of which, it is alleged, measured ten or eleven feet in length, and "the skulls," it is said in the description which accompanies the plates inserted in the "Journal du Merveilleux Voyage de Schouten," "we could put on our heads in the manner of helmets."

On the 13th of January 1616, the Eendracht left Port Desire,† and stood to the southward. On the 18th

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\* "It was ordered that every man should have a can of beere a day, foure pound of bisket, and halfe a pound of butter (besides sweet suet) a weeke, and five cheeses for the whole voyage."—Purchas, vol. i. p. 88.

† When Sir John Narborough lay at Port Desire in 1670, he discovered a relic of the visit of Schouten and Le Maire. "One of my men," he writes, "found a piece of sheet lead, which had this inscription engraved on it:—

'MDCXV. EEN SCHIP ENDE EEN JACHT GENAEMT EEN-DRACHT EN HOORN GEARRIVEERT DEEN VIII DECEMBER VERTROKEN MET EEN SCHIP D'EENDRACHT DEN X. JANUARY: MDCXVI.

C. I. LE MAIRE. S. W. C. SCHOVTS.

AR. CLASSEN. I. C. SCHOVTS. CL. IANSEN BAN.'

(i. e. MDCXV. A ship and a yacht, named Eendracht and Hoorn, arrived here on the 8th December. Departed with the ship Eendracht 10th January MDCXVI. In a hole of the post lay a tin box, with a sheet of written paper enclosed in it, but so eaten by the rust of the box that it could not be read. We found several pieces of board of the wreck of some ship that had been burned."—Journal kept by Captain John Narborough. Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. pp. 334, 335. These fragments must have belonged to the Hoorn, which, as has been mentioned, accidentally took fire while being careened. There is a discrepancy of three days between the date of departure in the inscription and in the accounts of the voyage.

they saw the islands of Sibald de Weert (the Falklands), and two days after, at noon, passed the latitude of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. It was now that the most critical part of their voyage commenced, and the winds, soundings, and appearances of the land and water, were observed and noted with the greatest minuteness. On the 24th, they came to the most easterly point of Tierra del Fuego, and saw another country still farther in the same direction, which they named Staten Land, in honour of the States of Holland. Passing through the channel, which afterwards in a meeting of their council was entitled the Strait of Le Maire, the coast on the left was found to diverge towards the east, while that on the right turned west-south-west; and the mariners knew they had a wide sea before them, the colour of the water being blue, and long waves coming from the south-west. At last, on the 30th, they passed the most southerly point of Tierra del Fuego, which was named Cape Horn or Hoorn, in honour of the town of Hoorn in West Friesland, the birthplace of Schouten. The land was high and hilly, covered with snow. In some parts of this ocean, whales were so numerous that the pilots were incessantly obliged to alter their course in order to avoid running against them, while in others the sea-birds, unused to the sight of human beings, alighted in the ship and suffered themselves to be taken by the sailors. The weather was frequently tempestuous, and they never wanted rain or mist, snow or hail. On the 3d of February, they were in  $59^{\circ} 30'$ , their greatest southern latitude, from which, standing north-west, they reckoned on the 12th that they had again attained the parallel of the Straits of Magellan, and consequently had effected a new passage into the Pacific Ocean; for joy of which, an allowance of three cups of wine was dealt out to all the men.

CHAP. IV.

Pass the  
entrance of  
the straits of  
Magellan.

Passage of  
Cape Horne.

Whales and  
sea-birds.

At Juan Fernandez they missed the anchorage, but obtained a little water, and were most successful in their fishing, the bait being caught the moment it was

Arrival  
at Juan  
Fernandez.

## CHAP. IV.

Successful  
fishing.

Dog Island.

Interview  
with Indians.

dropt, so that those employed “continually without ceasing did nothing but draw up” bearn and corcobados. From this island, in a course north-west by north, they crossed the southern tropic, then stood north-west as far as 18° of south latitude. On the 10th of April was discovered a circular strip of land full of trees, with sea-birds perched on the branches, the interior having the appearance of being overflowed at high water. No marks of inhabitants could be perceived, but three dogs were seen, which, as the Dutchmen allege, could neither bark nor growl; and from this circumstance it was denominated Honden or Dog Island. On the 14th, they came to another narrow border well covered with wood, surrounding a salt-water lake in the middle, and styled it Sonder-grondt, or Bottomless, because they failed to obtain soundings. A great number of natives, of a copper colour, with long black hair fastened up behind, were seen; some of whom pushed off in a canoe, and addressed themselves to the Dutch by signs and speeches, in which they became so emphatic as to over-set their bark. Those on shore waved their garments and branches of trees, thereby inviting, as was supposed, the strangers to land. By and by their skiffs ventured nearer the ship, and one of them getting into the gallery, showed that he knew the value of iron, by drawing the nails from the cabin windows and concealing them in his hair. As it was understood that hogs and fowls were plentiful, a party went ashore in the boat for the purpose of trading; but immediately on their landing, about thirty islanders rushed from the woods and assaulted them. The discharge of three muskets soon put them to flight; but from this inauspicious beginning it was thought needless to attempt any farther to establish a friendly intercourse. The noses of these people are described as flat, “which,” as Burney remarks, “is no part of the general character of the inhabitants of any of the islands at present known in the South Seas.”\* On the 16th, our navigators filled four

\* Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 381.

casks of water from an island resembling those previously visited, and which they named Waterlandt. Two days after, another being descried, some of the crew landed and entered a wood, where, seeing a native with what appeared to be a bow in his hand,\* and having no arms themselves, they hastened back to the ship covered with black flies, which infested all on board three or four days. The name of Vlieghe or Fly Island was in consequence bestowed on the place.

CHAP. IV.  
Fly Island.

On the 8th of May, when out of sight of land, an Indian vessel was observed standing to the north, across the course of the Eendracht, from which three guns were fired as a signal that the other should lay to. It was strange that Schouten, who must have been aware that fire-arms were entirely unknown to many of these poor islanders, should have expected such a signal to be understood, or thought that, upon their failing to comply, he might justly use violence. The Indians at first paid no attention to the summons, and on its repetition made every endeavour to escape. A boat was, however, lowered with ten musketeers, who speedily out-mancœuvred the fugitives, and, when within half-range, mercilessly fired four shots among them, by which one was wounded, and immediately leapt into the sea. Fifteen or sixteen others, in terror, blackened their faces with ashes, threw overboard their merchandise, which consisted of small mats and some fowls, and committed themselves to the waves, one man carrying an infant with him. The Dutch found in the vessel eight women with three children at the breast, and several others nine or ten years old, an aged man also, and the

Large Indian vessel discovered.

Capture of the vessel.

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\* "They saw a savage who *seemed to them* to have a bow in his hand," says the Journal of Schouten; and it is remarked, in the description of an island *subsequently* visited (see below, p. 116), that "these were *the first* bows we saw at the islands in the South Seas." The Navigation Australe of Le Maire speaks positively of having "perceived a savage man with his bow in his hand, as if to shoot fish." But the observations of modern navigators tend, without exception, to establish the fact that bows and arrows are not in use on Fly Island.



CHAP. IV.  
 —  
 Rescue of the  
 survivors.

wounded youth who had returned on board ; but no weapons of any kind. When the canoe had been taken alongside of the Eendracht, the boat returned to the assistance of the Indians in the water, of whom only two were saved, who pointed downwards, to signify that all the rest had gone to the bottom. They fell on their faces before their conquerors, kissing their feet and hands ; and on being presented with knives and beads, gave in return two mats and two cocoa-nuts, although they had little provisions left for their own use. Their whole stock of fresh-water being exhausted, they drank from the sea, and supplied their children with the same beverage. Towards evening, the Indians were put on board their canoe, “ that were welcome to their wives, which claspt them about the necks, and kissed them ;” \* one of the women, however, appeared to be in much affliction, lamenting the loss of her husband. Their hopes of a prosperous traffic being blasted by this cruel disaster, the savages now steered a course the reverse of that they had formerly held, on their return, no doubt, to the place whence they had adventurously sailed, quitting sight of land without any of the aids which render such a navigation safe.

Departure of  
 the canoe.

Arrival at  
 Cocos Island.

On the 11th May, the ship anchored at Cocos Island, so named from the abundance of that species of fruit : another island lay about a league to the south-south-west. Canoes soon flocked to the place, and by degrees a few of the natives ventured on board, and being entertained with some tunes by a seaman who played on the fiddle, they danced and “ showed themselves joyful and delighted beyond measure.” Numerous groups speedily resorted to the vessel, admiring every thing they saw, and pilfering whatever they could carry off. “ They wondered at the greatnesse and strength of the shippe, and some of them crept downe behind at the rother (rudder), under the ship, and knockt with stones upon the bottome thereof, to proove how strong it was.” †

\* Burchas, vol. i. p. 96.

† Ibid. p. 97.

They brought for traffic plenty of cocoas, bananas, yams, and some small hogs, which were purchased at an easy rate for old nails and beads; and so eager were they, that those in the outer canoes secured their commodities in their teeth, and dived under the rest, endeavouring to cut them out from the advantage of lying closer to the ship. The king of the southern island had sent a present to the Eendracht, and received one in return. The next day he came with a large assemblage of his people, ostensibly for trade, which was carried on as usual for some time; but, on the striking of a drum, the whole of them, amounting to about 1000, set up a shout, and assailed the Hollanders with stones. The great guns and musketry soon dispersed these rude warriors in consternation, and Schouten set sail, naming their country Verraders or Traitors' Island. The voyagers remarked among them one man perfectly white. On the 14th, in searching for anchorage near an island which they called Good Hope, from its presenting a fair promise of supplying their want of fresh water, an affray took place with the natives; for which reason they again thought it advisable to continue their course.

CHAP. IV.

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Traffic with  
the natives.

Treachery of  
the Indians.

On the 18th May, they were in latitude 16° 5' south, and on this day a general council was held to decide on the future direction of their voyage. Schouten represented, that though they were now at least 1600 leagues westward from the coast of Peru, they had discovered no part of the Terra Australis, and that no indications even of its existence had yet been met with. There was, he stated, little likelihood of their success, and they had besides sailed much farther to the westward than was their original intention. The result of continuing in their present track, he said, must be that they would fall upon the southern coasts of New Guinea, and in the event of their not finding a passage on that side of the island, they must without doubt be lost, as the constant trade-winds would altogether preclude their return to

General  
council.

## CHAP. IV.

Change of  
course  
adopted.

the eastward.\* He bade them remember also that their store of victuals was but small, and that there was little prospect of increasing it; and concluded by asking, if it were not better, considering all these things, to alter their course and to sail northward, thus passing by the upper shores of New Guinea, and reach the Molucca Islands. This suggestion was at once adopted, and their line of motion changed to the north-north-west. Towards evening of the next day, they came in sight of land, divided apparently into two islands, distant from each other about a cannon-shot. They directed the ship towards them; but, owing to contrary winds, it was not until the noon of the 21st that they got within a league's distance. About twenty canoes instantly came off, filled with people much resembling the inhabitants of Good Hope Island. As they approached the vessel they made a great hallooing, which was interpreted by the navigators into a salutation of welcome, and answered with the sound of trumpets and shouting. One of the natives, however, having been observed to shake his wooden *assagay* or spear in a warlike manner, and the theft of a shirt from the gallery having been discovered, a cannon and some muskets were discharged against them, by which two of the savages were wounded, and the whole put to flight, the linen (which belonged to the president) being thrown into the sea. A boat which was afterwards despatched to search for a more convenient anchorage was attacked, and, in the conflict which ensued, six of the islanders were killed, several wounded, and one canoe captured.

Conflict with  
natives.

Bay of  
refuge.

On the 23d, the ship was drawn into a bay, and safely moored at about the distance of a stone's throw from the shore, and so near to a stream of fresh water that a supply could be procured by the boats within range of the guns. Here the adventurers remained seven days,

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\* This reasoning shows that Schouten was ignorant of the strait between New Guinea and New Holland, discovered by Luis Vaez de Torres. See above p. 100.

holding a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, and receiving provisions from them, in return for knives, beads, nails, and trinkets. Immediately on their anchoring, these last flocked in vast numbers to the beach, and soon after came off to the ship in their canoes. Towards night an old man brought four bunches of cocoa-nuts as a present from the *ariki* or *herico*, the title by which, here as well as at Cocos Island, the chief or king was distinguished. He refused to accept any gift in return, but invited the Europeans to go on shore. Accordingly, on the morning of the next day, three of them landed, six of the natives having been first put on board the ship as hostages. They were welcomed with much ceremony, and found the sovereign seated on a mat in an open house or shed, called a *belay*. On their approach, he joined his hands and bowed his head downwards, remaining in that position nearly half an hour; when the Hollanders having at length put themselves into a similar posture, he resumed his usual attitude. One of his attendants, supposed to be a chief of high rank, kissed the feet and hands of one of the Dutchmen, "sobbing and crying like a child, and putting the foot of Adrian Claesz upon his neck." A present was given to the principal ruler, of two hand-bells, a red bonnet, and some trifling articles, all of which were received with much joy, expressed by repeated exclamations of "*Awoo!*" In return, the visitors were gratified with four small hogs. During the time the sailors were taking in water, "when any of the Indians came neere the boat, the king himselfe came thither and drave them thence, or sent one of his men to doe it." His subjects seemed to yield him implicit obedience, and to hold him in great awe. A native having stolen a cutlass, a complaint was made to one of the royal attendants, who instantly caused the criminal to be brought back and beaten with staves. The weapon was restored; and the strangers were informed by signs, that if the *ariki* knew of it, the thief's head would be cut off. After this, says the Journal of Schouten, "we had nothing stolen from

CHAP. IV.

Friendly  
intercourse  
with the  
natives.

Deputation  
sent to the  
king.

Acceptable  
presents to  
the king.

Capture of a  
thief.



## CHAP. IV.

Terror for  
fire-arms.

us, neither on the shore, nor in the ship, nor elsewhere ; neither durst they take a fish that we angled for." The report of a musket produced great consternation among the islanders, and caused them to run off quaking and trembling. Their terror was still greater at the discharge of a cannon, which was fired at the desire of the king. They all with one accord, accompanied by his majesty, fled to the woods ; "but not long after they came againe, scarce halfe well assured." \*

Unsuccessful  
attempts at  
barter.

On the 25th, three of the navigators again tried to barter for hogs, but were unsuccessful. The king, however, "after he had said his prayers, which he used to doe every time that they went on shore," showed much kindness towards them. On the 26th, Jacob le Maire landed, and made some trifling presents. He met with much respect, though he failed to procure a supply of stock. The ariki and his son bestowed upon him and his companion a headdress, consisting of feathers of various colours, which they themselves wore. This cap seems to have been a mark of honour peculiar to the king and his family ; while every member of his council was distinguished by having a dove sitting on a perch beside him. On the evening of the 27th, some fish which had been caught during the day were presented to his majesty, who immediately devoured them raw, "heads, tails, entrails, and all, with good appetite." The night closed in festivities, some of the Hollanders remaining on shore, and mingling in the moonlight dances of the natives. Two of the sailors performed a mock fight with swords,—a spectacle which excited much admiration among the islanders. On the 28th, the voyagers, attended with trumpets, went on shore in state, to visit the king ; when they became spectators of an interview between him and a neighbouring prince.

Present of  
fish to the  
king.

Excursion  
into the  
interior.

On the 29th, Le Maire, accompanied by three of the seamen, made an excursion into the interior of the country, having a son and a brother of the ariki for

\* Purchas, vol. i. pp. 99, 100.

guides. They saw nothing worthy of remark, except a red earth used by the natives for paint, and several caves and holes in the mountains, with divers thickets and groves where they lay in ambush in time of war. On their return, the young nobles went with the captain on board his vessel, and evinced much satisfaction on being informed, that if a few hogs and yams could be obtained the ship would sail in two days. In the afternoon, the monarch, with sixteen of his attendants, appeared on deck with the donation of a hog and a basket of cocoa-nuts. He delivered these with much ceremony: having placed the basket on his neck, he prostrated himself, and in this posture offered his gifts to Le Maire, who raised him up, and sat down beside him. At the command of the ariki, his people lifted the Dutch officer and another, and placed them upon their shoulders as a token of reverence. The chief was then conducted through the various parts of the ship, expressing his wonder at what he saw. When led into the hold, "he fell down upon his face and prayed,"—a ceremony which he performed when he first came on board. His attendants kissed the feet of the seamen, and placed them on their own heads and necks, in sign of an entire submission. In the evening, one of the Europeans having been successful in taking a quantity of fish, went to present some to the king, when he found a number of girls dancing to the music of a hollow piece of wood like a pump, "which made a noyse, whereat the yong wenches danced after their manner, very finely, and with a good grace, according to the measure of the noyse of the instrument."\*

CHAP. IV.  
Application  
for provisions.

Exhibition of  
the ship to  
the king.

The king, on the morning of the 30th, sent to the ship two small hogs. On the afternoon of the same day he received a visit from a neighbouring ariki, who was accompanied by 300 men, bringing with them sixteen hogs. As the stranger chief drew near to his brother

Present of  
hogs.

\* Purchas, vol. i. p. 100.

## CHAP. IV.

Interview  
between the  
king and a  
chief.

sovereign, he began at some distance to perform strange ceremonies, and bowing down his body, fell to the ground on his face, and remained there "praying" with a loud voice, and apparently with great fervour. The native prince advanced to meet his visiter, and went through the same forms. "After much adoe, they both rose up on their feet, and went and sate together under the king's *belay*, and there were assembled together at least 900 men." In the afternoon the Dutch witnessed a kava-feast. A number of the people having chewed the kava (a sort of green herb) in their mouths for some time, deposited it in a wooden vessel; they then poured water on it, and having stirred it, the liquor was partaken of by the arikis and their attendants. The islanders, says the Journal of Schouten, "presented that notable drinke (as a speciall and a goodly present) to our men; but they had enough, and more than enough, of the sight thereof."\* On this occasion, likewise, the discoverers observed the manner in which these savages cooked their hogs. Sixteen were prepared for the present banquet as follows: being ripped up, the entrails removed, and the hair singed off, they were roasted by means of hot stones placed in the internal cavity.

Kava feast.

Mode of  
cooking.

Further pre-  
sents of hogs.

Each of the arikis presented to the foreigners one of the hogs thus dressed, along with a number of the same animals alive; receiving in return "three copper beakers, foure knives, twelve old nayles, and some beades, wherewith they were well pleased."

Early on the morning of the 31st, preparations were made for sailing. After breakfast, the two chiefs came on board with six additional hogs. On this occasion they wore green cocoa-tree-leaves round their necks, which it was presumed was customary with them in taking leave of friends. They were entertained with wine, and received presents of various articles; while a

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\* Purchas, vol. i. p. 100.

nail was bestowed on each of their attendants. Le Maire accompanied them on shore, when gifts were once more exchanged. At noon the ship proceeded on her voyage, and the Hollanders bade adieu to the natives, on whose island they bestowed the name of Hoorn, in honour of the birthplace of Schouten. The inhabitants are described as of large stature and well-proportioned limbs. They ran swiftly, and were very expert in swimming and diving. Their complexion was a tawny yellow, approaching to the hue of bronze. Much care was bestowed on the dressing of their hair, and they arranged it in several different manners. The ariki had a long lock hanging down to his thighs, and twisted into knots; his attendants wore two such locks, one on each side; and some of the islanders had four or five. The females are described as having a very repulsive appearance and being of small stature; they wore their hair cut closely to their heads. Such of the habitations as were seen along the margin of the land, were of nearly a conical form, about twenty-five feet in circumference, ten or twelve in height, and covered with leaves. Their furniture consisted of a bundle of dried herbs resembling hay, which served for a couch, one or two fishing-rods, and sometimes a wooden club or staff. The hut of the ariki himself could boast no further decorations. "We could not perceive," says the Journal of Schouten, "that they worshipped God, or any gods, or used any devotion, neither the one nor the other, but lived without care like birds in the wood."\* It appeared to them also that the inhabitants subsisted on the spontaneous fruits of the soil: "They neither sowe nor reape, nor doe any worke; there the earth of itselفة yeelds all that they need to sustaine their lives, . . . so that

CHAP. IV.  
Departure of  
the ship.

Appearance  
of the females  
and their  
habitations.

Mode of  
subsistence.

\* Purchas, vol. i. p. 101. On this passage it must be remarked, that the range of their observation was very limited, and can by no means be admitted as proof that these islanders had no religion; though the "prayers," which the ariki is so often described as using, apparently meant, not devotional adorations, but words of ceremony.





ship's boat, when employed in sounding for an anchorage, was attacked by a party in canoes with volleys of stones thrown from slings; but a fire of musketry speedily put the savages to flight. In the evening, after the vessel had anchored, some others came off, and addressed the sailors in a dialect which they did not understand. They remained watching the ship all night, and the Europeans perceived signal-fires lighted along the shore. In the morning eight skiffs arranged themselves round her; one of them containing eleven, and the others from four to seven men each. The Dutch threw beads to them, and made friendly signs; but the savages all at once commenced an attack with their slings and other weapons. The assault was returned with discharges of cannon and muskets, whereby ten or twelve were killed. At the same time they captured four canoes, and made three prisoners, one of whom died shortly after he was taken; and at noon the two others were carried towards the land in order to be exchanged for provisions. A pig and a bunch of bananas were thus procured, and one of the captives was set at liberty. Two days after, some of them came to the ship, but refused to ransom their countryman; and on the evening of that day the *Fendracht* proceeded along the coast in a north-westerly direction. Several islands were seen to the northwards; and on the 1st of July she again came to anchor, having an island about two leagues long on the north, and the coast of New Ireland on the south. Here twenty-five canoes commenced an attack, but were repulsed, a number of the natives being killed, and one taken. Here, too, one of the Hollanders was wounded, "being," says the *Journal*, "the first that was hurt in all our voyage;" and after him the captive was named Moses. They continued to sail along this coast till the 3d, when they lost sight of it: and having passed several small islands, on the 6th they came in sight of the northern coast of New Guinea. About the middle of September, they arrived at the Moluccas, whence, in the end of that month, they sailed to Java.

## CHAP. IV.

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Attack by  
the natives.

Barter for  
ransom.

Attack of  
canoes.

CHAP. IV. On the 1st of November, while lying off Jacatra, the Eendracht was confiscated by the Dutch East India Company, on the ground that the owners were not partners of that body, and had made the voyage without their leave. Their ship being thus taken from them, several of the seamen entered into the service of the Company, and the remainder embarked for Europe on board the Amsterdam and Zealand, which sailed from Bantam on the 14th of December. Le Maire died a few days after leaving Java; but the rest of the voyagers arrived safely on the 1st of July 1617, having been absent from their native country two years and seventeen days.

Alarm of the Spaniards. The finding of this new passage into the Pacific excited much interest in Europe. To Spain it caused more alarm than any of the hostile armaments which Holland had sent forth against her South Sea possessions, and no time was lost in fitting out an expedition to explore the new discoveries of Schouten and Le Maire.

New Spanish expedition. The command was intrusted to two brothers, Bartolome Gracia de Nodal and Gonçalo de Nodal, who, having engaged several Dutch pilots, set sail from Lisbon 27th September 1618. They followed the track of the late adventurers, and in passing Cape Horn saw some small rocky islands lying to the south-westward of that promontory, and named them the Isles of Diego Ramirez. They then steered northward, and, penetrating the Straits of Magellan, completed the circumnavigation of Tierra del Fuego, and arrived at Spain in July 1619.

Discovery of New Holland. Contemporaneously with the discovery of Cape Horn, the Dutch effected another of still greater importance,—that of the vast island or rather continent of New Holland or Australia. It does not fall within the limits of this work to enter on the difficult question how far this country was known to the early Portuguese voyagers. Neither is it in our province to decide whether the honour of its discovery is not due to Luis Vaez de Torres, who, in sailing between New Holland and New Guinea, saw land on the south, which must have been part of this

great island.\* It may be doubted if the Portuguese were aware of the nature of the lands they are said to have visited ; it is certain, moreover, that Torres conceived them to be parts of a large archipelago ; and, at all events, these visits led to no beneficial result, and had passed into oblivion. The honour of discovering New Holland, therefore, so far as utility and the advancement of science are concerned, may be safely awarded to the Dutch. In October 1616, the ship *Eendracht*, commanded by Dirck Hatichs (or, as it has been more commonly, but less correctly written, *Hertoge*), in her passage from Holland to the East Indies, discovered, in latitude 25°, the western coast of Australia, and called it *Land Eendracht*,—a name which it still retains.

CHAP. IV.

Results of  
previous  
observations.

Only a few years elapsed after the completion of the voyage of Schouten and Le Maire before another armament left Holland for the South Sea. The truce which for twelve years had subsisted between Spain and the United Provinces having expired in 1621, both parties hastened to resume active hostilities. Among other measures, the Dutch, early in the year 1623, fitted out a naval armament against Peru ; and it is to the proceedings of this fleet that we have now to direct the reader's attention. It consisted of eleven ships, mounting 294 cannon, and supplied with 1637 men, of whom 600 were soldiers. The command was intrusted to Jacob l'Hermite, an officer who had acquired celebrity in the service of their East India Company ; and the squadron, which, in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau, one of its chief promoters, was named the *Nassau Fleet*, sailed from Goree on the 29th April 1623.

New Dutch  
expedition.

On the 11th August, they anchored off *Sierra Leone*, and remained there till the beginning of September. During their stay they experienced the fatal effects of that pestilential climate, from which Europeans have since suffered so much. They buried forty-two men, and many more suffered severely, among whom was

Stay at Sierra  
Leone.

\* See above, p. 100.



CHAP. IV. the Admiral l'Hermite, who contracted a disease from which he never recovered. After leaving this coast, they visited the islands of San Tomas and Annabon, at the latter of which they remained till the beginning of November. It was in their instructions, that they should not touch at any part of the South American continent northward of the Rio de la Plata, and that they should penetrate into the South Sea by the newly-discovered Strait of Le Maire, which was considered to afford a more certain passage than the Straits of Magellan. It was the 1st of February before they made the Cape de Penas on Tierra del Fuego, and on the 2d they entered Strait Le Maire, which the Journal of the Voyage says they would not have known, had not one of the pilots who had previously passed through it recognised the high mountains of Tierra del Fuego. Some of the ships anchored in two bays near the northern entrance, which they named Verschoor and Valentine, and are the same with the Port Mauritius of modern maps and the Bay of Good Success.

Fatal effects  
of the  
climate.

Passage of  
the Strait  
Le Maire.

Delay from  
contrary  
winds.

Nassau Bay.

Although the whole fleet had passed through the strait just described on the evening of the 2d of February, yet, owing to contrary winds, they were on the 14th still seven leagues eastward of Cape Horn. The next day they doubled that promontory, and saw "a great gulf between that cape and the cape next to the west," which they were prevented from entering by bad weather. On the 16th, Cape Horn lay to the eastward, and they discovered two islands, which, according to their reckoning, were distant to the westward fourteen or fifteen leagues. The following morning, they perceived that they had lost ground, and fearing that they should still fall to leeward, they entered a large bay and cast anchor. In this harbour, which was afterwards named Nassau Bay, they remained ten days. On the 23d, some boats, which were sent to procure water, were compelled by a sudden and violent storm to return, leaving nineteen of the crew on shore wholly destitute of arms, of whom next day only two were found alive. The savages, it

appeared, as soon as night came on, attacked them with clubs and slings, and killed all except the two, who had contrived to conceal themselves. Only five bodies were discovered, some of which were cut into quarters, and others strangely mangled. Not a single native was seen after this unfortunate event. A party which had been sent to examine the neighbouring coast, reported that the Tierra del Fuego was divided into several islands; that without doubling Cape Horn a passage into the South Sea might be effected, through the Bay or rather Gulf of Nassau, which was open to the east as well as to the west; and that through some of these numerous openings it was presumed ships might penetrate into the Strait of Magellan. Such parts of the Tierra del Fuego as were seen, appeared decidedly mountainous, though not wanting in many fine valleys and watered meadows. The hills were clad with trees, all of which were bent eastward, owing to the strong westerly winds which prevail in these parts. Spacious harbours, capable of sheltering the largest fleets, were frequently observed between the islands. The natives are described as differing little in stature from the people of Europe, and as being well proportioned in their limbs. Their hair is long, black, and thick, their teeth "as sharp as the blade of a knife." They paint their bodies of different colours and with fanciful devices; their natural complexion, however, seemed to be as fair as that of a European. Some of them were observed to have one side of their body altogether white, and the opposite entirely red; others were remarked with the trunks of their bodies white, and the face, arms, and legs coloured red. The males were perfectly naked; the females, who were painted like the men, wore only a little piece of skin about the waist, and a string of shells round their neck. Their huts were constructed of trees, in a conical form, having an opening at the top to let the smoke escape; the floor was sunk two or three feet below the level of the ground; and the sides of the walls were covered with earth. Their fishing-tackle consisted of lines, stone hooks, and harpoons, and were

CHAP. IV.

Fatal attack  
of savages.Appearance  
of the Tierra  
del Fuego.Appearance  
of the  
natives.

Dress.

## CHAP. IV.



Man of Tierra del Fuego.

Arms and  
canoes.

generally fabricated with some degree of neatness. For arms they had sharp knives made of stone; slings, bows, and arrows with stone heads; lances pointed with bone, and clubs. Their canoes measured in length from ten to sixteen feet, and about two in width; they were built of the bark of large trees, resembling in shape the gondolas of Venice. In regard to their manners and habits, the report is very unfavourable: They more resemble beasts than human beings; "for besides that they tear men to pieces, and devour the flesh raw and bloody, there was not perceived among them the smallest indication of a religion or government; on the contrary, they live together like beasts." \*

Departure  
from Nassau  
Bay.

The fleet left Nassau Bay on the 27th February, and for some time met with westerly winds, so that they

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 15.

did not reach the island of Juan Fernandez till the beginning of April. Having taken in water here, they sailed on the 13th for the coast of Peru, and on the 8th of May were off Callao, where they remained until the 14th of August. On the 2d of June, Jacob P'Hermité, the admiral, died of the lingering illness contracted at Sierra Leone, and which was aggravated by the hardships and misfortunes of the expedition. He was buried on the island of Lima, the Isla de San Lorenzo of modern charts; and the vice-admiral, Hugo Schappenham, succeeded to the command. On leaving Callao, they proceeded northward, and after various delays arrived at Acapulco on the 28th of October. Here they remained some time, and having at last finally resolved to proceed westwards to reach the East Indies, on the 29th of November they bade adieu to the shores of Mexico, and directed their course across the Pacific.

CHAP. IV.

Island of  
Juan  
Fernandez.

Death of the  
admiral.

On the evening of the 25th January 1625, they came in sight of Guahan, one of the Ladrones or Marians, having on the 15th passed some islands supposed by them to be those of Gaspar Rico, but which more probably belonged to the group San Bartolome, discovered in 1526 by Loyasa.\* They left Guahan on the 11th of February, and in the beginning of March arrived at the Moluccas, where the fleet having been broken up, the expedition may be said to have terminated. The admiral, Schappenham, embarked in the Eendracht for Holland, but died while off the coast of Java. The vessel proceeded on her voyage, and on the 9th of July 1626 anchored in the Texel; having the first journalist of the expedition on board, who thus reached his native country after an absence of three years and seventy days. This armament failed in effecting the hostile designs with which it was undertaken, and was nearly as unsuccessful in adding to maritime science. It contributed little or nothing to geography but the knowledge of Nassau Bay, and a more accurate examination of the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego.

Guahan.

Breaking up  
of the fleet.

\* See above, p. 64; and Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 33, and vol. i. p. 138.



## CHAP. IV.

Prosecution  
of the  
discovery of  
New Holland

The discovery of New Holland, which had been commenced by Dirck Hatichs, continued for many years to be occasionally prosecuted by the Dutch; but not before 1642 was it ascertained what were its southern limits, or how far it extended to the eastward. This was effected, at least within a rude degree of accuracy, by Abel Jansen Tasman, one of the most illustrious of the Dutch navigators, and who found a generous and liberal patron in Anthony Van Diemen, the governor of Batavia.\*

Discovery of  
Van Die-  
men's Land.

The expedition, which was fitted out by him and his council, sailed from Batavia on the 14th August 1642. On the 24th November, they discovered Anthony Van Diemen's Land, so named, says Tasman, "in honour of our high magistrate, the governor-general, who sent us out to make discoveries:" they continued to coast along that island till the 5th December, when they directed their course to the eastward. On the 13th, a shore was discovered, to which Tasman gave the name of Staats or Staten Land, from a belief that it was a part of the country of the same name discovered by Schouten and Le Maire, to the east of Tierra del Fuego; but the name was afterwards changed into New Zealand. During his progress along the coast, he was attacked by the savages with that courage and ferocity which later navigators have so fatally experienced.

Staten Land,  
or New  
Zealand.

For some time after leaving New Zealand the ships pursued a north-easterly course, till, on the 19th of January, they reached a high island, two or three miles

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\* For many years the only account of Tasman's voyage was to be found in a curtailed abridgment of his journal, published at Amsterdam in 1674, and a more copious relation inserted in Valentyn's East Indian Descriptions. About 1771, however, a MS. journal of Tasman (supposed to be the original) fell into the hands of Sir Joseph Banks, and was found to be much more complete than any previous narrative. An English translation, executed in 1776 by the Rev. C. G. Woide, was published by Burney,—Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 63-110. The journal thus commences:—"Journal or Description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a Voyage from Batavia for making Discoveries of the unknown South Land, in the Year 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give His Blessing to this Voyage! Amen.

in circumference, on which they bestowed the name of Pylstaart or Tropic-bird, from the number of these fowls which frequented it. On the 21st, two more were discovered, distant from each other about a mile and a half. The northern was named Amsterdam, because, says Tasman, "we found plenty of provisions there;" and to the southern they gave the title of Middleburgh. By the natives, the latter is called Eooa, and the former Tongataboo; and the one last mentioned is the principal of the cluster now called the Friendly Islands. Some of the savages approached in a canoe: they are described as exceeding the common stature of Europeans, of a brown complexion, and wearing no other dress than a slight covering round the waist. They called out loudly to the voyagers, who shouted in return, and after showing them some white linen, threw a piece overboard. Before the canoe reached the spot, the cloth had begun to sink; but one of the natives dived in pursuit of it, and after remaining a long time under water brought up the linen, and, in token of his gratitude, placed it several times on his head. They also gave them some beads, nails, and looking-glasses; these the islanders applied in like manner, and in return presented a small line, and a fishing-hook made of shell like an anchovy. The Dutch in vain tried to make them understand that they wanted fresh water and hogs. In the afternoon, however, they were observed in great numbers running along the shore displaying white flags: these were construed as signs of peace, and returned by a similar token hoisted on the stern. On this, a canoe bearing white colours came off to the ship. It contained four individuals with coverings of leaves round their necks, and with their bodies painted black from the waist to the thigh. From the nature of their present, which consisted of some cloth made of the bark of a tree, and from the superiority of their vessel, it was conceived that they came from the chief or sovereign. The officers bestowed upon them a mirror, a knife, spikes, and a piece of linen; a glass was also filled with wine, and having been drank

CHAP. IV.

Further  
discovery of  
land.Natives of  
the Friendly  
Islands.Presents  
made to the  
natives.Gifts sent  
in return.

CHAP. IV.  
Barter with  
the natives.

off, was again filled and offered to the natives; but they poured the liquor out, and carried the glass on shore. Shortly after, many canoes arrived to barter cocoa-nuts for nails. A grave old man, who, from the great respect paid to him, seemed to be a leader, also came on board, and saluted the strangers by placing his head upon their feet. He was presented with a piece of linen and several other articles, and conducted into the cabin. On being shown a cup of fresh water, he made signs that there was some on the island. In the evening, one of the natives was detected in the act of stealing a pistol and a pair of gloves; but the mariners contented themselves with taking the things from him "without anger." Towards sunset, about twenty canoes came from the shore and drew up in regular order near the ship; the people that were in them called out several times in a loud voice, "Woo, woo, woo!" upon which those who were on board sat down, and one of the skiffs came alongside with a present from the king, consisting of a hog, cocoa-nuts, and yams. A plate and some brass wire were given in return. The exchange of provisions for nails continued until night, when the savages went back to the shore, leaving only one of their number. The following morning, they resumed their station, and the barter was renewed. This day, several females appeared, and it was observed that the elder women had the little finger cut off from both hands. The meaning of this custom the Dutch could not discover; but, as appeared to them, it was confined to the more aged individuals.\*

Present from  
the King.

Singular  
native  
custom.

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\* Later voyagers have found that this is by no means the case. "The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was, that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both hands; the difference of sex or age did not exempt them from this amputation; for even amongst the few children whom we saw running about naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an exception to the general rule."—Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 435. Of the origin of this remarkable usage, Forster speaks in the following sentence:—"The native told us that a man lay buried there, and, pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut

The wonders of the ship were shown to the natives ; and one of the great guns was fired, which at first occasioned a considerable panic among them ; but, on perceiving that no harm followed, they quickly recovered their courage. The men sent on shore to procure water, found the wells so small that they were obliged to take it up in cocoa-nut shells. Next day, they made signs to the chief that the fountains must be made larger. He instantly ordered this to be done by his attendants, and in the mean time conducted the sailors into a pleasant valley, where they were seated on mats, and supplied with cocoa-nuts, fish, and several kinds of fruit. The people of Amsterdam Island, says the captain, "have no idea of tobacco, or of smoking. We saw no arms among them ; so that here was altogether peace and friendship. The women wear a covering of mat-work that reaches from the middle to the knees : the rest of their body is naked. They cut their hair shorter than that of the men."\* Between the islanders and these their first European visitors there seems to have existed an uninterrupted feeling of kindly good-will. Before departing, Tasman records, that he "ordered a white flag to be brought, and we went with it to three of their chiefs, to whom we explained that we wished it to be set up in that valley (where they had been entertained with cocoa-nuts, fish, and fruits), and that it might remain there as a sign of peace between us ; at which they were much pleased, and the flag was fixed there." A display of the same kindness on the part of the natives led Captain Cook, a century afterwards, to bestow on

[ CHAP. IV.

Terror of  
fire-arms.Friendly  
relations  
with the  
natives.

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away, he plainly signified, that when his *maduas* or parents died they mutilated their hands."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 451. The accuracy of this view is doubtful ; it is more probable that the mutilation is made as a propitiatory sacrifice to avert death.—*J. G. Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1834, p. 180, and authorities there quoted. It may be added, that the rite is not confined to the natives of the Friendly Isles, but has been observed among the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope, the Guaranos of Paraguay, and the natives of California.

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 84.



## CHAP. IV.

their country the name of the Friendly Islands. This visit of the Dutch was brought prematurely to a close, by the winds having driven one of their vessels from her anchorage.

New cluster  
of islands  
discovered.

A few hours' sail in a north-easterly direction brought the voyagers to a cluster of islands, the largest of which, called by the natives Annamooka, they named Rotterdam. They remained here some days, maintaining an amicable intercourse with the savages. During an excursion into the interior, they "saw several pieces of cultivated ground or gardens, where the beds were regularly laid out into squares, and planted with different plants and fruits, bananas, and other trees, placed in straight lines, which made a pleasant show, and spread round about a very agreeable and fine odour." The inhabitants are represented as resembling those of Amsterdam Island, and so addicted to thieving that they stole every thing within their reach. They appeared to possess no form of government, and to be without a king or chief; but one of them detected in stealing, was punished by being beaten with an old cocoa-nut on the back until the nut broke.\* They are represented as entirely ignorant of any religion; they practise no worship; and are without idols, relics, or priests, though they seem to observe some singular superstitions. "I saw one of them," says Tasman, "take up a

Thievish  
propensities  
of the  
natives.

\* With regard to the government of these islanders, there is a discrepancy in the Journal of Tasman, which his translators and commentators have overlooked. In giving a general description of the natives, he expressly says,—“The people of this island have no king or chief.”—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 89. But, in narrating his transactions there, he not only mentions the existence of a chief, but specifies the name by which the natives called him:—“They took us,” he says, “to the east side of the island, where six large vessels with masts were lying. They then led us to a pool of water, which was about a mile in circumference; but we were not yet come to the *aigy* or *latoun*, as they call their chief. When we had rested, we again asked where the *aigy* was, and they pointed to the other side of the pool of water; but the day being far advanced, we returned by another way to our boats.”—Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. p. 88. Modern discoveries have shown that this last passage is correct.

water-snake which was near his boat, and he put it respectfully upon his head, and then again into the water. They kill no flies, though they are very numerous, and plague them extremely. Our steersman accidentally killed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, who could not help showing anger at it." He seems to have formed a very unfavourable estimate of their character, and styles them "people who have the form of the human species, but no human manners."

On leaving this group, he directed his course west-north-west, and, after six days' sailing, came to about eighteen or twenty small islands, surrounded with shoals and sandbanks, which were named Prince William's Islands and Heemskerke's Shoals, and which, from the dangerous reefs surrounding them, have been rarely visited since their first discovery. The remainder of his voyage possesses little interest, as his track was pretty nearly the same which had been pursued by Schouten and Le Maire. He arrived at Batavia on the 15th June, in the year 1643, after an absence of ten months and one day.

While Tasman was engaged in this voyage, which ascertained the southern boundary of the Terra Australis, another expedition, fitted out by the Dutch West India Company to cruise in the South Sea, dispelled the delusive notions which had been entertained regarding the extent of the Staten Land discovered by Schouten and his colleague. The command of this enterprise was intrusted to Hendrick Brower, who sailed from the Texel on the 6th November 1642, and reached the entrance of Strait Le Maire on the 5th of March following. The day was very clear, and the whole surface of Staten Land was plainly revealed; and instead of being part of a large continent extending to New Holland, was found to be a small island, nine or ten of their miles, as they calculated, in length. The winds were unfavourable for their passage through the strait, and they resolved to sail to the east of the isle. This they did without meeting any obstacle, and thence pursued the passage by Cape Horn into the South Sea, where no better fortune awaited them than had been experienced

CHAP. IV.

Curious  
native ideas.Prince  
William's  
Islands.Dutch  
West India  
Company's  
expedition.

CHAP. IV. by the ill-fated Nassau Fleet. The name of Brower's Strait was given to the track which he had pursued round Staten Island, from a belief that there existed lands to the eastward.

Browne's Strait.

Tasman's second voyage.

After this voyage, a long period elapsed, marked by an almost total cessation of maritime enterprise. In 1644, it is true, Tasman was again sent out, with instructions to ascertain whether New Guinea, New Holland, and Van Diemen's Land, were one continent, or separated by straits. No record of his voyage, however, has been preserved, and if he made any discoveries they soon passed into oblivion. In 1675, a merchant of the name of La Roche, born in London of French parents, observed, to the east of Staten Land, an island which appears to be identical with the New Georgia of Cook; and these are the only expeditions on record, from the date of Brower's voyage till we come to the adventures of the Buccaneers, in the latter part of the century.

Discovery by La Roche.

Adventures of the Buccaneers

Many of these rovers became desirous of trying their fortune in the South Seas, and fitted out for that purpose a vessel of eighteen guns, in which they sailed from the Chesapeake 23d August 1683. They were commanded by Captain John Cook, and among their number were several who were afterwards known to fame,—William Dampier, Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer, and Ambrose Cowley. On the coast of Guinea they captured a ship which they christened the Bachelor's Delight, and, having burned their old vessel "that she might tell no tales," embarked on board their prize. In January 1684, they saw the islands first visited by Davis, and at that time distinguished by the appellation of Sibald de Weert. The editor of the journal left by Cowley, one of the historians of the voyage, anxious to flatter the Secretary of the Admiralty, represented these as a new discovery, and gave to them the name of Pepys,—a circumstance which we shall hereafter see occasioned much perplexity and useless search. After passing Cape Horn, the Buccaneers touched at Juan Fernandez, and thence set sail for the coast

Sources of perplexity.

of Mexico, having been joined in their cruise by the ship *Nicholas* of London, under the command of John Eaton. In July, Captain Cook died, and was succeeded as chief officer by Edward Davis; and in September Eaton and Davis parted company,—the former, with whom went Cowley, sailing for the East Indies, and the latter remaining in the South Sea. Shortly after this event, Davis was joined by the *Cygnets*, Captain Swan, as also by a small bark, manned by Buccaneers; and with this united force, which was still farther augmented by French adventurers, the rovers continued to carry on their depredations with varying success until August 1685. At that time serious dissensions arose, and Swan, leaving his consorts, determined to sail northward to the Californian coast, with the intention of proceeding to the East Indies. In this voyage he was accompanied by Dampier, who has left a narrative of the expedition. It was the 31st of March 1686 before they quitted the American coast and stood westward across the Pacific, nor did they reach the *Ladrones* until May. After departing from these, they visited in succession the *Bashee* Islands, the *Philippines*, *Celebes*, *Timor*, and *New Holland*. In April 1688, they were at the *Nicobar* Islands, and here Dampier quitted the expedition, and found his way to England in 1691. The *Cygnets* afterwards perished off *Madagascar*. In the career of Davis, who, as has been mentioned, remained in the South Sea, the most remarkable event was the discovery of an island named after him, and now generally identified with *Easter Island*. In 1688, this bold mariner returned to the *West Indies*.\*

The last ten years of the seventeenth century are almost entirely barren in discovery. In 1690, an expedition, fitted out partly for privateering, partly for trading purposes, and placed under the command of Captain John Strong, brought to light, in their course to the South Sea, the passage between the two larger

CHAP. IV.

Death of  
Captain  
James Cook.

Narrative of  
Dampier.

Discovery in  
the South  
Sea.

Expedition  
of Captain  
Strong.

\* For a minute narrative of this voyage, and an account of the rise and history of the *Buccaneers*, the reader is referred to the *Lives and Voyages* of *Drake*, *Cavendish*, and *Dampier*.



## CHAP. IV

Falkland  
Sound.

islands of the Falkland group. He named this channel Falkland Sound,—a term which has since been generally applied to the islands themselves. In 1699, M. de Beauchesne Gouin, a French commander, detected an island to the east of Tierra del Fuego, and bestowed on it his own name, which it still retains. The same year was marked by a voyage under the auspices of the British government expressly for the extension of geographical science. It was placed under the direction of Dampier, and its object was the more minute examination of New Holland and New Guinea. It added much to our knowledge of these countries, and is the most important contribution to science made by that navigator.

Dampier's  
voyage.Progress of  
discovery  
in the  
seventeenth  
century.

In reviewing the progress of discovery in the seventeenth century, it will be seen that enterprise languished during its latter years, and that almost every addition made to our knowledge was effected in the earlier portion of it. During that time were made the important acquisitions of Staten Island, Strait Le Maire, and Cape Horn, and of several harbours and islands of Tierra del Fuego. In the more central parts of the Pacific there were visited the New Hebrides, the groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and many of the smaller isles scattered over the great ocean. On the Asiatic side, some information had been obtained of New Holland, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. The coasts of New Guinea were more accurately examined, and many of the islands which stretch along its shores were explored. The existence of a strait between New Guinea and New Holland was ascertained; though, from accidental circumstances, the memory of this achievement was soon lost. Such were the advances made in geographical science during the first forty years of the century; the remaining portion was undistinguished by any acquisition of great importance. In this long space we have to enumerate only the discoveries of one of the Carolines, which gave its name to the group, of New Georgia, Easter and Beauchesne Islands, Falkland Sound, and a survey of some parts of Australia.

Advances  
in geographi-  
cal science.

Of the three circumnavigations made in the course of

this age, all were performed by the Dutch.\* Spain had now withdrawn from the field of enterprise into which she was the first to enter; and during the seventeenth century but one expedition for South Sea discovery of any note was fitted out from her ports. England, distracted by the great civil war and other events, had neglected to follow up the career so boldly begun by Drake and Cavendish; and, with the exception of Dampier's voyage to New Holland, her only adventurers in the Pacific were the lawless Buccaneers. To the United Provinces is due the honour of having, during this period, kept up the spirit of investigation, and widely extended the limits of geographical knowledge.

CHAP. IV.

Dutch enter-  
prise.Preoccup-  
ation of  
England

\* We have followed Burney and Bougainville in not assigning the title of circumnavigations to the expeditions of the Buccaneers between 1683 and 1691, above narrated. We may here also state, that we can neither rank Gemelli Careri (1697) nor M. de Pagès (1767-1776) among circumnavigators, because that word can hardly be applied to travellers who, indeed, encircled the globe, but did so by crossing the Isthmus of Darien and several parts of Asia. M. de Pagès can have been styled a circumnavigator only by those who had read no farther than the titlepage of his book, and were ignorant of the meaning attached by the French to the word voyage. "Voyages autour du Monde et vers les deux Poles. Par M. de Pagès." Paris, 1782, 2 vols 8vo.



## CHAPTER V.

*Circumnavigations from the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century to the Reign of George III.*

Circumnavigation of Dampier and Funnel, of Woodes Rogers, of Clipperton and Shelvocke, of Roggewein—Easter Island—Pernicious Islands—Circumnavigation of Anson—Objects of the Expedition—Passage of Cape Horn—Severe Sufferings of the Crew—Juan Fernandez—Cruise on the American Coasts—Burning of Payta—Loss of the Gloucester—Tinian—Capture of the Manilla Galleon—Return of the Centurion to England—Fate of the Wager.

CHAP. V.  
 —  
 English  
 privateering  
 voyages to  
 the South  
 Sea.

THE early part of the eighteenth century was marked by numerous privateering voyages to the South Sea, generally undertaken by English merchants; expeditions which, indeed, served little to advance either maritime science or the reputation of British seamen. The principle which almost invariably regulated them was, "No prizes no pay," and this led to continual disorder and insubordination. The commanders, too frequently, were men of no education, of dissipated habits, and of violent and avaricious dispositions. Altogether, the narrative of these buccaneering adventures is one of the least creditable in the naval annals of our country.

Dampier.

The first of them which we have to notice, was directed by one whom Captain Basil Hall has not unjustly styled "the prince of voyagers,"—William Dampier. This skilful navigator sailed from Kinsale in Ireland, on the 11th September 1703, in command of two ships, the *St George* and the *Cinque Ports* galley, and entered the South Sea in the beginning of the fol-

lowing year. But even his talents and resolution were unable to preserve order among his boisterous crews, and the history of their proceedings accordingly is an unbroken series of dissension and tumult. On the 19th of May, these disputes had reached such a height that the vessels agreed to part company. The Cinque Ports, which sailed to the southward, was eventually run ashore, and the people taken prisoners by the Spaniards. In September, another quarrel broke out on board the St George, which led to the desertion of the chief mate, John Clipperton, with twenty-one of the seamen. In January 1705, differences again occurred, and the remainder separated into two parties. One of these immediately sailed for the East Indies, and, returning to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in the Texel in July 1706: a narrative of their voyage has been left by Funnel. Shortly after this secession, Dampier was forced to abandon the St George, and to embark in a prize which had been taken from the Spaniards. In this he proceeded to the East Indies; but being unable to produce his commission, which had been stolen from him, it is said, by his mate Clipperton, his vessel was seized by the Dutch, and he himself detained some time a prisoner.

CHAP. V.  
Dissension  
and tumult  
among the  
crew.

Misfortunes  
of Dampier.

In 1708, we again meet this bold seaman as a circumnavigator, in the capacity of pilot to Woodes Rogers, who sailed from Cork on the 1st September, in the command of two ships, fitted out by the merchants of Bristol to cruise against the Spaniards in the South Sea. In December, the squadron reached the Falkland Islands, and after being driven to the latitude of 62° south in doubling Cape Horn, arrived in January 1709, at Juan Fernandez, the well-known rendezvous of the Buccaneers. Their visit was the means of restoring to civilized life the celebrated Alexander Selkirk, whose residence on this island upwards of four years became, as has been already hinted, the groundwork of Defoe's romance of Robinson Crusoe. After this nearly a twelvemonth was spent in cruising on the coasts of

Rogers and  
Dampier.

Delivery of  
Alexander  
Selkirk.



## CHAP. V.

Success  
of the  
expedition.

Peru, Mexico, and California. In January 1710 they sailed across the Pacific, and in March made the Ladrone Islands. They arrived in the Thames on the 14th of October 1711, loaded with a booty which rendered the enterprise highly lucrative to the owners. With this voyage closed the long and checkered life of Dampier; on his return to England he sunk into an obscurity which none of his biographers has yet succeeded in removing.\*

New expedi-  
tion planned.

The success of this expedition led soon afterwards to another of a similar description. In 1718, the war which was then waged between Spain and the German empire appeared to some "worthy gentlemen of London, and persons of distinction," to afford a favourable opportunity of cruising against the subjects of the former country in the South Sea, under commissions from Charles VI. Accordingly, two ships, the *Success* of thirty-six guns and the *Speedwell* of twenty-four, were fitted out in the river Thames. To give some colour to the design, their names were changed into the *Prince Eugene* and the *Staremberg*; and this latter vessel was despatched to Ostend, under the command of Captain George Shelvoeke, to take on board some Flemish officers and seamen, and to receive the commission from the emperor. The conduct of this gentleman, while engaged in these preparations, was by the owners considered imprudent, and, on his return to England, he was superseded in his office of commander-in-chief by Clipperton (who had sailed as mate with Dampier in the *St George*), though he was allowed to continue in charge of the *Staremberg*. During the course of these arrangements, Great Britain declared war against Spain; the imperial authority was in consequence laid aside, and the Flemish officers and seamen discharged; the

Commission  
from the  
emperor.

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\* For an account of the voyages and circumnavigations in which Dampier bore a part, more full and detailed than was compatible with the plan of the present volume, the reader is referred to "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier."

ships recovered their original names, and were manned with English crews. CHAP. V.

Thus fitted out, the *Success* and *Speedwell* sailed from Plymouth on the 13th February 1719. Six days after, a violent storm arose, and both ships were obliged to pass the night under bare poles. The gale abated on the following evening, when they again proceeded, the former under Clipperton holding a south-easterly direction, while Captain Shelvocke in the latter stood to the north-west,—a difference of course which so effectually disjoined them, “that from that day they never saw each other till they met in the South Seas by mere accident.” It will be necessary, therefore, in the notice of this expedition, to give distinct narratives of the proceedings of the two commanders.

When they parted company, the whole stock of wine, brandy, and other liquors, designed for the supply of both ships, was on board the *Speedwell*; and this circumstance has generally been admitted as evidence in favour of Clipperton, that the separation could not be designed on his part. It is certain that, after losing sight of his consort, he immediately set sail for the Canary Islands, the first rendezvous which had been agreed on in case of losing each other. He arrived there on the 5th March, and, after having waited ten days in vain, set sail for the Cape de Verd Islands, the second place appointed for their meeting. Having cruised here also an equal period, and hearing nothing of Shelvocke, he directed his course for the Straits of Magellan, at the eastern entrance of which he arrived on the 29th May. During this passage several of the seamen died, and much hardship and privation had been experienced; and on the 18th of August, when he reached the South Sea, the crew were in such an enfeebled condition, “that it was simply impossible for them to undertake any thing immediately.” In conformity, therefore, with his instructions, which appointed Juan Fernandez as the third rendezvous, Clipperton immediately proceeded thither, and remained about a month, after which he

Departure of  
the *Success*  
and *Speed-*  
*well*.

Separation of  
the ships.

Good faith of  
Clipperton.

Hardships  
and priva-  
tions.

## CHAP. V.

Capture of prizes.

Loss of his booty.

Meeting of the consorts.

Fate of Clipperton.

departed for the coast of Peru, which he reached in October. Although he had lost upwards of thirty of his men prior to the time of his quitting the island just named, he was so successful as, in the course of little more than four weeks, to have taken five prizes, some of them of considerable value, besides one which he captured, but which subsequently made her escape. On the 27th of November, he despatched a vessel to Brazil, loaded with booty valued at more than £10,000; but she never reached her destination, having, there is reason to think, been intercepted by the Spaniards. From this time to the beginning of 1721, he continued to cruise on the American coast with indifferent success. On the 25th January in that year, he met with Shelvocke near the island of Quibo, and, after exchanging a few stores, parted company on the succeeding day. During their stay on the Mexican shore, they again met on four different occasions. On three of these, they passed each other without speaking; and on the fourth, a proposal made by Clipperton, that they should sail in company, met with no success. This took place on the 13th of March; and, four days afterwards, the last-named officer sailed for China. About the middle of May, he made Guahan, one of the Ladrões, his departure from which was hastened by an unfortunate quarrel, which terminated to his disadvantage. On the 2d of July, he arrived in China, when the disputes which ensued regarding the division of plunder were referred to the judgment of the native authorities. These awarded to the proprietors £6000, to the common seamen £97, 15s. 4d. each, and to the captain £1466, 10s. The owners' share was committed to a Portuguese ship, which took fire in the harbour of Rio Janeiro, and not more than £1800 of the property was saved. Clipperton's vessel was sold at Macao, and her crew returned home. The unfortunate commander reached Galway in Ireland, in the beginning of June 1722, where he died within a week after his arrival.

On parting with his consort, Shelvocke contrived so to

manage his course that he did not reach the Canaries until the 17th of March, two days after the other had departed. Having remained there more than a week, he proceeded to the Cape de Verd Islands, where he also waited some time for Clipperton. After plundering a Portuguese vessel on the coast of Brazil, he passed Strait Le Maire, and in rounding Cape Horn experienced such tempestuous weather, that he was driven to a high southern latitude. He seems to have been much struck with the bleakness of these cold and steril regions: "We had not," he says, "the sight of one fish of any kind since we were come to the southward of the Streights of Le Maire, nor one seabird, except a disconsolate black albatross, which accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if it had lost itself; till Mr Hatley, observing in one of his melancholy fits that this bird was always hovering near us, imagined from its colour that it might be an ill omen; and so, after some fruitless attempts, at length shot the albatross, not doubting that we should have a fair wind after it." \*

CHAP. V.  
Proceedings  
of Shelvocke.

Driven into  
high south-  
ern latitude.

The albatross

\* This incident is believed to have given rise to the late Mr Samuel Taylor Coleridge's wild and beautiful poem of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

And now there came both mist and snow,  
And it grew wond'rous cold,  
And ice mast high came floating by,  
As green as emerald.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Nor shapes of men nor beasts we ken,  
The ice was all between.

\* \* \* \* \*  
At length did cross an albatross,  
Thorough the fog it came.

\* \* \* \* \*  
And a good south wind sprung up behind,  
'The albatross did follow;  
And every day for food or play,  
Came to the mariner's hollo!

\* \* \* \* \*  
In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud  
It perch'd for vespers nine.

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \* with my cross-bow  
I shot the albatross.

\* \* \* \* \*



## CHAP. V.

Arrival at  
the Island  
of Chiloe.

At length, about the middle of November, he made the western coast, and on the 30th of the same month anchored at the island of Chiloe. His instructions were, that on entering the South Sea he should immediately proceed to Juan Fernandez; but it was not until the 11th of January 1720 that he repaired thither to inquire about his colleague, who had been there about three months previously. He remained only four days, and then steered towards the shores of Peru, along which he cruised till the beginning of May, capturing several vessels, and burning the town of Payta. On the 11th of the same month he returned to Juan Fernandez, off which, partly for the purposes of watering and partly detained by bad weather, he remained until the 25th. when his ship was driven on shore and became a wreck. With the loss of one man, the crew succeeded in gaining the land, carrying along with them a few of their stores. Little unanimity subsisted among the seamen; and hence the building of a new vessel in which they were employed proceeded but slowly. It was not until the 5th of October that their rude bark was launched, which even then was considered so insufficient, that twenty-four of them chose rather to remain on the island than trust themselves to the ocean in such a feeble structure.

Wrecked on  
the island  
of Juan  
Fernandez.

Capture of a  
Spanish ship

On the 6th, Shelvocke and forty-six others put to sea, and stood eastward for the shores of the continent. After two ineffectual attempts on different vessels, he succeeded in capturing a Spanish ship of 200 tons burden, into which he transferred his crew, and abandoned the sloop. Being once more in a condition to commit hostilities, he continued to cruise along the coast, from Chili northward to California, until about the middle of the year 1721. During this period, as has been al-

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Then all averr'd I had kill'd the bird

That brought the fog and mist;

'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay

That bring the fog and mist."

*Coleridge's Poetical Works.* Lond. 1834, vol. ii. p. 3-5.

ready mentioned, he met Clipperton, with whom he finally parted towards the end of March. On the 18th of August he sailed from California for China, and on the 21st discovered an island to which his own name was given, though there seems good reason for supposing it to be the same with Roca Partida, one of the Revillagigedo Isles, seen by Spilbergen and other early voyagers.\* On the 11th November he reached his destination, and anchored in the river of Canton, where he sold his prize, dividing the plunder which he had acquired among his crew. On this occasion, the able seamen received £440, 7s. 2d. each, and the commander's share amounted to £2642, 10s. He soon afterwards procured a passage to England in an East Indiaman, and landed at Dover on the 30th July 1722. He was arrested, and two prosecutions instituted against him,—the one for piracy, and the other for defrauding his proprietors. Of these the first was abandoned for want of evidence, and the second was interrupted by his escape from prison and flight from the kingdom. He afterwards succeeded in compounding with the owners, and having returned he published an account of his voyage.

CHAP. V.

Departure  
from  
California  
for China.

Arrival in  
England and  
arrest.

The next circumnavigation was that accomplished by Jacob Roggewein, a Dutchman.† An injunction to prosecute the search for southern lands had, it is said, been laid upon him by his father a short time before his death. This last had, in the year 1669, presented a memorial to the Dutch West India Company, containing a scheme for discovery in the South Sea, and

Jacob  
Roggewcin.

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iv. p. 551.

† Two accounts of Roggewein's voyage exist. The first appeared without the author's name at Dort, in 1728, under the title of "Twee Jaarige Reyze rondom de Wereld,"—A Two Years' Voyage round the World. The second, written in German, was printed at Leipsic in 1738;—a French translation was published at the Hague in 1739. This work was written by Charles Frederick Behrens, a native of Mecklenburg, who was sergeant and commander of the troops in Roggewein's fleet. Both accounts have been translated by Mr Dalrymple (Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 85-120), who terminates his valuable work with this voyage.

## CHAP. V.

Plan of  
the elder  
Roggewein.

Expeditions  
preparation  
of vessels.

Arrival  
at Juan  
Fernandez.

Assumed  
discoveries.

his proposals were so well received, that some vessels were equipped for the purpose ; but the disturbances between the United Provinces and Spain put a stop to the project. In 1721, it was renewed by his son, in an application to the same association, which bore a reference to the memorial of his father. It has been insinuated, that the readiness with which the request of Roggewein was conceded, had its origin, less in a desire for the advancement of science than in interested motives. No time, it is certain, was lost in preparing the expedition, which consisted of three vessels, the largest carrying 36 guns, and manned by 111 men. These sailed from the Texel on the 21st August 1721, and in November were off the coast of Brazil, from which they "went in quest of the island of Auke's Magdeland (Hawkins' Maiden-land), but could find no such place."\* They were equally unsuccessful in another attempt to identify the same island under the different name of St Louis ; but on the 21st December they had the good fortune to see one, to which they gave the appellation of Belgia Australis, and in which, though they chose not to perceive it, they only re-discovered the Maiden-land and Isles of St Louis. On the same day, one of the vessels was separated from her consorts in a violent storm. On the 10th March, Roggewein came in sight of the coast of Chili, and on the eighteenth anchored at Juan Fernandez, where he remained three weeks.

On leaving this port he directed his course for Davis' Land, which, like Hawkins' Maiden-land, he failed to trace, or at least affected not to recognise : pretending that he had made a new discovery, he exercised the privilege of a first visiter in bestowing on it a name, that of Paaschen, Oster or Easter Island. While they were sailing along the shore in search of anchorage, a native came off in his canoe, who was kindly treated, and presented with a piece of cloth and a variety of

\* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 86.

baubles. He was naturally of a dark-brown complexion, but his body was painted all over with figures, and his ears were of a size so unnatural "that they hung down upon his shoulders," occasioned, as the Europeans conjectured, by the use of large and heavy earrings. "A glass of wine," says one of the journals of the voyage, "was given to him; he took it, but instead of drinking it, he threw it in his eyes, which surprised us very much." He seemed so fascinated with the strangers that it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to depart;—"he looked at them with regret; he held up both his hands towards his native island, and cried out in a very audible and distinct voice, 'Odorroga! odorroga!'"\* —exclamations which were supposed to be addressed to his god, from the many idols observed along the coast.

CHAP. V.  
—  
Singular  
appearance  
of a native.

The succeeding day the discoverers anchored close to the island, and were immediately surrounded by many thousands of the inhabitants, some of whom brought with them fowls and provisions, while others "remained on the shore, running to and fro from one place to another like wild beasts." They were also observed to make fires at the feet of their idols, as if to offer up their prayers and sacrifices before them. On the following day, as the Hollanders were preparing to land, the savages were seen to prostrate themselves with their faces towards the rising sun, and to light many fires, apparently to present burnt-offerings to their divinities. Several of them went on board the ship, among whom one man quite white was conjectured, from his devout and solemn gestures, to be a priest, and was distinguished by wearing white earrings of a round shape and of size equal to a man's fist. The sailors, upon returning this visit, commenced an attack, apparently unprovoked, on the natives, and by a heavy slaughter taught them the deadly efficacy of the musket. They are described as having "made the most surpris-

Interview  
with the  
natives.

Native priest.

\* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.



## CHAP. V.

Unprovoked  
slaughter of  
the natives.

ing motions and gestures in the world, and viewed their fallen companions with the utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds the bullets had made in their bodies." Though dismayed, they again rallied and advanced to within ten paces of their enemies, under an impression of safety, which a second discharge of fire-arms too fatally dissipated. Among those who fell was the individual that first came on board,—a circumstance, says the journalist, "which chagrined us much." Shortly after, the vanquished returned and endeavoured to redeem the dead bodies of their countrymen. They approached in procession, carrying palm-branches and a sort of red and white flag, and uttering doleful cries and sounds of lamentation; they then threw themselves on their knees, tendered their presents of plantains, nuts, roots, and fowls, and sought, by the most earnest and humble attitudes, to deprecate the wrath of the strangers. The historian represents his companions as so affected with all these demonstrations of humility and submission, that they made the islanders a present "of a whole piece of painted cloth, fifty or sixty yards long, beads, small looking-glasses, &c." They returned to their ships in the evening with the intention to revisit the island on the succeeding day; but this design was frustrated by a storm, which drove them from their anchors and obliged them to stand out into the open sea.

Regrets  
of their  
assailants.

Appearance  
of the  
Easter  
Islanders.

The inhabitants of Easter Island are described as being of a well-proportioned stature, though rather slender, of complexions generally brown, but, in some instances, of European whiteness. They delineate on their bodies figures of birds and other animals; and a great proportion of the females were "painted with a rouge, very bright, which much surpasses that known to us;" and had dresses of red and white cloth, soft to the touch like silk, with a small hat made of straw or rushes. They were generally of a mild disposition, with a soft and pleasing expression of countenance, and so timid, that when they brought presents to the



Woman of Easter Island.

voyagers, they threw the gift at their feet and made a precipitate retreat. Their ears, as already noticed, were so elongated as to hang down to their shoulders, and were sometimes ornamented with large white rings of a globular form. Their huts were about fifty feet long and seven broad, built of a number of poles cemented with a fat earth or clay, and covered with the leaves of the palm-tree. They had earthen vessels for preparing their victuals, but possessed few other articles of furniture. No arms were perceived among them, and their sole defence from the cruel hostilities of their visitors appeared to be reposed in their idols. These were gigantic pillars of stone, having on the top the figure of a human head adorned with a crown or

Extreme  
timidity.

Their huts

CHAP. V.  
Names of  
their idols.

Nature of  
their govern-  
ment.

Gigantic  
size.

Course of the  
voyagers.

garland, formed of small stones inlaid with considerable skill. The names of two of these idols have been preserved,—Taurico and Dago; and the Hollanders thought they perceived indications of a priesthood, the members of which were distinguished by their ponderous earrings, by having their heads shaven, and by wearing a bonnet of black and white feathers. The food of the inhabitants consisted entirely of the fruits of their land, which was carefully cultivated and divided into enclosures. No traces were found of a supreme chief or ruler, nor was any distinction of ranks observed, except that the aged bore staves, and had plumes on their heads, and that in families the oldest member appeared to exercise authority. It would be improper to pass without notice the fabulous account of the immense stature of the natives, given, in one of the accounts of the voyage, with the strongest protestations of its truth:—"All these savages are of more than gigantic size; for the men, being twice as tall and thick as the largest of our people, they measured, one with another, the height of twelve feet, so that we could easily—who will not wonder at it!—without stooping, have passed betwixt the legs of these sons of Goliah. According to their height, so is their thickness, and all are, one with another, very well proportioned, so that each could have passed for a Hercules." It is added, that the females do not altogether come up to these formidable dimensions, "being commonly not above ten or eleven feet!"\*

From Easter Island the Dutchman pursued a course nearly north-west, and about the middle of May came in sight of an island, to which he gave the name of

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\* Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 113. "I doubt not," adds the journalist, "but most people who read this voyage will give no credit to what I now relate, and that this account of the height of these giants will probably pass with them for a mere fable or fiction; but this I declare, that I have put down nothing but the real truth, and that this people, upon the nicest inspection, were in fact of such a surpassing height as I have here described."

Carls-hoff, which it still retains. After leaving this, one of his vessels suddenly ran aground and was wrecked, on a cluster of low islands, which he distinguished by the epithet of Schaadelyk or Pernicious. These are generally supposed to be identical with Palliser's Islands; and modern voyagers seem to have observed in the vicinity traces of Roggewein's visit and shipwreck.\* Among these he sailed five days, and on the 25th May discovered two small ones, probably the Bottomless and Fly Island of Schouten and Le Maire.† A few days later, he perceived a group, to which he gave the appellation of Irrigen or the Labyrinth; and, continuing in the same westerly course, on the 1st of June reached an island which he denominated Verquikking or Recreation, and which is supposed to be Uliatea, one of the Society cluster,—a conjecture rendered more probable by the tradition prevalent among the natives, of their having been visited by Europeans. The navigators found their landing opposed by the inhabitants, who were armed with pikes, and who did not withdraw their opposition until they were overpowered by fire-arms. On the succeeding day another conflict ensued, when the event was different; the invaders were obliged to retreat, after having some of their men killed and many severely wounded. The people are described as robust and tall, their hair long and black, their bodies painted, and their dress consisting of a kind of network round the waist.

CHAP. V.  
—  
Wreck of one  
of the ships.

Recreation  
Island.

Conflict with  
the natives.

Shortly after quitting Recreation Island, it was determined in a general council of officers, that to sail back by the course which they had traversed was impossible, and that they were therefore under the necessity of going home by the East Indies. In accordance with this resolution, they continued to steer westward, and on the 15th of June reached a cluster of islands, which they called Bauman, supposed to be the Navi-

Further  
route deter-  
mined on.

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iv. p. 570.

† See above, pp. 106, 107.



CHAP. V.  
Sufferings of  
the crew.

gators' Isles of the present maps. From this point the track of Roggewein coincided too closely with that of Schouten and other discoverers, to offer much of novelty or interest; nor has this part of his voyage been very clearly narrated. The scurvy broke out among his crew and committed frightful ravages: "There was nothing," says a journalist of the voyage, "to be seen on board, but sick people struggling with inexpressible pains, and dead carcasses that were just released from them, and from which arose so intolerable a smell, that such as yet remained sound were not able to endure, but frequently swooned with it. Cries and groans were perpetually ringing in their ears, and the very sight of the people moving about was sufficient to excite at once terror and compassion." In the month of September, he arrived at Java, with the loss of not fewer than seventy men by sickness, besides those killed in his conflicts with the islanders; and in October proceeded to Batavia, where his ships were arrested by the Dutch East India Company, condemned, and sold by public auction. The crews were sent home free of expense, and landed at Amsterdam on the 28th July, "the very same day two years that they sailed on this voyage." Against these proceedings, the West India Company sought redress in an appeal to the States General, who ordained the East India Company to make full compensation for the vessels,—a decision which, when the judgment in the more favourable case of Schouten and Le Maire is considered, it may be not uncandid to suppose, proceeded more from the superior influence of the appellants than from the array of legal arguments on their side. After the voyage of Roggewein, twenty years passed without witnessing one expedition to the Pacific of the slightest importance.

Arrival at  
Java.

Appeal to  
the States  
General.

War between  
Spain and  
Britain.

When war broke out between this country and the Spaniards in 1739, among other measures adopted by the British administration, it was resolved to send an armament into the South Seas to attack their trade and settlements in that part of the world, in the hope

of cutting off the supplies which they derived from their colonies. The original plan of this expedition was as magnificent as the actual equipment of it was mean. It was intended that two squadrons should be despatched, the one to proceed directly by the Cape of Good Hope to Manilla, in the Philippines; the other to double Cape Horn, and, after cruising along the western coast of South America, to join the former, when both were to act in concert. But of this romantic scheme only one-half was put in execution; and that, too, in a spirit of petty economy quite inconsistent with the success of the enterprise. The attack on Manilla was abandoned, and the design limited to the fitting out of a few ships to cruise in the South Seas, under the command of Captain George Anson.

CHAP. V

Mean  
equipment  
of British  
squadron.

This officer received his commission early in January 1740; but so tardy were the proceedings of the government, that his instructions were not delivered to him until the end of June; and when in virtue of these he repaired to his squadron, in the expectation of being able to sail with the first fair wind, he found that he had to encounter difficulties which detained him nearly three months longer. Three hundred able seamen were wanting to complete the crews; and in place of these, Commodore Anson, after a tedious delay, was able to obtain only 170 men, of whom thirty-two were drafted from sick-rooms and hospitals, ninety-eight were marines, and three were infantry officers; the remainder, amounting to thirty-seven, were regular sailors. It was part of the original plan to furnish the squadron with an entire regiment, and three Independent companies of 100 men each; but this design was laid aside, and the ships were ordered to be supplied with 500 invalids collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital. These consisted of such soldiers as, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, were incapable of serving; and Anson remonstrated against the absurdity of sending them on an expedition of so great length, and which must be attended by so many hardships and privations; but

Captain  
George  
Anson.

Inefficient  
manning of  
the vessels.

CHAP. V.  
 Unsuccess-  
 ful remon-  
 strance of  
 Anson.

Dissatisfac-  
 tion of the  
 crews.

his representations, though supported by those of Sir Charles Wager, only drew forth the answer, "that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he or Mr Anson, thought them the properest men that could be employed on this occasion." \* This admitted of no reply, and the veterans were accordingly ordered on board the squadron. Instead, however, of 500, there appeared no more than 259; for all who were able to walk away had deserted, leaving behind them only the very dregs of their corps, men for the most part sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy. The embarkation of these aged warriors is described as having been singularly affecting. Their reluctance to the service was visible in their countenances, on which were seen also apprehension of the dangers they were to encounter, and indignation at being thus dragged into an enterprise which they could noways assist, and in which, after having spent their youthful vigour in the service of their country, they were

\* "A Voyage round the World in the Years 1740-1-2-3-4, by George Anson, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas. Compiled from Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable George Lord Anson, and published under his Direction. By Richard Walter, M.A., Chaplain of his Majesty's Ship the Centurion. London, 1748," 4to, p. 6. This is the principal authority for the circumnavigation of Anson, and has ever been popular and highly admired for the beauty of the narrative and vividness of the descriptions. In this last point, indeed, there is reason to fear that accuracy is sacrificed to effect. An attempt was made to deprive Walter of the honour of this work, which is attributed to Benjamin Robins, F.R.S., author of *Mathematical Tracts*, London, 1761, 2 vols 8vo, and other works. This question has been amply discussed; but there appears no decisive evidence of Robins' claim. Those who are anxious to enter into the discussion may be referred to the preface, by James Wilson, to the *Mathematical Tracts* above mentioned; to Nicol's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 206; to the *Biographia Britannica*, *voce* Anson; and to the *Corrigenda* and *Addenda* to that Article inserted in the 4th volume of the work. Besides Walter's narrative, there appeared "A True and Impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, and round the Globe, in his Majesty's Ship the Centurion, under the Command of Commodore George Anson. By Pascoe Thomas, Teacher of the Mathematics on board the Centurion. London, 1745," 8vo.

too probably doomed to perish. To expose the cruelty of this measure, it need only be stated, that not one of these unhappy men who reached the South-Sea lived to return to his native shores.\* To supply the room of the 241 invalids who had deserted, raw and undisciplined marines, amounting to nearly the same number, were selected from different ships and sent on board; upon which the squadron sailed from Spithead to St Helens, to await a favourable wind. It consisted of eight vessels, the Centurion of sixty guns; the Gloucester and the Severn of fifty each; the Pearl of forty; the Wager of twenty-eight;† the Tryal sloop of eight; and two store-ships; and, exclusive of the crews of these last, contained about 2000 men. After being thrice forced back by adverse winds, they finally sailed from St Helens on the 18th September 1740; and, having touched at Madeira, anchored on the 18th December at the island of Santa Catalina, on the coast of Brazil, where they remained about a month.

CHAP. V.

Cruelty of the proceedings.

Vessels of the squadron.

They arrived at Port San Julian in the middle of February 1741; and on the 7th March entered Strait Le Maire, where, though winter was advancing apace, they experienced a brightness of sky and serenity of weather which inspired them with high hopes that the greatest difficulties of their voyage were past. "Thus animated by these delusions," says Mr Walter, "we traversed these memorable straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending and just ready to burst upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy."‡ The last of the ships had scarcely cleared the straits, when the sky suddenly changed, and exhibited all the appearances of an approaching storm, which soon burst with such violence, that two of them

Entrance of the Strait Le Maire.

Change of weather.

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 40.

† According to Thomas (p. 2) the Wager carried but 20 guns.

‡ Walter, p. 75



## CHAP. V.

Dreadful  
storm.

with difficulty escaped being run ashore on Staten Land. From this time to the 25th May, the expedition encountered a succession of the most tempestuous weather. The oldest mariners confessed that the fury of the winds and the mountainous waves surpassed any thing they had ever witnessed. "Our ship," says Thomas, who sailed in the *Centurion*, "was nothing to them; but, notwithstanding her large bulk and deep hold in the water, was tossed and bandied as if she had been no more than a little pitiful wherry."\* The sails were frequently split in tatters, and blown from the yards; the yards themselves were often snapped across; and the shrouds and other rigging were repeatedly blown to pieces. The upper works were rendered so loose as to admit water at every seam; the beds were almost continually wet, and the men were often driven from them by the rushing in of the waves. The rolling of the vessel was so great, that the seamen were in danger of being dashed to pieces against her decks or sides; they were often forced from the objects they had taken hold of to secure themselves from falling, and, in spite of every precaution, met numerous accidents; one had his neck dislocated, another, who was pitched below, had his thigh fractured, and a boatswain's mate had his collar-bone twice seriously injured. To add to their misery, the scurvy broke out with great violence; at first carrying off two or three a-day, but increasing in virulence till the mortality amounted to eight or ten. Few of the crew escaped its attacks, and on these the labour of managing the ship fell so heavily, "that," says Thomas, "I have on that account seen four or five dead bodies at a time, some sewn up in their hammocks, and others not, washing about the decks for want of help to bury them in the sea."† The disease at last attained such a height that we are informed there were not above twelve or fourteen men, and a few officers capable of doing duty. On the invalids, who had been

Injuries to  
the seamen.

Sufferings  
and extreme  
mortality of  
the crew.

\* Thomas, p. 21.

† Ibid. p. 22.

so cruelly sent on this expedition, the disease produced the most extraordinary effects; wounds which had been healed many years now opened, and appeared as if they had never been closed, and fractures of bones which had been long consolidated now again appeared, as if the callosity of the broken bone had been dissolved by the disease. The wounds of one aged veteran, which had been received more than fifty years previous, at the battle of the Boyne, broke out afresh, and seemed as if they had never been healed.\* At length, after a period of intense suffering, on the morning of the 8th of May, the crew of Anson's own ship, the *Centurion*, saw the western coast of Patagonia, the high mountains of which were for the most part covered with snow. The island of *Nuestra Senora del Socorro*, which had been appointed as the rendezvous of the fleet, was also visible; but, from the weak condition of his crew, the commodore waited here two days, when he set sail for *Juan Fernandez*, abandoning the design which had been formed of attacking *Baldivia*. Short as was Anson's delay on this occasion, he has been severely censured for it by *Thomas*, who declares,—“I verily believe that our touching on this coast, the small stay we made here, and our hinderance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to *Juan Fernandez*, lost us at least sixty or seventy of as stout and able men as any in the navy.” † It was not until daybreak of the 9th of June that they descried the island now named, which, notwithstanding its rugged and mountainous aspect, says *Walter*, “was to us a most agreeable sight.” An anecdote which has been preserved by *Dr Beattie* may perhaps present a livelier idea of the distress endured than a lengthened description: “One who was on board the *Centurion* in *Lord Anson's* voyage, having got some money in that expedition, purchased a small estate about three miles from this town (*Aberdeen*). I have had several conversations with him on the subject of the

CHAP. V.  
Peculiar sufferings of the invalids.

Island of *Nuestra Senora del Socorro*.

Arrival at *Juan Fernandez*.

*Walter*, p. 102.

† *Thomas*, p. 27.

CHAP. V.  
—  
Evidence  
of extreme  
suffering.

voyage, and once asked him whether he had ever read the history of it. He told me he had read all the history, except the description of their sufferings during the run from Cape Horn to Juan Fernandez, which he said were so great that he durst not recollect or think of them."\*

Appearance  
of land.

On the succeeding day they coasted along the shore, at about the distance of two miles, in search of an anchorage. The mountains, which at first view had appeared bare and steril, they now perceived to be covered with luxuriant woods, and between them they could see fertile valleys of the freshest verdure, watered by clear streams, frequently broken into waterfalls. "Those only," says Walter, "who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near 100 feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship.

Delight of  
the sufferers.

Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined in their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect."† The succeeding day, the Centurion anchored on the north-eastern side of the island; in the passage from Brazil 200 of her men having died, and 130 of the remainder being on the sick-list. No time was lost in erecting tents and conveying the sick on shore,—a labour in which Anson assisted in person, and exacted the aid of his officers. He continued here some months to recruit the health of his crew, and to wait the arrival of the rest of the squadron. Of the seven vessels which accompanied him from England only three, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna store-ship, suc-

Time spent  
at Juan  
Fernandez.

\* Sir William Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, vol. ii. p. 36.

† Walter, p. 111.

ceeded in reaching Juan Fernandez. The Industry had been dismissed on the coast of Brazil, while the Severn and Pearl, which had separated from the commodore in the passage round Cape Horn, returned homewards without having entered the South Seas. The Wager, the only remaining one, reached the western coast of Patagonia, where she experienced disasters and sufferings which will be hereafter noticed. Before leaving Juan Fernandez the Anna was broken up, and her crew distributed among the other vessels, which stood much in need of this aid; for, since leaving St Helens, the Centurion had lost 292 men out of her complement of 506; in the Gloucester there remained only 82 out of 374; and in the Tryal, out of 81 there survived but 39.\* In short, of upwards of 900 persons who had left England on board these three vessels, more than 600 were dead.

CHAP. V.

Return of  
the Severn  
and Pearl.Great  
mortality.

On the 8th of September, while the expedition was still at anchor, a strange sail was discovered and chased, and though she escaped, the English, during the pursuit, were fortunate enough to capture another, which proved to be a rich merchantman, bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and having on board dollars and plate to the amount of about £18,000 sterling. Intelligence was obtained from this prize, that there were several such vessels on their voyage from Callao to Valparaiso, and, accordingly, no time was lost in despatching the Tryal sloop to cruise off the latter port. In a few days the Centurion sailed, along with the captured ship, to join the Tryal, leaving the Gloucester at Juan Fernandez, with orders to proceed to Payta, and cruise there until

Rich prize  
captured.Pursuit of  
Prizes.

\* These statements are made as the nearest approach to accuracy which is now attainable. The numbers of the crews are so loosely mentioned, that, according to Walter, in one place (p. 14) the Tryal had 100 men, and in another (p. 160) only 81. With him the men on board the Centurion are at one time 525, and at another (p. 159) 506; and Pascoe Thomas rates them in different places (p. 42) 518, 512, and (Appendix, p. 8) 510. The latter author makes the number alive in the Gloucester considerably higher than Walter. "We found," he says, "in a miserable condition, *not many above one hundred people alive.*"—P. 31.



CHAP. V.  
The Tryal's  
prize.

Attack on  
Payta.

Capture of  
the town.

re-enforced by the others. When the commodore fell in with the sloop, he found that she had taken a prize; but, being herself in a shattered condition, she was sunk, and her crew transferred to the foreigner, which was now commissioned under the name of the Tryal's Prize. Having disposed his fleet so as best to command the different cities and their trade, Anson continued to cruise along the coasts of Chili and Peru, until nearly the middle of November, when, from information he obtained from a vessel which he had captured, he determined to make an attempt on Payta. Fifty-eight men\* were selected for this purpose, who embarked in three boats, and rowed for the harbour, which they had just entered when they were discovered by a ship's crew, who manned their barges, and pulled towards the town shouting, "The English! the English dogs!" In a few minutes, the hurrying of lights to and fro, and other signs of preparation, gave notice that the inhabitants were alarmed, and before the assailants could reach the landing-place a cannon-ball from the fort whistled over their heads. But ere a second discharge could take place the seamen had landed, and, forming into a body, marched in the direction of the governor's house. The noise of the drums which they carried, "the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors confined so long on shipboard, and now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous, as they always are when they land, and animated in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage," joined to the sudden nature of the attack and the darkness of the night, struck such a panic into the inhabitants, that in less than a quarter of an hour, and with the loss of one killed and two wounded, the assailants were masters of the town, the governor fleeing from it half-naked and with such precipitation that he most ungallantly left

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\* According to Thomas (p. 5b) there were only forty-nine; and this is confirmed by the description of the "plan of Payta," which accompanies Walter's voyage, p. 189.

behind him his lady, to whom he had been but three or four days married, and who afterwards made her escape "with no other clothes to cover her but her shift." \* Two days were occupied in conveying the plunder to the vessels; and this being effected the town was set on fire, and, with the exception of two churches, burned to the ground; and, of the six ships in the bay five having been sunk † and one carried off, "we weighed and came to sea," says Thomas, "with all our prizes, being six sail, and left this place entirely ruined." The value of the silver coin and plate taken in Payta was reported to exceed £30,000, ‡ and to this there were to be added rings, gold watches, and jewels, besides what pillage fell into the hands of the individuals engaged in the attack. Walter mentions a report, that the inhabitants, in their representations to the Spanish court, estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars. Two days after this exploit, Anson was joined by the Gloucester, which he found had also captured several prizes, having on board bullion to the amount of about £18,000.

CHAP. V.

Complete  
success of  
the assail-  
ants.

Immense  
booty  
obtained.

Success  
of the  
Gloucester.

It was now resolved to cruise off Cape San Lucas or Cape Corrientes for the Manilla galleon, and the squadron accordingly sailed in that direction. On the 5th December, they anchored at the island of Quibo, where

\* Thomas, p. 56. Walter, p. 194. From a note in Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 57, we learn that this lady was alive in 1791, and acknowledged to an English seaman "the liberal conduct observed towards prisoners in Commodore Anson's expedition."

† Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 58, states that the five ships were burned; but both Walter (p. 202) and Thomas (p. 63) mention their being sunk. Indeed, one of the illustrations in Walter's voyage (plate 24, p. 201) represents the vessels in the act of going down.

‡ This is probably above the truth. Mr Thomas gives a specific account of the number of ounces of bullion captured, and of their value, by which he "makes the whole amount £24,415, 16s. 4d." He adds, however, as a reason for his estimating the value at about £32,000, that though "I know not certainly whether there was any thing in specie farther in this capture, yet I know that it was generally esteemed to be near £32,000 sterling" (Appendix, p. 4). The exaggerating effects of a common rumour like this are too well known to be valued as of any high authority.

CHAP. V. they took in a supply of water, and remained about three days, when they resumed their voyage to the northwards. A succession of unfavourable weather rendered their progress so extremely slow, that they did not make the Mexican coast, a little to the north-west of Acapulco, till the end of January. This was past the usual time of the galleon's appearance ; but Anson continued to sail along the coast in hopes of intercepting her till a late period in February, when he received information that she had arrived the previous month, about twenty days before he had reached the coast. This intelligence, however, was accompanied with the more gratifying information, that she was to leave Acapulco to return to Manilla in the beginning of March, and with a cargo infinitely more valuable than that which she had brought from the Philippines. The cruise was therefore continued, and with increased strictness, every precaution being taken, and the most scrupulous vigilance observed, until long after the period fixed for her sailing, when the search was abandoned on the supposition, which afterwards proved to be correct, that her departure was delayed for that year, on account of the English fleet.

Disappointment of Anson.

Thus disappointed, Anson formed the resolution of attacking Acapulco, and by that means possessing himself of the object of his wishes ; but this plan fell to the ground, and, leaving his cutter to watch the Manilla ship, he sailed for the harbour of Chequetan, about thirty leagues westward, to obtain a supply of water. During his stay there, the different vessels which had been captured were destroyed ; and it was resolved that the squadron, which now consisted of only two ships, the Centurion and Gloucester, should quit the South Seas and sail for China. Various accidents, however, contributed to postpone their departure, and it was not until the 6th of May that they lost sight of the mountains of Mexico. They experienced much difficulty in getting into the track of the trade-winds, which they expected to reach in a few days, but did not meet until

Setting sail for China.

seven or eight weeks after leaving the coast. This disappointment pressed on them the more severely, owing to the crazy condition into which their ships had now fallen, more particularly the Gloucester, which sailed very heavily. The scurvy, too, again made its appearance, and raged with a violence little less fatal than that which had marked its attacks in the passage round Cape Horn. Though the trade-wind had constantly favoured them from the end of June to the latter part of July, their progress, owing to the distressed condition of the crews, had been so very slow, that by their reckoning they were still 300 leagues from the Ladrones. At this time they met with a westerly breeze, succeeded by a violent storm, which so damaged the Gloucester as to render her abandonment necessary. Two days were employed in removing her crew and part of her stores on board the Centurion; and, on the 15th of August, she was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Spaniards, to whom the valuable prize-goods on board would have rendered her a welcome acquisition. "She burned," says Walter, "very fiercely the whole night, her guns firing successively as the flames reached them; and it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height."\* Though re-enforced by the additional crew, Anson had still to struggle with difficulty and distress. The late storm had drifted him from his course; there was a leak in his vessel which it was found impossible to stop; and the scurvy raged with such violence, that no day passed in which he did not lose eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of the ship's company.

At length, at daybreak of the 23d, two islands were discovered to the westward,—“a sight which,” says Walter, “gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping

CHAP. V.

Renewed suffering of the crews.

Abandonment of the Gloucester.

Continued difficulties and distress.

\* Walter, p. 300.



CHAP. V. spirits; for before this a universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again." These proved to be two of the Ladrones; but the exhausted seamen remained in sight of them three days without being able to come to an anchor. On the 26th three others were discovered, and the ship's course was directed towards the one in the centre, which was ascertained to be the island of Tinian. They moored here on the evening of the 28th, and the next day proceeded to land their sick,—a labour in which Anson here, as at Juan Fernandez, personally assisted. The accounts which the journalists have left us of this island represent it in the most favourable colours; they dwell on its sunny slopes and gentle declivities,—the beauty of its lawns,—the luxuriance of its flowers and vegetation,—the grandeur of its forests, and the richness and variety of its fruit-trees. "The fortunate animals, too," it is added, "which for the greatest part of the year are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place." \*

Discovery of land.

Landing the sick.

Description of the island of Tinian.

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\* Walter, p. 309. After the lapse of nearly a century, a memorial of Anson's sojourn at Tinian has been lately brought to light. By the Nautical Magazine for July 1834 (vol. iii. p. 429), it appears that "a whaler lately, on weighing her anchor at the island of Tinian, hooked up the anchor of the Centurion of 64 guns, which was lost by that ship in the year 1742, when Commodore Anson touched there to refresh his crew. It was comparatively little corroded, having on a thick coat of rust; the wooden stock was completely rotted off."

At this pleasant island Anson remained until the 21st of October, when, the health of his crew having been restored and the vessel supplied with fresh provisions, he set sail for Macao in China, where he arrived on the 12th of November. The five months which he passed here were employed in refitting his shattered ship and still farther confirming the health of his men. He added also to their number some Lascars and Dutch, and was once more in a condition to resume hostilities.

CHAP. V  
Arrival at  
Macao in  
China.

On leaving Macao, he gave out that he was bound for Batavia, on his homeward voyage for England; but his real design was very different. From the sailing of the Manilla galleon of the previous year having been prevented by his appearance off Acapulco, he calculated that this season there would be two; and he resolved to cruise off the island of Samal, in the hope of intercepting so rich a prize. This design he had entertained ever since he left the coast of Mexico, but had prudently abstained from revealing it. When his ship, however, was once fairly at sea, he summoned the whole crew on deck, and informed them of his intentions. In allusion to some absurd fables which prevailed regarding the strength of the Manilla ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot, he said he trusted there was none present so weak as to believe such a ridiculous fiction; "for his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both."\*

Designs of  
Anson.

The station on which Anson had determined to cruise was the Cape Espiritu Santo, part of the island of Samal, and he arrived there on the 20th of May. After a month spent in the greatest impatience and anxiety, a general joy was diffused among the crew by the sight of a sail at sunrise of the 20th June. They instantly stood towards it, and by mid-day were within a league's

Station  
selected for  
the cruise.

\* Walter, p. 371.

## CHAP. V.

Fight with a Spanish galleon.

distance,—the galleon, to their surprise, continuing in her course, and bearing down upon them. The fight was commenced by Anson, who, in order to embarrass the Spaniards, whom he observed busy in clearing their decks, gave directions to fire, though his previous orders had been not to engage till within pistol-shot. Immediately after he took up an advantageous position, by which he was able to traverse the most of his guns on the enemy, who could only bring part of theirs to bear. At the commencement of the battle, part of the netting and mats of the galleon took fire; but, upon being extinguished, the fight continued with unabated determination. Symptoms of disorder, however, were soon observed on board the merchantman; their general, “who was the life of the action,” was disabled, and the men could hardly be prevailed on to remain at their posts. Their last effort was marked by the discharge of five or six guns with more skill than usual; when, as a signal that the contest was abandoned, the standard of Spain was struck from the mast-head,—the ship’s colours having been burned in the engagement. The treasure in specie found on board the prize has been estimated at upwards of £300,000 sterling. Anson at the same time learned that the other had set sail much earlier than usual, and was most probably moored in the port of Manilla long before he had reached Samal.

Disorder among the Spanish crew.

Immense booty obtained.

Howeward voyage.

As nothing was now to be gained by remaining among the Philippines, he at once set sail for the river of Canton, where he arrived about the middle of July, and remained until the beginning of December. The homeward passage was not attended with any remarkable event, and on the 15th June 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months, the Centurion anchored at Spithead. General joy was diffused through the nation by the return of the expedition, diminished though it was both in men and ships; and the treasure taken from the galleon was carried through the streets to the Tower in thirty-two waggons, in the same manner as the silver taken by Blake.

The distress which was experienced on board this squadron is to be ascribed solely to the ill-judged measures which were adopted in its equipment; while the unflinching perseverance and courage displayed by the seamen, and the intrepidity and prudence of the commander, are worthy of a place in the brightest page of the naval annals of our country.\*

CHAP. V.  
Causes of the suffering endured.

The disastrous fate of the *Wager*, one of the ships which put to sea under Lord Anson, has been already alluded to. In addition to the sufferings endured by the rest of the fleet in their stormy passage round Cape Horn, her crew were dispirited by evil omens and superstitious fears. The captain who commanded them when they left England died ere they reached the Straits of Le Maire, and it was currently rumoured, both among officers and seamen, that shortly before his death he had predicted, "that this voyage, which both officers and sailors had engaged in with so much cheerfulness and alacrity, would prove, in the end, very far from their expectations, notwithstanding the vast treasure they imagined to gain by it; that it would end in poverty, vermin, famine, death, and destruction." † These gloomy forebodings appear to have deeply impressed all on board, more especially as the defective equipment of the vessel rendered their fulfilment too

Fate of the rest of the fleet.

Superstitious apprehensions.

\* A curious illustration of the high opinion entertained of the conduct of Anson's expedition will be found in the "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. 2 vols 8vo. Philadelphia, 1815." Captain Porter informs us, that the fame of Anson served only to "rouse his ambition," and as an incentive "to make the name of the *Essex* as well known in the Pacific Ocean as that of the *Centurion*;" and he gives it as his opinion, that "the voyage of the *Essex* ought not to yield the palm to those of Anson and Cook." The gallant captain, his vessel, and all her prizes but one, were captured by a British frigate of inferior force; yet he cannot refrain from summing up his fancied triumph over Anson by the reproach that "he had no trophies of his success to exhibit!"

† A Voyage to the South Seas, in the Years 1740-1. By John Bulkely, and John Cummins, late gunner and carpenter of the *Wager*. Second edition. London, 1757, p. 5.



## CHAP. V.

The Wager  
separated  
from the  
squadron.

Driven on  
shore.

Sufferings  
of the ship-  
wrecked  
crew.

probable. She was separated from the squadron in the end of April; upon which Captain Cheap, in obedience to his orders, immediately proceeded to search for the appointed rendezvous,—the Isle of Socorro.

On the 14th of May, it was discovered that the vessel was driving right on shore, and though her course was instantly altered and every precaution used, the next morning at daybreak she struck on a hidden rock, and grounded between two small islands about a gunshot from the beach. The scene which ensued was of the most revolting nature, and the description which has been left of it by the Honourable John Byron, then a midshipman on board, is perhaps little inferior in real horror and sublimity to the most imaginative conceptions of his noble grandson.\* The ship held together for a considerable period, and the whole crew might have got to the land in safety, had not many, in the phrensy of despair and intoxication, obstinately refused to quit her.

Among the miserable beings who reached the shore heart-burnings and dissensions speedily appeared; and the history of their abode on this desolate coast is one wearisome succession of insubordination, discord, and crime. After five months thus consumed, during which, out of about 140† who were shipwrecked, no fewer

\* Narrative of the Hon. John Byron, being an Account of the Shipwreck of the Wager, and the subsequent Adventures of her Crew. Written by Himself.—The editor of the late edition of Byron's works, in tracing the poet's imitations, appears to have overlooked a passage in the Narrative which may have suggested the lines—

“Then shriek'd the timid, and stood still the brave,—  
Then some leap'd overboard with dreadful yell,  
As eager to anticipate their grave.”

*Don Juan*, canto ii. st. 52.

The following sentence occurs in Commodore Byron's Narrative:—“So terrible was the scene of foaming breakers around us, that one of the bravest men we had could not help expressing his dismay at it, saying it was too shocking a sight to bear, *and would have thrown himself over the rails of the quarter-deck into the sea had he not been prevented.*”—Second edition, p. 12.

† These numbers are stated as the nearest approximation to the

than fifty died, the long-boat was at last converted into a schooner; and on board of her and the ship's cutter, seventy-one of the survivors departed, in order to proceed to Brazil by the Straits of Magellan. Thirty survived to reach Rio Grande, about the end of January 1742; nineteen were abandoned to their fate on different parts of the coast, only three of whom survived to reach Europe; and twenty-two perished, chiefly through hunger and fatigue. Among the twenty who remained on the coast where the Wager was wrecked was the captain, who had been made prisoner by part of his crew, and was left there at his own desire. Cheap and his unfortunate companions determined to proceed northwards in the barge and yawl, which had been left to them. The hardships they experienced made frightful havoc among their little band; only six of whom, after a series of almost unparalleled sufferings, arrived at the island of Chiloe.\*

CHAP. V.

Attempt to  
escape in the  
long-boat and  
cutter.

Proceedings  
of Captain  
Cheap.

The melancholy fate of the Wager led to an important alteration in the laws of our naval service. Much of the crime and misery was justly attributed to the circumstance that the pay of a ship's company ceased immediately upon her wreck; and a rule was in consequence established "that, in future, every person entering into the service of his majesty's navy should be

Alteration in  
the naval  
laws.

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truth which can be made. The different narratives give very contradictory accounts of the numbers. Burney (*Chron. Hist. Discov.*, vol. v. p. 91) makes the number on board at the date of the shipwreck 130, and states (vol. v. p. 101) that at 24th June forty-five had died and seven deserted, which reduces the whole at that time to seventy-eight. Yet afterwards (vol. v. p. 106), he states that in October the number remaining, including the seven deserters, was ninety-two. Bulkely makes the number shipwrecked 152. Byron rates them at 145.

\* Captain King, in the course of the survey which he made of the southern extremity of the American continent in the years 1826-7-8-9-30, discovered, near the west end of the easternmost of the Guaineco Islands, the beam of a vessel, which there is reason to believe was a relic of the unfortunate Wager. From this circumstance, he bestowed upon the island the name of that ship.—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. i. p. 159.

CHAP. V.

Regular discharge required.

held attached to that service, and be entitled to the pay, maintenance, or emoluments belonging to his station, until such time as he should be regularly discharged by an order of the Admiralty or of his superior officer." \*

\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. pp. 127, 128. We have now to take leave of this valuable and important work, and cannot do so without an acknowledgment of the great assistance which it has afforded us.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Circumnavigations of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret.*

Voyage of Byron—Its Objects—Vain Search for Pepys' Island—Discovery of the Islands of Disappointment, King George, Prince of Wales, Danger, and Duke of York—Circumnavigations of Wallis and Carteret—Their Separation—Wallis discovers the Islands of Whitsunday, Queen Charlotte, Egmont, Cumberland, and Osnaburg—Arrives at Otaheite—Transactions there—Sails for Tinian—Carteret discovers Pitcairn's Island—Santa Cruz or Queen Charlotte's Islands—The Solomons—St George's Channel and New Ireland—New Hanover—Arrives at Spithead.

ENGLAND had hitherto held only a secondary place in the annals of maritime enterprise. Spain and Portugal, which first occupied the field, had achieved the great discoveries of the American continent, the Pacific Ocean, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. At the end of the sixteenth century, the empire of the deep passed to Holland. After a short and brilliant career, the spirit of adventure began to languish, and continued nearly 100 years almost entirely dormant, when it again broke forth in Britain with a strength and lustre which have procured for our country, as the liberal promoter of geographical science, an equal, if not superior rank to any nation of ancient or of modern times.

We have now arrived at the reign of George III.,—a period which will ever be memorable for the value and extent of its discoveries, effected, as has been justly remarked, “not with a view to the acquisition of treasure or the extent of dominion, but the improvement of

CHAP. VI.

Revived  
spirit of  
adventure in  
England.

Reign of  
George III.



CHAP. VI. commerce and the increase and diffusion of knowledge.”

Scientific  
tastes and ac-  
quirements  
of the king.

Liberal views  
entertained.

Pepys' and  
Falkland's  
Islands.

The love of science, and the geographical learning which the young monarch himself possessed, secured a favourable hearing to every undertaking for exploring new lands; and the design which for this purpose he had formed immediately after his accession, he proceeded to put in execution so soon as the peace of 1763 left his mind free from the cares of war. The views which were entertained in the equipment of his first expedition are briefly expressed in the instructions delivered to the commodore,—a document which deserves to be quoted for its elevated sentiments: “Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power, may be found in the Atlantic Ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanic Streight, within the latitudes convenient for navigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commodities useful in commerce; and whereas his majesty's islands called Pepys' Island and Falkland's Islands, lying within the said tract, notwithstanding their having been first discovered and visited by British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be formed of their coasts and product; his majesty, taking the premises into consideration, and conceiving no conjuncture so proper for an enterprise of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken.”\*

\* An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere. Drawn up from the Journals of the Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. By John Hawkesworth, L.L.D.

These instructions were dated the 17th of June 1764, and on the 3d of July the squadron sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of two ships,—the *Dolphin* of twenty-four guns, manned by 150 men and forty-one officers; and the *Tamar*, carrying sixteen guns, with a crew of ninety seamen and twenty-six officers. The first of these vessels was sheathed with copper, the better to prepare her for the voyage, and is said to have been the first ship so furnished in the British navy. The command of the expedition was intrusted to the Honourable John Byron, whose sufferings, when a midshipman on board of the *Wager*, have been already alluded to. From that disastrous enterprise he returned to his native country at the age of twenty-two, and having gone through the various steps of promotion, had now attained the rank of post-captain. The greatest secrecy was preserved as to the precise object in view; and so far was this carried, that the seamen were engaged to sail for the East Indies. They were not undeceived as to their real destination until the 22d of October, when, after leaving Rio Janeiro, they were called on deck and informed that they were bound on a voyage of discovery, in consequence of which they were all to be allowed double pay. This intelligence was received with the greatest joy imaginable, and their course was shaped towards the coast of Patagonia. They arrived at Port Desire on the 21st of November, and remained there until the 5th of the next month, when,

CHAP. VI.

Squadron  
fitted for  
discovery.Commodore  
Byron.Great  
secrecy  
maintained.

London, 1773. 3 vols 4to. General Introduction, pp. i. ii. This work is the chief authority for the three voyages narrated in the present chapter. Its publication was fatal to the author's character. The dangerous tendency of his views on religion, the gratuitous lubricity of his descriptions, and his gross and slovenly inaccuracies, at once excited a storm of popular indignation, in which perished all the honour and reputation gained by his previous writings. He was ambitious to make his book "another Anson's Voyage;" but he has imitated that lively and spirited narrative in no respect but in inattention to the strictness of truth. He was engaged to undertake the work by Lord Sandwich, the first lord of the Admiralty, and his services were remunerated by the munificent sum of £6000.

## CHAP. VI.

Search for  
Pepys'  
Island.

having completed their supplies, they sailed in search of Pepys' Island,—one of the chief objects set forth in their instructions. The land, to which this name was given in honour of the celebrated Secretary Pepys, was supposed to have been discovered, as has been already stated, in 1684, by the Buccaneers under Cook, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees and forty minutes.\* After cruising in search of it six days, Byron, being now certain that no such land existed in the situation laid down by the editor of Cowley's Journal, determined again to return to the American continent, keeping a look-out for the islands of Sibald de Weert, which, by all the charts he had on board, could not be far from his track.† The hopes which seem to have been cherished of finding in these regions a mild climate were now dissipated, and it was agreed by all, that, except in the length of the day, there was no difference between the height of summer here and the depth of winter in England. After a storm, which, the commodore declares, surpassed any he experienced in weathering Cape Horn with Anson, he arrived at the entrance of the Straits of Magellan, where he anchored in the vicinity of Cape de las Virgenes.

Look out for  
the islands of  
Sibald de  
Weert.

Horsemen at  
Cape de las  
Virgenes.

A number of horsemen were perceived riding backwards and forwards on the coast opposite the ship, and waving something of a white colour, as if inviting the voyagers to land. Two boats were accordingly manned, and as they drew near the shore, they observed about 500 people, the greater part of whom were on horseback, waiting their approach, still making signals and hallooing with great vociferation. No weapons were seen among them; but Byron, notwithstanding, considered it prudent to intimate by signs that they should retire to some distance,—a request with which they instantly complied. As soon as he landed, he drew up the boats' crews on the beach, and having given orders that none of them should leave their ranks until he called or beckoned on them to do so, he advanced alone

\* See above, p. 130.

† Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 25.

towards the savages. These continuing to retreat as he approached, he made signs that one of them should come near, when an individual from among their leaders walked towards him. "This chief," says he, "was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realize the tales of monsters in a human shape; he had the skin of some wild beast thrown over his shoulders, as a Scotch Highlander wears his plaid, and was painted so as to make the most hideous appearance I ever beheld; round one eye was a large circle of white, a circle of black surrounded the other, and the rest of his face was streaked with paint of different colours. I did not measure him, but if I may judge of his height by the proportion of his stature to my own, it could not be much less than seven feet."\* With "this frightful colossus," as the commodore terms him, he walked towards the natives, who, at his request intimated by signs, sat down, when he presented them with beads, ribands, and other trinkets, —all which they received with becoming composure. He describes the whole of them as "enormous goblins," and adds, that "few of the men were less than the chief who had come forward to meet me." His lieutenant, Mr Cumming, "though six feet two inches high, became at once a pigmy among giants; for these people may indeed more properly be called giants than tall men." Another account of the voyage, professing to be written by an officer of the *Dolphin*,† says of these savages, such was their extraordinary size, that when sitting they were almost as high as the commodore when standing; and adds, that Byron, though he measured fully six feet, "and stood on tiptoe, could but just reach the crown of one of the Indians' heads, who was not by far the tallest among them."—"The women," it is said, "seemed to be from seven and a half to eight feet high; but the men were for the most part about nine feet in height,

CHAP. VI.

Interview  
with the  
natives.Gigantic  
size of the  
natives.Appearance  
of the  
women.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 28.

† A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin*, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron. By an Officer on board the said Ship. London, 1767. P. 45-53.



CHAP. VI. and some more." The stature of Lieutenant Cumming seems to have recommended him to the favour of these savages, some of whom, we are told, "patted him on the shoulder; but their hands fell with such force that it affected his whole frame." That these statements much exaggerate the size of the people on the Magellanic Straits there can be little doubt, while it is equally certain, on the other hand, that they are not without some foundation.\* Byron's own statement makes them less than seven feet, and even this he does not give as the result of actual measurement, but as the conclusion he came to from comparing his own figure with that of the chief. Making allowance for the uncertainty attending such a mode of computation, there seems to be no ground for questioning the veracity of the commodore, though the stories in the anonymous account are evidently fabulous. Lieutenant Cumming, who acts so prominent a part in these relations, when afterwards questioned on the subject, evinced some reluctance to enter on the discussion; "but at length it was partly gathered and partly extorted from him, that had the occurrence taken place any where else than at Patagonia, they should have set them down as good sturdy savages, and thought no farther about them."†

Probable  
exaggeration  
of the  
narrative.

Lieutenant  
Cumming's  
account.

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\* See Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, p. 101, note. Mr Weddel (Voyage towards the South Pole, in the Years 1822-24, London, 1825) thinks "that those with whom Commodore Byron communicated were probably chiefs; but it is more than probable that this tribe, of whatever size, were not inhabitants of the shore, but of the interior, and from the country farther to the northward, and of course seldom, perhaps never, on the shores of the Straits when any vessels touched there, since that time." He adds, that more northern Patagonians had been seen by his officers, "who described them to be generally about six feet high, well proportioned, and appearing upon the whole above the ordinary size."—P. 206.

† This anecdote appears in a Memoir of the Honourable John Byron, prefixed to an edition of his Narrative published at Edinburgh in 1812 by John Ballantyne & Co. Mr Cumming's statement was made to the late Captain Robert Scott of Rosebank, uncle of Sir Walter Scott. "The writer of this Memoir," it is said, "had the pleasure of Captain Scott's personal acquaintance, from whom he had this anecdote."—P. 36.

Byron now sailed up the Straits as far as Port Famine, to procure a supply of wood and water before he proceeded to search for the Falkland Islands. It was the month of December, the midsummer of these regions, and their wild shores were clothed with a luxuriance of vegetation. The voyagers observed the ground covered with flowers of various hues, which loaded the air with their fragrance; innumerable clusters of berries glistened on the bushes; amid the rich grass and pea-blossoms there were seen feeding large flocks of birds of uncommon beauty; and forests grew by the banks of the rivers, abounding with trees fit to be masts for the largest ships in the British navy. Woods spread up the sides of the hills from the water's edge; but the mountains farther inland were bleak and bare, and their rugged summits, covered with snow, were seen towering high above those nearest the shore. Driftwood was also found in large quantities. After a short stay the vessels completed their stores, and on the 4th of January 1765 weighed anchor and steered back through the Straits.

On the 11th, high, craggy, barren rocks were observed, much resembling Staten Land; innumerable quantities of seals and birds were remarked, and many whales approached the ships, some of them of a very great size. On the 15th, a harbour was discovered, so capacious that the whole navy of England might ride in it; to which, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, the name of Port Egmont was given. Byron now became convinced that the islands he had reached were the Pepys' Island of Cowley, the Maiden-land of Hawkins, and the Falklands of later geographers; and under this last name he took possession of them for the British crown,—a ceremony which, it has been remarked, the tenor of his instructions rendered superfluous. On leaving this group, he stood towards Port Desire, where he met the store-ship which had been despatched from England with provisions. He then returned to the Straits, to pass into the South Sea;

CHAP. VI.

Luxuriance  
and beauty  
of the  
country.

Discovery  
of the  
Falkland  
Islands.

CHAP. VI. which, however, he did not reach till the beginning of April, the passage having occupied seven weeks and two days.

Watering  
place  
selected.

With the view of preserving secrecy, the island of Mas-afuera had been selected as a watering-place, in preference to that of Juan Fernandez; but a heavy surf which broke on its rocky shore prevented him from obtaining a full supply. Hence Byron steered nearly due north, until he attained the latitude of  $26^{\circ} 46'$ , when he changed his course to the westward, in order to bear down upon Davis' Land or Easter Island; but, finding his progress slow, he sailed to the north-west, in order to profit by the trade-wind. On the morning of the 7th of June, he was in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 5'$  south, and longitude  $144^{\circ} 58'$  west, when he discovered two islands, to the smaller of which he directed his prow. As he drew near, it presented the most beautiful appearance; the sea broke upon a beach of the finest white sand, and the interior was covered with tall trees grouped into delightful groves. Many of the natives, armed with spears, appeared on the strand, where they lighted several fires, apparently as signals; for similar tokens instantly blazed upon the other island. A boat was despatched to search for anchorage, but returned without having found any. The scurvy had by this time made dreadful havoc among the crews, and such of the sick as were able to crawl on deck "stood gazing at this little paradise, which nature had forbidden them to enter;" where they saw cocoa-nuts hanging from the trees in large clusters, the shore strewed with the shells of turtle, while the wind wafted to them the fragrance of the finest fruits. As no anchoring-ground was found near the other island, the captain was compelled to quit these inaccessible shores, on which he bestowed the name of Disappointment. The natives were of a deep copper-colour, well proportioned in their limbs, and of great activity and vigour.

Disappoint-  
ment Islands.

Necessity of  
abandoning  
the islands.

On the evening of the 9th, land was again descried,

and, on more minute examination, was ascertained to consist of two islands, which, in honour of his majesty, were called King George's. While the boats sailed along the coast of one of them in search of anchorage, the hostile intentions of the natives were so clearly manifested that it was deemed necessary to fire. Two or three of them were slain; one of whom, after being pierced by three balls, seized a large stone, and died in the act of throwing it against his enemy. No anchorage was discovered; but it was nevertheless thought expedient to land part of the crews, in order to procure a supply of cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass. As the people had fled, their dwellings were totally deserted, except by their dogs, which kept up an incessant howling as long as the seamen continued on shore. In the neighbourhood of the huts, beneath the thick shade of lofty trees, were observed stone buildings, which, from their description, seem to have somewhat resembled the *cromlechs* of the ancient Britons, and were conjectured to be burying-places. When the boats drew near to the shore of the other island, an old man of a venerable appearance, and wearing a long white beard, accompanied by a youth, came forward from the crowd of savages. He appeared to be a chief, and in one hand held the green branch of a tree; while with the other he pressed his beard to his bosom, and in this attitude commenced a long oration, the periods of which had a musical cadence by no means disagreeable. During this speech the people in the boats threw him several presents, but these he would not suffer to be touched until he had finished his harangue; upon which advancing into the water, he threw the green branch to the seamen, and then picked up their gifts. Encouraged by these friendly signs, one of the midshipmen swam through the surf to the shore, and several of the natives came off to the boats, bringing with them cocoa-nuts and fresh-water. This island lies in latitude  $14^{\circ} 41'$ , and longitude  $149^{\circ} 15'$ .

CHAP. VI

King  
George's  
Islands.Landing of  
part of the  
crews.Friendly  
overtures of  
the islanders.Native  
supplies.

On quitting it Byron stood to the westward, and in



CHAP. VI. the afternoon of the next day discovered a small island, of a green and pleasant appearance, but surrounded by many rocks and islets, which occasioned dreadful breakers. It appearing, however, to be inhabited, was named after the Prince of Wales; and is now believed to be the same with the Fly Island of Schouten and Le Maire.\* While in this vicinity the commodore became impressed with the opinion that land existed not far to the south, as well from the discontinuance of a heavy swell which had prevailed for some time, as from the vast flocks of birds which, as evening closed in, always took their flight in that direction. The unhealthy state of his crew, however, prevented him from going in search of it; and the discovery of Otaheite and the Society Isles was accordingly reserved for the more auspicious fortune of Wallis. Byron's course was now directed north-westwards; and, after having sailed more than 300 leagues, he observed, on the 21st of June, a cluster probably identical with the San Bernardo of Mendana,† which, from the shoals and stormy sea that forbade approach to them, he denominated the Islands of Danger. Three days later, while pursuing his course in a westerly direction, he perceived another island, to which he gave the name of the Duke of York; and on the 2d of July, in latitude  $1^{\circ} 18'$  south, longitude  $173^{\circ} 46'$  east, he approached one, low and flat, but well covered with wood. About 1000 natives appeared on the beach, and more than sixty canoes pulled off from the shore, and ranged themselves round the ships. The savages were tall and well formed; their complexion a bright copper colour; their hair long and black, in some tied up behind in a great bunch, in others arranged into three knots; their features good, and marked by an expression of cheerful intrepidity. They were perfectly naked, wearing nothing on their persons but some ornaments of shells on their necks, wrists, and waists. One, who appeared to

Prince  
of Wales'  
Island.

Change of  
course.

Intercourse  
with the  
natives.

\* See above, p. 107.

† Ibid. p. 80.

be a chief, had a string of human teeth round his body. Their arms consisted of a kind of spear, broad at the end, and stuck full of shark's teeth as sharp as lancets. One of these savages swam to the ship and ran up the side like a cat, and having stepped over the gunwale sat down on it and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal every thing that came in his way. A jacket and trousers were put upon him, and his gestures, which were like those "of a monkey newly dressed," produced much merriment among the seamen; and, after playing a thousand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, and swam in his new garments to his canoe. Finding it impossible to procure refreshments for the sick, the ships were obliged to make sail from this place, which was named Byron's Island.

CHAP. VI.  
Proceedings  
of one of the  
natives.

On the 30th of June, the squadron came in sight of Tinian, and on the 31st, anchored in the very same spot where Lord Anson formerly lay with the Centurion. The aspect of things was to them, however, very different from the high-wrought description of the former voyage. "I am indeed of opinion," says the commodore, "that this is one of the most unhealthy spots in the world, at least during the season in which we were here. The rains were violent and almost incessant, and the heat was so great as to threaten us with suffocation. . . . We were incessantly tormented by the flies in the day, and by the mosquitoes in the night. The island also swarms with centipedes and scorpions, and a large black ant scarcely inferior to either in the malignity of its bite. Besides these there were venomous insects without number, altogether unknown to us, by which many of us suffered so severely that we were afraid to lie down in our beds."\* Till the period of his arrival there, not one of the crew had died; but while at that island two were lost in a fever; those

Different  
descriptions  
of Tinian.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 118.

## CHAP. VI.

Provisions  
and return  
home.

afflicted with the scurvy, indeed, recovered very quickly. He stayed nine weeks, when, the health of his crew being re-established and a stock of provisions laid in, he proceeded to Batavia, where he remained till the 10th of December, at which time he set sail for England. An accident having happened to the Tamar which rendered it necessary that she should run down to Antigua to be repaired, the vessels parted company on the 1st of April 1766; and on the 7th of May, the Dolphin made the islands of Scilly, after a voyage of something more than two and twenty months.

Captain  
Wallis's  
expedition.

In little more than three months after the return of Commodore Byron, another expedition was sent out to prosecute the same general design of making discoveries in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of the Dolphin, which was equipped as before, and of the Swallow, a sloop mounting fourteen guns, with a complement of ninety men, besides twenty-four officers. The latter was commanded by Captain Philip Carteret; while Captain Samuel Wallis, who hoisted his pendant in the Dolphin, was intrusted with the general superintendence of the enterprise. The vessels sailed from Plymouth on the 22d August 1766, attended by a store-ship which, after landing her cargo at Port Famine, proceeded with a load of drift-wood and young trees for the use of a British colony established that year at Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands. On the 16th of December, they anchored near Cape de las Virgenes, at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan. Several of the natives were observed riding along the beach abreast of the ship, and during the night they made great fires and frequently shouted very loud. In the morning, some boats were manned and stood towards the shore, where, having landed, Wallis distributed several trinkets to the savages, and took an opportunity of ascertaining their height by actual measurement. One of them was six feet seven inches; several reached six feet and a half; and the average of their stature,

Straits of  
Magellan.

Interview  
with the  
natives.

according to him, was from five feet ten to six feet ; CHAP. VI.  
 while Carteret says, "they were in general all from six feet to six feet five inches."\* In the afternoon of the Arrival at  
 same day they entered the Straits, and on the 26th Port Famine.  
 arrived at Port Famine, where they remained till the middle of January 1767 ; the sick being sent on shore, and tents erected on the banks of the Sedger River. Their passage thence was so stormy and tedious that they did not reach the western mouth of the Straits till the 11th of April, "after," says the author, "having been for near four months in a dreary region, where we were in almost perpetual danger of shipwreck, and where in the midst of summer the weather was cold, gloomy, and tempestuous."† On the very day that they entered the South Sea the two vessels parted company, and did not again meet.

Captain Wallis, who held his course to the north-west, suffered much from the severity of the climate and the attacks of the scurvy. At length, on the 3d of June, several gannets were seen, which, along with the variableness of the winds, led to the hope that land was not far distant. The next day a turtle swam past the ship ; many birds were seen on the 5th ; and on the succeeding noon the sight of a low island at the distance of five or six leagues diffused universal joy on board. As they drew near, a second was descried to the north-westward, and two canoes were seen paddling quickly from the one to the other. The shores were examined in vain for an anchorage ; but the boats which landed procured cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass : no inhabitants were seen, though some huts and skiffs attested their recent presence. The captain gave it the name of Whitsunday Island. He describes it as about

Sufferings  
 endured by  
 Wallis.

Whitsunday  
 Island.

\* "A Letter from Philip Carteret, Esq., Captain of the Swallow Sloop, to Mathew Maty, M.D., Sec. R. S., on the Inhabitants of the Coast of Patagonia."—Philosophical Transactions, vol. ix. p. 20-26. Carteret sailed with Commodore Byron, and expresses his chagrin that Captain Wallis neglected to acquire a greater knowledge of these savages.

† Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 139.



CHAP. VI. Queen  
Charlotte's  
Island. four miles in length and three in breadth ; but a later voyager has reduced its length to a mile and a half, and assigned to it a situation forty miles westward of that mentioned by his predecessor.\* He now stood for the other island, and sent out the boats, which sailed along the beach until dark ; but, though they procured some water and cocoa-nuts, they returned to the ship without finding safe ground. Next morning, they were again despatched with instructions to effect a regular landing ; which they no sooner did than all the inhabitants embarked, and sailed away to the westward. This island, where Wallis remained two days longer, he named after Queen Charlotte. It is estimated by him to be about six miles long and one broad, and is said to abound in cocoa-nut trees ; but these appear to have been completely eradicated since the time of his visit.†

Egmont  
Islands.

Having directed his course to the westward, on the afternoon of the same day, which was the 10th June, he discovered another island, on which he found congregated the savages who had fled from Queen Charlotte's, along with some others, amounting in all to about four-score. The men were armed with pikes and firebrands, and advanced before the women and children, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. This island, which seems to have been selected as a place of retreat, for which its inaccessible shores rendered it well adapted, Captain Wallis denominated Egmont, in honour of the earl of that name, the first lord of the Admiralty.‡ The next morning, another island was

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\* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, in the Years 1825-26-27-28, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions. By Capt. F. W. Beechey. 2 vols 8vo. London, 1831, vol. i. p. 205. Wallis placed it in latitude  $19^{\circ} 26' S.$ , longitude  $137^{\circ} 56' W.$  Captain Beechey makes its latitude  $19^{\circ} 23' 58'' S.$ , and its longitude  $138^{\circ} 36' 48'' W.$

† Beechey, vol. i. p. 207. No cause has been assigned for this singular change.

‡ The latitude assigned by Wallis is  $19^{\circ} 20' S.$ , the longitude  $133^{\circ} 30' W.$  Captain Beechey's tables give the latitude of the north and south-west extremities, the former  $19^{\circ} 22' 59'' S.$ , the

seen, resembling the one just described in all respects except in breadth; but a high sea which broke on its rocky beach rendered landing impossible. Sixteen natives were observed, armed like the others. It was called Gloucester; and later navigators, while they assign to it a different position, bear testimony to the accuracy of his description, though its present form and extent are said to differ materially. On the 12th, an island was observed, which was denominated Cumberland; while the name of Prince William Henry was bestowed on a small low one descried at a distance on the daybreak of the 13th. The variety of longitudes assigned to these places has led succeeding observers to claim them as new discoveries; and, exercising the privilege of a first visiter, the French officer Duperrey seems to have conferred on Prince William Henry's the new title of L'Ostange.\* On the 17th, land was seen in the north-west: it was high, and covered with cocoa-trees; but as no anchorage could be found, Wallis, after procuring a few articles of refreshment, pursued his course, bestowing on the country the title of Osnaburg, — a name which has since given place to the native appellation of Maitea.

CHAP. VI.  
Gloucester  
Island.

Repeated  
claims to  
discovery.

Maitea  
Island.

Discovery of  
Otaheite.

In about half an hour after, very lofty ground was discerned to the west-south-west; but though the ship was immediately steered toward it, owing to adverse weather, she did not reach it that night. The next morning, which broke clear and fair, showed it at the distance of five leagues. At eight o'clock, they were close under it, when a thick fog obliged them to lie to, and for a time concealed from them the shores of Otaheite. At length the mists rolled away, and they saw before them a country of "the most delightful and romantic appearance that could be imagined;" along the

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latter  $19^{\circ} 24' 26''$ , the longitude of the same spots  $139^{\circ} 12' 03''$  W., and  $139^{\circ} 14' 34''$ . Captain Beechey calls this "the second discovery of Captain Wallis," vol. i. p. 210, apparently forgetting Queen Charlotte's Island.

\* Beechey, vol. i. pp. 249, 250.

## CHAP. VI.

Beauty and  
fertility of  
the island.

coast extended fertile plains covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, and embosomed among these were seen the houses of the natives; the interior rose into towering mountains crowned with wood, and large rivers were seen falling from the rocks in picturesque cascades. Around the ship, the water was studded with some hundreds of canoes of various sizes, containing about 800 individuals, who sat gazing at her in great astonishment, and by turns conversed one with another. Their wonder was excited by other circumstances besides the vast bulk and strange construction of the Dolphin; they beheld the fulfilment of a prophecy, which had been handed down to them from remote times, but was of a nature so incredible, that they scarcely expected it would ever come to pass. One of their sages, named Maui, had in an inspired moment foretold, that "in future ages a *vaa ama ore*, literally, an outriggerless canoe," would come to their shores from a distant land. An outrigger being indispensable to keep their barks upright in the water, they could not believe that a vessel without one could live at sea, until, on looking on the magnificent structure before them, they unanimously declared that the prediction of Maui was fulfilled, and that the fated ship had arrived.\*

Fulfilment of  
a native pro-  
phesy.

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\* Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands. By William Ellis. 2d edition, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 383. Mr Ellis' account of the native traditions regarding the arrival of Wallis is hardly reconcileable with facts. He says, that when the people first saw the ships, they were induced to suppose them "islands inhabited by a supernatural order of beings, at whose direction lightnings flashed, thunders roared, and the destroying demon slew with instantaneous but invisible strokes the most daring and valiant of their warriors. *But when they afterwards went alongside, or ventured on board,*" &c., they discovered them to be ships, and "*were confirmed in this interpretation when they saw the small boats belonging to the ships employed in passing to and fro between the vessel and the shore.*"—Vol. i. p. 384. But in point of fact, the natives came alongside, ventured on board, and became familiar with the boats, *before* they knew any thing of the "lightning-flash and thunder-roar," or the deadly effects of fire-arms. There are one or two smaller inaccuracies in Mr Ellis' valuable work with regard to the early visitors. He

After having consulted together for some time, they paddled their canoes round the vessel, making various signs of friendship, and a person, holding in his hand a branch of the plantain-tree, spoke about fifteen minutes, and concluded by throwing the bough into the sea. Soon after, one was prevailed on to come on board, but would not accept the presents offered to him until some of his companions, after "much talk," threw a few similar twigs on the deck. Several of the others soon imitated his example. One of them was attacked by a goat, which butted at him, and, on turning hastily round, the appearance of an animal so new to him, raised on its hind legs preparing to repeat the blow, struck him with such terror that he instantly leapt into the water, and was followed by all his countrymen. In a brief space, however, they again ventured on deck, and were presented with trinkets and nails; their visit being terminated by one of them snatching a new laced hat from a midshipman's head, and springing with his plunder over the ship's side.

CHAP. VI.  
Friendly  
advances of  
the natives.

Alarm at a  
goat.

No anchorage being found here, Wallis stood along the shore, the boats keeping close to the land to sound. In the afternoon, they reached a large bay, where a great number of canoes came around them; and the captain, suspecting their hostile intentions, made a signal for his people to join, while, to intimidate the savages, he fired a nine-pounder over their heads. Though startled by the report, they endeavoured to cut off the boats, and made an attack with stones, which wounded several seamen, when a musket was fired at

Hostile pro-  
ceedings of  
the natives.

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seems almost to have forgotten that Wallis was expressly sent out to prosecute the discovery of new lands; for he attributes the arrival at Otaheite to "accident, so far as Captain Wallis was concerned."—Vol. ii. p. 1. The result of a concerted expedition can scarcely be called "accident;" nor can we see the distinction on which the discoveries of Cook are attributed to a desire for "the advancement of knowledge," and those of Wallis ascribed to chance. The discovery of *Sagitaria* by Quiros occurred in the beginning of the *seventeenth*, not "*towards the end of the sixteenth century*," as stated by Mr Ellis, vol. i. p. 6.



CHAP. VI.  
Alarm at  
fire-arms.

Anchorage  
of the  
Dolphin.

Renewed  
attack by the  
natives.

the man who had commenced the assault. The shot pierced his shoulder, and as soon as the wound was perceived by his companions, they leapt into the sea ; while the others paddled away in great terror and confusion. Not long after, a canoe came off to the ship, and one of the natives having spoken about five minutes, threw a branch of the plantain-tree on board,—a token of peace which the English accepted, and gave him some trinkets, with which he departed apparently well pleased. Next morning, the search for anchoring-ground was renewed, and continued during all that day ; in the evening, the Dolphin lay to abreast of a fine river, and a great number of lights were observed along the shore throughout the night. At dawn, anchorage was obtained ; and as soon as the vessel was secured, the boats were sent out to examine the coast and seek for a watering-place. When they approached the land, the canoes which were engaged in traffic with the crew sailed after them, and three of the largest ran at the cutter and staved in her quarter, while the islanders made themselves ready to board her. The party fired, and two of the natives fell into the sea ; on which the attack was instantly abandoned. Their companions pulled the men who had fallen overboard from the water and set them on their feet ; finding they could not stand, it was tried if they could sit upright ; one of them, who was only wounded, was able when supported to retain this posture ; but the other, who was dead, they laid in the bottom of the canoe. Notwithstanding this affray, some of them speedily resumed their traffic, and an amicable intercourse was maintained during the time the Dolphin lay there. The men despatched to procure water, found the beach lined with inhabitants, who endeavoured to entice them on shore by every expedient they could devise ; but, unwilling to trust those whose hostile dispositions they had so lately experienced, landing was postponed until the ship should be moored so as to cover them with her guns.

At daybreak on the 23d June, while standing off to

effect this object, a bay six or eight miles to leeward was discovered from the mast-head, and Wallis immediately bore away for it. As he stood in to this harbour, the Dolphin suddenly struck on a coral reef; but after beating against it about an hour, a fresh breeze springing up, she swung off, and shortly after came to an anchor within it. The next morning they proceeded to warp the ship farther in, when a great number of people came off and engaged in traffic, by which hogs, fowls, and fruit, were exchanged for knives, nails, and beads. As the day advanced, the canoes gradually increased; and the captain observed with some anxiety the appearance of those which last arrived. They were double, and of a very large size, containing little else but round pebble-stones, and each was manned by twelve or fifteen stout fellows. From these circumstances, it was judged prudent to keep one of the watches constantly under arms, while the rest of the crew were engaged in warping the ship. Meanwhile more of the small craft continued to arrive; although those which now moved from the shore presented any thing but a warlike aspect. They were filled with females, who tried every art to attract the attention of the sailors: while the double canoes were closing round the Dolphin, some of the savages on board of them sung in a hoarse voice, others sounded the conch, and a third party played on an instrument resembling a flute. One, who sat on a canopy fixed on his small boat, now came alongside and handed up a bunch of red and yellow feathers. Wallis received this with expressions of friendship, and was preparing to present the donor with some trinkets in return, when the latter, having paddled off to a little distance, threw into the air a branch of a cocoa-nut-tree. At this signal a universal shout burst from the islanders; all their canoes at once moved towards the man-of-war; and a shower of stones was poured into her from all directions. The watch were instantly ordered to fire, and two of the quarter-deck swivels loaded with small shot were discharged nearly at the same time. The

CHAP. VI.

Dangerous  
coral reef.Traffic with  
the natives.Hostile de-  
monstrations.

CHAP. VI. natives appeared to be thrown into confusion, but in a few minutes renewed the attack. At this time there were about 300 of their vessels round the ship, with at least 2000 men on board; many thousands were observed crowding the shore; and others were paddling towards the Dolphin in the greatest haste from all sides. The crew having now got to their quarters, a fire was opened from the great guns, which soon put to flight those near the ship, and also checked the embarkation of more warriors from the land. The savages, however, were not dispirited; the firing having ceased, the canoes soon gathered together and lay for some time looking at their antagonist from the distance of about a quarter of a mile. Suddenly they were observed to hoist white streamers; they then paddled towards the stern, and began a discharge of stones, each about two pounds in weight, and slung with such force and an aim so true that many of the seamen were wounded. Several canoes, at the same time, were making towards the bow, and among these was one which appeared to have a chief on board. Two cannon were now run out abaft and pointed at the assailants in that quarter, while others were run forward and fired from the stem. A shot from one of these struck the vessel which contained the supposed leader, and cut it asunder; which was no sooner perceived than the others dispersed with such haste that in half an hour there was not a single canoe in sight. The people who lined the shore were observed running over the hills in great precipitation, and no farther token of hostility appearing, the English proceeded to moor the ship and to sound the bay.

Fleet of  
native  
vessels.

Violent  
assault on  
the ship.

Taking pos-  
session of the  
island.

About noon of the succeeding day, it was ascertained that the beach afforded good landing in every part; no canoes were visible, and Lieutenant Furneaux was ordered to go ashore. This was effected without opposition; and having erected a pole, on which he hoisted a pendant, and turned a turf, he took possession of the country by the name of King George the Third's Island, —a title which has been superseded by the indigenus

appellation of Otaheite, or, as it is now sometimes written, Tahiti.\* Two old men were discovered on the opposite side of a river which flowed into the bay, and signs having been made that they should come over, one of them complied and advanced towards the lieutenant on his hands and knees. He was presented with some trinkets, and as soon as the boats put off he began to caper round the flag, and threw down some green boughs before it. He was afterwards joined by ten or twelve others, who brought with them two large hogs, which they deposited at the foot of the pole, and, after a pause, began to dance. The quadrupeds were then put on board a canoe, into which the old man accompanied them; and, coming alongside of the ship, he made a formal oration and presented some plantain-leaves, one by one, each accompanied by a few words slowly and solemnly spoken. He concluded by offering the two hogs, for which he would accept nothing in return, but eagerly pointed to the land.

CHAP. VI.  
Name of the  
new discovery.

Renewal of  
friendly demonstrations.

During the night, innumerable lights were seen along the coast, and the sound of drums, conchse, and other instruments, was heard; and, when the morning of the 26th broke, the pendant was found to have been carried away. The lieutenant again landed, and while he was engaged in filling the water-casks, the old man appeared with some fruits and a few fowls. At this time Captain Wallis, who was confined to the ship by ill health, observed through his glass a multitude of the savages

The British  
pendant  
carried away.

\* The latter spelling is said by Mr Ellis to approximate more nearly to the native pronunciation; but, from a feeling (which we share with Captain Beechey and others) of "veneration for the name as it is written in the celebrated Voyages of Cook," we shall adhere to his orthography. The name Tahiti is, besides, in itself objectionable. "By the natives," says Mr Ellis, "their island is called Ta-hi-ti. The *i* having the sound of *e* in their language, it is pronounced as if written in English Ta-he-te."—Vol. i. p. 7. If *Otaheite* is to be set aside, because not consonant with the native pronunciation, why should *Tahiti* be retained when liable to the same objection? Even on Mr Ellis' own showing and principles, *Tahiti* should in turn give way to *Tahete*.



## CHAP. VI.

Numerous  
muster of  
natives.

coming over a hill at about the distance of a mile ; a great number of canoes were seen making towards the watering-place from behind the two points of the bay ; many thousands of the natives were perceived advancing through the woods in the same direction ; and a large party was discovered creeping behind the bushes close to the waterers. A boat was instantly despatched to warn them of their danger ; but before it reached the shore they had seen the islanders lurking in the thicket and had embarked. The bay now exhibited a spectacle of singular interest. The canoes from both sides advanced rapidly towards the same point, and, as they came near, stopped to take on board more warriors and great bags of stones. The margin of the beach was thronged with people all hastening to the river, and a hill which looked down on the harbour was crowded with women and children, who had seated themselves to view the approaching conflict.

Reassem-  
bling of the  
native fleet.

Dispersion  
of the whole  
fleet.

At length the preparations of the native armament were completed, and the whole flotilla made towards the Dolphin, which immediately opened a destructive fire. The rude armada was almost instantly dispersed ; the canoes on the east side of the bay paddled round the point, and were soon beyond the reach of shot ; while those on the west side were run on shore, and deserted by their crews. The fire was now directed into different parts of the wood, and the savages, driven from this shelter, ran up the eminence on which the women and children had taken their position. The hill was thronged with several thousand people, who considered themselves beyond the reach of danger, when, to impress on them the tremendous power of his artillery, Wallis ordered some of the guns to be fired at this vast multitude. Two of the balls struck the ground near a tree where a great number were sitting in fancied security, and created such a consternation "that in less than two minutes not one of them was to be seen." To complete his victory, he sent the carpenters to destroy

Consterna-  
tion of the  
natives.

all the canoes which had been run aground. More than fifty, some of them sixty feet in length, were demolished in a few hours. CHAP. VI  
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These severe measures at length produced the desired effect; the islanders were now completely dispirited, and submitted to keep peace with those strangers, whose terrible superiority made war hopeless. A few hours after the battle, about ten of them issued from the wood bearing green boughs, which they stuck up on the shore, and deposited beside them some hogs, dogs, and bundles of cloth. This peace-offering was accepted, and returned by a present of hatchets, nails, and some other articles; and, from this time, a friendly feeling was displayed in all their transactions. The Islanders  
dispirited.

The next day, the 27th June, the sick were landed, and a tent erected for their residence. A traffic was commenced for provisions, and continued to be carried on amicably, chiefly through the medium of the old man on behalf of the islanders, and the gunner on the part of the English. Iron was the object which the natives prized most highly, and for a small portion of it they willingly parted with every thing they had. "To discover what present would most gratify them," says Wallis, "I laid down before them a Johannes, a guinea, a crown-piece, a Spanish dollar, a few shillings, some new halfpence, and two large nails, making signs that they should take what they liked best. The nails were first seized with great eagerness, and then a few of the halfpence, but the silver and gold lay neglected."\* No event of importance occurred until the 11th July, when the gunner conducted on board a tall woman, apparently about forty-five years of age, and, says the captain, "of a pleasing countenance and majestic deportment." She displayed a freedom and ease of carriage which appeared to have been formed by habitual command; while she accepted the presents which were given her with a very good grace. Understanding that the commander had Landing the  
sick.

Native value  
of iron.

Visit of the  
Queen.

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\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 240.

CHAP. VI.  
Her residence.

been ill, she made signs inviting him to land. The gunner conducted her ashore, and, on his return, reported that her house was spacious, and furnished with many domestics and guards, and that another mansion which she possessed "was enclosed in lattice-work."

Visit by Wallis to the Queen.

The next morning, Wallis landed for the first time, and "my princess, or rather queen," says he, "for such by her authority she appeared to be, soon after came to me." She ordered her attendants to take him, and two of the officers who had been sick, in their arms and carry them to her house; and when they approached it they were met by numbers of both sexes, whom she presented to the captain as her relations, and taking hold of his hand she made them kiss it.\* They were then ushered into the dwelling, which was large and commodious, and on the invalids being seated their arms and legs were gently chafed by young girls. During this operation, the surgeon, heated by his walk, took off his wig to cool himself; "a sudden exclamation of one of the Indians who saw it, drew the attention of the rest, and in a moment every eye was fixed upon the prodigy, and every operation was suspended; the whole assembly stood some time motionless in silent astonishment, which could not have been more strongly expressed if they had discovered that our friend's limbs had been screwed on to the trunk."† When the chafing was finished, their hospitable entertainer ordered bales of cloth to be brought, with which she dressed them after the native fashion. On their departure she accompanied them to the boats; and Wallis having declined the honour of being again carried, the supposed queen, says he, "took

Attention to the invalids.

Presents of native cloth.

\* An engraving of this scene inserted in Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 242, is entitled "A Representation of the Surrender of the Island of Otaheite to Captain Wallis, by the supposed Queen, Obe-rea."—Description of the Cuts, p. xxxvi. It seems difficult to account for the origin of this strange title; there is certainly nothing even hinted at in the text of such a "surrender," nor had this imaginary queen the power of giving away what was not her own.

† Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 243.

me by the arm, and whenever we came to a splash of water or dirt, she lifted me over with as little trouble as it would have cost me to have lifted over a child.”

CHAP. VI.  
Native feast.

The next morning a present was sent to her of some hatchets, bill-hooks, and other things, and the gunner, who convoyed them, found her conducting an entertainment given to about 1000 people. She distributed the viands to the guests with her own hands, and when this was done, seated herself on a place elevated above the rest, and was fed by two female servants.

On the 14th, the same officer observed an old woman on the opposite side of the river weeping bitterly. A young man who stood by her crossed, and, coming to the Englishman, made a long speech, and laid a plantain-bough at his feet. He then repassed the stream to bring over his aged friend and two large hogs. “The woman,” says the captain, “looked round upon our people with great attention, fixing her eyes sometimes upon one, and sometimes upon another, and at last burst into tears. The young man who brought her over the river, perceiving the gunner’s concern and astonishment, made another speech longer than the first. Still, however, the woman’s distress was a mystery; but at length she made him understand that her husband and three of her sons had been killed in the attack on the ship. During this explanation she was so affected that at last she sunk down unable to speak, and the two young men, who endeavoured to support her, appeared to be nearly in the same condition; they were probably two more of her sons, or some very near relations. The gunner did all in his power to sooth and comfort her; and when she had in some measure recovered her recollection, she ordered the two hogs to be delivered to him, and gave him her hand in token of friendship, but would accept nothing in return, though he offered her ten times as much as would have purchased the hogs at market.” \*

Singular  
visit of an old  
woman.

Present of  
Hogs.

\* Hawkesworth’s Coll., vol. i. pp. 244, 245.



CHAP. VI.  
 Present from  
 the Queen.

On the 21st July, the queen again came on board, and brought several hogs as a present, for which, as usual, she would accept no recompense. On her departure, the captain accompanied her on shore, where he was very kindly treated, and remained during the day. As he was parting in the evening, he intimated that he would leave the island in seven days, which she instantly comprehended, and expressed a desire that he would extend them to twenty. "I again," says the commander, "made signs that I must go in seven days, upon which she burst into tears, and it was not without great difficulty that she was pacified."

Exploring  
 expedition.

On the morning of the 25th, a party, consisting of forty seamen and all the marines, was sent out to explore the interior of the island. The instructions given to them would almost lead us to think that the expedition had been fitted out with the expectation of discovering regions abounding in gold and silver: They were directed to "examine the soil and produce of the country, noting the trees and plants which they should find, and when they saw any stream from the mountains, to trace it to its source, and observe whether it was tinctured with any mineral or ore." While they were absent an eclipse of the sun was observed, and the queen was shown the powers of the telescope, which excited in her "a mixture of wonder and delight which no language can describe." With a view to the security of the party, Wallis invited her and several of the chiefs on board, to partake of a dinner which was prepared for the occasion; but her majesty would neither eat nor drink. In the evening the men returned, and reported that they had "proceeded up the valley as far as they could, searching all the runs of water, and all the places where water had run, for appearances of metal or ore," but had found none. Shortly after, the great lady and her attendants departed, and on leaving, asked her host if he still persisted in quitting the island at the time he had fixed; "and when," says he, "I made her understand that it was impossible I should stay longer, she

Eclipse of  
 the sun.

Attention of  
 the Queen.

expressed her regret by a flood of tears, which for a while took away her speech." \* CHAP. VI.

The next day, the ship being completely supplied with wood and water, preparations were made for sailing. The island princess came on board with presents, and renewed her solicitations that Wallis would remain ten days longer, and on receiving a negative, burst as usual into tears. She then inquired when he would return, and on his intimating in fifty days, she tried to reduce the period to thirty. She remained in the Dolphin till night, and when told that the boat was ready to conduct her on shore, she threw herself down on the arm-chest, and wept very passionately; and it was with the greatest difficulty that she was prevailed on to quit the vessel. The next morning, that of the 27th July, she again came to see her friends, "but not being able to speak, she sat down and gave vent to her passion by weeping;" and it was not until they were under sail that she took her departure, "embracing us all," says the narrator, "in the most affectionate manner, and with many tears." Soon after, the ship was becalmed, when the queen again came off in her canoe, in the bow of which "she sat weeping with inconsolable sorrow." The captain gave her various articles which he thought would be of use to her, and others that were merely ornamental; and, as he remarks, "she silently accepted of all, but took little notice of any thing." About ten o'clock, a fresh breeze springing up, the ship cleared the reef, when the natives, and particularly the queen, once more bade them farewell, "with such tenderness of affection and grief," says the navigator, "as filled both my heart and my eyes."† To the harbour in which

Preparation  
for departure.

Passionate  
excitement  
of the Queen.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 251.

† Ibid. p. 259. The account of his interview with this lady has exposed Wallis to a good deal of ridicule. Mr Barrow (Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, London, 1831, p. 16) remarks,—“The tender passion had certainly caught hold of one or both of these worthies, and if her majesty's language had been as well understood by Captain Wallis as that of Dido

CHAP. VI. he had moored he gave the name of Port-Royal ; but it  
 Matavai Bay. is better known by the native designation of Matavai Bay.

Island of Eimeo.

He now sailed along the shores of the neighbouring island of Eimeo, which he named after the Duke of York, and on the next morning discovered the one which he dedicated to Sir Charles Saunders, though the native appellation seems to be Tabuaemanu.\* Another, about ten miles long and four broad, called after Lord Howe, was the next discovery ; while a dangerous group of shoals was denominated the Scilly. The ship's course was continued westward until she made the Traitors and Cocos Islands of Schouten and Le Maire, which the captain designated Keppel and Boscawen.

Crazy state of the Dolphin.

The crazy state of the Dolphin now determined him to return to Europe by the west, instead of braving again the stormy climate of Cape Horn or the Straits. He accordingly shaped his course for the Ladrões, and arrived at Tinian on the 19th of September, having discovered on the way two small islands enclosed within a coral reef, which his officers, in honour of him, called

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was to Æneas, when pressing him to stay with her, there is no doubt it would have been found not less pathetic,—

“ Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam  
 Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido ? ”

Nor could my kindness your compassion move,  
 Nor plighted vows, nor dearer bands of love ?  
 Or is the death of a despairing queen  
 Not worth preventing, though too well foreseen ?—DRYDEN.

Dalrymple has characterized Captain Wallis as “ him who left the arms of a Calypso to amuse the European world with stories of enchantments in the New Cytherea, mistaking the example of Ulysses, who never wished to return home till he had achieved that for which he went abroad.” But it should be kept in view, that the narrative, though it runs in Wallis' name, was in reality the composition of another ; and that the blunt and unsuspecting seaman may not have been very likely to discover the ridiculous colouring which the account was made to assume.

\* This is the name by which Mr Ellis usually calls Sir Charles Saunders' Island ; but he also uses that of “ Maioiti.”—Vol. i. p. 8.

Wallis.\* At Tinian he remained about a month, when he set sail for Batavia; in his passage to which he encountered many tempestuous gales. "While one of these blasts was blowing with all its violence, and the darkness was so thick that we could not see from one part of the ship to the other, we suddenly discovered by a flash of lightning a large vessel close aboard of us. The steersman instantly put the helm a-lee, and the ship answering her rudder, we just cleared each other. This was the first ship we had seen since we parted with the Swallow."

CHAP. VI

Wallis  
Islands.Providential  
escape.

The remainder of this voyage was marked by no incident of any interest. The Dolphin anchored in the Downs on the 20th of May 1768, just 637 days from the time she had spread her sails in Plymouth Sound.

The separation of Wallis and Carteret at the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, however much regretted by the commanders at the time, cannot now be regarded as otherwise than fortunate. Had the vessels kept company, the knowledge of Otaheite and of a few small islands would, in all probability, have been the only acquisition; but while the one was exploring its coasts, the other, by pursuing a track more to the southward, made discoveries of equal importance, and brought back to Europe tidings of the long-lost lands of Quiros and Mendana, as well as of a strait betwixt New Britain and New Ireland.

Results of the  
separation  
of Wallis and  
Carteret.

As was formerly noticed, it was on the 11th April 1767, when the vessels had just come in sight of the South Sea, that the Dolphin caught a favourable breeze, before which she stood away and soon cleared Cape Pilaes, leaving the Swallow in the narrows, where she

Parting of  
their vessels.

\* This discovery is spoken of in the text as consisting of only one island, while the accompanying chart shows two. It were certainly to be wished that there had been no discrepancy; but we have the authority of Hawkesworth for following the latter. "Great care," says he, "has been taken to make the charts and the nautical part of the narrative coincide; if there should be any difference, which it is hoped will not be the case, the charts are to be confided in as of unquestionable authority."—General Introd. p. viii.



CHAP. VI.  
—  
Insufficient  
supplies.

Course of  
Captain  
Carteret.

Pitcairn's  
Island.

Peopled by  
the muti-  
neers of the  
Bounty.

remained four days. Captain Carteret ascribes much of his detention to the crazy state of his ship and the want of proper supplies,—a subject to which he frequently recurs during his voyage.

On leaving the Straits, he stood to the north for the island of Mas-afuera, where he stopped some time to procure a supply of water. He then sailed to the westward, and searched, though in vain, for the islands of San Felix, and for Davis' Land or Easter Island. His first discovery was that of a spot the romantic history of which has attracted in later times so much attention. On the 2d of July, he descried land, which on a nearer approach appeared "like a great rock rising out of the sea:" its circumference is described as not exceeding five\* miles; and it is added, that it was covered with trees, but without any appearance of inhabitants. The surf, which broke with great violence on every side of it, forbade landing, and in honour of the young gentleman to whose eye it first appeared, it was called Pitcairn's Island. It was a perusal of Carteret's description of this spot that led Christian and the mutineers of the *Bounty* to seek in it a retreat from the vengeance due to their guilt.† It was well adapted for their purpose; approach was difficult; it seemed to be uninhabited, afforded fresh water, and the trees with which it was covered showed it to be fertile. They found in it, indeed, every thing which they desired from external nature, and had no hinderance to their hopes of happiness but in their own evil passions, which in a short time brought down upon them punishments as deadly as those they sought to fly from, and stained this fair isle with crimes as dark as ever tragedy recorded. Pitcairn's Island has been supposed to be the *La Encarnacion* of Quiros; but the description which that navigator gives,—“low and flat, with a

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\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 341. By the accompanying chart the circumference appears to be about *nine* miles.

† Beechey, vol. i. p. 80.

sandy surface, here and there diversified by a few trees,"\*—is quite inconsistent with the hilly land, the summits of which Beechey found to be 1109 feet above the sea. Captain Cook's conjecture, that it is identical with Quiros' second discovery,—the island of San Juan Bautista,—seems also untenable. This last is described as "plain and even a-top," and as containing about twelve leagues; circumstances which are by no means applicable to the other.† Mr Barrow remarks, that "we must look for La Encarnacion somewhere else; and Ducies Island, in that vicinity, very low, and within 5° of longitude from Pitcairn's Island, answers precisely to it."‡

CHAP. VI.

Supposed  
agreement  
with former  
discoveries.

About six days after his departure hence, Carteret discovered southward of his track a small, low, flat island, almost level with the water's edge, and covered with green trees. He bestowed on it the name of the Bishop of Osnaburg, and, according to his calculation, its latitude was 22° south, its longitude 141° 34' west. Captain Beechey searched in this neighbourhood two days, but was unable to find it; and he therefore imagines it to be identical with one on which he discovered the marks of a shipwreck, supposed to be that of the Matilda whaler, lost near this in 1792. This he proposes should be called Osnaburg and Matilda Island. We are reluctant to dissent from so able a navigator as the gallant captain; but his theory appears irreconcilable with the facts. Carteret speaks of Osnaburg Island as "small, low, and flat, and covered with green trees;"§ and, as Captain Beechey himself remarks, the crew of the Matilda "describe themselves to have been

Osnaburg  
Island.

Wreck of the  
Matilda  
Whaler.

\* See above, p. 94.

† A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, 1772-1775, vol. i., General Introduction, p. xii. Captain Cook has been led into an error from a misinterpretation of the Spanish text, the meaning of which seems certainly rather ambiguous. But, however it may be construed, the "level top," on which all are agreed, makes it inapplicable to Pitcairn's Island.

‡ Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 288, note.

§ Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 342.

CHAP. VI.  
 —  
 Discrepan-  
 cies in  
 various  
 accounts.

lost *on a reef of rocks*; whereas the island on which these anchors are lying extends *fourteen miles* in length, and has one of its sides covered nearly the whole of the way with high trees, which, from the spot where the vessel was wrecked, are very conspicuous, and could not fail to be seen by persons in the situation of her crew.\* In attempting to remove this striking discrepancy by the hypothesis "that a considerable alteration has taken place in the island," he must have forgotten, that if this be Osnaburg, it was "small" and covered with trees in 1767, the date of its discovery. How improbable is it that it should have been wooded then, have become a bare reef of rocks in 1792, and again bear trees, and extend "fourteen miles in length," in 1826!

Gloucester  
 Islands.

The next day, Carteret saw two small islands, which he called after the Duke of Gloucester; they were replenished with wood, but apparently uninhabited, and the long billows rolling from the southward convinced him that there existed no continent in that direction. He continued his course to the westward, until he had sailed, according to his reckoning, 1800 leagues from the shores of America; when, finding his endeavours to keep in a high southern latitude ineffectual, and his crew in a sickly condition, he determined to approach the equator, to get into the trade-wind. His object was to reach some island where he might procure refreshment; after which he hoped to be able to resume his voyage towards the south.

Search for  
 the islands of  
 Solomon.

On the 26th of July, he was in latitude  $10^{\circ}$  south, and longitude  $167^{\circ}$  west, where he expected to fall in with the Islands of Solomon, and for that purpose kept in the same parallel until the 3d of August, when, having attained the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 18'$  south, and longitude of  $177\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east, "five degrees to the westward of the situation of these islands in the charts," he came to the conclusion, "that if there are any such islands their

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\* Beechey, vol. i p. 217.

situation is erroneously laid down." Had the constructors of these maps examined the original authorities, they would have scarcely ventured to assign any certain position to these islands. The latitude in which the ancient writers place them varies from 7° to 19° south, and the longitude from 2400 miles to 7500 miles west of Peru; and so imperfectly was their situation ascertained, that even their discoverer was baffled in an attempt to revisit their shores.\*

CHAP. VI.  
Indefinite-  
ness of  
former  
discoverers.

At daybreak on the 12th of August, land was seen, and so distressed were the crew that, says the captain, "the sudden transport of hope and joy which this inspired, can, perhaps, be equalled only by that which a criminal feels who hears the cry of a reprieve at the place of execution." It proved to be a cluster of islands, of which seven were counted, but there was reason to believe that there were many more. In the evening, the ship anchored off the largest, and the natives were discovered to be black, woolly headed, and naked. The next morning, the master was despatched in the cutter to explore the coast for a watering-place; and the long-boat was sent on shore in the afternoon to endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. These, however, either disregarded or did not understand the amicable signs made to them, but resolutely advanced within bowshot of the boats, when they discharged their arrows, and instantly fled into the woods. No harm was sustained by this attack, which was returned with a fire of musketry equally unsuccessful. Shortly after, the cutter came alongside, with the master mortally wounded by three arrows which were still sticking in his body, and three of the seamen in the same condition. The savages, it appeared, had at first received them with marks of friendship, and only commenced an attack on the master when they saw him wantonly cutting down one of their cocoa-nut trees.

Delight of  
the crew at  
sight of land.

Attack of the  
natives.

\* See above, pp. 80, 82; and Dalrymple's Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 44-46.



## CHAP. VI.

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Determined  
hostility of  
the natives.

The next, and several succeeding days, were spent in obtaining a small supply of water ; but such was the determined hostility of the people that the party were obliged to keep within shelter of the guns. There was no hope of obtaining the refreshments required, and on the 17th, therefore, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel proceeded to coast the northern side of the island. It appeared to be very populous, and numerous villages were observed, from some of which the inhabitants came out as the ship passed by, "holding something in their hands, which looked like a wisp of green grass, with which they seemed to stroke each other, at the same time dancing or running in a ring."\*

Queen  
Charlotte  
Islands.

On arriving at the west end of the island, the sickly condition of his crew, his own bad health, the frail state of his ship, and other considerations, determined Carteret immediately to stand to the north, abandoning all thoughts of southern discovery, or of more closely examining the interesting group which he had reached. To the whole cluster he gave the general appellation of Queen Charlotte, and distinguished seven of them by individual titles. The largest was called Egmont or New Guernsey,—and, says he, "it certainly is the same to which the Spaniards have given the name of Santa Cruz ;"—the native term seems to be Andany or Nitendy. One which exhibited volcanic appearances, and seems to have been remarked by Mendana,† was designated Vulcano. The most northerly of the group was named Swallow or Keppel.‡ Three to the south and

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\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 359.

† See above, p. 81. The identity of Queen Charlotte's Islands with the archipelago of Santa Cruz, discovered by Mendana in 1595, was triumphantly established by M. le Comte de Fleurieu in a work entitled "Découvertes des Français dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée. Paris, 1790," 4to. This volume is distinguished by the most laborious research, singular acuteness, and critical discrimination. An English translation appeared at London in 1791.

‡ In the chart, this island is called Swallow—in the text, Keppel. M. Balbi (*Abrégé de Géographie*, Paris, 1833, p. 1267) conjectures it to be identical with what he calls "le groupe de Fi-

east of Egmont were called respectively, Lord Howe's or New Jersey, Lord Edgecumbe's or New Sark, and Ourry or New Alderney; and the name of Trevanion was bestowed on a small one at the north-west corner of Santa Cruz. The two islands of Edgecumbe and Ourry, modern geographers represent as only one, bearing the appellation of Toboua. It has been proposed by French writers to withdraw the name of Queen Charlotte, as applied to this cluster, and to substitute the "Archipelago of La Perouse," in honour of that unfortunate navigator, who perished on one of them, as we shall hereafter have occasion to narrate.

CHAP. VI.  
Names given  
to the  
different  
islands.

On leaving this group, Carteret held a west-north-west course, and on the evening of the second day, discovered a small, flat, and low island, which he called Gower's. The inhabitants resembled those of Egmont; no anchorage was found, and during the night the current drifted his ship to the southward, and brought him in sight of two other islands. The smaller of these was denominated Simpson's; and to the other, which was lofty and of a stately appearance, the captain gave his own name, which he seems to have been rather fond of linking to his discoveries, as his voyage presents us with Carteret's Island, Carteret's Point, and Carteret's Harbour. The inhabitants were quite naked; their arms were bows and arrows, and spears pointed with flint, and, says the gallant author, "by some signs which they made, pointing to our muskets, we imagined they were not wholly unacquainted with fire-arms." This knowledge they most probably received from a traditional account of the visit of Mendana, about two centuries previous; for it is completely established that these islands are part of the archipelago which bears the name of Solomon. Gower's, for example, is identified with the Nombre de Jesus of the Spaniards, and with

Gower's,  
Simpson's  
and Carteret's  
Islands  
discovered.

Native traditions of  
fire-arms.

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loli;" but as he mentions this as "composé de huit îlots," and Carteret describes Swallow Island as "a long flat island," his theory does not seem to be enable.

CHAP. VI. the Inattendue of the French navigator Surville; and Carteret's is supposed to be the Malaita of Mendana.\*

Carteret's  
nine islands.

He now changed his course to the north-west, and on the 24th discovered nine islands, which he imagined to be the Ontong Java of Tasman,—an hypothesis which has not been adopted by all modern geographers, some of whom assign this to Carteret as an original discovery. M. d'Urville considers a group lately made known by the American captain, Morrell, and named by him the Massacre, to be identical with Carteret's Nine Islands.† On that same night another was seen, and called after Sir Charles Hardy; it was of considerable extent, flat, green, and of a pleasant appearance, and numerous fires which blazed upon its shores showed it to be well peopled. It is supposed to belong to the Green Islands visited by Schouten and Le Maire.‡ At daybreak of the 25th, they saw one to the southward, large and high, which was named Winchelsea's or Anson's,§ and about ten o'clock next morning, they descried another to the northward, which was conjectured to be the St John's Island of Schouten. Soon after, the elevated land of New Britain was visible, and light winds and a strong current bore the Swallow next day into the gulf which Dampier had named St George's Bay. Here Carteret anchored, and remained several days for the purposes of refreshment; during which time he visited some small islands and harbours, and took possession of the whole country, "for his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain."

Anchoring in  
St. George's  
Bay, New  
Britain

While attempting to get off the land, in order to double Cape St Mary, he was met with a violent gale

\* See above, pp. 71, 72.

† Observations sur les Découvertes du Capitaine Américain, J. Morrell. Par M. J. d'Urville. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, tome xix. No. cxxi. p. 272.

‡ See above, p. 116; and Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. ii. p. 418

§ This discovery receives the name of Winchelsea in the text and of Anson in the chart. It seems to be the Bouca of Bougainville.

right a-head, and a strong current at the same time set the ship into St George's Bay. Finding it impossible to get round the cape, he determined to attempt a passage through the inlet, which, from the flow of the sea, he was induced to think must open to the westward. He accordingly stood in that direction, and passing a large island\* which divided the channel, found, on the morning of the 11th September, that he had lost sight of New Britain, and that the supposed bay was indeed a strait. It was named by him St George's Channel, while the land on the north, which had been hitherto supposed a part of Nova Britannia, was forthwith denominated New Ireland. Carteret pursued his course along the south side of this country, and on the same night discovered an island larger than the former, to which he gave the appellation of Sandwich. During his stay, some canoes, manned by the people of New Ireland, rowed towards the ship. These were black and woolly headed, and much resembled the people of Queen Charlotte's group. Like them, they were naked, except a few shell ornaments on their arms and legs. "They had, however," says the navigator, "adopted a practice, without which none of our belles and beaux are supposed to be completely drest; for the hair, or rather the wool upon their heads, was very abundantly powdered with white powder, and not only their heads but their beards too."† Steering nearly westward, in a short time he came to the south-west extremity of New Ireland, which was named Cape Byron; while to an island, divided from the other by a narrow strait, he gave the title of New Hanover. This is described as

CHAP. VI.

Passage of  
St. George's  
channel.

New Ireland.

Native  
personal  
adornment.

\* The perplexing discrepancies between the text and charts of this voyage, render it almost impossible to present a clear account of the situation of these islands. The island, called in the chart "I. Man," seems to be what in the text is called the Duke of York's Island; and the Isle of Man of the text seems to be the small oblong island, north of the promontory named in the chart Cape Stephens.

† Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. i. p. 379.



CHAP. VI.  
Portland  
Island.

high, "finely covered with trees, among which are many plantations, and the whole has a most beautiful appearance." Next morning, six or seven islands were perceived to the westward; their extent was very considerable, and they were named after the Duke of Portland. The swell of the sea now convinced Carteret that he had passed through the channel and was clear of all the land.

Admiralty  
Islands.

On the 15th September, he reached some islands, of which the inhabitants resembled those of New Ireland; but this cluster, called by him the Admiralty, he was obliged to leave after a very superficial and imperfect examination. Four days later, he discovered two small ones, which he called Durour's and Maty's; and on the 24th, other two, to which he gave the name of Stephens' Islands.\* The next day, he observed a group, consisting of three, surrounded by a reef. The natives were of a copper colour, with fine long black hair and pleasing features, evidently of a distinct race from the people of New Ireland. One of them who came on board, refused to leave the ship, and accompanied the voyagers to Celebes, where he died. The captain called him Joseph Freewill, and named the islands after him; though the original designations were ascertained to be Pegan, Onata, and Onello. On the 12th of October, a spot of land scarcely bigger than a rock was seen, and denominated Current Island; and the next day, two nearly as small were observed, on which the title of St Andrew was bestowed.

Evidences of  
a distinct  
race in the  
natives.

Arrival  
at the  
Philippine  
Islands.

On the 26th, the adventurers made the coast of Mindanao, one of the Philippines, where they spent several days in endeavouring to establish a friendly communication with the natives. On the 4th of November,

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\* The late French navigator, Duperrey, having in vain sought for the islands last named in the situation assigned to them by Carteret, has come to the conclusion that they are the Providence Islands of Dampier.—Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, chap. xi.; and Rapport fait à l'Académie Royale des Sciences, sur le Voyage de la Coquille, commandée par M. L. J. Duperrey. 4to, p. iv.

finding themselves disappointed in their hopes of procuring refreshments, they set sail for the island of Celebes. In their progress, they were attacked at midnight by a pirate, who endeavoured to board them. De-  
 CHAP. VI.  
 Attack by a  
 pirate.

feated in this attempt, he commenced a discharge with swivel guns and fire-arms, which the Englishman returned with such deadly effect, "that shortly after he sunk, and all the unhappy wretches on board perished. It was a small vessel; but of what country, or how manned, it was impossible for us to know." At length, after a tedious and stormy passage, on the 15th of December, Carteret anchored off the town of Macassar, from which he removed in a few days to the Bay of Bonthain. The jealousy of the Dutch, which had prevented him from remaining at the former place, wrought him considerable annoyance during the five months he stayed at the latter. On the 22d of May 1768, he set sail for the island of Java, where his vessel underwent extensive repairs before proceeding on her homeward voyage. He stopped at the Cape of Good Hope on the 28th November, and continued there till the 6th of January 1769. On the 19th of February,\* nearly three weeks after leaving the island of Ascension, a ship was discovered bearing French colours; and at noon of the next day she was so close to the Swallow as to be able to hail her. "To my great surprise," says the captain, Anchoring  
 in the Bay of  
 Bonthain.

"the French vessel made use both of my name and that of the ship, inquiring after my health, and telling me, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed we had suffered shipwreck in the Streight of Magellan, and that two ships had been sent out in quest of us." The officer here alluded to was M. Bougainville, Interview  
 with M. Bou-  
 gainville.

who had just sailed round the globe, and was now directing his course homeward. No other incident

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\* The date assigned to this rencontre by Bougainville, in the text of his book (p. 386), is the 25th of February, and the 18th is that given in the Introduction (p. 7), where he says Carteret arrived in England in June, two months later than the true date.

## CHAP. VI.

Return to  
Spithead.

worthy of notice occurred during the voyage. On the 7th March, the *Swallow* made the Azores, or Western Islands, and passing between St Michael and Terceira,\* dropped anchor on the 20th at Spithead.

Departure of  
Captain  
Cook.

More than six months before the return of Carteret, Captain Cook had sailed from England on the first of those expeditions which brought him such imperishable honour, and so widely enlarged the bounds of science. But before we proceed to the relation of the life and actions of this illustrious navigator, we have to record the circumnavigation of the Frenchman just named, and the voyages of one or two less distinguished discoverers.

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\* The *Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, par M. Albert Montémont, Paris, 1833, translates this part of Carteret's Journal as follows:—"Le 7 Mars nous arrivâmes aux îles *Hebrides*, et nous passâmes entre *Saint-Michel et Tercère*."—Vol. iii. p. 229. Who could have imagined that St Michael and Terceira were among the number of the Hebrides!

## CHAPTER VII.

*Circumnavigation of Bougainville.*

Project for colonising the Falkland Islands—Their Cession to Spain—Disputes with England—Settlements abandoned—Bougainville discovers the Dangerous Archipelago—Maitea—Otaheite—Incidents during his Stay there—Takes a Native with him—The Grand Cyclades or Australia del Espiritu Santo—Louiadiade or the Solomons—Bouca—Choiseul and Bougainville Islands—Return to France—The Otaheitan in Paris—Voyage of Marion—Expedition of Surville—Terre des Arsacides—Voyage of Shortland—New Georgia—Retrospect.

FRANCE was among the latest of European nations to embark in South Sea discovery. Her career may be said to commence with Bougainville; for before his day she had produced very few eminent navigators, and of these the adventures are so imperfectly recorded, that it is almost impossible to separate what is certain from what is doubtful, or to distinguish between truth and fiction.

CHAP. VII.

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Commence-  
ment of the  
French  
career of  
discovery.

In 1503, the Sieur Binot Paulmier de Gonneville is reported, in sailing to the East Indies, to have obtained a view of a southern land, by some imagined to be New Holland; though, with a greater show of reason, it is supposed by others to be the island of Madagascar. The discoveries of La Roche and of De Beuchesne Gouin, in the latter years of the seventeenth century, have been already mentioned.\* The beginning of the

Supposed  
discovery  
of New  
Holland.

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\* See pp. 130, 132.



## CHAP. VII.

Fruitless  
French  
expeditions.

Le Gentil  
de la Bar-  
binais.

succeeding age was marked by several French expeditions into the Pacific, but which were attended by no results of any interest or importance. It is only necessary to advert to one of them,—that of *Le Gentil de la Barbinais*,—and even this is involved in so much doubt, that the acute Burney has questioned “if such a voyage was really made by such a person.”\* This officer is said to have engaged as supercargo of a French ship, under an English commission, bound for the South Sea. He left France in August 1714, was at Concepcion in March following, and about a twelvemonth afterwards proceeded to China. Subjected there to various delays, he embarked on board another vessel, and returned home in 1718. His narrative is disfigured by the grossest ignorance, and is perfectly useless for any geographical purpose. As a specimen of his accuracy, it may be mentioned, that he places Port Desire on Tierra del Fuego; assigns to Staten Island a more southerly latitude than Cape Horn; and tells that this latter promontory was discovered by a certain Captain Hoorn, who gave it his own name.

Proposed  
colonisation  
of the  
Falkland  
Islands.

The first French circumnavigation had its origin in a design of colonising the Falkland Islands,—a project which, as we have seen, occupied a prominent place in the expedition of Commodore Byron.†

Louis Antoine de Bougainville was born at Paris in 1729, of a family of which he was not the only distinguished member,—the writings of his elder brother, Jean-Pierre, having assigned him a high rank as a geo-

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\* Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iv. p. 508.

† Bougainville, who had appeared as an author before his circumnavigation, himself wrote the history of his voyage, under the title of “*Voyage autour du Monde par la Frégate du Roi La Boudeuse et la Flûte L’Etoile, 1766-1769*.” Paris, 1771, 4to. Another edition appeared in 1772, in two volumes 8vo; and in the same year, an abridged translation into the German language was published at Leipsic, in one volume 8vo. An English translation, by John Reinhold Forster, was printed at London in 1772, in one volume 4to. Occasion will be taken to point out a few of the blunders which disfigure this publication.

grapher, a critic, an antiquary, and a poet. The early life of the former was marked more by activity than by steadiness of purpose. He passed through a variety of professions, and was successively a barrister, secretary to an ambassador, an adjutant, a captain of dragoons, an aide-de-camp, and a colonel of infantry. In all these capacities he discharged his duties with great reputation, and among other honours which he received, his sovereign conferred on him the order of Saint Louis. When the peace of 1763 deprived him of a field for the exertion of his military talents, he turned his attention to naval affairs; and, struck with the happy situation of the Falkland Islands as a place of refreshment for vessels sailing to the Pacific, he proposed to the French government the establishment of a settlement there. The expense of the expedition he undertook to discharge from his own private resources, aided by his relatives; and having procured two vessels, the one of twenty,\* the other of twelve guns, he set sail from St Malo on the 15th of September 1763. After touching at Santa Catalina and at Monte Video, to procure a stock of horses and horned cattle, he arrived at the Falklands on the 31st of January in the following year; and, having sailed along the northern coast in search of a harbour, came to a great bay in the eastern extremity of the cluster, which seemed to be well fitted for the proposed colony. On landing, he discovered the cause of an illusion which had deceived many of the early voyagers, to whom it appeared that these islands were covered with wood,—an effect produced by a gigantic rush, not less than five feet in height. He remarked, too, the singular fearlessness with which the animals, hitherto the only inhabitants of these bleak regions, approached the colonists; and that the birds permitted

CHAP. VII.

Education  
of De Bou-  
gainville.Honours  
conferred  
on him.Expedition  
under his  
guidance.Cause of  
former  
illusions.

\* Burney, on what authority we know not, describes the larger of the two vessels as carrying twenty-four guns.—Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 143. M. de Bougainville's words are,—“L'Aigle de vingt canons et le Sphinx de douze.”—Voyage autour du Monde, p. 48.

## CHAP. VII.

Fearlessness  
of the native  
animals.

themselves to be taken by the hand, and even voluntarily alighted on the persons of the new settlers. When the islands were lately visited by his majesty's ships Tyne and Clio, the British officers made a similar observation. "The snipes were abundant in the marshy places, and so heedless of approach as almost to submit being trodden upon before taking to flight;" and the wild geese are described as "standing goggling with outstretched necks at their assailants, merely trying to get out of the way with feet, when wings would have served them better."\*

Bougainville's  
colonists.

Bougainville's little establishment consisted of no more than twenty-seven individuals, five of whom were females, and three children. On the 17th of March, they commenced the construction of their future habitations, which were merely huts covered with rushes. They also erected a magazine capable of containing provisions for two years, and a small fort mounting fourteen pieces of cannon. To encourage this feeble community, M. de Nerville, cousin to the navigator, consented to remain in charge of their interests until his relative should return from France with supplies; and, having made these arrangements, the latter solemnly took possession of the country in his sovereign's name, and on the 8th of April set sail for France. In October, he again departed from St Malo, and reached the Falklands on the 5th January 1765, having during the voyage made a fruitless search for Pepys' Island. He found the settlers in perfect health, and, having landed those he had brought with him, he proceeded to the Straits of Magellan, in order to take in a cargo of wood for their use. From this voyage, in which he saw the fleet of Commodore Byron, he returned on the 29th of March; and on the 27th April following, sailed again for his native country, leaving behind him no

M. de  
Nerville.

Return of  
Bougainville to the  
colonists.

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\* Narrative of Visit to the Falkland Islands, by an Officer of the Tyne; published in the Athenæum, Numbers 299 and 300, 20th and 27th July 1833.

fewer than eighty persons.\* In the latter part of the same year, he despatched a vessel from France, which was accompanied with a store-ship belonging to the king, carrying provisions and ammunition to the settlement. These left the colony in a prosperous condition; its numbers were about 150; the governor and commissary (l'ordonnateur) were provided with commodious mansions of stone, and the rest of the population had houses built of turf. There were three magazines for public and private stores; of the wood brought from the Straits several vessels had been built, besides two schooners destined to make a survey of the coasts; and a cargo, consisting of oil and the skins of sea-wolves, was consigned to the mother-country.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that, in January 1765, Commodore Byron had taken possession of the Falklands in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and had rapidly surveyed their coasts and harbours.† In 1766, an English settlement was made at Port Egmont (the Port de la Croisade of the French); and in December of that year, Captain Macbride, of the Jason frigate, having touched at the establishment formed by Bougainville, claimed the islands as belonging to the British crown, and threatened to force a landing if it were not amicably conceded. His threats did not require to be executed; he was permitted to go ashore, and, having visited the governor, left the colonists in peace. Before this period, however, the Spaniards had advanced a claim, which the court of France were not inclined very seriously to resist, as they had found by this time that there was small chance that their particular views would ever be realized. Accordingly, in

CHAP. VII.  
Provisions  
and ammuni-  
tion sent to  
the settle-  
ment.

Disputed  
claims  
between  
France and  
England.

Spanish  
claims.

\* "La colonie se trouvait composée de quatre-vingts personnes," says M. de Bougainville, p. 52. This Mr J. R. Forster translates—"The colony consisted of twenty-four persons."—P. 41. The same statement is repeated at p. 135, vol. iv. of "An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World." 4 vols 8vo. London, 1773.

† See above, p. 173.



## CHAP. VII.

Islands ceded  
to Spain.

the month of November 1766, the French administration acknowledged the right urged by Spain, and determined to cede the islands accordingly. M. de Bougainville has omitted to mention the grounds on which this demand was based; but from the expression "le droit primitif," and his attempt to give to the Spaniards the honour of first visiting the Falklands, it may be conjectured that their claim was made on this footing. "It appears to me," says he, "that the first discovery of them may be attributed to the celebrated Amerigo Vespucci, who, during his third voyage for the discovery of America, in the year 1502, sailed along the northern coast. He was ignorant, indeed, if it belonged to an island or was part of a continent; but it is easy to conclude from the route which he followed, from the latitude at which he arrived, and from his description of the coast, that it was the shore of the Malouines."\*

Mistaken  
ideas of M.  
de Bougain-  
ville.

But M. de Bougainville, in forming this theory, must have misunderstood the main facts on which he proceeds. "We found this land, says Vespucci, "altogether barren, *without harbours*, and destitute of inhabitants." These remarks cannot apply to the Falkland Islands, which, says Burney, "in every quarter present good harbours, where safe anchorage may be found." But even if the merit of making it known is to be attributed to Vespucci, still it confers no "droit primitif" on the Spanish crown, as that navigator, during the voyage in question, was in the service of Emanuel, king of Portugal.†

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\* Voyage, p. 47. The Malouines is the name commonly applied by the French to this cluster, which to the grievous perplexity of geographers, has at different times received the names of Davis' Southern Island, Hawkins' Maiden-land, Sibald de Weert's Islands, Pepys' Island, Belgia Australis, Isles of St Louis, Malouines, Isles Nouvelles, and Falkland Islands.

† It has been already stated (above, p. 77) that these islands were discovered by Captain John Davis, and any lengthened discussion of Vespucci's claim were here out of place. It may be mentioned, that his voyages are involved in much doubt, and that better evidence than has yet been adduced must be brought forward before we can place implicit reliance on his alleged discoveries. The reader will

France having, on whatever grounds, recognised the claim now mentioned, M. de Bougainville received orders to proceed to the colony, and, after formally delivering it up to the Spaniards, to make his way to the East Indies by pursuing a course between the tropics. For this expedition he received the command of the frigate *La Boudeuse*, mounting twenty-six twelve-pounders, with power to reinforce himself at the Falklands by taking the storeship *L'Etoile*. He put to sea on the 15th of November 1766, but on the 21st was obliged, by stress of weather, to seek refuge in Brest. Here he made various alterations in the equipment of his vessel, in particular, exchanging his heavy cannon for the same number of eight-pounders. On the 5th December, he resumed his voyage, with a crew, consisting of eleven officers, three volunteers, and 203 sailors, warrant-officers, soldiers, cabin-boys, and servants. He was also accompanied by M. Le Prince de Nassau Sieghen, who had obtained the king's permission to join the discoverers.

CHAP. VII.

New expedition of M. de Bougainville.

Return to Brest.

On the morning of the 31st of January 1767, he arrived at Monte Video, where he found two Spanish frigates commissioned to receive the formal cession of the Falklands. In company with these he sailed on the

Arrival at Monte Video

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find an instructive discussion on Vespucci in the Appendix No. ix. to Mr Washington Irving's *History of Columbus* (vol. iv. pp. 157, 191). We are certainly of the opinion expressed by Dr Robertson, that several years after the alleged voyage of Vespucci, the farthest extent of discovery did not exceed "thirty-five degrees south of the equator." It is singular that Malte Brun should have been ignorant of the theory put forward by Bougainville. "Permetty and Bougainville are of opinion," he says, "that these islands were discovered between the years 1700 and 1708, by five vessels that set out from Saint Malo; hence the origin of their French name."—*Malte Brun* (English translation), vol. v. p. 482. Since this note was written, the author has seen the *Voyage autour du Monde* of M. Duperrey, who has come to the same conclusion, that Vespucci did not discover the Falklands. M. Duperrey thinks that the land discovered by Vespucci was the New South Georgia of Cook, which he supposes to have been previously visited by La Roche and Duclos Guyot.—*Voyage de la Coquille, Partie Historique*, vol. i. p. 98.

CHAP. VII.

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 Delivery of  
 the settle-  
 ment to the  
 Spanish  
 officers.

28th of February, and on the evening of the 23d of March anchored off the islands. On the 1st April, he delivered the settlement to the proper officers, who took possession of it by hoisting their national standard, which, at sunrise and at sunset, was honoured with a salute of twenty-one guns as well from the shore as from the ships in the port. A letter from the French king was read to the colonists, granting them license to remain under the dominion of their new sovereign,—a permission of which several families availed themselves. The rest embarked in the Spanish vessels, which sailed for Monte Video in the end of April, leaving Bougainville to wait the arrival of the Etoile.

Fate of the  
 settlers.

Before entering on the narrative of his voyage, it may be proper briefly to advert to the fate of the settlers on these contested islands. In November 1769, an English frigate, which cruised in those seas, fell in with a schooner belonging to Port Solidad, as the station was now named. The claims of the British captain were met by strong assertions of right on the side of the Spaniard; but the parties contented themselves with formal protests and declarations, and no hostilities ensued for some months. On the 4th of June 1770, a vessel of the same nation put into Port Egmont, under pretence of distress, but the arrival, three days after, of four other frigates, her consorts, speedily led to the disclosure of the real objects of the visit. This force consisted of five ships, bearing 134 guns and upwards of 1600 men, including a party of soldiers and marines, who were accompanied by a train of artillery, comprising twenty-seven pieces, besides four mortars and some hundred bombs. These extensive preparations are certainly placed in a ludicrous point of view, when it is mentioned that they were directed against “a wooden block-house, which had not a port-hole cut in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it.”\* The officer in command saw the im-

Arrival of  
 hostile  
 frigates  
 at Port  
 Egmont.

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\* Annual Register for 1771, p. 9.

possibility of making any effectual resistance, and only waited the actual commencement of hostilities that he might demand articles of capitulation. These were concluded on the 10th of June; and shortly afterwards all the settlers embarked in the frigate, and reached this country in September. The intelligence of these transactions excited a strong sensation here, and the popular voice was loud in demanding redress for this act of injustice. Ministers were charged with meanness in tamely submitting to an insult on the nation, and several motions on the subject were made in parliament. After much negotiation, the matter was amicably arranged, by a declaration of the Spanish sovereign, that "he disavowed the said violent enterprise." At the same time he gave his consent that the English should be reinstated in the same condition as before the 10th of June,—coupled, however, with a reservation, that this concession should not anywise "affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the islands." In virtue of this explanation, Port Egmont was formally restored to the British, in September 1771; but the settlement, which had led to so much discussion, and nearly involved the country in war, was found so unprofitable, that it was abandoned the succeeding year. The history of the establishment which our government has recently made in these islands belongs to another part of our work.

CHAP. VII.

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Embarking  
of the  
settlers.

Restoration  
of Port  
Egmont to  
the British.

We now return to M. de Bougainville, who, having remained at the Falklands during the months of March, April, and May, 1767, without being joined by the store-ship that was to accompany him, at length set sail for Rio Janeiro in the beginning of June. This port had been appointed as a place of rendezvous in the event of L'Etoile failing to reach the Malouines; and on his arrival, he found that his consort had been in the harbour about a week. He continued there until the middle of July, when he proceeded to Monte Video; where he was so long detained by various accidents that he did not resume his voyage till the month of Novem-

Course pur-  
sued by de  
Bougain-  
ville.



## CHAP. VII.

Interview  
with the  
natives of  
Tierra del  
Fuego.

ber was far advanced. The Cape de las Virgenes was made on the 2d December, and on the 23d of January 1768, he cleared the western entrance of the Straits of Magellan. During this passage, he had various interviews with the tribes, both on Tierra del Fuego and on the continent. In a group of Patagonians which he describes, there was none taller than five feet ten inches, nor below five feet five, French measure; which, being reduced to the English standard, gives as the greatest stature six feet 2.5704 inches, and as the smallest, five feet 10.334 inches. We are told at the same time, that the crew of L'Etoile had, on a previous voyage, seen several natives whose height exceeded by four inches that now stated.

Size of the  
Patagonians.

Search for  
Davis' Land.

His first object, on entering the Pacific, was to search for Davis' Land, which, like many previous navigators, he did not find. He then directed his course in a more westerly direction, and, on the 22d of March, discovered four small islands, to which he gave the name of Les Quatre Facardins. The wind prevented him from approaching this group, and he therefore bore westward for a small island about four leagues distant. So heavy a sea broke on all sides, that it was found impossible to get ashore on this little spot, which, from the appearance of its inhabitants, was named L'Ile des Lanciers. At daybreak on the 23d, land was again visible; which, on examination, proved to be an islet in the shape of a horse-shoe very much elongated, whence he was induced to bestow on it the name of L'Ile de la Harpe. Captain Cook supposes Les Quatre Facardins to be identical with the Lagoon Island discovered in his first voyage, and L'Ile des Lanciers and L'Ile de la Harpe to be the same as his Thrum Cap and Bow Island.\* In this hypothesis he has been followed by M. Fleurieu, Captain Beechey, and some other writers; but much as we are disposed to respect his opinion, we cannot, in this instance, yield

L'Ile de la  
Harpe.

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\* General Introduction to Cook's Second Voyage, p xviii. See below, pp. 262, 263.

our assent. Bow Island and L'Ile de la Harpe are evidently one, and Les Quatre Facardins may with some probability be regarded as only another name for the Lagoon, though Cook's remark, that "the whole looked like many islands," is rather opposed to M. de Bougainville's description of "*quatre îlots.*" But our chief objection is to the identification of Thrum Cap with L'Ile des Lanciers. In the French officer's account of the latter, one of the most prominent features is the cocoa-tree. "Tout l'intérieur," says he, "étoit couvert de bois touffus, *au-dessus desquels s'élevoient les tiges fécondes des cocotiers;*" and again, "*Les cocotiers nous offroient partout leurs fruits, et leur ombre sur un gazon émaillé de fleurs.*"\* Of Thrum Cap, Cook says, "Nor could we distinguish any cocoa-nut-trees, though we were within half a mile of the shore."† There is a still more material discrepancy in the extent of these islands; for while the one just named is described as "not much above a mile in compass,"‡ we are told that L'Ile des Lanciers is a league in diameter. Captain Beechey, in supporting the theory of Cook, mentions a circumstance which, had he attended to Bougainville's description, must have convinced him it could never apply to Thrum Cap. That island, the gallant captain remarked, was "well wooded, and *steep all round.*" As we approached L'Ile des Lanciers, says the Frenchman, "*we perceived that it was surrounded by a very level shore of sand.*"§ These striking differences lead us to the conclusion, that Thrum Cap is a discovery of which the honour is due to Cook, and that L'Ile des Lanciers must be sought for in some other island of the same archipelago.

On the 25th, La Boudeuse was near a very low island stretching from south-east to north-west, in length

CHAP. VII.

supposed  
coincidence  
of discoveries.

Cook's  
Thrum Cap  
Island.

\* Voyage, p. 179. † Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 73. Captain Beechey says, "Thrum Cap is only 1700 yards long, by 1200 broad."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 255, *et ibid.* 210.

§ "Nous découvrimus qu'elle est bordé d'une plage de sable très unie."—Voyage, p. 179.

CHAP. VII.

L' Archipel  
Dangereux.

about twenty-four miles;\* and for two days her course lay among several others, which, being partly overflowed and surrounded by rocks and breakers, rendered the navigation very perilous. To the whole, lying between Les Quatre Facardins and these last, was given the general name of "L'Archipel Dangereux." Eleven were seen, but it was conjectured that there were many more, and M. de Bougainville was of opinion that Quiros discovered the south part of the chain in 1606, and that it is the same to which, in 1722, Roggewein gave the name of the Labyrinth.

The Island  
of Maitea.

The voyagers still pursued a westerly course, and, on the morning of the 2d of April, descried a high and very steep mountain, which they named Le Boudoir or Le Pic de la Boudeuse. This is the Maitea of our modern maps, the Osnaburg Island of Wallis, and probably the La Decena of Quiros. As they drew near, they beheld land more to the westward, of which the extent was undefined. They immediately bore down for this; but it was not until the morning of the 4th that they were sufficiently close to hold any communication with the inhabitants. These came off in their skiffs, and presented a small hog and a branch of banana in token of amity; and very soon after, the ships were surrounded with more than 100 canoes, engaged in a brisk traffic. The French voyager seems to have been as strongly impressed with the beauty of Otaheite as was his predecessor Wallis. "The aspect of the coast," says M. de Bougainville, "was very pleasing. The mountains rose to a great height, yet there was no appearance of barrenness, all parts were covered with woods. We could scarcely believe our eyes, when we beheld a peak clothed with trees, even to its solitary summit, which rose to the level of the mountains in the interior part of the isle. Its breadth grew gradually less towards the top, and at a distance it might

Arrival at  
Otaheite.

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\* "Vingt-quatre milles."—Voyage, p. 182. This is translated by J. R. Forster "twenty-four leagues."

have been taken for some pyramid of a vast height, which the hand of a tasteful decorator had enwreathed with garlands of foliage. As we sailed along the coast, our eyes were struck with the sight of a beautiful cascade, which precipitated itself from the mountain-tops, and threw its foaming waters into the sea. A village was situated at the foot of the waterfall, and there appeared to be no breakers on the shores." \* CHAP. VII.  
Description  
of the Island.

On landing he was received with mingled demonstrations of joy and curiosity; and the chief of the district forthwith conducted him to his residence. Here he found several women, who saluted him by laying their hands on their breasts, and repeating several times the word *tayo*. An old man, also an inmate of the mansion, seemed to be displeased with the appearance of the strangers, and withdrew without answering their courtesies, but he manifested neither fear, astonishment, nor curiosity. After having examined the house, † the navigator was invited to a repast of fruits, broiled fish, and water, on the grassy turf in front, and he received several presents of cloth and ornaments. Reception by  
the Islanders.

A proposal made by the stranger to erect a camp on shore was received with evident displeasure, and he was informed that though his crew were at liberty to stay on the island during the day, they must retire to their ships at night. On his wishes being farther urged he was asked if he meant to remain for ever; to which he answered that he would depart in eighteen days. An ineffectual attempt was made by the natives to reduce the period to nine; but they at last con- Objections to  
the crew  
remaining  
on shore.

\* Voyage, pp. 187, 188.

† During this examination, M. de Bougainville observed an image of one of the deities of the natives, and has given a very graphic description of it in his work. His translator, Mr J. R. Forster, in a note on this passage, denies the existence of idolatry in Otaheite, and with cool arrogance remarks, that "had M. de Bougainville looked upon many things with a *more philosophical eye*, his account would have proved less subject to mistakes."—P. 221. We need not say, that in this instance the mistake exists only in the "more philosophical eye" of the translator.



## CHAP. VII



Dancing Woman of Otahiti's.

Friendly attentions to the sick.

sented, and at once resumed their former amicable bearing. The chief set apart a large shed for the accommodation of the sick; the women and children brought antiscorbutic plants and shells, when they learned that these were prized by the French; and the males gave their cheerful assistance in supplying the vessels with wood and water. Every house was open to the strangers, and the natives vied with each other in excess of hospitality. They welcomed them with songs and feasts, and exhibited their dances and wrestling-matches before them. "Often, as I walked into the interior," says Bougainville, "I thought I was transported into the garden of Eden; we crossed grassy plains covered with fair fruit-trees, and watered by small rivulets which diffused a delicious coolness around. Under the shade of the groves lay groups of the natives, all of whom gave us a friendly salutation; those whom we met in the paths stood aside that we might pass, and

Fertility and beauty of the country.

every where we beheld hospitality, peace, calm joy, and all signs of happiness." \* But this paradise was perfect only in appearance ; for the possessors of it were such accomplished pilferers, that nothing was safe within their reach. " We were obliged," says he, " to take care even of our pockets ; for the thieves of Europe are not more adroit than the inhabitants of this country." Murder, too, was soon introduced into this Elysium ; several of the islanders were found slain, and evidently by the arms of the Europeans ; though the efforts of the captain were in vain exerted to discover the culprits. The natives shortly after withdrew from the neighbourhood of the camp, the houses were abandoned, no canoe was seen on the sea, and the whole island appeared like a desert. The Prince of Nassau, who was sent out with four or five men to search for the people, found a great number of them, with the chief Ereti, about a league distant. The leader approached the prince in great fear ; while the women, who were all in tears, threw themselves on their knees and kissed his hands, weeping, and repeating several times, "*Tayo, mate !*" (You are our friends, yet you kill us !) The prince succeeded in a short time in inspiring them with confidence, and their former intercourse was renewed, even with greater demonstrations of kindness on the part of the savages.

CHAP. VII.  
Native  
pilfering.

Perfidy of the  
Europeans.

Native  
appeal.

Interview at  
departure.

The bad ground, which in nine days cost him six anchors, proved a powerful reason for shortening his stay. When the chief perceived them setting sail, he leaped into the first canoe he could find on shore and rowed to the vessel, where he embraced his visitors, and bade them farewell in tears. He took by the hand an islander who had come off in one of the skiffs, and presented him to the commander, stating, that his name was Aotourou, that he desired to go with him, and begging that his wish might be granted. The young man then embraced a handsome girl who seemed to be his

\* Voyage, p. 198.

## CHAP. VII.

Aotourou,  
a native's  
embarcation.

mistress, gave her three pearls from his ears, kissed her once more, and, notwithstanding her grief, tore himself from her arms and leapt on board. "Thus," says Bougainville, "we quitted that good people; and I was no less surprised at the sorrow which our departure occasioned to them, than at the affectionate confidence they showed on our arrival." The French navigator testified his sense of the beauty and enchantments of this country by bestowing on it the name of Nouvelle Cythère, —an appellation which, like that given by his predecessor Wallis, has been supplanted by the native title of Otaheite.

Oumaitia  
Island.

As they continued their course westward, they discovered an island which Aotourou called Oumaitia, and which is, perhaps, identical with that of Sir Charles Saunders, one of the indigenous appellations of which is Maiaoitī.\* It was now the 16th of April, and M. de Bougainville shaped his course so as to avoid the pernicious Islands of Roggewein. One night when there was not a cloud in the sky, and the constellations shone in all their tropical brilliancy, Aotourou, pointing to a star in the shoulder of Orion, bade them direct their progress by it, and in two days they would reach a fruitful country which he knew, and where he had friends. Finding that his suggestions were not complied with, he endeavoured to seize the helm and turn the vessel towards the desired point. It was with great difficulty that he was quieted, and the refusal evidently gave him much sorrow. At daybreak he climbed to the topmast, and remained there the whole morning, looking steadfastly in the direction of the territory which he wished to reach. To the islands which he had passed since he quitted the Dangerous Archipelago, Bougainville gave the name of L'Archipel de Bourbon.

Desired  
course of  
Aotourou.

On the 3d of May, land was seen to the north-west,

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\* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, 2d edition, vol. 1. p. 8. The position assigned to Oumaitia does not agree, however, with the situation of Maiaoitī.

and, on a nearer approach, proved to be one of a cluster of islands, among which the French captain sailed several days. The information which he has collected regarding this group (the Bauman Islands of Roggewein) is, however, very scanty, and he may be said, indeed, to have effected nothing more than to give an assurance of its existence. The inhabitants spoke a language distinct from that of Otaheite, and appeared to belong to a different and more savage race. He named their abode L'Archipel des Navigateurs; and to a small island which he saw shortly after, he gave the appellation of L'Enfant Perdu.

At daybreak on the 22d, a long and high land was discovered to the westward, and when the sun rose two islands were discerned and named Ile de la Pentecôte and Ile Aurore. As they sailed along the eastern coast of the latter, a small but very lofty eminence was seen; it resembled a sugar-loaf in shape, and was called Le Pic de l'Etoile.\* Shortly after, some mountains were perceived towering above Aurora Island, and at sunset the voyagers were full in view of the coast of a high and very extensive land. In the morning they sailed along its north-west shore, which was steep and covered with trees; no huts were perceptible, but several canoes descried at a distance, and columns of smoke rising from the forest, showed that it was inhabited. About nine o'clock, a party was sent on shore to procure wood; they found the beach crowded with natives, who were armed with bows and arrows, and made signs to forbid their landing. As the French continued to advance, the savages gradually drew back, but still in the attitude of attack, and the distribution of a few pieces of red cloth only produced among them a sort of sullen confidence; they still kept to their arms and watched the voyagers with undisguised suspicion. M. de Bougainville landed

CHAP. VII.  
The Bauman  
Islands.

Ile de la Pen-  
tecote and, Ile  
Aurore.

Hostile ap-  
pearance of  
the natives.

\* This peak, in Bougainville's chart, is called *Pic de l'Averdi*,—a discrepancy we should not have noticed, had it not been transferred to the excellent chart prefixed to Captain Cook's second voyage, and thus apt to perplex the English reader.



## CHAP. VIII

Attack by  
the natives

in the afternoon to perform the ceremony of taking possession of the new territories, and the boats having completed their lading, the whole party received orders to return. Scarcely had they left the shore, when the natives advanced to the edge of the water and directed against them a shower of stones and arrows. A few muskets were fired into the air; but the savages still pressing on to the assault, a more deadly discharge was directed against them, and they fled into the woods with great cries. Bougainville divides these islanders into two classes,—black and mulatto. Their lips are thick; their hair woolly and frizzled; their bodies small, ugly, and ill made; and their language different from that of Otaheite. Their arms were bows and arrows, clubs of iron-wood, and slings for projecting stones; they wore ornaments in their nostrils, a sort of bracelets on their arms, and plates of turtle-shells on their necks. Their condition seemed to be very miserable; they appeared to be engaged in intestine war; and the harsh sound of a sort of drum was frequently heard in the interior of the woods calling them to the combat. From the prevalence of the loathsome disease of leprosy, Bougainville named this *L'Isle des Lépreux*. For several days he continued to sail among numerous islands, the inhabitants and general appearance of which exactly resembled that which he had visited. He was unable, however, to determine either the number in the cluster, or to examine any of them so closely as to warrant the imposing of separate names. He had no doubt that this archipelago was the *Australia del Espiritu Santo* of Quiros, and even concluded that he had re-discovered the Bay of San Felipe y Santiago of that navigator.\* Notwithstanding this conviction, he gave the group the title of *L'Archipel des grandes Cyclades*,—a name which has been superseded by that of *New Hebrides*, bestowed by Cook. A late French geographer† has proposed a third

Miserable  
condition of  
the natives.New  
Hebrides.

\* See above, p. 97.

† *Abrégé de Géographie*, par Adrien Balbi, p. 1267.

designation, that of Archipel de Quiros, in honour of CHAP. VII.  
the first visiter.

While the voyagers were among the Grand Cyclades, a singular discovery was made on board the *Etoile*. The figure, voice, and beardless chin of Baré, the servant of M. de Commerçon the naturalist, had excited suspicions of his sex, which were removed only by the hardihood with which he endured toils and privations. The quick eyes of the Otaheitans, however, pierced his disguise the moment he set foot on shore; and after this recognition, finding it vain to attempt concealment any longer, Baré confessed to the captain that she was a woman, and told him the tale of her life. At an early age she became an orphan, and the loss of a lawsuit involved her in such distress as induced her to assume the dress of a man. She entered into the family of a Genevese gentleman at Paris, and served him as valet for some time; when, anxious to make the voyage of the world, she offered her services to M. de Commerçon at Rochefort, just as he was on the point of embarking. "Je lui dois la justice," says the commandant, "qu'elle s'est toujours conduite à bord avec la plus scrupuleuse sagesse. Elle n'est ni laide ni jolie, et n'a pas plus de vingt-six ou vingt-sept ans. Il faut convenir que si les deux vaisseaux eussent fait naufrage sur quelque île déserte de ce vaste océan, la chance eût été fort singulière pour Baré." \*

Curious  
discovery on  
board the  
*Etoile*.

History of  
the volunteer  
Baré.

M. de Bougainville lost sight of the Grand Cyclades on the 29th of May, and continued to bear nearly due west till the night of the 4th of June, when the moon enabled him to discover that he was in the vicinity of a low sandy coast. As morning advanced, he found it to be a small islet, nearly level with the water; he named it *La Bâture de Diane*. Next day, several pieces of wood and some unknown fruits floated by the ship, and on the 6th many shoals and rocks were perceived. These appearances induced him to alter his course to

*La Bature  
de Diane.*

\* Voyage, p. 254.

CHAP. VII. the north, in which direction he stood for three days without seeing land. Long before dawn, however, on the morning of the 10th, a delicious odour indicated that he was approaching a coast, and with the increase of light he found himself in a large and beautiful gulf, to which he gave the name of Cul-de-sac de l'Orangerie. "I have seldom seen," says he, "a country of a fairer aspect. A low land, chequered with plains and groves, spread along the margin of the sea, and rose in an amphitheatre to the mountains in the interior, whose heads were hid in clouds. But the melancholy condition to which we were brought, did not allow of our visiting this magnificent country." He once more altered his course, and steered to the eastward along the shore of this new land, which he coasted until the 25th, when, having doubled its eastern point, which he named

Cape Deliverance.

Cap de la Délivrance, he saw towards the north an open sea, into which he gladly entered. He gave the name of *Louisiade* to this discovery, of which he ascertained little more than the existence, and which is still very imperfectly known.

Ile Cholseul.

On the 28th, land was once more perceived in the north-west, which, on a closer approach next day, was found to consist of two islands. The inhabitants were perfectly black; their hair was curled and long, and stained of various colours, white, yellow, and red; they wore bracelets, and small plates of a white substance on their necks and foreheads; they were armed with bows and spears; and their cries and general demeanour indicated a warlike disposition. The boats, in searching for an anchorage, found a capacious bay, into which a river discharged itself; but, while engaged in examining it, they were assailed by about 150 of the natives, embarked in ten canoes. These savages fought with much bravery, but were soon put to flight, and two of their skiffs captured. One of them had carved on it the head of a man, the eyes being mother-of-pearl, the ears of tortoise-shell, and the lips stained of a very bright scarlet; the appearance on the whole, was that of a

Attack by the natives.

mask with a very long beard. The jaw of a man, half broiled, was found in one of the canoes. In noticing this affray, Bougainville makes an observation which has been amply verified by succeeding navigators: "We have observed throughout this voyage, that the savages of a black complexion are generally more barbarous than those tribes that approach more nearly to white." The bay where this attack took place, and the land to which it belonged, were named Ile et Baie Choiseul, and the island has since been identified as one of the Solomons of Mendana, the Arsacides of Surville, and the New Georgia of Shortland.

He now determined to seek a passage through the channel which seemed to divide the two islands, and soon had the satisfaction to find that it was a strait which gradually opened as he proceeded. It was named Bougainville's Straits, and a current at the southern entrance received the appellation of Raz Denis. On the morning of the 3d July, the island of Choiseul was no longer visible, and he stood along the shore of the western land just called after himself, which rose into very high mountains, and was terminated towards the south-west by a lofty promontory, denominated Cap l'Averdi. Land was again perceived still farther to the north-west, and distinctly separated from the cape just described by a strait or gulf. Some of the natives came near the ship, and continued to cry out, "Bouca! Bouca! Onellé!" from which the Frenchman designated their island Bouca. It is believed to be the same with the Anson or Winchelsea Island of Carteret, and is remarkable for the density of its population.\* The inhabitants had their ears pierced and drawn down; and many had their hair stained red, and white spots painted on different parts of their bodies. Their canoes were smaller, and of a different construction from those of Choiseul. On the afternoon of the 5th, two diminutive islands were perceived towards the north and north-west;

CHAP. VII.  
Indication of  
cannibalism.

Bougain-  
ville's  
Straits.

Bouca  
Island.

\* See above, p. 204.



CHAP. VII.  
New Ireland  
Coast.

and almost at the same moment, a larger one between north-west and west, which also presented the appearance of several good bays. He immediately shaped his course in that direction, and on the evening of the 6th anchored in a capacious inlet. A few days after, a piece of a leaden plate was found, having inscribed on it

. . . . . HOR'D HERE  
. . . . . ICK MAJESTY'S

and curiosity having been thus awakened, a farther search discovered numerous and recent marks of the visit of an English vessel. In fact, Bougainville was now on the coast of New Ireland, and the harbour in which he was moored, and which he had called Port Praslin, was within two leagues of that which Carteret had examined, and distinguished by his own name.

Standing to  
the north.

He remained here till the 24th, when, ignorant of the passage which had been discovered between New Britain and New Ireland, he stood to the north, and then sailed westward along the coast of the latter. He passed the north-western extremity of this country in the beginning of August, and on the 8th saw a low flat island about three leagues long, covered with trees. It was called Anachoret's or Hermit's Isle; and a cluster of low islands, among which they were entangled the next day, received the name of L'Echiquier or the Chessboard. On leaving these they discovered the high shores of New Guinea, which they continued to coast till the end of the month, when they entered the group of the Moluccas; and early in September anchored at the island of Boero, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch governor.

Hermit's  
Island.

Arrival at  
Batavia.

From this they sailed on the 7th, and in three weeks reached Batavia, "one of the finest colonies in the world," says Bougainville, "and where we looked on each other as having terminated our voyage." The native of Otaheite who accompanied them, perhaps estimated that city more justly, when he described it as "*enoua maté*"—(the land which kills). On the 16th of October, they again set sail, and having touched at

the Isle of France and the Cape of Good Hope, reached the island of Ascension on the 4th of February 1769. They learned that Captain Carteret had departed hence only five days before their arrival, and, as has been already mentioned, they succeeded in overtaking him before he reached Britain.\* On the 16th of March, the discoverers entered the port of Saint Malo, "having," says their commander, "lost only seven men during the

CHAP. VII.

Island of  
Ascension.Arrival  
at Port  
Saint Malo.

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\* In the Memoirs of Dr Burney by his daughter, Madame D'Arblay, London, 1832, 3 vols 8vo, occurs this passage:—"The following note upon Captain Cook is copied from a memorandum-book of Dr Burney's:—'In February, I had the honour of receiving the illustrious Captain Cook to dine with me in Queen Square, previously to his second voyage round the world. Observing upon a table *Bougainville's Voyage autour du Monde*, he turned it over, and made some curious remarks on the illiberal conduct of that circumnavigator towards himself when they met and crossed each other, which made me desirous to know, in examining the chart of M. de Bougainville, the several tracks of the two navigators, and exactly where they had crossed or approached each other. Captain Cook instantly took a pencil from his pocket-book, and said he would trace the route; which he did in so clear and scientific a manner, that I would not take fifty pounds for the book!'"—Vol. i. pp. 270, 271. While we admire the Doctor's enthusiastic adoration of this relic of Cook, we cannot help smiling at his ignorance. He must have totally misunderstood his "curious remarks," elucidated as they were by the pencil-sketch. *Cook and Bougainville never "met or crossed each other,"* as the Doctor might have known if he had carefully read the book on which he put so high a value. The time during which Cook and Bougainville were at sea together extends from 26th August 1768, to 16th March 1769. At the first of these dates the former left England, and on the same day the latter crossed the line in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. In September, Cook was at Madeira, and Bougainville at Batavia, where he remained till the 16th of October. On the 7th December, the Englishman left Rio Janeiro, and on the 12th the other departed from the Isle of France. On the 14th January 1769, Cook entered Strait Le Maire, and a few days after, the Frenchman doubled the Cape of Good Hope. He arrived in France on the 16th of March, at which time Cook was in the South Sea. At no time were they much nearer one another than half the circumference of the globe. Cook's remarks may have applied to the meeting of *Carteret* and *Bougainville* (above, p 207, 208); but the tale is so incorrectly told, that any further comment were useless.

CHAP. VII. two years and four months which had elapsed since we left Nantes :—

“Puppibus et læti nautæ imposuere coronas.”

Interest excited by the Otaheitan in Europe.

The interest excited in Paris by the appearance of the Otaheitan who had accompanied the voyagers to Europe was very great ; and, says the leader of the expedition, I spared neither money nor trouble to render his visit agreeable and useful to him. The account which has been left of his emotions and conduct, in a scene and under circumstances to him so extraordinary, is unfortunately very defective and meagre. Mr Forster, the translator of Bougainville, tells us it cannot be denied, that Aotourou “was one of the most stupid fellows ; which not only has been found by Englishmen who saw him at Paris during his stay there, and whose testimony would be decisive with the public were I at liberty to name them, but the very countrymen of Aotourou were, without exception, all of the same opinion, that he had very moderate parts, if any at all.”\* The same opinion seems to have been entertained by many of the Parisians ; and though the commanding officer combats it warmly, he has certainly failed to adduce any proof of even moderate intelligence or capability in his barbarian ward. The only sight which roused his curiosity was the opera. Of this we are told he was passionately fond,—knew well on what days the house was open,—and went there alone, paying at the door like any ordinary visiter.

Aotourou's want of intelligence.

Departure from France.

In March 1770, he left Paris, and embarked at Rochelle on board a vessel bound for the Isle of France, from which the government engaged to convey him to his native island. Bougainville very liberally contributed thirty-six thousand francs (about £1500 sterling), the third part of his fortune, towards the fitting out of this expedition ; and the Duchess of Choiseul expended a considerable sum in purchasing cattle, tools, and seeds,

\* Forster's Translation, p. 265, note.

to be taken out to Otaheite. Aotourou arrived in safety at the Isle of France, which he left on the 18th of October 1771, on board the Mascarin, commanded by M. Marion du Fresne, who had also under his orders a ship called the Marquis de Castries, conducted by M. du Clesmeur. Marion's instructions were to convey Aotourou (or, as he is called in the account of this voyage, Mayoa) to Otaheite; then to explore the Southern Pacific in search of new lands; and, finally, to examine more closely the lately re-discovered islands of New Zealand. At the island of Bourbon, the Otaheitan was attacked by the smallpox, of which disease he died shortly afterwards at Madagascar. Marion then pursued his voyage to the south-east; and, in the course of it, he discovered a few small islands, of which the chief are Cavern, Marion, and Marion and Crozet. On the 10th of February 1772, he arrived at Van Diemen's Land; on the 24th he made Cape Egmont, on New Zealand; and shortly after anchored in the Bay of Islands. The horrible massacre, which took place here, of M. Marion and twenty-six of his crew, is too well known. After that catastrophe, the survivors steered for the islands of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, two of the Tonga or Friendly group, and, without having made any discovery, visited the Ladrones and the Philippines, and then returned to the Isle of France.

This expedition was so closely connected with the recent enterprise from the same nation, that though a little inconsistent with strict chronological arrangement, we have given it a place here instead of inserting it after the first voyage of Cook. For a similar reason, and to preserve uninterrupted the narrative of the discoveries of our great countryman, we shall here notice the endeavours of Surville and Shortland, both of which bear an intimate relation to the navigations of Carteret and Bougainville.

The enterprise of Surville had for its object a commercial speculation, the nature of which it is not now easy to develop. M. de Fleurieu, to whom the public

CHAP. VII.

Arrival at  
the Isle of  
France.Death from  
small-pox.Massacre of  
M. Marion  
and crewOrder of  
successive  
expeditions.Surville's  
enterprise.



## CHAP. VII.

—  
Supposed  
motives of  
the voyage.

Extravagant  
anticipations.

Arrival at  
the Bashee  
Islands.

are indebted for the most complete history of it,\* has alluded to the motives with a haste and brevity which seem to indicate a desire that something should be concealed or forgotten. This may be considered as a partial corroboration of the account of the Abbé Rochon,† who maintains that this officer was sent out to discover a new El Dorado,—a marvellous island, abounding with gold, and riches, and fine cloths, and inhabited by Jews,—reported to have been lately seen by the English about seven hundred leagues west from the coast of Peru. The acute and learned author of the French Discoveries may well be supposed anxious not to promulgate that his countrymen, in the days of Cook, listened to a tale better fitted for the dark times and heated imaginations of the earliest adventurers; when Juan Ponce de Leon sailed in search of the Fountain of Youth; when golden regions were sought for every day; and when the lost tribes of Israel were so often found in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, or on the shores of Tierra l'irmé. Whatever was the aim of Surville, the results of his voyage, in a scientific point of view, were most important. If he found not the fairy land he sought, he mainly contributed to restore to Europeans a knowledge of the Islands of Solomon, which, since their discovery by Mendana in 1567, had so often eluded the search of the most active navigators, that their very existence had become doubtful.

Having completed his cargo, he sailed from Pondicherry on the 2d of June 1769, in the Saint Jean Baptiste, a vessel of seven hundred tons, carrying twenty-six twelve-pounders and six smaller cannons. He directed his course towards the Philippines, which he passed, and, holding northward, arrived in the end of August at the Bashee Islands. On quitting these, he steered towards the south-east, with the intention

\* *Découvertes des Français dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée.* Paris, 1790.

† *Voyages à Madagascar et aux Indes Orientales.* Paris, 1791.

of entering the South Sea in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. He crossed the Line on the 23d September, and on the 5th October was in latitude  $4^{\circ} 38'$  south. Frequent signs of land had been perceived for some days; and on the 7th an island was seen, which was named Ile de la Première Vue, and on the succeeding day a country of great extent presented itself. He continued to sail along the coast till the 13th, when he reached an excellent harbour, which he called Port Praslin. Here he anchored, and remained nine days in the expectation of getting a supply of water and refreshments, of which his crew, though the vessel had been victualled for three years, stood already much in need. These hopes, however, were in a great degree baffled by the treachery and hostility of the savages, which soon led to a battle in which Surville acted a part of questionable propriety. Not contented with having dispersed the natives by several murderous discharges of fire-arms, he formed the resolution of taking some of them prisoners; and, in prosecution of this design, did not hesitate to fire into a canoe, although the people on board seemed inclined to peace. He killed one, and succeeded in securing another, a lad about fifteen years of age, whom he named Lova Sarega, and carried with him. Having procured a few necessaries he left Port Praslin on the 21st, designating the country to which it belonged Terre des Arsacides, or Assassins, with a view to express the fierce character of the inhabitants, who, in dress, arms, manners, and physical conformation, resembled those described by Bougainville at Choiseul Island. The Land of the Assassins is, indeed, identified as belonging to the great archipelago of the Solomons, discovered by Mendana.

It was the 6th of November before he cleared the southern point of this insular territory, of which the knowledge he obtained was very limited. The island which he named Inattendue is supposed to be the same that Carteret had seen, and called Gower. On the 30th of October, he observed another, which received

CHAP. VII.  
Ile de la Première Vue.

Port Praslin.

Violence towards the natives.

Terre des Arsacides.

Supposed land, named Inattendue.

## CHAP. VII.

Islands discovered.

the appellation of L'Ile des Contrariétés, and on the 3d of November, he descried three small ones, called by him Les Trois Sœurs. His other discoveries were, a diminutive island named Ile du Golfe; two called Iles de la Délivrance; and the southern extremity of the Land of the Arsacides, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cap Oriental.\*

Arrival at New Zealand.

On the 7th, he lost sight of these shores, and directed his course to New Zealand, where he arrived on the 16th of December, at the very time that Cook was beating about the coast. Close, however, as they were to each other, the voyagers did not meet; and, on the 1st January 1770, Surville left the island. All hopes of finding the fabled land were already abandoned; death and disease had made sad havoc among his crew; and the only object now entertained was to reach some European settlement to save the survivors, who were hardly able, even with the assistance of the officers, to hand the sails. In April, they arrived at Callao; and the captain, anxious for an interview with the Spanish governor to solicit the assistance he so much needed, rashly put off in a small boat, and perished in the surf.

Sufferings of the crew.

Observations of Lieutenant Shortland.

Scanty as was the information regarding the archipelago of the Solomon Isles acquired by this commander and his predecessors, Carteret and Bougainville, their eastern coasts had, nevertheless, been delineated with some degree of accuracy; and the voyage of Lieutenant Shortland, while guarding a fleet of transports from New South Wales to England, served to determine the leading features of the western shores.† This officer left Port Jackson on the 14th July 1783, and on the

\* It has been proposed to call this cape after its discoverer, and it seems but reasonable that his name should be connected with some part of the archipelago. Cook, in his *Second Voyage* (3d edit. vol. ii. p. 267), falls into an error in representing Surville to have given "his own name" to the land he discovered.

† A narrative of this expedition will be found in "*The Voyage of Governor Philip to Botany Bay*. London, 1789," 4to, p. 183-221.

31st, at noon, discovered land nearly in the same latitude with Surville's Cap Oriental, and bestowed on it the appellation of Cape Sidney. He continued to sail along this coast till the 7th of August, giving names to the more prominent capes and bays, but obtaining no certain intelligence of the nature or extent of the land. An interview with the natives showed, that they agreed in all points with the descriptions of the French navigators. On quitting this archipelago he sailed through Bougainville's Straits, and continuing his course to the north-west, visited the Pelew Islands, and arrived at Batavia on the 18th of November. Conceiving the lands he had seen to be a new discovery, he conferred on them the appellation of New Georgia, and bestowed on the channel through which he passed the name of Shortland's Straits. But in no long time, when their position was more minutely examined, it became evident that the countries observed by him belonged to the same group with the Terre des Arsacides and the Isle Choiseul. The names imposed by the English were then dropped; the absurd title given by Surville was also abandoned; and geographers now recognise this cluster by the name of "The Solomons," bestowed by its first visiter, Mendana.

CHAP. VII.

Discovery of  
Cape Sidney.Name finally  
adopted for  
the Solomon  
Islands.

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HAVING traced the progress of discovery in the Pacific Ocean during two centuries and a half, it may now be convenient to pause; and, before proceeding to the history of the greatest navigator that ever sailed on its waters, survey what had been already accomplished, and what still remained to be done.

Numerous as were the expeditions into the South Sea, by far the greater portion of it was yet unexplored. Northwards of the Equator one track only was followed,—namely, that between Mexico, or New Spain, and the Philippines, about the latitude of 15° N.; and from this line little variation was made, nor was there any attempt

Results of  
the various  
expeditions.



## CHAP. VII.

Limited  
range of ob-  
servation.

to examine the unknown sea on either side. The great expanse of the Pacific south of the Line had indeed been more extensively navigated; yet, with one exception, the courses of the several voyagers lay within very narrow limits. The discoveries of Quiros were between  $10^{\circ}$  and  $25^{\circ}$  of south latitude; Schouten's route was nearly in the parallel of  $15^{\circ}$  S.; Roggewein's was almost coincident; and Mendana's never lay far from  $10^{\circ}$  S. The most distant land in that direction reached by Wallis was Whitsunday Island, in  $19^{\circ}$  S.; Carteret attained a higher latitude, and saw Pitcairn's Island, in  $25^{\circ}$ ; but the remotest discovery of Byron was the group of the Disappointment Islands, in  $14^{\circ}$  S. To the north of the Equator, Carteret effected nothing; Byron was equally unsuccessful; and the most northerly position brought to light by Wallis, was the island, in  $13^{\circ} 18' S.$ , which received his own name. Bougainville's range lay between  $19^{\circ}$  S., the latitude of Les Quatre Facardins, and  $5^{\circ}$  S., the parallel of Bouca. These were the only voyagers (with the exception of Magellan) who followed new tracks; and it will be seen that they confined themselves to the space between the Line and the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude.

Wallis and  
Bougain-  
ville's range.

Mercenary  
views of other  
navigators.

The many other navigators whose exploits are recounted in these pages, more intent on the acquisition of Spanish gold than on the search for unknown regions, almost invariably pursued one common and well-frequented path. On entering the Pacific, they stood for Juan Fernandez, in order to recover their health or replace their stores; they then coasted the American continent to California; after which, they either retraced their way to the Atlantic by Cape Horn or the Straits, or more usually crossed the South Sea in the track of the Manilla galleon. Such was the route of Drake, Cavendish, Van Noort, Spilbergen, the Nassau Fleet, the English Buccaneers, Dampier, Rogers, Clipperton, Shelvocke, and Anson.

The only adventurer into a high southern latitude was Tasman. Entering the Pacific from the Indian Ocean,

he advanced to about 44° and discovered Van Diemen's Land. Thence, pursuing nearly the same parallel, he stood eastward till he encountered New Zealand, and, sailing along its western shores, bore northward till he got into the track of Schouten; having discovered in his passage the Tonga Islands, on the confines of the Tropic.

CHAP. VII.  
Discovery of  
Van Die-  
man's Land.

From this recapitulation, it will be seen, that of the Southern Pacific there remained altogether unknown the great space bounded on the north by the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, and by the meridians of longitude 85° W. and 170° E. No vessel had yet attempted to traverse this wide extent, and, consequently, with respect to it there prevailed the utmost uncertainty and ignorance. A learned geographer writes in 1771, "So far as to absolute experience, we continue ignorant whether the southern hemisphere be an immense mass of water, or whether it contains another continent and countries worthy of our search."\* The portion of the Northern Pacific which remained unexplored was, perhaps, still more extensive.

Extent of  
unexplored  
space.

Such were the mighty tracts concerning which nothing had been ascertained. There were, besides, several spacious regions, of which certain navigators had indeed announced the existence, but who stopped short before the extent was brought to light. Of New Holland, only the western side was known; the northern limit (the strait discovered by Torres in 1606) had passed into oblivion, and this great country was generally represented as joining New Guinea; on the south, there was no certainty whether it extended to Van Diemen's Land, or where its termination should be fixed; to the east, it was involved in utter darkness; one point only was clear, that it did not stretch beyond long. 170°, being nearly the meridian of Tasman's track. The limits of New Zealand were still more indefinite. Only its western shores had been visited, and, for all

Imperfectly  
observed  
regions.

New  
Holland.

\* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll., vol. ii.—"Investigation of what may be farther expected in the South Sea," p. 12.

CHAP. VII. that was then known, it might have extended eastward to within 15° of Chili. Mr Dalrymple remarks, that it is “still a question if Staat’s Land, or New Zealand, be part of a continent or only islands; though it is most probably the former, as Tasman supposes it to be.”

Uncertainty  
as to the  
existence of a  
southern  
continent.

In short, the great problem of geography, the existence of a vast SOUTHERN CONTINENT, was still unsolved. The discoveries of succeeding years had no doubt much circumscribed the bounds assigned to it in the sixteenth century; yet within the unvisited bosom of the Pacific there still remained ample space for a country exceeding Europe in dimensions, and surpassing, even in its most high and palmy state, the widest empire ever seen in either hemisphere. Nor with the believers in this land was its extent its only merit. Its fancied splendour and fertility were to cast into the shade all that had been told of Mexico or Peru; for here was to be found the original fountain of their civilization, the parent-country of the first Inca! And to the nation that should discover it there was promised an accession of wealth and power greater than had flowed to Spain from the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro.



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.





# COOK.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Life of Cook previous to his First Voyage.*

Birth and Parentage of Cook—His Education—His Indentures with a Draper—Apprenticeship on board a Collier—Volunteers into the Navy—Appointed Master of the Mercury—His Services at Quebec—Hairbreadth Escape—He first studies Euclid—His Marriage—Made Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador—Communicates an Observation of an Eclipse to the Royal Society—History of the Transits of Venus—Predicted in 1629 by Kepler—Discovery and Observation of Horrox—First Appreciation of its Uses—Professor James Gregory—Dr Edmund Halley—His Exhortation to future Astronomers—Transit of 1761—Preparations for that of 1769—Proposal to send a Ship with Observers to the South Sea—Cook promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant, and appointed to conduct it—His Choice of a Vessel—Sir Joseph Banks determines to join the Expedition—Preparations and Instructions for the Voyage.

JAMES COOK was the son of humble parents. His father, also named James, and supposed from his dialect to be a Northumbrian, was a labourer or farm-servant, and his mother was of the same rank. Both of them were highly esteemed by their neighbours for their integrity, temperance, and industry. They appear to have resided, first at the village of Morton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; afterwards at Marton in Cleveland, a small place in the same county, situated between Gisborough and Stockton-upon-Tees. Here, in a mud-cottage, every vestige of which has long been swept

CHAP. VIII.  
—  
Birth and  
parentage of  
Cook.

## CHAP. VIII.

Sister of  
Cook.

away, the subject of this memoir was born on the 27th of October 1728. He was one of nine children, none of whom survived their parents, excepting himself and a daughter, of whose history nothing is recorded but that she was married to a fisherman at Redcar, and that her home became the abode of her father in the latter part of his life, which was extended to the long term of nearly eighty-five years.

Early  
education.

Cook was taught his letters by the village-school-mistress, Dame Walker. When he was eight years old, his father was appointed hind, head-servant, or bailiff, on the farm of Airy Holme, the property of Thomas Scottowe, Esq., near Great Ayton, at the foot of Roseberry Topping; and in the school of this place, at the expense of his father's employer, he learned writing and the rules of arithmetic.

Original  
destination.

At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a draper, in the fishing-town of Staiths, about ten miles north of Whitby; but this employment little accorded with the bent of his disposition, which now developed itself in a strong passion for the sea. A quarrel having occurred between him and his master, his indentures were given up, and he bound himself for seven years to Messrs John and Henry Walker, owners of two vessels in the coal-trade. These worthy Quakers early appreciated his good conduct and great anxiety to acquire skill in his profession; and after he had served on board the *Freelove*, and for a short time in another ship, they promoted him to be mate of the *Three Brothers*. Promises were made to him of farther preferment; but to these, as his thoughts were already turned to a loftier sphere, he seems to have given little heed. Mr John Walker, one of his employers, remarked, that "he had always an ambition to go into the navy." \* It was not observed by those who knew him at this period, that he

Introduction  
to a seafaring  
life.

Ambitious  
views.

\* Memoir of Cook, by Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. in the "Gallery of Greenwich Hospital," (London, 1831) part i. With the amiable Quakers, his first friends, Cook "maintained a correspondence to the last year of his existence."

was anywise distinguished for talent; but no one can doubt that his active mind was then laying the foundations of future eminence, or that much of the skill in practical navigation, which he afterwards displayed, was acquired in that admirable nursery of seamen,—the coasting-trade.

CHAP. VIII.

Acquire-  
ment of  
practical  
knowledge.

Early in 1755, on the commencement of hostilities with France, there was an active impressment in the Thames. Cook, then in his twenty-seventh year, happened to be in a vessel on the river, and was at first desirous to conceal himself; but, after some hesitation, he resolved to go into the service, and proceeded to Wapping, where he entered as a volunteer on board the *Eagle* of sixty guns, Captain Hamer. Shortly afterwards, Captain Hugh Palliser succeeded that officer; and quickly discerning the young man's superior seamanship, afforded him every encouragement, rated him quarter-master, and from that time continued to be his steady patron. Letters in his favour from friends in Yorkshire,—among whom was Mr Osbaldeston, the parliamentary representative of Scarborough,—arrived in the course of a few months, and his commander obtained for him a warrant as master of the *Mercury* frigate, dated the 15th of May 1759. In allusion to similar commissions for the *Grampus* and the *Garland*, both rendered abortive by unforeseen circumstances, Dr Kippis remarks, "These quick and successive appointments show that his interest was strong, and that the intention to serve him was real and effectual." \*

Commence-  
ment of  
hostilities  
with France.

Friendship  
of Captain  
Palliser.

Appointed  
master of the  
*Mercury*.

The *Mercury* received orders to join the fleet, which, under Sir Charles Saunders, was in co-operation with General Wolfe, at that time engaged in the siege of Quebec. A combined attack on the fortified position at Montmorency and Beauport had been concerted; but it was necessary, in the first place, to procure accurate soundings of the St Lawrence, between L'Ile d'Orléans and the shore on which the French army lay. This, a

Ordered to  
Canada.

\* *Biographia Britannica* (2d edition), vol. iv. p. 101.



## CHAP. VIII.

—  
Dangerous  
service en-  
trusted to  
him.

Narrow  
escape from  
the enemy.

Striking  
evidence of  
capacity and  
perseverance.

service of great danger, which could only be performed during the night, was, on the recommendation of Captain Palliser, intrusted to Cook, who discharged it in the most complete manner. He had scarcely achieved his task when he was discovered by the enemy, who launched a number of canoes filled with Indians to surround and cut him off. He instantly made for the British encampment, but was so closely pursued that the savages entered the stern of his barge as he leapt from the bow under the protection of the English sentinels. The boat was carried off in triumph; but Cook was able, in the words of one of his biographers, "to furnish the admiral with as correct a draught of the channel and soundings as could have been made after our countrymen were in possession of Quebec." There was reason to suppose that before this period he was entirely ignorant of drawing, having seldom or never handled a pencil; and if this conjecture be well founded it affords a striking proof of his capacity and perseverance. Not long afterwards he was employed to make a survey of the whole river below Quebec; and his chart was executed with such skill and exactness that it was immediately published by orders of the Admiralty.\*

His merits now began to attract general attention,

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\* Besides these important duties, if we could trust the companion of his last voyage, Cook was employed in others of still greater consequence. "At the siege of Quebec," it is said, "Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham; examined the passage and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river."—*Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (2d edition, London, 1785), vol. iii. p. 47. For this statement, no other authority has been observed than that of Captain King, whose sketch of Cook's life is meagre and defective. No allusion is made to it in the minute narrative of Dr Kippis; and, as he wrote from the information of Sir Hugh Palliser and other friends of our navigator, his silence must be regarded as conclusive. The passage, indeed, appears to be a vague exaggeration of the real services of Cook,—to which, it should be noted, there is no other reference made by Captain King

and, on the 22d of September 1759, Lord Colville appointed him master of his own ship, the Northumberland, in which he remained on the Halifax station during the winter. He must have long felt the difficulties under which he laboured from his defective education; and we learn that he now took advantage of a little leisure, afforded by the season, to instruct himself in the branches of science most necessary to his profession. "It was here, as I have often heard him say," writes Captain King, "that during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him."\* He accompanied his lordship to Newfoundland in September following; aided in its recapture from the French; and by the diligence which he exhibited in surveying the harbour and heights of Placentia, secured the favourable notice of the governor of the island.

CHAP. VIII.

Appointed  
master of the  
Northumber-  
land.Mathemati-  
cal studies.

He returned to England about the close of the year; and, on the 21st December 1762, married Miss Elizabeth Batts, at Barking in Essex,—a woman of an amiable and generous disposition, from whose society, however, he was quickly called away.†

Return to  
England and  
marriage.

In the beginning of 1763, Captain Graves, who, during Cook's visit, had been governor of Newfoundland, was again appointed to that office; and being

Captain  
Graves.

\* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. iii. p. 47. Captain King places this event under the year 1758; but, as he mentions that Cook was at that time master of the Northumberland, the date of his appointment to that vessel shows that it must have been in the succeeding winter. At the time when the future discoverer thus began his second education he was in his thirty-first year.

† An absurd story is told by some of the biographers of Cook, that he "was godfather to his wife; and, at the very time she was christened, had determined, if she grew up, on the union which afterwards took place between them." This tale, as we were assured by the late Mr Isaac Cragg-Smith, a relative of Mrs Cook, is without the slightest foundation; the two families were at the time unacquainted,—the one residing in the suburbs of the metropolis, the other in Yorkshire, where Cook, then only thirteen years old, was serving his apprenticeship.

CHAP. VIII. desirous to procure accurate surveys of the colony, he made proposals to our navigator, which were willingly accepted. Towards the close of the year he returned home; but his stay on this occasion was as short as on the former, for his old friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, being selected to superintend that settlement, and Cook having agreed to resume his situation, he was, on the 18th of April 1764, nominated marine surveyor. In the discharge of this duty he continued four years, occasionally returning to England, and spending the winter there. The manner in which he executed his commission called forth the highest approbation. He explored the interior of the country more fully than had been hitherto done, making several valuable additions to geography; and the charts which he afterwards published were distinguished by unusual correctness. During this period also, he furnished evidence of his success in the study of practical astronomy, by "An Observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of Newfoundland, August 5, 1766, with the longitude of the place of observation deduced from it," communicated to the Royal Society by Dr J. Bevis, and read 30th April 1767. It occupies only two pages in the Transactions, and is evidently a report drawn up by the doctor,—Cook having probably been in England when he imparted his notes to that gentleman. This is consistent with the remark of Dr Kippis, who speaks of the year 1767 as "the last time that he went out upon his station of marine surveyor of Newfoundland." \*

Employed in a survey of Newfoundland.

Valuable charts published.

Observations of an eclipse of the sun.

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\* In Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, in Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, and in some other memoirs of Cook, there is attributed to him an octavo pamphlet, which was published in the year 1769, under the title of "Remarks on a Passage from the River Balise, in the Bay of Honduras, to Merida, the Capital of the Province of Yucatan, in the Spanish West Indies, by Lieutenant Cook." This journey he is said to have performed in 1765, with despatches from the admiral on the Jamaica station to the Governor of Yucatan, relative to the logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras. But at that time, as has been stated, he was engaged in his survey of Newfoundland; and in 1769, when the tract appeared, he was in the South

At this period the attention of men of science in all parts of the world was eagerly turned to an important astronomical phenomenon, the observation of which must be considered as a leading event in the life of Captain Cook, as it gave a new direction and a higher object to his genius.

CHAP. VII.

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Important  
astronomical  
phenomenon.

This was the passage of Venus across the sun. The transits of the planets were little regarded until Kepler, in a work published at Leipsic in 1629, aroused the curiosity of astronomers, by predicting that the solar disk would appear to be traversed by Mercury in 1631, and by Venus in the same year, and a second time in 1761. Before any part of this announcement could be verified, its illustrious author died (in November 1630); but the transit of Mercury was observed by Gassendi at Paris within a day of the time foretold;\* that of Venus, unfortunately, was not visible to him, having taken place while the sun was under the horizon. This he must have lamented the more, as Kepler had predicted that a century would pass before the recurrence of a similar phenomenon. But a young English astronomer, Jeremiah Horrox, having been led to turn his thoughts towards the subject, discovered, that on the 4th December 1639, Venus would again pass across the sun. This information he communicated to his correspondent, William Crabtree; and, on the day mentioned, these two friends,—the one near Liverpool the other at Manchester,—beheld a spectacle, of which, among all the learned men in Europe, they were the only witnesses. Horrox wrote an account of his observations, but dying within a few days after (on 3d January 1640), more

Kepler on the  
transits of the  
planets.

Transit  
observed by  
Horrox and  
Crabtree.

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Sea. In reply to inquiries made in regard to this pamphlet, Mr Isaac Cragg-Smith, after consulting with Mrs Cook, assured us she was entirely ignorant of it, and that her husband had never been in the Bay of Honduras.

\* The phenomenon was seen by several astronomers; but Gassendi was the only one who published an account of his observations in a tract entitled "De Mercurio in Sole Viso et Venere Invisa, Parisiis, 1631, pro admonitione Kepleri, &c. Par. 1632," 4to.



CHAP. VIII. than twenty years elapsed before his work was published.\*

Uses of such observations.

As yet, however, no one had clearly discerned the uses to which this phenomenon has since been applied in the discovery of one of the most important truths in the range of science. By observations made at distant points on the globe, the astronomer obtains the means of determining the *Sun's Parallax*, or the angle which the earth's semidiameter subtends at the sun, by means of which he can ascertain the distance of the one body from the other. The honour of first pointing out this important application has been commonly ascribed to Edmund Halley, though it is certain that he was anticipated by one whose name is no less distinguished,

First discoverer of their practical value.

—James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope, and the first professor of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. So early as 1663, this eminent mathematician, then about twenty-four years of age, proposed and solved the question,—“From the apparent conjunction of two planets to find out their parallaxes;” to which he annexed the scholium:—“This problem, though attended with considerable labour, may be productive of the most admirable advantages, by observing the passage of Venus or Mercury over the solar disk, *for thereby the Parallax of the Sun may be discovered.*”† This passage demonstrates that

Gregory's scholium.

\* It was entitled, “Venus in Sole Visa, anno 1639,” and first appeared in the “Mercurius in Sole Visus” of Hevelius, published at Dantzic in 1662.

† “*Problema.*—Ex duorum Planetarum conjunctione corporali utriusque planetæ Parallaxes investigare.—*Scholium.*—Hoc Problema pulcherrimum habet usum, sed forsán laboriosum, in observationibus Veneris, vel Mercurii particulam Solis obscurantis: ex talibus enim Solis parallaxis investigari poterit.”—*Optica Promota. Authore Jacobo Gregorio, Abredonensi Scoto. Lond. 1663, p. 128-130.* The claim of Gregory to this important suggestion was first vindicated by the gentleman who afterwards so ably filled the same academical chair, Professor Wallace (*Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii. p. 283). But several years previous to this, he observes, “I mentioned this passage to the late Dr Hutton, and he very properly noticed it in the *Life of Gregory*, contained in the second edition of his Dictionary.” (*Lond. 1815, vol. i. pp. 601, 602.*)

its author was fully aware of the benefits to be derived from this rare occurrence, and that Halley was not the first to appreciate them. Still, to that philosopher is due the merit of satisfactorily elucidating the theory of transits, of directing attention towards them, and impressing upon astronomers the vast importance of the results to be obtained from a careful observation. His thoughts were called to the subject in the year 1677, during his residence at St Helena, for the purpose of examining the stars of the Southern Hemisphere. There happened at that period a transit of Mercury, which he observed with the utmost care. Contrary to his expectation, he was enabled to fix the very instant in which the planet, entering the sun's limb, seemed to touch it internally, as also that in which it went off. He thus ascertained the amount of time occupied by the passage of Mercury over the sun's disk, "without an error of a single second;" for, as he informs us, "the thread of solar light intercepted between the obscure limb of the planet and the bright limb of the sun, though exceedingly slender, affected the sight; and, in the twinkling of an eye, both the indenture made on the sun's limb by Mercury entering into it vanished, and that made by going off appeared." He instantly perceived that, by such observations, the sun's parallax might be duly determined, provided Mercury were nearer to the earth, and had a greater parallax when seen from the sun. But this planet, though it frequently traverses the solar disk, was, he saw, not very suitable for the purpose; because the difference between its parallax and that of the sun is always less than the latter, which is the object of the inquiry. There remained, however, the transit of Venus,—a much rarer phenomenon, indeed, but peculiarly appropriate; because the parallax of that planet, being almost four times as great as that of the sun, occasions very sensible differences between the times in which she seems to be passing over the solar disk, at different parts of the earth. From due

CHAP. VIII.

Halley's  
theory of  
transits.Observation  
of a transit  
of Mercury.Greater value  
of the transit  
of Venus.

## CHAP. VIII.

Simple re-  
quisites for  
observation.

observations of these, he inferred that the sun's parallax might be determined with extreme accuracy, and without any other instruments than good clocks and telescopes; while, on the part of the observers, there were only required diligence, fidelity, and a moderate skill in astronomy. The parallax of Venus being once ascertained, that of the sun and thence the earth's distance from the sun may be found. And by Kepler's third law (that the squares of the periodical times are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances), the distances of all the other planets from the sun may be determined; so that, from the observation of this one phenomenon, the transit of Venus, can be calculated the diameter of the planetary orbits, and the extent of the whole solar system.

Develop-  
ment of  
Halley's  
views.

Halley briefly stated the result of his reflections in his "Catalogus Stellarum Australium," published in 1679. He developed them more clearly in an Essay, read to the Royal Society in 1691;\* and in 1716, he again most earnestly recommended the subject to the attention of that body, and of men of science in general. From his advanced age, he could entertain no hopes of living to witness the next transit in 1761. He therefore solemnly addressed himself to future astronomers, most impressively exhorting them, "moniti hujus nostri memores," to devote all their energies and to use every endeavour to obtain accurate observations of so unusual an occurrence. With great fervour he deprecated such a state of the atmosphere as might obstruct their view, and offered up the most ardent wishes for their complete and triumphant success,—“Utque tandem,” he concludes, “orbium celestium magnitudines intra arctiores limites coercitæ in eorum gloriam famamque sempiternam cedant.” †

Appeal to his  
astronomical  
successors.

\* “De visibili conjunctione Inferiorum Planetarum cum Sole.”—Philosophical Transactions, No. cxiii. vol. xvii. p. 511-522.

† “Methodus singularis quâ Solis Parallaxis sive distantia a Terra, ope Veneris intra Solem conspiciendæ, tuto determinari poterit.”—Phil. Trans. No. cccxlviii. vol. xxix. p. 454-464. James

Halley died in 1742 ; but his affecting appeal to posterity was not made in vain. About a twelve-month before the long-expected event, the celebrated Boscovich addressed a communication to the Royal Society, warmly urging attention to the phenomenon ; and from the very next paper in the memoirs of that body, read on the 26th of June 1760, we learn that they had “ come to a resolution to send persons of ability to proper places, in order to observe the approaching passage of Venus over the sun, the 6th of June next year.”\* Under their auspices, accordingly, and favoured by royal munificence, the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, accompanied by Mr Waddington, repaired to St Helena, while Messrs Mason and Dixon were despatched to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra. Numerous preparations were likewise made at home, and methods devised for securing ample communications from observers abroad. The whole scientific world, indeed, as may be seen from the subjoined note, was alive to an occurrence which had been termed “ spectaculum inter Astronomica longe nobilissimum,” and individuals of the highest rank partook of the prevailing enthusiasm.†

CHAP. VIII.

Boscovich's  
address to the  
Royal  
Society.Observers  
sent to  
different  
places.General  
Enthusiasm

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Ferguson's “ Plain Method of finding the Distances of all the Planets from the Sun by the Transit of Venus,” and Benjamin Martin's “ Venus in the Sun,” both published in 1761, were little more than loose translations of this tract, with some notes and additions, partly popular and partly scientific.

\* Phil. Trans., vol. li. p. 889.

† In Britain, the observations at Saville House, by Mr Short and Drs Blair and Bevis, were made in presence of their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York (brother to George III.), Princes William Henry and Frederick, and Princess Augusta ; Lord Macclesfield's Observatory at Shirburn Castle was supplied by Messrs Hornsby, Phelps, and Bartlett ; Mr Bliss attended the Royal Observatory at Greenwich ; Mr Canton observed at Spittal Square ; Ellicott and Dollond at Hackney ; Mr Dunn at Chelsea ; and Mr Haydon at Liskeard, in Cornwall. In other parts of EUROPE there were De Lalande, Maraldi, and De Lisle, at the Royal Observatory in the Palace of Luxembourg and at the Hotel de Clugny ; De la Caille, Le Monnier, and Ferner, at Conflans, &c. ; Zanotti at Bologna ; Mayer at Schwezinga, near Heidelberg



## CHAP. VIII.

Imperfect  
results of the  
concerted  
observations.

These extensive arrangements were unfortunately in many cases baffled by untoward circumstances. Some observers failed to reach their appointed stations; a few were not in good health, and had to intrust the duty to subordinate assistants; in other instances, the instruments were disordered, or not ready in time; and, on the whole, the position of the planet and the state of the atmosphere proved generally inauspicious to nice examination. But, though the discrepancies in the results were considerable, the possibility of success on the next opportunity, on the 3d of June 1769, was as confidently expected as ever.

Proposed  
astronomical  
expedition to  
the South  
Sea.

Nearly two years previous to that period, the Royal Society resolved to send out observers to some part of the South Sea, between the longitudes of  $140^{\circ}$  and  $180^{\circ}$  west of Greenwich. They were, however, in no condition to defray the expense of such an undertaking; and it was found necessary, in February 1768, to present a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the great advantages to be derived from it, and requesting the royal aid. This petition was at once granted, and on the 3d of April, Mr (afterwards Sir Philip) Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, informed the society that a bark would be provided for the purpose. It was intended to intrust the charge of the expedition to an eminent geographer, whose name has been often mentioned in the preceding pages,—Alexander Dalrymple, brother to that distinguished antiquary and scholar, Lord Hailes. Aware of the difficulty, in such

Government  
aid.

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Lulofs at Leyden; Eximenus at Madrid; Mallet and Bergmann at Upsal; Glistler at Hernosand; Planman at Cajaneburg; Wargentini and Klingenstierna at Stockholm; Justander at Abo, in Finland; Hellant at Tornea. In ASIA, Chappe observed at Tobolsk in Siberia; Porter, the English ambassador, at Constantinople; Hirst, chaplain of one of his majesty's ships, at Madras; Magee at Calcutta; Dollier at Pe-king. In AFRICA may be enumerated, Mason and Dixon at the Cape of Good Hope, as they were prevented from reaching Bencoolen; Maskelyne at St Helena. In AMERICA, it was observed by Winthrop at St John's, Newfoundland, and by others at Kingston and Port Royal, in Jamaica; while Pingre was stationed at the island of Rodrigues, in the Indian Ocean.

a navigation, of securing the obedience of a crew who were not subjected to strict naval discipline, it was proposed that this gentleman should receive a brevet-commission to command the vessel; and it was stated as a precedent, that William III. had, in 1698, appointed Halley to be captain of the *Paramour Pink*, on a voyage of discovery to the South Atlantic. This was an unfortunate example to adduce; for the officers and crews of the learned astronomer had slighted his authority, refused to obey his directions, and at last became so insolent and insubordinate, that, without having effected almost any thing, to use his own words, he "found it absolutely necessary" to return to England, and to incur the cost of a second expedition. These circumstances could not fail to be remembered by the Lords of the Admiralty; and, when the representation of the society was laid before them, Sir Edward, afterwards Lord Hawke, then at the head of the board, declared, "that his conscience would not allow him to trust any ship of his majesty to a person who had not regularly been bred a scaman." On the matter being again urged, he replied, that he would rather have his right hand cut off than that it should sign any such commission; and Mr Dalrymple, on the other part, was found equally determined not to proceed without it.

In this dilemma, Mr Stephens suggested that another individual should be employed. With a discrimination which does him the highest honour, he had early appreciated the talents of Cook, who was now proposed by him as a person fully qualified for the undertaking, and one who had also been regularly educated in the navy. He appealed for a confirmation of his views to Sir Hugh Palliser, and that gentleman most warmly seconded the recommendation, which, fortunately for science, proved successful. Cook, then in his fortieth year, was appointed to conduct the expedition, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant by a commission dated the 25th of May 1768.

The Admiralty having intrusted Sir Hugh with the selection of a suitable vessel, he called its future com-

CHAP. VIII.

Proposed  
brevet com-  
mission.Obstacles  
originating  
in the pro-  
posal.Selection of  
Cook.Promoted to  
the rank of  
Lieutenant.

## CHAP. VIII.

Selection of  
a vessel.

mander to his assistance, and proceeded to examine a great number of ships in the Thames. Even in this first step in the enterprise, its conductor displayed the discernment and sagacity for which he was afterwards so remarkable. At that time there was much discussion regarding the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a voyage; some recommending East India-men, or heavy barks of forty guns; while others preferred large, good-sailing frigates, or three-decked ships, such as were then employed in the Jamaica trade. With that confidence in his own judgment, which is the result of a strong and sound-thinking mind, Cook dissented from the views of both parties, and chose a bark built for the coal-trade, of the burden of 370 tons. He at once saw that the qualities most essential were, that the ship should be of no great draught of water, yet of sufficient capacity to carry the requisite stores; of a construction that would bear to take the ground; and of such a size that she might, if necessary, be laid on shore for repair with safety and convenience. These properties, he remarks, are not to be found in either of the two classes proposed, "nor indeed in any other but north-country-built ships, or such as are built for the coal-trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose. In such a vessel, an able sea-officer will be most venturesome, and better enabled to fulfil his instructions than he possibly can (or indeed than would be prudent for him to attempt) in one of any other sort or size."\* He probably was not aware that his opinions on this subject coincided with those of the illustrious discoverer of the New World. Of the three ships that first crossed the Atlantic, one only was full decked, the others were caravels or light barks, little superior to the small coasting-craft of the present day. "It was not," says Mr Irving, "for want of large vessels in the Spanish ports, that those of Columbus were of so small a size. He considered them best adapted to voyages of discovery, as they required but

Essential  
qualities  
requisite.

Illustrious  
example in  
confirmation.

\* General Introd. to Second Voyage, p. xxv.

little depth of water, and therefore could more easily and safely coast unknown shores and explore bays and rivers. He had some purposely constructed of a very small size for this service.” \* CHAP. VIII.

Before the Endeavour could be completely fitted out, Wallis returned from his circumnavigation, and recommended Otaheite as the most eligible situation for observing the approaching transit. It had been proposed to make the observations at one of the Marquesas, or at the islands of Amsterdam, Middleburg, or Rotterdam; but this intention was now abandoned, and the Royal Society expressed to the Admiralty their wish to have the astronomers conveyed to Port Royal, in the newly-found island. The observers whom they selected were Mr Green, assistant to Dr Bradley in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and Lieutenant Cook. Recommendation of Otaheite as the station.

During these preparations, permission to join the expedition was solicited by Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, the well-known President of the Royal Society during a period of nearly fifty years.† The wish which he had expressed was at once acceded to, and he immediately made arrangements on the most extensive scale. He procured a large supply of such articles as were likely to be useful or acceptable in the countries he was to visit. He engaged to accompany him a Swedish naturalist, Dr Solander, the favourite pupil of Linnæus;‡ and besides a secretary and four servants, Application of Mr. Banks to join the expedition.

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\* Life of Columbus, vol. iv. p. 234. In his third voyage, when sailing along the shores of the Gulf of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, which was “nearly a hundred tons burthen.”—Vol. i. p. 181.

† Sir Joseph Banks was born at London, 13th February 1743. He quitted Oxford in 1763, and three years thereafter made a voyage to Newfoundland. In 1778, he was elected President of the Royal Society; he was created a baronet in 1781, received the order of the Bath in 1795, and in 1802 was elected a foreign Associate of the National Institute of France. He died 19th May 1820.

‡ Solander at this time held an appointment in the British Museum. Some interesting notices of him are given in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XVI., Lives of Eminent Zoologists, from Aristotle to Linnæus inclusive, p. 343-348.



## CHAP. VIII.

Efficient  
assistants.Provisions,  
officers, and  
crew.

two of whom were negroes, he took out two draughtsmen, the one in the department of landscape, the other in natural history.

The Endeavour was victualled for eighteen months, and had on board ten carriage and twelve swivel guns. Her crew, besides the commander and other officers, consisted of forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants,—in all eighty-five persons. The instructions given to Cook were, to proceed directly to Otaheite, and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the general design for discovery in the Pacific, in which Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been employed. He was ordered to sail as far south as the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$ ; if no land was found, he was then to steer to the west, between the fortieth and thirty-fifth parallels, till he encountered New Zealand, and having explored that country, he was to return to England by such route as he might think proper.

## CHAPTER IX.

*First Circumnavigation of Cook.*

Departure—Adventure on Tierra del Fuego—Discovery of Lagoon, Thrum Cap, Bow, The Groups, and Chain Islands—Arrival at Otaheite—Observation of the Transit and Incidents during their Stay—Discovery of the Islands of Tethuroa, Huaheine, Uliatea, Otaha, Tubai, Bolabola, Maurua, and Oheteroa—Makes the East Coast of New Zealand—Affrays with the Natives—Doubles the North Cape—Discovers Cook's Straits, and circumnavigates the Islands—Sails for the East Coast of New Holland—Discovery of New South Wales—Botany Bay—Intercourse with the Natives—Port Jackson—Dangerous Position of the Ship—Reaches the most northerly Point of Australia—Re-discovery of Torres' Strait—New Guinea—Timor—Batavia—Mortality among the Crew—Arrival in England.

ON the 27th May 1768, Lieutenant Cook hoisted his pendant on board the Endeavour, then lying in Deptford Yard, and on the 30th July bore down the river and proceeded to Plymouth, whence he finally set sail on the 26th of August.

While at Madeira, which they reached on the 13th September, the navigators visited the convent of Santa Clara; and the simple nuns, hearing that some of the strangers were great philosophers, asked among other questions, "When it would thunder?" and "Whether a spring of fresh water was to be found any where within the walls of the cloister?" The voyagers passed the island of Teneriffe on the 23d, and observed, after the sun had sunk below the horizon, that the lofty Perseus still received his rays, and, while the rest of the isl

CHAP. IX.

Departure of  
Lieutenant  
Cook.

Visit to  
Madeira.

## CHAP. IX.

Luminous  
appearance  
of the sea.

reposed in the darkest shades, glowed with a warmth of colour which no language could describe. As they pursued their course to Brazil, they had an opportunity of observing that luminous appearance of the sea which has so often excited the admiration of mariners. They anchored at Rio de Janeiro on the 13th November, but the jealousy of the Portuguese governor would only allow refreshments to be procured under the most rigorous restrictions; and his ignorance was such, that he could form no other notion of the purpose of the voyage than that it was to witness "the passing of the North Star through the South Pole!"

Tierra del  
Fuego.

On quitting this port, Cook kept a look-out for Pepsy's Island; but nothing was perceived but a fog-bank, which at a distance closely resembled land. On the 11th January 1769, he was in sight of Tierra del Fuego, and three days afterwards entered Strait Le Maire.

Landing at  
Strait Le  
Maire.

The morning of the 16th was fair and mild, much like one of our bright days in May, and Mr Banks landed with a party to explore the country. They commenced the ascent of a mountain, the lower region of which was covered with wood; this was succeeded by what seemed a plain, while the top consisted of bare rocks. About three o'clock, they reached the second stage of the hill, which they discovered to be a swamp, overgrown with low bushes of birch, so interwoven and stiff that it was necessary to step over them, while at every exertion the foot sunk ankle-deep in the soil. The day now became cold and gloomy, and the wind swept down in sudden gusts accompanied with snow. They still pressed on in good spirits, and had crossed about two-thirds of the wooded morass, when Mr Buchan, the landscape-painter, was seized with a fit of epilepsy. A fire having been kindled, he was left in charge of those who were most fatigued, while Mr Banks, Dr Solander, and Messrs Green and Monkhouse, continued their ascent. By the time they reached the summit, the day was so far spent that it was hopeless

Suffering  
from cold.



HARBOUR OF RIO JANEIRO.





to think of regaining the ship before night ; it was resolved, therefore, to build a hut in a wood at some distance, and the gentlemen last named were despatched to conduct those who had remained below to a spot from which all might advance together. It was nearly eight o'clock before the whole party were assembled at this rendezvous, chilled with the intense cold, but cheerful and in health,—as Mr Buchan had sufficiently recovered to attempt the remainder of the journey. There was still good daylight, and they set forward to reach the nearest valley,—Mr Banks walking last to prevent any one from lingering behind. Dr Solander, in crossing the mountains of his native land, had learned that fatigue and extreme cold frequently produce an irresistible desire for sleep, against which he now cautioned his companions, earnestly exhorting them to keep in motion, however painful the effort might be : “Whoever sits down,” he warned them, “will sleep, and whoever sleeps will wake no more !” The doctor was himself the first that was affected with this inclination for repose ; and so powerful was it, that he insisted on being suffered to lie down, and, in spite of every expostulation and entreaty, stretched himself on the snow. Richmond, one of the black servants, had felt the same effects, and began to lag behind, when five of the party were sent forward to light a fire at the first convenient place. Mr Banks, and four others who remained with him, succeeded in dragging Solander and the negro almost to the edge of the wood, when both declared they could go no farther. Prayers and remonstrances were equally unavailing ; the black, when told that if he did not proceed he would be frozen to death, answered, that “he desired nothing but to lie down and die ;” while the naturalist expressed himself willing to go on, “but that he must first take some sleep.” It being impossible to carry them, they were allowed to recline themselves, partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes both were in a profound sleep. Soon afterwards, the welcome intelligence was received that a flame had been kindled

CHAP. IX.

Construction  
of a hut.Fatal tendency  
to sleep.Drowsiness  
of Dr. Solan-  
der.

## CHAP. IX.

Rapid effects  
of the cold.

about a quarter of a mile in advance. Solander was then wakened ; but though he had not slumbered quite five minutes, he was hardly able to move his limbs, and the muscles of his feet were so shrunk that his shoes fell off ; it was found impossible to make the negro stir, and he was left in charge of the other black and one of the seamen. With much difficulty Mr Banks got the doctor to the fire, when he despatched two persons for Richmond, but they returned without having been able to find him. The snow again came on, and fell incessantly for two hours. About midnight, those at the fire heard a distant shouting, and having proceeded a little way, found the seaman calling for help, and barely able to totter on. Farther off, Richmond was discovered standing, but unable to move, and his companion lay on the ground totally insensible. The united efforts of the whole party failed to bring them to the fire ; the night was extremely dark, the snow very deep, and it was with difficulty that they made their way through the bog,—floundering and stumbling among the bushes. An attempt to kindle a flame at the spot was equally unsuccessful, owing to the heavy fall of snow and the quantities of it which every blast shook from the trees. There was no alternative but to cover the unhappy Africans with boughs, and resign them to their lot.\*

Abandonment of the  
Africans.

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\* In a narrative of the voyage, compiled from the papers of one of the draughtsmen employed by Mr Banks, it is said that the seaman, " touched with sympathy for his companions, told the company of the condition in which he left them ; and they were disposed to have yielded them assistance, but it being almost dark, there was not any probability of finding them, and the attempt would have been attended with the risque of their own lives ; *they therefore declined it.*"—*Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, faithfully transcribed from the Papers of the late Sydney Parkinson (London, 1773), p. 10.* It will be seen that this statement is directly contradicted by that given in the text, on the authority of Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook, which is in every way preferable. Mr Parkinson was *not* of the party, and could only learn the details by hearsay in the ship ; his papers were never prepared by him for publication ; and the so-called Journal was given to the world after his death, not from the original, but from various loose memoranda and fragments. In such a work, it is evident, little faith can be placed.

The cold to which the party had been exposed in these endeavours nearly deprived some of them of sensation, and one suffered so severely that it was thought he would not live to reach the fire. The night was passed in great misery; and when the morning dawned, the snow-blasts were so strong that it was found impossible to proceed. At six o'clock, they were able to perceive the place of the sun in the heavens; but, although the clouds became thinner and began to break away, the snow still fell so thick that they could not venture to quit their fire. A party sent out to ascertain the fate of the blacks found them both dead; a dog which belonged to one of them was sitting close to the corpse of his master, and it was with difficulty that he prevailed on to forsake it. At eight, a breeze sprung up, the sky became at length clear, and the snow, dropping from the branches in large flakes, was considered a sure sign of an approaching thaw. They began to prepare for their departure, and made a meal on a vulture, which afforded each person about three mouthfuls. At ten they set out; and, after walking three hours, found themselves on the beach, at no great distance from the vessel, where their absence during the night had occasioned much anxiety.\*

CHAP. IX.

Extreme suffering from cold.

Faithfulness of a dog.

Return to the beach.

On the 22d, Cook resumed his voyage through the

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\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 46-53. Sydney Parkinson's Journ., pp. 9, 10. "It is quite inexplicable to me," says a late author, "how Dr Solander and his party could possibly feel the effects of cold as they did. We are told that he was seized with a torpor, and that two black servants were actually frozen to death, asleep;—and yet, here plants flourished!—they returned to the vessel with some hundred new specimens! One would suppose that it would be needless to search for plants in a climate so rigorous in its effects."—Voyage to the Southern Atlantic, in the years 1828-9-30, in H. M. sloop Chanticleer, by W. H. B. Webster, surgeon (London, 1834), vol. i. p. 200. The plants which were gathered were "*Alpine plants*," and Mr Webster's amazement at their "flourishing in a climate so rigorous in its effects," is scarcely more misplaced than his astonishment that two negroes should perish from exposure on a hillside during a whole night to a severe snow-storm, accompanied by a hard frost and a piercing wind.



CHAP. IX.  
Passage of  
Cape Horn.

Discovery  
of Lagoon  
Island.

strait, and, on the fourth day after, passed Cape Horn. On the 1st of March, he was in latitude  $38^{\circ} 44'$  S., and longitude  $110^{\circ} 33'$  W. A log of wood floated past the ship, the sea became suddenly smooth, and it was the general opinion that land lay to windward; but none was discovered till the 4th of April, when an island was seen three or four leagues towards the south. It was little more than a border of land, broken in several places, and enclosing a large lagoon, the whole having the appearance of many islets covered with wood; above which towered two cocoa-nut trees bearing a great resemblance to flags. Habitations were descried under the shade of some palms, and to the voyagers, "who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Tierra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise." Several natives were perceived on the shore, and appeared to be tall, of a copper colour, and with long black hair; some of them held in their hands poles upwards of fourteen feet in length. To this spot was given the name of Lagoon Island;\* and Cook was afterwards of opinion that it was the same which Bougainville had visited the preceding year, and called Les Quatre Facardins.†

Thrum Cap  
Island.

About sunset, the Endeavour was close to a low woody island, of a circular form, and not much above a mile in compass. It was covered with verdure of many hues; but no inhabitants were seen, nor could any cocoa-trees be discerned. It received the appellation of Thrum Cap; and though Cook believed it to be the Ile des Lanciers of his French predecessor, we have more reason to regard it as a discovery of his own.‡

With a gentle wind and pleasant weather, he pursued

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\* Cook placed it in latitude  $18^{\circ} 47'$  S. and longitude  $139^{\circ} 28'$  W. Beechey gives for its position lat.  $18^{\circ} 43' 19''$  S., and long.  $138^{\circ} 47' 13''$  W. The captain attests the accuracy of the description left by its discoverer, and adds, "Two cocoa-nut trees in the centre of the island, which Cook observes had the appearance of flags, are still waving."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 208.

† See above, p. 218.

‡ See above, p. 219.

his course to the westward, and on the afternoon of the next day approached a land of much larger extent than that previously visited. Several of the gentlemen remained at the mast-head the whole evening, admiring its singular shape, which was that of a bow, "the arch and cord of which were land, and the space between them water; the cord was a flat beach, without any signs of vegetation, having nothing upon it but heaps of sea-weed; the horns or extremities of the bow were two large tufts of cocoa-nut trees, and much the greater part of the arch was covered with trees of different height, figure, and hue."\* It was designated Bow Island, and is evidently the same with Bougainville's Ile de la Harpe, called by the natives He-ow; the circumference was estimated at ten or twelve leagues; while smoke ascending from different parts showed that it was inhabited.

CHAP. IX.  
Bow Island,  
or Ile de la  
Harpe.

About noon of the 6th, land was again seen to the westward, and proved to be two islands, or rather clusters, covered with trees of various kinds. Many natives and canoes were observed, and the place received the name of The Groups. At daybreak of the 7th another was descried and called Bird Island, from the number of fowls which frequented its shores. It was thought to be not less than four miles round, had a lagoon in the centre, was partially wooded, and "looked green and pleasant, but we saw neither cocoa-trees nor inhabitants." About sunset of the succeeding day, the Endeavour was abreast of a double range of low and wooded islets, connected by reefs so as to form one island of an oval form, with a lake in the middle. From the appearance of the border, it received the appellation of Chain Island; its length seemed to be about five leagues, its breadth nearly as many miles; some of the trees were of a large size, and columns of smoke were seen to rise from sundry places.

Bird Island.

Chain  
Islands.

The night of the 9th was stormy, with thunder and

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 75.

## CHAP. IX.

Osnaburg, or  
Maitea  
Island.

rain, and a haze enveloped the voyagers till the next morning was far advanced, when the weather having cleared up, they discovered Osnaburg or Maitea Island. About noon the high mountains of Otaheite were faintly discerned; but calms and light winds so long delayed the approach of the vessel, that she did not anchor in Matavai Bay (the Port Royal of its discoverer) before the morning of the 13th.

Rules for in-  
tercourse  
with the  
natives.

The islanders in their canoes immediately surrounded the ship, exchanging fruits and fish for beads and other trifles. A set of rules to be observed in conducting a regular trade, and for the maintenance of a good understanding with the inhabitants, was now communicated to the crew by Cook, who afterwards went on shore with Messrs Banks and Solander, and a party of men under arms. They were received by the assembled hundreds with the greatest humility,—the first who approached crouching till he almost crept upon his hands and knees, while he presented a green branch,—an emblem of peace borne by each of his countrymen,—and which was accepted with marks of satisfaction. A short march brought the English to the spot where the Dolphin had formerly watered. The natives halted here, cleared away the plants, threw down their boughs, and made a signal that the strangers should follow their example. This ceremony, it was conjectured, not only implied a treaty of friendship, but was preparatory to the cession of the watering-place. Cook, however, did not think it suitable for his purpose; and the people whom he had as yet seen not being of the highest class, he resolved, after perambulating the adjoining country, to endeavour the next day to meet with some of the chiefs. Two of these anticipated his wishes by paying a visit early in the morning, and inviting him to their residences, where he was received with much courtesy. In a short time, however, two of the English had the mortification to find that their pockets had been picked of a snuff-box and an opera-glass in a shagreen case. The announcement of this depredation produced a panic

Interview  
with two  
chiefs.







among the natives, and the chief offered a large quantity of cloth as a compensation ; but on this being refused he set off, and eventually succeeded in recovering the lost articles.

CHAP. IX.

—  
Recovery  
of stolen  
property

A theft much more distressing in its consequences was committed on the 15th, at the tent pitched on the site of the fortress which it was designed to erect, partly for defence and partly for astronomical purposes. One of the savages, watching an opportunity, snatched and carried off a sentinel's musket ; upon which (in the absence of Cook) the officer on duty, a young midshipman, ordered the marines to fire, but fortunately without effect, among a crowd of the natives, amounting to more than 100. The culprit was then pursued and shot dead. Having reprehended the conduct of the officer as equally barbarous and impolitic, the commander took measures for the restoration of harmony, and in a short time peace was re-established and traffic resumed.

Theft of a  
sentinel's  
musket.

Hitherto the tender-hearted princess, who made so distinguished a figure in the account of Wallis' voyage, had not been seen. She was at last recognised, apparently denuded of all authority, sitting with great composure among a number of women, and although she had now lost many of her personal attractions, she became an object of great attention. Her name was ascertained to be Oberea, and she was the mother of the heir-apparent to the sovereignty, Terridiri, a boy about seven years of age. Among the presents made to her was a child's doll, which threw her into raptures, and proved such a source of envy to Tootahah, the uncle of the prince, and regent of the kingdom, that it became necessary to propitiate him by a similar compliment.

The Princess  
Oberea.

On the 1st of May, the observatory was set up, and the astronomical instruments taken on shore. To the great surprise and anxiety of every one, the next morning, the quadrant was nowhere to be found. It was at first suspected that some of the ship's company, ignorant of the real contents, had abstracted the box in which it was packed ; but nothing occurring to corroborate this

Construction  
of the  
observatory.

## CHAP. IX.

Recovery  
of the  
instrument.

opinion, a search among the natives was undertaken by Mr Banks, with the assistance of a chief, Tubourai Tamaide, who had some knowledge of the route taken by the culprit. They fortunately succeeded in recovering the instrument so essential to the main object of the voyage; but, in the absence of Cook, Tootahah had been seized, to the great terror of the islanders, who never doubted that he would be put to death as a punishment for the theft. He himself had the same persuasion till the very moment when he was set at liberty—an event which gave boundless joy to the people, who flocked round and embraced him as a father.

Native pro-  
nunciation.

On the 10th, the voyagers discovered the native designation of the island to be Otaheite; and were, at the same time, much amused by the attempts of the inhabitants to pronounce the names of their visitors: Cook became *Toote*; Solander was changed into *Torano*; Banks assumed the form of *Tapane* or *Opame*; “Molineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the master *Boba*, from his Christian name Robert.”\*

Observing  
parties.

As the day of the predicted transit drew near, it was resolved to send two parties to observe at distant situations, in order to lessen the chance of failure from a clouded atmosphere; and, on the 1st June, Mr Banks, with a few attendants, proceeded to the island of Eimeo, about twelve miles west from Otaheite; while, on the morrow, Mr Hicks, with some others, sailed in the pinnace to fix on some spot to the eastward of Matavai Bay.

Anxiety at  
Eimeo.

At Eimeo, the evening preceding the important phenomenon was beautiful; but the solicitude of the party did not allow them to take much rest during the night; “one or other of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky; now encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears by an account that it was hazy.” They were on foot

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 123. Parkinson's Journal, p. 65.

by daybreak, and saw the sun rise from the sea without a cloud. Equal success attended the persons sent to the east end of the island; while "at the fort," says Cook, "there not being a vapour in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, the whole passage of Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr Green, Dr Solander, and myself." An atmosphere or dusky haze, which surrounded the body of the planet, rendered it difficult to fix the precise times of contact, and the observations made by different persons varied considerably. According to Mr Green,

CHAP. IX.  
Favourable  
state of the  
atmosphere.

Observations  
of Mr. Green.

	h.	'	"	
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the Sun, was	9	25	42	}
The first internal contact or total immersion was	9	44	4	
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion, was	3	14	8	
The second external contact, or total emersion,	3	32	10	

The latitude of the observatory was ascertained to be  $17^{\circ} 29' 15''$  S., and the longitude  $149^{\circ} 32' 30''$  W. of Greenwich.\*

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 141. Part of the original manuscript of Cook's observations has been preserved, and an engraved fac-simile of this interesting relic has been procured for the present work. The result is thus given in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxi. part ii. p. 410:—

Time p. clock.	h.	'	"		
9 21 50				} The first visible appearance of ♀ on the ☉'s limb, see fig. 1.	Cook's original notes.
39 20					
40 20				} A small thread of light seen below the penumbra, fig. 3.	
3 10 15					
10 47				} Second internal contact of the bodies, and appeared as in the first.	
27 24					
28 04				} Total egress of penumbra, dubious.	

The part of the MS. missing, seems to have contained the times of the second contacts, and the first draught of some general observations printed in the Phil. Trans., as cited above, and ending nearly as in the engraving:—"The breadth of the penumbra appeared to me to be nearly equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of Venus' semidiameter."



## CHAP. IX.

General  
anxiety  
among scien-  
tific men.

At Edin-  
burgh.

In other parts of the world, the approach of the phenomenon was watched with equal anxiety. A transient obscurity in the heavens and a gentle shower were more appalling on that forenoon than a hurricane on another day. In some places philosophers had to deplore an evening black with thunder-clouds and heavy rain; while in others the storm was over and the sky clear before the hour for observation arrived.\* At Edinburgh, Lord Alemoor, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, considered himself to be peculiarly favoured. "The morning," says one of his party, "promised ill. About noon the day was terrible, with thick clouds, and like settled rain. You may imagine how we felt! About two o'clock the wind began to change from the south to the westward; about three it was west, and the clouds breaking. There was about four a very hard thunder-shower, and calm; after which the wind began to blow briskly from the north-west; the clouds blown away, and those near the horizon depressed and held down; the sun shone clearer than I ever saw it, and not a cloud was to be seen in that quarter. It remained so till after both contacts, when, not half a minute af-

\* In the lapse of eight years several changes had occurred, and the list of those who observed this phenomenon is considerably different from the catalogue given in pages 251, 252. Lord Macclesfield, Messrs Hornsby and Bartlett, observed at Shirburn Castle; Messrs Horsley, Cyril Jackson, Lucas, Sykes, and Shuckburgh, at Oxford; Dr Bevis at Kew; Canton at Spittal Square; Harris, of the Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital, at Windsor Castle; Ludlam at Leicester; Francis Wollaston at East Dereham, in Norfolk; Drs Wilson, Irvine, and Reid, at Glasgow; Lord Alemoor and Dr Lind at Hawkhill, near Edinburgh; Rev. Mr Bryce at Kirknewton; Mason at Cavan, in Ireland; Messier, Du Séjour, Cassini, De Fouchy, Bailly, De Bory, Maraldi, Le Monnier, Fouguere, the Duke de Chaulnes, and others in various parts of France; Lieutenant Jardine at Gibraltar; Ferner at Stockholm; Father Hell at Wardhuus; Mallet at Ponoï, in Lapland; Rumonsky at Kola; Bayley at the North Cape; Wales and Dymond at Prince of Wales' Fort, Hudson's Bay; Wright near Quebec; Leeds in the province of Maryland; Smith, Ritterhouse, and others, at Norriton, Pennsylvania; Pingré at Cape Francis, St Domingo; Chappe in California; Mohr at Batavia; Degloss at Dinapoor, and Rose at Phesabad, in the East Indies; Dr Solander, Mr Green, and Captain Cook, at Otaheite.

terwards, small flying clouds passed over the sun!" \* The interest with which the unlearned watched the event, appears to have been almost equal to that of the individuals who more fully understood its importance. At Glasgow, "it was apprehended that the smoke of the town might hurt the observations; and, to prevent this as much as possible, an advertisement was put in the newspaper, begging the inhabitants, in cases where it would not be very inconvenient, to put out their fires from three o'clock that afternoon till sunsetting." This request was cheerfully complied with, "insomuch that there was not a spire of smoke to be perceived in that quarter from which the observations could be incommoded." † At Philadelphia, Dr Smith was attended by a great concourse of people, and afraid that the curiosity natural on such occasions might interrupt the observations, he informed them that success depended on there not being the least noise till the contacts were over. "And," says the doctor, "during the twelve minutes that ensued before the first contact, there could not have been a more solemn pause of expectation and silence, if each individual had stood ready to receive the sentence that was to give him life or death." ‡

CHAP. IX.  
Popular  
interest at  
Glasgow.

At Philadel-  
phia.

Satisfactory  
results.

On the whole, the numerous observations were satisfactory, and the results deduced from them scarcely differed more than the quarter of a second in the sun's parallax, which they determined to be 8.6". This agrees with the calculations of La Place, deduced from the lunar equation in longitude; but Professor Bessel having combined and recomputed the original observations, has recently introduced a small correction, which makes the parallax to be only 8.575", and consequently the mean distance of the sun 95,158,440 English miles; while, according to the calculations of Encke, the parallax is 8.5776", and the distance of the sun 95,130,640 miles.

During Cook's observations on the transit at Otaheite,

\* Phil. Trans., vol. lix. p. 340. † Ibid. p. 334. ‡ Ibid. p. 309.

## CHAP. IX.

Depredations  
of the crew.

some of the crew broke into a storeroom and abstracted a hundredweight of spike-nails,—a theft of a serious nature, as it could not fail greatly to depreciate the value of the coin circulated among the natives. One of the depredators was detected with part of the stolen goods in his possession, and punished with two dozen lashes; but he refused to impeach his accomplices. Monday, the 5th of June, was celebrated as the anniversary of his majesty's birth, and several of the chiefs drank to the health of *Kihiargo*, as they pronounced King George.

Circumnavi-  
gation of the  
Island.

On the 26th, Cook, accompanied by Mr Banks, set out to circumnavigate the island, and that day visited the harbour in which Bougainville had lain, where they saw the chief Ereti or Oretti, mentioned by the French navigator, and were informed that Aotourou was his brother. At night they reached the isthmus which joins the two peninsulas of Otaheite,—the lesser of which, it was ascertained, bore the appellation of Tiarrabou or Otaheite Ete, and had a chief designated Wahecatua for its ruler; while the other, called Opoureonu or Otaheite Nue, was governed by a youth named Ootoo or Outou, the nephew of the regent Tootahah, and Oamo, the husband of Oberea. They completed the circuit of the whole on the 1st of July, and estimated its circumference at about thirty leagues.

Preparations  
for departure.

Soon afterwards, they began to dismantle their fort, on which they had bestowed the name of Venus, and to make preparations for their departure. On this occasion, we discover for the first time an instance of that fascination which this lovely island, its gentle people, and their manner of life, have so often exerted over the rude hearts of uncultivated men. Two of the marines stole from the fort on the night of the 8th of July, and, as was gathered from the natives, had taken refuge in the mountains, with the intention of remaining in the country, where they had attached themselves to wives. Cook resolved to recover them, but was loath to terminate, by any rigorous measures, the harmony which

subsisted between him and the islanders. He was compelled, however, to detain several chiefs, among whom was Tootahah, till the deserters should be brought back. General alarm was the consequence; and in retaliation two petty officers were seized, along with the arms of two more; but quiet was at last restored through the intervention of Tootahah, who gave effectual orders for the delivery of the fugitives.

On the 12th, a native of the name of Tupia, a priest who had been first minister to Oberea when in the height of her power, came on board accompanied by a boy, who was his servant, and requested leave to sail with the voyagers,—a wish which was at once complied with. “To have such a person on board,” says the lieutenant, “was certainly desirable for many reasons; by learning his language, and teaching him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay amongst them could give us.” Early on the succeeding morning, the ship was crowded with chiefs, while the sea around was thronged with the canoes of the inferior classes. About noon, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel getting under sail, the natives on board took their leave, “and wept with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender; the people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief.”\* In this scene Tupia evinced great firmness; he could not indeed restrain his tears, but he struggled to conceal them, and having sent his last present on shore, climbed to the mast-head, where he continued to make signals, till the winds had wafted him away from the friends he was never again to behold.

Cook first directed his course to a small island called Tethuroa, about eight leagues to the north of Otaheite; and on the 14th he passed two others, Eimeo and Ta-

CHAP. IX.  
Deserters  
reclaimed.

Tupia a  
native priest.

Farewell of  
the islanders.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 181.



## CHAP. IX.

Islands  
discovered.

buaemanu, assigned by Wallis to the honour of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Saunders. The 15th was hazy, with light and changeable winds, and little way was made; Tupia frequently prayed to his god Tane for a favourable gale; and as he never began his address till he perceived that a breeze was close at hand, he was enabled to boast of his influence with his deity. At length a gentle wind sprang up, and, on the morning of the 16th, the voyagers were close to an island named Huaheine, about seven leagues in compass, and with a hilly and uneven surface. Several canoes came off, and in one of them was Oree, the sovereign, who, with frequent expressions of astonishment and wonder, ventured on board; and, as a proof of amity, exchanged names with the chief officer, from whom he received several presents, among which was a small plate of pewter, with the inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's Ship Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July 1769. Huaheine." Two or three days were passed at this island, the inhabitants of which, though rather stouter and of larger make, in other respects very closely resembled the Otaheitans.

Huaheine.

Raiatea.

A sail of a few hours brought the navigators to Ulietea or Raiatea, which was observed to be enclosed within the same reef that surrounded Otaha, and several lesser islets. A small low island seen to the north, was by the natives called Tubai, and contained only three families. Sailing a short distance to the north-westward, on the 29th, they were close under the high and craggy Peak of Bolabola or Borabora; but, finding the land inaccessible at that part, they stood off to weather the south end. The next morning, they got sight of the small island Maurua, and afterwards anchored on the west side of Ulietea, for the purpose of stopping a leak in the powder-room and taking in more ballast. The lieutenant embraced the opportunity of waiting on Opoony, the warlike sovereign of Bolabola, who had conquered this and some of the neighbouring countries. From the reports of his achievements and the terror in

Opoony,  
sovereign of  
Bolabola.

which he was held, the English expected to behold a formidable personage ; but there appeared before them a poor weak creature, infirm, decrepit, and sluggish, half blind from age, and wholly stupid. To the six islands now visited, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua, with their dependent islets, Cook gave the name of **THE SOCIETY ISLANDS**, by which they are still distinguished. They lie between  $16^{\circ} 10'$  and  $16^{\circ} 55'$  S. latitude, and  $150^{\circ} 57'$  and  $152^{\circ}$  W. longitude.

Oheteroa, considerably to the south or south-west, was reached on the 13th August. The natives, splendidly dressed in coloured cloths and feathers, stood on the shore with long lances and clubs, ready to oppose a landing. Attempts to conciliate them were fruitless ; and the commanding officer having satisfied himself that no safe anchorage could be found, determined to continue his course to the southward. On the 25th, the voyagers celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England, "by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order."\* On the 29th, they saw the remarkable comet of 1769 ; and Tupia, on observing it, exclaimed that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would make war on those of Ulietea, and drive them to the mountains. The Endeavour was in latitude  $40^{\circ} 22'$  S., and longitude  $174^{\circ} 29'$  W., on the 1st of September, with a heavy sea from the westward, and no signs of land. She then stood northward, and on the 24th, a piece of seaweed and a bit of wood were observed in latitude  $33^{\circ} 18'$  S., and longitude  $162^{\circ} 51'$  W. A seal was seen asleep in the water on the 27th, and three days after innumerable flocks of birds were met with. On the 5th, it was thought that there was a change in the colour of the water ; and at last, on the 6th, land was seen from the masthead ; in the evening, it could

CHAP. IX.  
The Society  
Islands.

Oheteroa.

Comet of  
1769.

Indications  
of land.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 281.

CHAP. IX. — be descried from the deck, and appeared to be of great extent.

Arrival at  
New Zealand.

As the voyagers slowly approached on the succeeding day, its dimensions still increased as it was more distinctly seen. Four or five ranges of hills were discerned rising one above another, while, far inland, a chain of mountains of vast height towered high over all. Speculation was busy in conjectures on this great country, and the general opinion on board was, that the *TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA* was at length discovered. As they drew nearer, they could see that the hills were clothed with wood, and that the valleys sheltered some gigantic trees; canoes were perceived crossing a narrow bay; houses, small but neatly built, were descried; beside one of them a crowd of people were sitting on the beach; and much curiosity was excited by a high and regular paling which appeared to enclose the summit of a hill. In the evening, Cook, Banks, and Solander, went ashore with a party, and endeavoured to open a friendly communication with the islanders, but were obliged to shoot one of them in self-defence. On examining his dress, it was found to answer the representation given in an account of Tasman's Voyage; and, indeed, our navigators were now on the New Zealand of that discoverer,\* but on the opposite coast to that which he had visited.

Interview  
with the  
natives.

On the morning of the next day, the 9th, the lieutenant again rowed to the beach, and found about fifty of the natives waiting his landing. They started from the ground, and brandished long pikes and short stone weapons; nor did they desist from defiance although addressed by Tupia in the Otaheitan tongue, until they saw the effect of a musket in striking the water at a distance. As soon as the marines were brought up, the English approached the savages, when their interpreter again spoke to them, "and it was with great pleasure," says Cook, "that we perceived he was perfectly under-

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\* See above, p. 124.



CANOE PUTTING OFF.—Page 275.





stood." They expressed their willingness to trade for provisions and water, and desired the strangers to cross the river which flowed between; but they would not lay down their arms, and Tupia saw good reason for advising his friends to be prepared for hostility. The islanders being in turn invited over, first one, then two and, soon after, twenty or thirty, almost all armed, swam across. They attempted to seize the weapons of the discoverers, and, though assured of death if they persisted, one of them snatched a hanger, with which he ran off, waving it round his head in exultation. The rest now grew more insolent, and others were observed coming from the opposite bank to their assistance. It was judged necessary to take some measures to repress them, and Mr Banks accordingly fired at the thief, who was wounded, but still retreated, though more slowly, flourishing the cutlass as before. Mr Monkhouse took a more fatal aim, and the savage dropped; upon which the main body, who had previously retired a little, began to advance; three pieces, loaded only with small-shot, were therefore discharged, when they again fell back, and went slowly up the country,—some of them evidently wounded.

Cook, intent on establishing an amicable intercourse with these intractable barbarians, determined to make some of them prisoners, and to treat them with kindness in the hope of inspiring general confidence. Two canoes were soon after observed coming in from sea, and boats were despatched to intercept them; but they endeavoured to escape, regardless of the fair promises shouted after them by Tupia. A musket was then fired over their heads, in the hope that "it would either make them surrender or leap into the water;" but they stripped for the combat, and assailed their pursuers so vigorously with stones and other missiles, that the English were obliged to fire. Their discharge killed four men; while the rest of the crew, consisting of three boys, one of whom offered a stout resistance, were made captives. Justice to the memory of Cook requires us

CHAP. IX.

Hostile  
attitude  
of the New  
Zealanders.

Their retreat.

Unsuccessful  
attempt at  
amicable  
intercourse.

## CHAP. IX.

Benevolent  
reflections of  
Cook.

to give a place to his own remarks on this most unfortunate incident :—" I am conscious," he says, " that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people ; and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger ; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect ; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal ; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life, yet, in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."\*

Behaviour of  
the captives.

On being brought into the boat, the prisoners, who had squatted down in expectation of death, were clothed and amply fed. They soon became quite cheerful, and asked questions with every appearance of pleasure and curiosity ; but when night came on their spirits failed them, and they sighed often and loudly. When pacified in some measure by Tupia, they began to sing a slow mournful song to an air much resembling a psalm-tune. Daylight, however, and another copious meal roused them to cheerfulness ; they were dressed and decorated, and fell into transports of joy when assured that they would be restored to their friends.

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. ii. p. 290.

Being at first unwillingly put ashore on a point of the coast which they said belonged to their enemies, who would certainly kill and eat them, they had soon afterwards to seek protection in the boat. When landed a second time, they waded into the water, and earnestly requested to be again taken on board ; but the sailors had positive orders to leave them, and they were in a short time seen to join some of their associates. To the bay in which these transactions took place Cook gave the appellation of Poverty,—because nothing but wood could be obtained : according to his calculation, it was in lat.  $38^{\circ} 42'$  S. and long.  $181^{\circ} 36'$  W.

CHAP. IX.  
Landing of  
the captives.

Leaving it on the 11th of October, he sailed southward along the shore for six days, till he reached, in lat.  $40^{\circ} 34'$  S., a high bluff head with cliffs of a yellow tint, on which he bestowed the name of Cape Turnagain. Finding no suitable harbour, and perceiving that the country manifestly altered for the worse, he changed his course to the northward, and in two days passed the spot where he first made the coast. Still pursuing its windings, on the 30th he doubled a high promontory of white rocks, which, from its position, he called East Cape. He now found the land trending in a north-westerly direction ; and, as he ran along it, observed increasing signs of cultivation and fertility. The next day a number of skiffs came off crowded with warriors, who flourished their arms and uttered loud shouts of defiance, frequently repeating *Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge!* “Come to us, come on shore, we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos [stone hatchets]!” In the flotilla was a canoe, by far the largest which had yet been seen, having no fewer than sixteen paddles on each side, and containing in all about sixty men. It was making directly for the ship, when a gun, loaded with grape, was fired ahead of it ; this caused the rowers to stop, and a round shot, which was fired over them, falling in the water, filled them with such terror that “they seized their paddles and made towards the shore so precipitately that they seemed

Cape Turn-  
again.

East Cape.

War Canoe.



CHAP. IX. scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe." The  
 Cape Runaway. spot where this took place was named Cape Runaway ;  
 and a creek, in which the Endeavour anchored three  
 days after, was called Mercury Bay, from an observation  
 of the transit of that planet here made. This harbour  
 lay in latitude  $36^{\circ} 47'$  S., longitude  $184^{\circ} 4'$  W. ; and  
 Cook did not quit it before the 15th of November, after  
 taking formal possession in the name of his sovereign,  
 and recording upon a tree the date of his visit to the  
 country.

Cape Brett. The coast still trended north-westward, and as he sailed  
 along, he kept as close to it as was consistent with safety.  
 On the 26th, he passed a remarkable point, which he named  
 Cape Brett, and three days after, anchored in a creek  
 lying to the west of that promontory, which received the  
 title of the Bay of Islands. He did not leave it till the  
 6th of December ; and passing, on the third day, a harbour  
 on which he bestowed the appellation of Doubtless, he  
 was informed by the natives, through the medium of  
 Tupia, that, " at the distance of three days' rowing in  
 their canoes, the land would take a short turn to the  
 southward, and from thence extend no more to the  
 west." The same tribe also said that there was to the  
 north-west a large country, called Ulimaroa,\* to which  
 some people had once sailed in a very large canoe, and  
 found that its inhabitants eat hogs. On the 17th, after  
 encountering much adverse weather, Cook made the  
 North Cape. northern extremity of the island, which he named North  
 Cape, in latitude  $34^{\circ} 22'$  S. and longitude  $186^{\circ} 55'$  W. †  
 He stood off and on this promontory till the 24th, when  
 he discovered the Three Kings' Islands of Tasman ; and,

\* " *Ulimaraa*—qu'il faut lire sans doute *Oudi-Mara*, peuple d'un lieu exposé à la chaleur du soleil."—*Voyage autour du Monde*, par M. J. Dumont D'Urville (8vo, Paris, 1832), tome ii. p. 291.

† Another European vessel was at this time off the coast of New Zealand,—that of M. de Surville (see above, p. 236). The Doubtless Bay of Cook seems to be the same with that which the French navigator, in honour of Law the celebrated projector, designated Lauriston.

on the 30th, perceived the Cape Maria Van Diemen of the same navigator,—the north-western point of the country. Two remarkable circumstances are recorded by Cook as occurring while he sailed round the extremity of New Zealand, namely, that in latitude  $35^{\circ}$  south, in the midst of summer, there was a gale of wind, such as, for strength and continuance, he had scarcely ever experienced before; and that five weeks were spent in getting fifty leagues to the westward,—no less than three of them in making only ten. Happily, during the storm, his ship was far from land,—“otherwise,” he says, “it is highly probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures.”

CHAP. IX.  
Cape Maria  
Van Dieman.

From Cape Maria, the coast was found to stretch nearly south-east by south, and to present every where a barren shore, consisting of banks of white sand. In proceeding along it, Cook sailed in the track of Tasman, though in an opposite direction. On the 10th January 1770, he came in sight of a lofty mountain, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 16' S.$ , longitude  $185^{\circ} 15' W.$ , which, in honour of the earl of that name, he designated Mount Egmont. In appearance it resembled the Peak of Teneriffe; and its summit, when occasionally seen towering above the clouds which almost constantly enveloped it, was observed to be covered with snow. The country at its base was level, of a pleasant appearance, and thickly clothed with wood and verdure. On doubling a cape, which received the same title, he found himself in a large bay or opening, the southern end of which he could not distinguish. He sailed into it as far as latitude  $40^{\circ} 27' S.$ , longitude  $184^{\circ} 39' W.$  In this position, besides the continuance of the same coast, there appeared an island towards the south, with several inlets, in one of which he resolved to careen the ship and take in a stock of wood and water. On the 15th, accordingly, he anchored in a convenient harbour, about four long cannon shot from a fortified village, the inhabitants of which came off in canoes, and, after surveying the ship, made signs of defiance, and began the assault by a shower of stones.

Mount  
Egmont.

Native  
assault.

CHAP. IX.  
Reception of  
a native.

Tupia having expostulated with them, an old man came on board, in spite of his countrymen's remonstrances. He was kindly received, and dismissed with presents, and on rejoining his companions, they immediately commenced dancing, in token of peace. The Otaheitan was sufficiently understood by them, and learned that they had never before seen or heard of such a vessel as the Endeavour; from which it was concluded that no recollection was preserved of the visit of Tasman, in 1642, though this must have been near the place which he termed Murderers' Bay.

Cook's  
Straits.

During his stay here, Cook, having ascended one of the neighbouring hills, beheld, to his surprise, the sea on each side of the island communicating by a passage or strait, on the south side of which his ship now lay. He soon after learned, what he had never before suspected, that the country was divided into two islands, the southern of which was called by the natives Tavai Poenamoo, and the northern Eaheinomauwe.\* Having taken possession of the country in name of his sovereign, he left the inlet (on which he bestowed the appellation of Queen Charlotte's Sound) on the 6th of February, and soon found himself rapidly borne through the channel, which, in honour of its discoverer, geographers have unanimously recognised by the name of Cook's Straits. To the two capes which marked its eastern outlet, he gave the titles of Palliser and Campbell, and on doubling the former he stood to the northward, to determine a question on which there were some doubts, whether Eaheinomauwe was really an island. On the 9th, he came in sight of Cape Turnagain (termed by the natives Topolo-Polo), and the point being thus clearly established, he resumed his course to the south-east; and running quickly along the shores of Tavai Poenamoo,

Circumnavigation of  
New Zealand.

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\* M. Dumont D'Urville, in January 1827, was assured by two natives, that the southern island bore indifferently the title of Kai-Kohoura or Tavai-Ponnamou; and that the northern was called Ika-Na-Mawi.—Voyage autour du Monde tome ii. p. 80.

on the 9th of March reached its farthest extremity, in latitude  $47^{\circ} 19' S.$ , longitude  $192^{\circ} 12' W.$ , which he named Cape South.\* A sail of three days brought him to Cape West, in latitude  $45^{\circ} 54' S.$  and longitude  $193^{\circ} 17' W.$ , from which, along a coast trending towards the north-east, he proceeded so rapidly, that on the 26th he reached a small island at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Homeward  
route.

Having now completely circumnavigated New Zealand, and being resolved to return home, Cook considered it proper to take the opinion of his officers on the route to be pursued. His own wish was to go back by Cape Horn, and thus determine the question of a southern continent; but, to effect this, it would have been necessary to keep in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter,—an undertaking for which the vessel was insufficient. The same objection was urged against proceeding directly to the Cape of Good Hope; and “it was therefore resolved,” says our navigator, “that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found impracticable, it was farther resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land or islands said to have been discovered by Quiros.”†

With this view, at dawn of the 31st March, Cook put to sea with a fresh gale, and took his departure from a point which he named Cape Farewell. His course, which lay almost due west, between the latitudes of  $38^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$ , was nearly coincident with that of Tasman from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand. On the 15th

Cape  
Farewell

\* “Le cap Sud de Cook forme aujourd'hui la pointe la plus australe d'une île qui a pris le nom de Stewart, et qui s'est trouvée détachée de Tavaï-Pouamou par la découverte du détroit de Foveaux.”—D'Urville, tome ii. p. 339; M. Balbi, Abrégé de Géographie, p. 1269.

† Hawkesworth's Coll, vol. iii. p. 29. See above, p. 96-100.



## CHAP. IX.

Signs of  
vicinity of  
land.

of April, the voyagers observed an egg-bird and a gannet, and on the next day a small land bird alighted on the rigging, but no bottom was found with 120 fathoms. A pintado-bird and two Port Egmont hens were seen on the succeeding morning, and were considered certain signs of the vicinity of land, which indeed was discovered on the following day, the 19th, stretching from north-east to west.

## Hicks' Point.

The most southerly point, which received the name of Lieutenant Hicks, who first descried it, was estimated to lie in latitude  $38^{\circ}$  S. and longitude  $211^{\circ} 7'$  W.; but Cook could not determine whether it joined Van Diemen's Land. He instantly made sail to the northward, and on the 28th was in latitude  $34^{\circ}$  S., when he discovered a bay, in which he remained eight days. The coast, so far as yet visited, was of a pleasing aspect, diversified by hills, valleys, and lawns, and almost every where clothed with lofty trees. Smoke arose from the woods in several places, and some inhabitants, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders, were observed walking briskly along the shore; but, owing to the surf which broke on every part of the beach, it was impossible to approach them. On entering the bay, a few huts and several natives were seen; four small canoes were likewise discerned, with one man in each, so busily occupied in striking fish with a long spear that they scarcely turned their eyes towards the ship, which passed them within a quarter of a mile. The anchor being cast in front of a village, preparation was made for hoisting out a boat; during which an aged female, followed by three children, issued from a wood. They were loaded with boughs, and on approaching a hut, three younger infants advanced to meet them; but though they often looked at the ship, they expressed neither fear nor wonder. The same want of interest was shown by the four fishermen, who hauled up their canoes, and began to dress their food at the fire which the old woman had kindled. A party were sent out to effect a landing; but no sooner had they ap-

Native  
fishers.

Indifference  
of the natives.

proached some rocks than two of the men, armed with lances about ten feet long, and short sticks, which it was supposed they employed in throwing their spears, came down and called aloud in a harsh language quite unknown to Tupia, brandishing their weapons in evidence of their determination to defend the coast. The rest ran off, abandoning their countrymen to an odds of forty to two. Having ordered his boat to lie on her oars, Cook made signs of friendship, and offered presents of nails and other trifles, with which the savages seemed to be pleased; but, on the first symptom of a nearer approach to the shore, they again assumed a hostile bearing. A musket was fired between them, the report of which caused the younger to drop a bundle of lances, which he again snatched up, and a stone was thrown at the English. Cook now directed small shot to be used; when the elder, being struck on the leg, ran to a hut, from which, however, he instantly returned, bearing a sort of shield; when he and his comrade threw each a lance, but without inflicting injury. The fire of a third musket was followed by the discharge of another spear; after which the savages ran off. It was found that the children had hid themselves in one of the huts; and, without disturbing them, Cook, having left some beads and other articles, retired with all the lances he could find. Next morning, not one of the trinkets had been moved, nor was a single native to be seen near the spot.

Small parties were met with at other places during the excursions in search of water, provisions, and natural curiosities. The people were perfectly naked, very dark coloured, but not black; their hair was bushy, and some very old men were observed with long beards, while the aged females had their locks cropt short. They subsisted chiefly on fish, dressed at fires both on shore and in their canoes. The country was stocked with wood, of which, however, only two kinds were thought worthy the appellation of timber; shrubs, palms, mangroves, and a variety of plants,—many unknown to the naturalists,—were plentiful; birds, some of great beauty,

CHAP. IX.

Threat of  
hostilities.Effect of  
fire-arms.Appearance  
of the natives.

CHAP. IX.  
—  
Botany Bay.

abounded; and there were several strange quadrupeds. Such, to its first European visiters, appeared the characteristics of BOTANY BAY, so called from the profusion of plants with which, through the industry of Messrs Banks and Solander, that department of natural history was enriched. To a harbour about three miles farther north, "in which there appeared to be good anchorage," Cook gave the title of Port Jackson,—a name which has since become familiar in every quarter of the world. On the banks of this noble inlet have risen the towns of Sydney and Paramatta, and its waters, on which 1000 ships of the line might ride in safety, are whitened by the sails of almost every people of Europe.

Port Jackson.

Cape  
Tribulation.

On the 6th May, our navigator resumed his progress northward along the coast, and in about a month had advanced nearly 1300 miles. On the 10th of June, he was off a point which he afterwards named Cape Tribulation, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 6' S.$ , and longitude  $214^{\circ} 39' W.$  near the position assigned to some of the discoveries of Quiros, which certain geographers were of opinion formed part of some great mainland. With a view to see whether there were any in the offing, and to avoid two low woody islets ahead, he hauled from the shore, intending to stretch out all night, with the prospect of a fine breeze and clear moonlight. About nine o'clock, the water, which had deepened from fourteen to twenty-one fathoms, suddenly shoaled, and, within the space of a few minutes, fell to twelve, ten, and eight. Preparation was immediately made for putting about and coming to anchor; but the next cast of the line showing deep water, it was thought the vessel had got over the shoals. Full twenty fathoms were next sounded, and the depth continued to increase; so that the gentlemen who had been summoned on deck retired to bed in perfect security. A few minutes before eleven o'clock, however, the water shallowed suddenly to seventeen fathoms, and, before the lead could be again cast, the Endeavour struck on a rock, and remained immovable except by the heaving of the surge. Boats being immediately

The Endeavour on a rock.

hoisted out, it was found that she had been lifted over a ledge, and now lay in a sort of basin, with only from three to four fathoms of water in some places, and in others not so many feet. An anchor was carried out from the stern, in hopes that it would take ground with sufficient firmness to resist the action of the capstan, so that the ship might be moved into deep water; but every exertion to effect this was fruitless. Meanwhile the vessel beat on the rocks with such violence, that the crew could scarcely keep their footing; and to increase their dismay the light of the moon showed them that the sheathing-boards had been separated from the bottom, and were floating around. The false keel followed, so that the only chance of safety seemed to lie in lightening the ship. But she had struck at the height of the tide, which was now fallen considerably, and the next flow must return before that process could be of any advantage. That all might be in readiness, however, the water was started in the hold and pumped up; all the guns on deck, the iron and stone ballast, casks, and many other articles, were thrown overboard; while the crew became so impressed with their danger that not an oath was heard,—“the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near.”

At daybreak land was seen about eight leagues off; the ship still held together; and the wind having happily fallen, and a dead calm ensuing, anchors were got out and every thing prepared for heaving her off the rock; but, though lightened to nearly fifty tons, she did not float by a foot and a half, so far short was the tide of the day to that of the night. Greatly discouraged, the crew proceeded to diminish her weight still more, by throwing overboard every thing that could be spared; but now the water, hitherto nearly excluded, rushed in so fast, that two pumps, incessantly working, could barely keep her afloat; and about two o'clock she lay heeling to starboard, while the pinnacle, which was under her bows, touched the ground. There could,

CHAP. IX

Fruitless exertions.

Critical position.

Preparations for heaving off the rock.

Rush of water into the hold.



CHAP. IX.  
The Endeavour  
afloat.

therefore, be no hope of getting her off till the midnight-tide, which began to rise by five P. M. About that time the leak was observed to be rapidly increasing; and though by nine the ship righted, the water, notwithstanding the action of three pumps, gained considerably. Shortly after ten she floated, and was heaved clear from the ledge into deep water. The labour at the pumps had now totally exhausted the men, none of whom could work beyond a few minutes, when, falling down on the deck, their places were supplied by others. Still they gained so considerably on the water, that, by the following morning, no doubt was entertained of the ship's ultimate safety. As the leak, however, continued, and the toil of pumping was excessive, Mr Monkhouse, who had formerly been in like danger, suggested the expedient of *fothering* the vessel,—that is, girthing round the bottom a sail properly covered with oakum, and kept stretched by means of ropes. It was tried, and answered so well, that the use of two pumps could now be dispensed with. On the evening of the 12th, they cast anchor about seven leagues from the land; but it was not till the 17th, that, a safe harbour having been found, the ship was hauled ashore to undergo repairs. It was then discovered that her preservation was due to a very singular circumstance. “One of the holes,” says the commander, “which was big enough to have sunk us if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and had been able to keep them incessantly going, was in great measure plugged up by a fragment of the rock, which, after having made the wound, was left sticking in it; so that the water which at first had gained upon our pumps was what came in at the interstices between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it.”\*

Fothering  
successfully  
employed.

Providential  
escape.

Endeavour  
River.

A small stream near the spot where the vessel was refitted received the name of Endeavour River. Here, for the first time, Cook himself obtained a sight of the

\* Hawkesworth's Coll., vol. iii. p. 155.

kangaroo,—a species of quadruped before that time unknown to European naturalists. It had previously been observed by some of his companions, and astonished them by its extraordinary leaps, the speed of which set a greyhound belonging to Mr Banks at defiance. It was described by one of the sailors, who almost took it for the devil, to be “as large as a one-gallon keg, and very like it; he had horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly through the grass, that if I had not been *afeard* I might have touched him.”

CHAP. IX.  
—  
The  
Kangaroo.

The navigators left this spot on the 5th August, with the resolution of pursuing a north-east course, and keeping the pinnace in front to guide them by signals; but they were speedily compelled to cast anchor by sudden shoal-water. On the following day, nothing was in view but breakers extending on all sides, and far out to the open sea, into which there seemed no entrance, except through a labyrinth of coral rocks, in some parts as steep as a wall, at others edged with patches of sand, covered only at high water. Nearly a week passed among these and other perils, when, getting between the mainland and three small islands, they thought they had discovered a clear opening. But the appellation Cape Flattery denotes its deceptive promise, and they still found themselves obliged to keep near the shore. After a few days, they reached a channel which conducted them beyond the breakers.

Perilous  
course.

Early on the morning of the 16th, they were alarmed by the roaring of the surf, which at dawn they saw foaming to a vast height at about a mile's distance; while the depth was so great, that they could not reach the ground with an anchor. In the absence of wind to fill a sail, the waves drove them rapidly towards the reef. Boats were immediately sent ahead to tow the vessel off, but they would have failed to save her had not a light breeze moved her obliquely from the reef when she was within 100 yards of it. In less than ten minutes the wind again fell, and the ship was driven towards the breakers; it once more sprung up, and a

Dangerous  
reef.

CHAP. IX.  
Critical  
position.

short space was gained. Meanwhile an opening appeared in the reef, by which, though not broader than the length of the vessel, it was determined to attempt a passage into the smooth water behind. But, before it could be reached, the tide of ebb rushed out of it like a mill-stream, and drove her off. This, though a considerable disappointment, enabled the navigators, with much exertion, to make an offing of nearly two miles. Their situation was nevertheless critical in the extreme, till another narrow opening was seen to the west, through which they were hurried with amazing rapidity; and shortly afterwards cast anchor within the reef in nineteen fathoms, gratefully naming the passage through which they had escaped Providential Channel.

York Cape,  
New South  
Wales.

On the 21st, Cook made York Cape, the most northerly point of the coast, in latitude  $10^{\circ} 37' S.$ , longitude  $218^{\circ} 24' W.$ ; and having landed on a small island, he hoisted the English colours, and took possession of the whole eastern coast of New Holland, from latitude  $38^{\circ}$  to latitude  $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ} S.$ , by the name of **NEW SOUTH WALES.**

Torres  
Straits.

The discovery made by the companion of Quiros, in 1606, of the strait between Papua and Australia, was, it has been already mentioned, at this time entirely forgotten;\* and Cook, in sailing between them, settled the much-agitated question, "Whether New Holland and New Guinea were separate islands?" To the channel which divides them he gave the name of his ship, by which it is sometimes recognised, although more commonly known by the name of its first explorer, Torres. Its length, from north-east to south-west, was reckoned ten leagues; and its breadth five, except at the north-east entrance, where it was contracted to less than two miles by certain islands. The voyagers left it on the 23d of August, and two days after had a narrow escape from some shoals, which they approached within half-a-cable's length. On the 3d of September, they landed

\* See above, pp. 97, 109, 119, 132, 239, and 240.

on New Guinea, near the Cape de la Colta St Bonaventura, in latitude  $6^{\circ} 15\frac{1}{2}'$  S. The natives resembled those of Australia, but their skin was not so dark; they were equally naked, quite as hostile, and in possession of a species of fire-arms which emitted flame and smoke like a musket; but the short sticks from which these issued, and which were swung sideways from the bearer, made no report. It was uncertain if they projected any thing that could do mischief at a distance; for the whole phenomenon, though it excited wonder at the time, was imperfectly observed; nor are we aware that it has since been satisfactorily explained.

Our navigator now determined to proceed westward towards the Straits of Sunda. On the 9th, he came in sight of Timor, and six days after anchored at Savu, or Sou, an island to the west-south-west, colonized by the Dutch, who succeeded the Portuguese in its occupation, but at the time so little known to Europeans, that Cook considered it as a new discovery. Leaving it on the 21st of September, he came to anchor on the 9th of the following month in the road of Batavia, where it was intended to repair the vessel. On their arrival, all the ship's company, except the Otaheitan, were in good health, and even he, delighted with every thing he saw, continued for a few days to improve in strength and spirits. But, soon after, Tupia and others became alarmingly indisposed, and in a short space the sickness spread so much that only a very small number could perform duty. Mr Monkhouse, the surgeon, was the first victim to this pestilential spot; Dr Solander was barely able to attend his funeral; Mr Banks lay confined to bed; some of his servants were dangerously affected; Tupia and his boy were evidently sinking apace; Cook himself was taken ill: in short, the work of death had commenced, and threatened, if not speedily arrested, to overtake the whole. Before the Endeavour took her departure, on the 26th of December, seven of her complement had died, and the number of sick amounted to forty. Among the deceased were Tayeto and his kind

CHAP. IX.

New Guinea.

Singular native arms.

Arrival at Savu.

Sickness among the crew.



## CHAP. IX.

Death of  
Tupia and  
Tayeto.

Dangerous  
condition of  
the ship.

Great  
mortality.

Arrival in  
the Downs.

Great inter-  
est excited  
at home.

protector Tupia, “ who sunk at once after the loss of the boy, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent.” On inspecting the ship, it was found that two planks and the half of a third, under the main channel, near the keel, had the extent of six feet so worn, as not to be above the eighth of an inch in thickness; and even this gauze-like partition, on which the lives of so many had depended, was perforated by worms.

The remainder of the voyage was marked by an alarming mortality, the seeds of which were no doubt sown at Batavia. In the run from the western mouth of the Straits of Sunda to the Cape of Good Hope, which was reached on the 15th of March 1771, few nights passed without a corpse being committed to the deep, and those still able to move could not answer the demands of the sick. In the course of six weeks, the pestilence carried off Messrs Sporing and Parkinson, both in the establishment of Mr Banks; Mr Green, the astronomer, and various others; in all twenty-three persons, besides the seven who died at Batavia, and Mr Hicks, the first-lieutenant, who soon after fell a victim to consumption.

The Endeavour left the Cape on the 14th of April, and on the 12th of June came to anchor in the Downs.

This memorable voyage excited among all classes the most intense interest. “ If,” wrote Linnæus, from Upsal, “ I were not bound fast here by sixty-four years of age, and a worn-out body, I would this very day set out for London, to see my dear Solander,—that great hero of botany. Moses was not permitted to enter Palestine, but only to view it from a distance; so I conceive an idea in my mind of the acquisitions and treasures of those who have visited every part of the globe.” At home, Mr Banks and his companions became the objects of general curiosity; their conversation was eagerly sought by the learned, the noble, and the wealthy; and even royalty found delight in listening to the adventures of the discoverers, and examining the specimens of the arts and manufactures which they

had gathered in the distant countries they had explored.\* CHAP. IX.

The manner in which Cook had discharged his duty secured him almost universal approbation. He was honoured with an introduction to his majesty at St James's, when he presented a journal of his voyage, with illustrative maps and charts; and by a commission, dated 29th August 1771, he was promoted to the rank of commander. With a becoming pride and consciousness of his own merits, he was desirous to obtain a higher station; but his wish could not be gratified without violating the rules of the naval service.

Honours and  
rewards of  
Cook.

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\* Interest attached itself even to the animals which were on board the *Endeavour* in her eventful navigation; and Dr Johnson condescended to write an indifferent epigram on a goat which Mr Banks had carried with him round the globe:—

“*Perpetua ambitâ bis terrâ præmia lactis  
Hæc habet altrici Capra secunda Jovis.*”

## CHAPTER X.

*Second Circumnavigation of Cook.*

Objects of the Voyage—Search for Bouvet's Land—The Southern Continent—Aurora Australis—Arrival at New Zealand—Visit to the Low Archipelago—Otaheite—Huaheine—Ulietea—Rediscovery of the Tonga or Friendly Islands—Second Visit to New Zealand—Separation of the Ships—Search for the Terra Australis resumed—Highest South Latitude attained—Dangerous Illness of Cook—Easter Island—Las Marquesas—The Society Islands—The Tonga Islands—New Hebrides—Discovery of New Caledonia—Norfolk Island—Third Visit to New Zealand—Run across the Pacific—Survey of Tierra del Fuego and Staten Land—Discovery of New South Georgia and Sandwich Land—Return to the Cape of Good Hope—Adventures of Captain Furneaux—Conclusion of the Voyage—Honours paid to Cook—His narrative of the Expedition—Omai in England.

CHAP. X.  
 —  
 Results of  
 Cook's  
 voyage.

ALTHOUGH, by circumnavigating New Zealand and exploring the eastern coasts of New Holland, Cook had exploded the opinion so long cherished, that these countries belonged to the great *Terra Australis Incognita*, yet the question of a vast southern continent remained undecided, and a belief in its existence was still strongly entertained, both on physical and historical grounds, by some of the most distinguished men of that day.

New expedi-  
 tion pro-  
 jected.

Soon after the return of the Endeavour, it was resolved to prepare an expedition expressly to settle this much agitated point. The Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty, prosecuted the design with ardour; it received the cordial approbation of the king;

and Cook was at once chosen as the individual to whom the execution of it ought to be intrusted. CHAP. X.

On considering the nature and dangers of the voyage, it was deemed advisable that two vessels should act in concert. These were similar in size and construction to the Endeavour, and had been built at Whitby by the same person. The Resolution, of which Cook had the command, was rated at 462 tons burden; and the Adventure,\* of 336 tons, was placed under Captain Furneaux, who had sailed as second lieutenant under Wallis. The former had a complement of 112, and the latter of 81, officers and men. Both were equipped in the most complete manner, according to the science and experience of the period, under the eye of Lord Sandwich; and, besides the very best stores and provisions, the Navy and Victualling Boards supplied a variety of articles, intended for the preservation of the seamen's health. Among these were malt, sour crout, salted cabbage, portable broth, saloop, and mustard,—all well-known antiscorbutics; to which were added, for the sake of trial, marmalade of carrots, and the inspissated juice of wort and beer. Clothing suitable to a cold climate was put on board the ships, together with ample materials for fishing, and articles to serve as pre-

The Resolu-  
tion and  
Adventure.

Equipment  
and stores.

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\* From an anecdote preserved by Boswell, it appears that it was originally intended to bestow other names on the vessels. "21st March 1772. A gentleman having come in who was to go as a mate in the ship along with Mr Banks and Dr Solander, Dr Johnson asked what were the names of the ships destined for the expedition. The gentleman answered, They were once to be called the Drake and the Raleigh, but now they were to be called the Resolution and the Adventure. JOHNSON.—'Much better; for had the Raleigh [the Drake?] returned without going round the world, it would have been ridiculous. To give them the names of the Drake and the Raleigh, was laying a trap for satire.' BOSWELL.—'Had not you some desire to go upon this expedition, sir?' JOHNSON.—'Why, yes, but I soon laid it aside. Sir, there is very little of intellectual in the course. Besides, I see but at a small distance. So it was not worth my while to go to see birds fly, which I should not have seen fly; and fishes swim, which I should not have seen swim.'"—Boswell's Life of Johnson (Mr Croker's ed.), vol. ii. p. 138. Names of the  
vessels.



## CHAP. X.

Native presents.

sents for the natives of the countries visited, and as money for the purchase of provisions. Each vessel had likewise the framework of a tender, to be set up, it required, on any emergency. Nor were the interests of science neglected; Mr Hodges, an accomplished artist, was engaged as draughtsman; and Messrs Banks and Solander having abandoned their design of accompanying the expedition,\* Mr John Reinhold For-

Abandonment of the expeditions by Banks.

\* An attempt has been lately made to ascribe the change in Mr Banks' intentions to the alleged moroseness of Cook's temper. In a report from a committee of the Geographical Society of Paris (*Annales Maritimes*, January 1831), it is said:—"Du reste le caractère inflexible et morose de cet intrépide marin rendit souvent aux personnes appelées à servir sous ses ordres leur position désagréable. On se souvient que Banks renonça à l'accompagner dans son second voyage, bien qu'il eût tout disposé dans cette intention." This charge appears destitute of the slightest foundation. During the first voyage, which extended to nearly three years, Sir Joseph could not fail to become intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of Cook's disposition; and knowing these so fully, it is quite inconsistent with the decision and whole character of the late President of the Royal Society, to suppose that he would have determined to join the expedition, and made expensive arrangements, only to forego his design when the hour of sailing was at hand. Indeed, it is well known that he gave up his project only "because the Navy Board showed no willingness to provide that accommodation which the extent of his preparations and the number of his scientific followers required." The following statement is given in the *Annual Register* for 1772 (p. 108), under the date of 11th June:—"Mr Banks and Dr Solander were not consulted on the choice of the ship; and on their objecting to her want of accommodation for their draughtsmen, &c., as well as to her want of room to stow the crew, the Navy Board undertook to give all those conveniences, and patched the same ship with a round-house and square deck, and without considering whether she could bear it, manned and equipped her for the voyage. Mr Banks, Dr Solander, &c., examined her a second time; found her convenient if she could sail, of which they doubted, and reported her top-heavy. Their observations were disregarded; but a gale of wind arising, laid her on her side without her having a single sail unreefed, and she could not for some time recover; they ordered the long-boat to save the crew, when unexpectedly she recovered. Notwithstanding this accident, she was reported good, and fit for the voyage, and was ordered to Plymouth. The pilot obeyed these orders, sending word he could not ensure her out of the river. At last it was found the farce could not be carried on longer, and the reports on which the Navy Board proceeded were found false; expresses were sent along the coast to Deal, &c., to order her into the nearest

Ill construction of the Resolution.

ster \* and his son were employed as naturalists. Parliament made a grant of £4000, "as an encouragement for the more effectually prosecuting the discoveries towards

CHAP. X.  
Parliamentary grant

dock to Sheerness, if they could overtake her: this was no difficult task; for while the other ships cleared the Downs, she did not make one knot an hour. She was put into dock; they cut off her round-house and part of her deck, reduced the cabin, and put her in the same unfit situation she was in when first objected to; and then the question was politely put to Mr Banks, Take this or none. Mr Banks has laid out several thousand pounds for instruments, &c., preparatory for the voyage; Mr Zoffani (a well-known painter) near £1000 for necessaries, and the other gentlemen very considerable sums on that account."

\* This voluminous author was born at Dirschau, in Polish Prussia, on the 22d October 1729. He came to England in 1766, and was engaged by the Admiralty as naturalist to Cook's expedition at the brief warning of ten days. His unfortunate temper involved him in continual broils with his shipmates, one of whom informs us, that Forster in these disputes so often used the threat, "I will complain to the king!" that the expression became proverbial among the seamen, and was jocularly employed by them on the most trifling occasions. He took with him in this expedition his son John George Adam (more commonly called George), then 17 years old, who published an account of the circumnavigation under the title of "A Voyage round the World in his Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution," London, 1777, 2 vols 4to. A translation into German appeared at Berlin in 1779-1780. The numerous and offensive attacks upon the conduct of the officers and crew called forth a cutting pamphlet from the astronomer, entitled, "Remarks on Mr Forster's Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage. By Wm. Wales, F.R.S.," London, 1778, 8vo; which occasioned a "Reply to Mr Wales' Remarks, by Mr Forster," London, 1778, 8vo. In the succeeding year, he published "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich," London, 1779, 4to, in which he attempted to prove that he and his father were not rewarded sufficiently, nor agreeably to the contract, for their services. It was commonly supposed at the time, that the account of the voyage was the joint production of both; but this was denied by George. The style is inflated and pompous, the reflections are for the most part in a very false taste, and the work is disfigured throughout by that superficial and fanciful philosophy which the writings of Lord Kaimes have rendered well known in Scotland. John Reinhold gave to the public "Observations made during a Voyage round the World on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethical Philosophy," London, 1778, 4to. He died at Halle in Germany, on the 9th December 1798, aged 70; his son deceased at Paris on the 12th January 1794, in the 40th year of his life.—Memoirs by Eyries, in Biographie Universelle, vol. xv. p. 282-290. Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 90-92, note.

John Reinhold Foster.

His works.

## CHAP. X.

the South Pole ;” and, by agreement with the Board of Longitude, two gentlemen of distinguished acquirements, Messrs Wales and Bayly, furnished with the best instruments and timepieces, undertook the astronomical department.

Sailing of the expedition.

The ships thus equipped joined in Plymouth Sound, on the 3d of July 1772 ; and, after a farewell visit from Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser, Cook received his instructions, dated the 25th of the preceding month. They directed him to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was to refresh his crews, and take in provisions. He was then to sail to the southward in quest of a point of land named Circoncision, said to have been discovered in latitude  $54^{\circ} 20' S.$ , and between nine and eleven degrees of east longitude. In the event of falling in with it, he was to satisfy himself whether it belonged to an island, or formed part of the Terra Australis so long sought and to explore it as diligently and extensively as possible. This being accomplished, or in case he should not find the cape, he was to proceed to the southward, so long as he thought there was a likelihood of falling in with a continent, and thence towards the east with the same view : and, generally, he was instructed to discover such islands as might exist in the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere, keeping in high latitudes, and prosecuting his inquiries as near the pole as possible, until he had circumnavigated the globe.

Objects to be aimed at.

Reported French discoveries.

The cape mentioned in the instructions had been visited, it was reported, by a French officer, M. Lozier Bouvet, who, on the 19th July 1738, sailed from Port l’Orient in command of two frigates, to search for land about the latitude of  $44^{\circ} S.$ , longitude  $355^{\circ}$  eastward from Teneriffe, where some ancient charts had placed a promontory of the Southern Continent. On the 1st January 1739, in latitude  $54^{\circ} 20' S.$ , longitude  $25^{\circ} 47'$  east from the same meridian, he got sight of land, which, in honour of the day, was named Cape de la Circoncision. It was high and steep, the mountains were for the most part covered with snow, and the coast was

bordered with ice. From the state of the weather no boat could prudently attempt to reach it; and the navigators left it without being able to determine whether it was part of a continent or an island.\*

Cook took his departure from England on the 13th July; made the Cape of Good Hope on the 29th October; and next morning anchored in Table Bay, where he remained till the 22d of November. Before sailing, he was induced, by the solicitation of Mr Forster, to receive on board, as an assistant to the naturalists, Dr Sparrmann, by birth a Swede, and a disciple of Linnæus.

Anchoring in Table Bay.

The course was first directed towards the discovery of Bouvet; but adverse and stormy winds drove the navigators far to the eastward of their intended track, and left them no hopes of reaching the desired promontory. They likewise lost the greater part of their live stock, and underwent no little inconvenience by the rapid transition from the warm climate of the Cape to that incident to the latitude of 48° 41' S., which, in the longitude of 18° 24' E., they had attained on the 6th of December. On the 10th, they found themselves two degrees farther south, and for the first time descried islands of ice, some of which were upwards of fifty feet in height; while such was the fury of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. The latitude of Point Circumcision was attained on the 13th; but the voyagers considered themselves about 118 leagues to the eastward of its position. On the morning of the next day, their course to the south was arrested by an immense field of ice, to which they could see no end, either in the east, west, or south. Some of them, and Cook himself at one time, thought land was discernible over it; but this delusive appearance, it was soon discovered, had been occasioned by ice-hills observed through a hazy atmosphere. Several days were spent in sailing along this impenetrable mass, or in clearing various islands which were floating near it. The weather, meanwhile, was gen-

Severe weather.

Low temperature and ice.

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\* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 30-37.



## CHAP. X.

Symptoms  
of scurvy.

erally foggy, with sleet and snow, from which the whole crew suffered much, though the thermometer did not descend below 30°. Symptoms of scurvy in both vessels, at the same time, excited some uneasiness; but by the copious use of fresh wort, these were removed.

Search for a  
southern  
continent.

On the supposition that the ice which had been encountered was formed in bays and rivers, it seemed probable that, as land could not be far distant, it might lie beyond the large field which alone barred the approach to it. Cook determined to run thirty or forty leagues to the east, then endeavour to steer southwards, and, by getting behind the ice, set the question at rest. But, though he proceeded in this direction for some time, and afterwards sailed both to the south and the west of the alleged position of Bouvet's discovery, he neither fell in with it nor observed any certain indication of land. Penguins, indeed, were seen in abundance, birds which, as is commonly believed, never go far from shore.

Crossing the  
Antartic  
circle.

On the 4th of January 1773, he quitted a part of the sea which he had amply explored, and took a course more to the south. On the 17th, he crossed the antarctic circle in the longitude of 39° 35'; but about six o'clock the same evening, in latitude 67° 15' S., he found that farther progress in that direction was impracticable, "the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from east to west-south-west, without the least appearance of any opening." This vast body was composed of masses in the various forms of high hills, loose or broken pieces packed closely together, and what the Greenlandmen call field-ice. One floating portion of this last kind, to the south-east, was of such size, that no end to it could be seen from the mast-head; it was sixteen or eighteen feet in height, and pretty equal on the surface. In this situation many whales were observed; the brown, white, and blue petrels were met with in considerable numbers, together with a few dark-gray albatrosses; but the pintados, so common in lower latitudes, had wholly disappeared. Amid the dangers and privations to which the discoverers had been

Field ice.

so long exposed, they were enabled to command an inexhaustible supply of fresh water, by dissolving portions of ice which had been allowed to remain on deck a short time, for the purpose of draining off the salt which adhered to the surface; and in this manner, in the space of a few hours, no less than fifteen tuns were obtained. It was perfectly sweet and well tasted.

CHAP. X.

Supply of  
fresh water.

The summer of those southern regions was already half spent, and Cook did not consider it prudent to persevere in the attempt to reach a higher latitude, especially as some time would be consumed in getting round the ice, even if this were practicable, which he doubted. He therefore resolved to proceed in search of lands said to have been lately discovered by some French officers, of whose enterprises he had received a meagre report at the Cape of Good Hope. In prosecution of this object, he first sailed north over part of the sea already traversed, and then north-east, till, on the 1st of February, he reached latitude  $48^{\circ} 30'$ , nearly in the meridian of the Mauritius; but though he used the precaution of keeping some miles distant from the Adventure, with a view to more extensive search, neither that vessel nor his own got sight of land. On the day last mentioned, indeed, Captain Furneaux pointed out circumstances which seemed to indicate its vicinity; but there was no possibility of determining whether it lay to the east or the west; and the state of the winds prevented complete investigation. Other signs of a similar kind were subsequently noticed; but they led to no result; and our navigator, when in latitude  $48^{\circ} 6'$ , and longitude  $58^{\circ} 22'$  E., being satisfied that if there was any land near him it could only be an island of inconsiderable extent, bore away to the east-south-east. A separation between the two vessels took place on the 8th, "though," says Cook, "we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected." He continued to pursue a south-east course, and was tantalized by some indications of land, especially the appearance of penguins and other birds, but found them deceptive. On the 17th, for the first time,

Change of  
course.Uncertain  
signs of land.Separation of  
the vessels.

## CHAP. X.

Aurora  
Australis.

he saw luminous appearances in the heavens similar to those in the other hemisphere, which have been named Aurora Borealis or Northern Streamers. "The natural state of the heavens," says Mr Wales, "except in the south-east quarter, and for about 10° of altitude all round the horizon, was a whitish haze, through which stars of the third magnitude were just discernible. All round, the horizon was covered with thick clouds, out of which arose many streams of a pale reddish light that ascended towards the zenith. These streams had not that motion which they are sometimes seen to have in England, but were perfectly steady, except a small tremulous motion which some of them had near their edges." This remarkable phenomenon recurred several times; and on one occasion, writes the astronomer, "the evening was very clear, and the Southern Lights were exceeding bright and beautiful, and appeared of a semi-circular or rainbow-like form, whose two extremities were nearly in the east and west points of the horizon. This bow, when it first made its appearance, passed a considerable way to the north of the zenith; but rose by degrees, turning, as it were, on its diameter, and, passing through the zenith, settled at length towards the southern horizon. These lights were at one time so bright that we could discern our shadows on the deck."\* On board the *Adventure*, as we are assured by Mr Bayly, "they were so bright that large print might have been read by their light."

Luminous  
arch.Dangers  
from ice.

Cook had intended again to penetrate beyond the antarctic circle, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year and the severity of the weather; but huge masses of ice, broken and driven about by a heavy sea, and with which, during dark nights, it was scarcely possible to avoid coming in contact, deterred him from the design. He therefore stood to the north-eastward, and on the 8th of March attained latitude 59° 44' S., in longi-

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\* *Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage towards the South Pole, Lond. 1777 4to, pp. 343, 344.*

tude  $121^{\circ} 9' E.$ , where, besides the pleasure of a bright sky and an atmosphere as serene and mild as had occurred since leaving the Cape of Good Hope, there was that of having not a single island of ice in sight. In the afternoon, however, the heavens portended a storm, which speedily came on, and lasted till the evening of the 10th, attended by a very high sea, and followed by a long hollow swell from S.S.E. and S.E. by S. "Whoever attentively considers this," says Cook, "must conclude that there can be no land to the south but what must be at a great distance." A return of moderate weather would have inclined him to venture in that direction; but he was soon convinced that he had gone far enough, and that the time was approaching when those seas could not be navigated.

CHAP. X.  
Severe storm

On the 17th, he was in latitude  $59^{\circ} 7' S.$ , and longitude  $146^{\circ} 53' E.$ , when, having determined to quit the high southern latitudes, he bore away north-east and north, and on the 25th of March came in sight of New Zealand. The next day he anchored in Dusky Bay, after being 117 days at sea, and having in that time sailed 3660 leagues without once seeing land. It might have been apprehended that a voyage of such length, in a region so inclement, could not be performed without the prevalence of scurvy; but only one man suffered much by that disease, to which he was predisposed by a bad habit of body and by a complication of other disorders. The general good health of his crew was by Cook attributed mainly to the liberal use of sweet wort, and to the frequent airing of the ship by fires.

Dusky Bay,  
New Zealand

A more commodious harbour having been discovered by Lieutenant Pickersgill, whose name was given to it, the ship was removed thither on the 28th, and all hands were speedily busied in obtaining water, cutting down wood, setting up the observatory, forge, and tents, brewing beer from the branches or leaves of the spruce-fir, seeking provisions, botanizing, and exploring the country. The transition from their late wearisome

Pickersgill  
harbour.



CHAP. X.  
 General  
 delight of  
 the crew.

Description  
 of the  
 scenery.

monotony of life to such employments was made with general delight. For a long time the crew had been engaged in continual struggles to evade masses of ice which threatened destruction every moment, amid storms and mists, and without either refreshment or sight of land. They now found themselves in a genial climate and a fertile country, the woods of which were mellowed by the tints of approaching autumn, and resounded with the songs of strange birds. "The view of rude sceneries in the style of Rosa," writes Mr Forster, "of antediluvian forests which clothed the rock, and of numerous rills of water which every where rolled down the steep declivity, altogether conspired to complete our joy; and so apt is mankind, after a long absence from land, to be prejudiced in favour of the wildest shore, that we looked upon the country at that time as one of the most beautiful which nature, unassisted by art, could produce."\* The more sober-minded Cook tranquilly "hoped to enjoy with ease what in our situation might be called the luxuries of life." An examination of the bay convinced him that there were few places in New Zealand yet visited which afforded the necessary refreshments so plenteously; and we are informed, that notwithstanding the rains, which were frequent at this season, "such as were sick and ailing recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous, which can only be attributed to the healthiness of the place and the fresh provisions it afforded."

Water  
 spouts.

The navigators left Dusky Bay on the 11th May, and proceeded along the shore towards Queen Charlotte's Sound, meeting with nothing worthy of remark till the 17th, when a gentle gale having sunk into a calm, and a clear sky becoming suddenly obscured by dense clouds, several waterspouts were seen. Four of them rose and spent themselves between the ship and the land; the fifth was outside the vessel; while the sixth, which

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\* Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 124.

first appeared in the south-west at the distance of two or three miles, and had a progressive motion in an irregular line to the north-east, passed harmlessly within fifty yards of the stern. "I was then below looking at the barometer," says Mr Wales; "when I got upon deck it was about 100 yards from the ship. It is impossible to say what would have been the consequences if it had gone over her; but I believe they would have been very dreadful. . . . I think that none of these spouts continued entire more than ten minutes, perhaps not quite so long. I saw four complete at one time; but there were great numbers which began to form, and were dispersed, by what cause I know not, before the cloud and water joined." \*

Queen Charlotte's Sound was reached at dawn of the following day, and general satisfaction was diffused by the tidings that the Adventure was in the harbour. Captain Furneaux had lost sight of his consort in a thick fog, and after firing a gun every half hour as a signal without receiving an answer, and having passed three days, according to agreement, in a cruise as near as possible to the same place, he bore away several degrees north of Cook's track towards Van Diemen's Land. He made the farther extremity of this island on the 10th March, and having examined its southern and eastern shores, came to the opinion, "that there are no straits between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay." On the 19th, when in about 39 degrees of latitude, with land in view, finding "the ground very uneven and shoal-water some distance off," he discontinued his northerly course and stood away for New Zealand. A passage of fifteen days having brought him to the coast of that country, he entered Ship Cove on the 7th April, from which period till the arrival of the Resolution he had held a peaceable intercourse with the natives.

Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Reunion of the Resolution and Endeavour.

No long stay was made in the sound after the junction

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\* Astronomical Observations, p. 346.

CHAP. X.  
 Prosecution  
 of the  
 voyage.

of the vessels, Cook resolving, notwithstanding the season of winter, rather to traverse the ocean as far as the longitude of  $135^{\circ}$  or  $140^{\circ}$  W. between the latitudes of  $41^{\circ}$  and  $46^{\circ}$ , than to remain idle, and thus increase the work to be performed in the ensuing summer. He had intended to visit Van Diemen's Land, in order to determine whether or not it made a part of New Holland; but he remarks, "as Captain Furneaux had now in a great measure cleared up that point, I could have no business there." \* Before leaving New Zealand, he endeavoured to benefit it as far as possible by sending two goats on shore, and by sowing or planting many seeds and roots of useful vegetables.

Benevolent  
 proceedings.

Unsuccessful  
 search for  
 land.

The voyage to the eastward commenced on the 7th June. It was prosecuted till the 17th July, when, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 44'$ , longitude  $133^{\circ} 32'$  W., and nearly in the middle between his own track to the north in 1769, and his return to the south in the same year, Cook, seeing no signs of land, steered north-easterly, with a view to explore the sea down to latitude  $27^{\circ}$ ,—"a space," he says, "that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of." On the 1st August, he was near the situation assigned by Carteret to Pitcairn's Island; but, failing in his hope of finding it, without a delay which the sickly state of his consort's crew rendered inexpedient, and being convinced there could be no continent between the meridian of America and New Zealand, unless in a very high southern latitude, he turned his course towards Otaheite.

Daybreak of the 11th revealed land in the south. It proved to be an island about two leagues in extent, and

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\* It is to be regretted that Cook, in his reliance on Captain Furneaux, abandoned his design of personally investigating this point: had he done so, without over-estimating his skill or sagacity, we may express our confidence that he would have anticipated the important discovery, made by Messrs Flinders and Bass in 1798, of the channel named Bass's Strait, separating Van Diemen's Land from Australia. An interesting account of this gallant expedition will be found in Flinders' Voyage to Terra Australis (Lond. 1814, 4to), vol. i p. 138-193.

covered with wood, "above which the cocoa-nut trees showed their lofty heads." It was reckoned to be in latitude 17° 24' S. and longitude 141° 39' W., and received the name of Resolution. The same day, another was discovered, and called Doubtful. One which was seen the next morning was entitled Furneaux; and the designation of that officer's ship, the Adventure, was given to a third descried in the morning of the 13th. "I must here observe," says Cook, "that amongst these low and half-drowned isles (which are numerous in this part of the ocean) M. Bougainville's discoveries cannot be known to that degree of accuracy which is necessary to distinguish them from others. We were obliged to have recourse to his chart for the latitudes and longitudes, as neither the one nor the other is mentioned in his narrative. . . . He very properly calls this cluster the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced us that we were surrounded by these isles, and how necessary it was to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night." \*

CHAP. X.  
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Resolution  
and Doubtful  
Islands.

At length, on the 15th August, he came in sight of Osnaburg Island or Maitea, when he apprized Captain Furneaux of his intention to put into Oaitipihā Bay, near the south-east end of Otaheite, to get what refreshments he could before resuming his old station at Mata-vai. But in this attempt, which was made early next day, he barely escaped total shipwreck on the coral reefs, in presence of many of the natives, who, probably from ignorance of his danger, showed not the slightest concern. When safely within the harbour, few of them inquired after Tupia, but many for Mr Banks, and others whom they had known during the previous visit. The cause of their countryman's demise, as explained to them, was deemed quite satisfactory; and, "indeed," says Cook, "it did not appear to me that it would have caused a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one,

Maitea  
Island.

Recognition  
by the  
natives.

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\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 142.



## CHAP. X.

Native  
cupidity.

had his death been occasioned by any other means than by sickness." The captain's rigid system of policy, for the protection or recovery of stolen goods was soon found to be as necessary and as efficacious as on the former occasion.

Visit and  
gifts to king  
Otoo.

The vessels removed to Matavai on the 25th, by which time the crew of the Adventure had greatly recovered. The voyagers met with many acquaintances among the crowd who speedily thronged the decks; and next day Cook visited Otoo, then sovereign of part of the island, whose friendship was essential in obtaining a supply of provisions. Suitable presents were accordingly offered and accepted, and, in return, his majesty promised some hogs, but was loath to go on board, being, as he said, "*mataou no te paupoue*;" that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed, all his actions showed timidity; though he at last ventured to visit the ship, attended by a numerous train. A more touching interview took place with the mother of the regent Tootahah, who, seizing the commander by both hands, burst into tears, and told him his friend was dead. "I was so much affected with her behaviour," he writes, "that it would have been impossible for me to have refrained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her." He afterwards learned that Tootahah had fallen in battle, and that his remains, after being exposed on a tupapow or open shed, where they were honoured with the customary rites of mourning, were deposited in the family marai at Opatee. The good understanding thus commenced was kept up by reciprocal acts of kindness and attention. The island-monarch and his people were gratified by the music of the bagpipe, their favourite instrument, and by the dances of the seamen; while the English were entertained with a dramatic play, or *heava*, a medley of dancing and comedy. All the fruits which the country produces they obtained abundantly, except that of the bread-tree, which was not then in season; but owing to intestine wars and other circumstances, hogs and fowls

Grief of the  
deceased  
regent's  
mother.

Native enter-  
tainments.



Tupapow and Chiet Mourner.

were procured with difficulty,—only twenty-four of the former having been received during a residence of seven-teen days. Tupapow.

On the 1st of September, our navigator set sail for the island of Huaheine, which he made the next day. Before landing, the king, his ancient friend Oree, sent to the ships the piece of pewter which had been left with him in July 1769. Cook wished to go to this kind-hearted prince; “but I was told,” he says, “that he would come to me; which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck, and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears which trickled plentifully down his venerable cheeks sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart.” During their short stay the English received every mark of friendship, and procured no fewer than 300 hogs, besides fowls and fruits. On the 7th, Cook bade adieu to this gentle monarch, leaving with him a small copper plate, with the inscription, “Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty’s Ships Resolution Reception at Huaheine.

Mark of friendship.

CHAP. X. and Adventure, September 1773." Before his departure, Captain Furneaux consented to take on board a young man named Omai, a native of a neighbouring island. In the opinion of Cook at that time, "he was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion."

Omai received on board.

Ohamaneno harbour.

The ships reached Ulietea the same evening, and spent the night in beating off and on the island, guided by the lights of the fishers on the reefs and shores. On the morning of the 8th, they anchored in the harbour of Ohamaneno, and the natives immediately crowded around them, eager to barter hogs and fruit. The chief, Oreo, displayed a great affection for the Europeans, and gratified them with the performance of a *heava*. The scenes which most interested them in this rude drama represented a theft, which was accomplished in so dexterous a manner as clearly to indicate the genius of the people. Cook looked for the termination of the piece with some curiosity,—anticipating the death, or at least hearty beating of the culprits; but in this he was disappointed, both principal and accomplices escaping in triumph with their booty. At this place he took on board a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Oedidee or Mahine, a native of Bolabola, and nearly related to Opony, the warlike sovereign of that island.

Native dramatic skill.

Voyage pursued.

The discoverers departed from Ulietea on the 17th, and steered to the west, inclining to the south, that they might avoid the tracks of former voyagers, and get into the latitude of the islands discovered by Tasman and named Middleburgh and Amsterdam,\* but now known as two of the principal of the Friendly or Tonga archipelago. On the 23d, in latitude 19° 18' S., longitude 158° 54' W., they fell in with two or three small islets, surrounded by breakers, like most of the low isles in this sea, and gave them the appellation of Hervey. On the 2d October, they got abreast of Middleburgh

\* See above, p. 125-128.

(called by the inhabitants Eooa), where an immense crowd gave them welcome with loud shouts, thronged round the boats, in which they rowed towards the land, offered native cloth and other articles in exchange for beads, and seemed more anxious to give than to receive. A chief conducted them to his dwelling, which was built on the shore, "at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock-trees, in a situation which was most delightful." Here they were entertained with songs, and invited to join in a *cava* feast; but, says Cook, "I was the only one who tasted it; the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of every one else." The unceasing kindness of the people, who vied with each other in their endeavours to please, made our countrymen regret that the season of the year precluded a longer stay.

CHAP. X.  
Reception at  
Middleburgh.

Native cava  
feast.

On the 3d, they weighed anchor, and bore down for Amsterdam or Tongataboo, when they were met midway by some canoes. As they sailed along the coast, they observed the natives running on the shore, and displaying small white flags, which, being looked on as tokens of peace, were answered by hoisting a St George's ensign. Cook landed on the 4th, and was conducted over part of the country by a chief called Attago. He was much surprised by the aspect of the island, and could have fancied himself transported into the most fertile plains of Europe. Not a spot of waste ground was to be seen,—the roads took up the least possible space, the fences were not above four inches in breadth, and were often formed of some useful plants. "It was," he writes, "every where the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. In these delightful walks we met numbers of people: some travelling down to the ships with their burdens of fruit; others returning back empty. They all gave us the road, by turning either to the right or left, and sitting down or standing with their backs to the fences,

Tongataboo.

Fertile  
aspect of the  
island.



CHAP. X. till we had passed."\* They showed neither distrust nor suspicion of their visitors, whom they permitted freely to ramble wherever curiosity or pleasure invited. In physical peculiarities, in language, and in many arts and customs, political and religious, they bore a striking resemblance to the Society Islanders.

Native confidence.

Return to New Zealand.

As the period for prosecuting his researches in the high southern latitudes now approached, the commander judged it advisable to revisit New Zealand, where wood and water could be procured for the next portion of the voyage. The vessels accordingly quitted Amsterdam on the 7th October, and on the next day made the Pylstaart or Tropic-bird Island of Tasman, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 26' S.$ , and longitude  $175^{\circ} 59' W.$

Separation of the Resolution and Adventure.

On the 21st, they descried the land of New Zealand; but, in consequence of baffling winds and dangerous gales, in one of which the Adventure was lost sight of, Cook did not reach the rendezvous in Queen Charlotte's Sound till the 3d November. Here he remained more than three weeks without any tidings of his consort; and henceforward, as they did not again meet, our attention must be confined to the solitary course of the Resolution. Notwithstanding the absence of their former attendant, the commander assures us that his crew, far from being dejected, looked as cheerfully on their expedition to the south "as if the Adventure, or even more ships, had been in company." According to Mr Forster, however, as the expectation of meeting with new lands had become faint, a cruise to the south, once so full of promise, appeared no longer inviting. "If any thing," says he, "alleviated the dreariness of the prospect with a great part of our shipmates, it was the hope of completing the circle round the South Pole, in a high latitude, during the next inhospitable summer, and of returning to England within the space of eight months." †

Prospects of the voyage.

\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 201.

† Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 526.

This navigation was perhaps one of the dullest ever performed. The voyagers left New Zealand on the 26th November, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, with a favourable wind. On the evening of the 6th December, they calculated themselves to be at the antipodes of London.\* Ice was first seen on the 12th, in latitude  $62^{\circ} 10' S.$ , longitude  $172^{\circ} W.$ , being  $11^{\circ} 30'$  farther south than that first met with in the preceding year; and on the same day an antarctic petrel, gray albatrosses, and some other birds, were observed. On the 14th, several ice-islands and a quantity of loose ice occurred; and these became more numerous as the course to the south-east by east was pursued. Next morning, there appeared an immense field, through the partitions of which it was not deemed safe to venture into "a clear sea beyond," as the wind would not have permitted return. A stretch to the north, with some tacks, was therefore made, but not without very great risk from the floating islands. On the 22d, they had attained a higher parallel than they had before reached,  $67^{\circ} 31' S.$ , in longitude  $142^{\circ} 54' W.$ ; but next day, in a little lower latitude, another quantity of ice wholly obstructed the passage to the south. At this time the cold was most intense, and there was a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, and made the ropes like wires. Advancing to the north-east, the ice-islands were found to increase in number, nearly a hundred of them being seen at noon of the 24th, besides an immense quantity of small pieces; but, by taking advantage of every light

CHAP. X.  
Return to  
the south.

Ice Islands.

Intense cold,  
snow, and  
sleet.

\* "We are the first Europeans," says Mr Forster, "and, I believe I may add, the first human beings who have reached this point, where it is probable none will come after us. A common report prevails, indeed, in England, concerning Sir Francis Drake, who is said to have visited the antipodes, which the legend expresses, by 'his having passed under the middle arch of London Bridge;' but this is a mistake, as his track lay along the coast of America, and probably originates from his having passed the *periæci*, or the point in  $180^{\circ}$  longitude, on the same circle of north latitude, on the coast of California."—Voyage, vol. i. p. 527.

## CHAP. X.

A Christmas feast.

air to drift along with them, a tolerably easy berth was obtained, in which, nearly in the same manner as during the voyage of the previous year, our navigators held their Christmas feast. They were fortunate at this time in having continual daylight and clear weather, for "had it been as foggy as on some of the preceding days, nothing less than a miracle," says Cook, "could have saved us from being dashed to pieces." Still the dangers of the situation were so great, that on the 26th, in latitude  $66^{\circ} 15'$ , it was judged prudent to make another trip towards the north, and, by the 9th January 1774, he found himself in latitude  $48^{\circ} 17'$ , in longitude  $127^{\circ} 10'$  W. At this period most of his crew were becoming diseased, though not seriously. "A general languor and sickly look were manifested in almost every face," says Mr Forster, "and the captain himself was pale and lean, and had lost all appetite." On the 11th, the course to the south was resumed, and, on the seventh day after, the voyagers were in latitude  $61^{\circ} 9'$  S., longitude  $116^{\circ} 7'$  W. They crossed for the third time the antarctic circle on the 26th, and on the 30th reached the highest southern latitude which had been then attained by any discoverer, namely,  $71^{\circ} 10'$ , in west longitude  $106^{\circ} 54'$ .\*

Sickness of the crew.

Abandonment of further research.

The obstacles which arrested Cook's farther progress, and the reasons which induced him to abandon any attempt in other directions, cannot be better stated than in his own words:—"At four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field-ice. Soon after it was seen from the top-mast-head, and at eight o'clock we were close to its edge. It extended east and west,

\* Only one navigator has penetrated beyond this point. On the 20th February 1822, Captain Weddel reached the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 15'$ , in the longitude of  $34^{\circ} 16' 45''$  W. In this situation no land was visible, and only four ice-islands were in sight; but the wind blowing fresh at south prevented his farther progress, and he was reluctantly constrained to return.—Weddel's Voyage towards the South Pole, p. 37.

Appearance  
of the ice.

far beyond the reach of our sight. . . . Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside ; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together, so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills), but seemed to increase in height as you traced it to the south, in which direction it extended beyond our sight. I will not say it was impossible any where to get farther to the south ; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe, no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, *my* opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time ; and that it is here, that is to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north, is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice some penguins were heard, but none seen ; and but few other birds, or any other thing that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice : but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption, as it, in some measure, relieved us, at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no

Supposed  
source of  
southern  
icebergs.

Impossibility  
of further  
progress.



## CHAP. X.

other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north." \*

Opinions as to the prospect of discovery.

On the 4th of February, he found himself in latitude 65° 42' S. and longitude 99° 44' W., and though now convinced that there was no continent except in extremely high latitudes, he was of opinion that "there remained, nevertheless, room for very large islands in places wholly unexamined; and that many of those which were formerly discovered are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. For me," he continues, "at this time, to have quitted this sea, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying, not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored that nothing remained to be done in it." He therefore resolved to proceed in search, first, of the land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez towards the end of the sixteenth century, then of Davis' Land or Easter Island of Roggewein; and, finally, of the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros.†

Search of new land.

Dangerous illness of Cook.

Cook had for some time concealed from every person on board a dangerous obstruction of his bowels, and endeavoured to overcome it by taking hardly any sustenance; but this treatment aggravated rather than removed the malady, the symptoms of which at length, when he had reached a more northern latitude, were so alarming that his life was in danger. The disease fortunately abated after a week's confinement to his couch; but still so great was his debility, that no one could doubt the urgency of hastening to a place of refreshment as the only chance of preserving his existence. He speaks of his own condition at this time very briefly. "I was now taken ill of the bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed; so that the man-

\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

† See above, pp. 72, 73; pp. 131 and 142-147; and p. 97-99.

agement of the ship was left to Mr Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed. . . . When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach; and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else."\*

CHAP. X.  
Recovery  
of the  
commander.

On the 25th February he was in latitude  $37^{\circ} 52'$  S., and west longitude  $101^{\circ} 10'$ ; and having now crossed his track to Otaheite in 1769, he was satisfied that the large and fertile land, "richer than Peru," said to have been visited by Fernandez, could be no more than a small island, if indeed any such discovery was ever made. He then stood away to the north to get into the latitude of Easter Island, which had been unsuccessfully sought by Byron, Carteret, and Bougainville. On the morning of the 11th of March, in latitude  $27^{\circ} 5' 30''$  S., longitude  $109^{\circ} 46' 20''$  W., land was descried from the mast-head, and by noon Cook had no doubt it was that discovered by Edward Davis in 1687. "The joy," says Forster, "which this fortunate event spread on every countenance is scarcely to be described. We had been a hundred and three days out of sight of land; and the rigorous weather to the south, the fatigues of continual attendance during storms, or amidst dangerous masses of ice, the sudden changes of climate, and the long continuance of a noxious diet, all together had emaciated and worn out our crew."†

Discovery of  
land.

A landing was effected on the 14th, and the natives behaved in a peaceable manner, though expert and daring thieves; they appeared to know the fatal powers of the musket, which they regarded with much awe,—arising probably from traditionary accounts of Rogge-  
wein's visit. The commander was, however, disappointed to find, that though there were several plantations of

Interview  
with natives.

\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 274.

† Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 552.

## CHAP. X.

Inferior accommodation.

Scarcity of provisions.

Native stature.

Singular Monuments.

sweet potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, few places could afford less accommodation. There was no secure anchoring-ground, no wood, and only a scanty supply of fresh water of the most wretched quality; even fish were so rare that none could be caught, at least with hook and line; while both land and sea birds were very scarce, and except a few small fowls and some rats, supposed to be eaten by the natives, no animal food was to be had. In his opinion, nothing will ever induce ships to touch at this island but the utmost distress. The inhabitants, whose numbers he estimated at 600 or 700, resembled in many respects those of the isles towards the west, but had made less progress in some of the arts, and were worse provided with huts and household utensils. Their affinity to the other tribes of Polynesia at the same time was so striking, "that," we are assured, "no one will doubt that they have had the same origin." It was not observed that any man reached the stature of six feet; "so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts." Only three or four canoes, very mean, and built of many pieces sewed together with small line, were seen in the island. They had outriggers, in the manner so common in the South Sea, but were small, and by no means fit for distant navigation.

Cook saw only two or three of the statues described by the Dutch, but some of his companions who travelled over the country observed many more. They were from fifteen to twenty-seven feet in height, and from six to nine in breadth over the shoulders; and each had on its head a large cylindrical block of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The stone of which they were made was gray, and seemingly different from any naturally belonging to the island. The carving at the upper part, which commonly represented a sort of human head and bust, was rude but not altogether contemptible: in particular, the nose and chin were pretty fairly delineated, while the ears were long beyond proportion; and, in the bodies, there was hardly any re-



Monuments on Easter Island

semblance to the human figure. Their magnitude was such as to make their erection a subject of perplexity, especially when it was considered how little the natives were acquainted with the mechanical powers. In the opinion of Cook, the present inhabitants had no concern in rearing them, as even the foundations of some were carelessly suffered to fall into ruin. Besides these monuments of antiquity, many little heaps of stones were piled up along the coast, and some of the savages possessed human figures carved with considerable neatness from narrow pieces of wood about two feet long. Of these images, the native of Bolabola, Oedidee, purchased several, conceiving they would be much valued in his own country, the workmanship of which they surpassed.

Supposed  
indications of  
a former race

The navigators sailed thence on the 16th March, and, favoured by a pleasant breeze, steered to the north-west to make the islands Las Marquesas, which had not been visited since their discovery in 1595. Shortly after putting to sea, the commander was afflicted with a re-

Voyage to  
the north-  
west.



CHAP. X.  
Hood Island.

Fleet of na-  
tive canoes.

Unfortunate  
collision with  
the natives.

currence of his bilious disorder ; but its attack was less violent than formerly. On the 6th of April, in latitude  $9^{\circ} 26' S.$ , and longitude  $138^{\circ} 14' W.$ , an island was seen, and named Hood, in honour of the gentleman who first perceived it. Two hours after another appeared ; and when a third was discerned the next morning, every one was satisfied that the cluster was that explored by Mendana.\* Cook coasted the south-eastern shore of La Dominica, and, passing through the channel which divides it from Santa Christina, ran along that island in search of the port Madre de Dios of his Spanish predecessor, in the entrance of which he anchored on the 7th. Ten or twelve canoes immediately approached from the shore, but some address was required to get them alongside of the vessel. At length, a few presents brought one of them under the quarter-gallery, when the rest followed ; and, after exchanging bread-fruit and fish for nails, they retired peaceably. Each canoe was observed to have a heap of stones on its bow and every man had a sling tied round his hand. Many more appeared next morning, bringing similar provisions and one pig, which were bartered as before ; but not with perfect honesty, till a musket-ball was fired over the head of one man whose unfairness was conspicuous. A great many of the natives were at this time on board, and the commander, who was then in one of the boats, having been informed of the theft of an iron stanchion, gave orders to fire over the canoe in which the plunderer was making off, but not to kill any one. In the tumult which ensued, his commands, unfortunately, were not distinctly heard, and the depredator was shot dead at the third discharge. The iron was instantly thrown overboard, and the two other persons in the skiff leapt into the sea, though in a short time they clambered again into their vessel. "One of them," says Cook, "a man grown, sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe in a kind of hysteric laugh ; the other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen

\* See above, pp. 79, 80.



IN THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS



years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance; we had afterwards reason to believe he was his son." This unhappy event was followed by the precipitate retreat of all the savages. Their fears were, however, after a short space, allayed, and for a time barter was carried on with them advantageously,—various fruits, pigs, and fowls, being obtained on exceedingly reasonable terms, till the indiscretion of some gentlemen introduced new articles of trade, especially red feathers, collected at the island of Amsterdam. This effectually put an end to the intercourse; nails and all other things were despised in comparison; and, in the absence of a sufficient stock of feathers, there remained no alternative but to quit the country. This was a serious mortification to the crew, who had now been nineteen weeks at sea, and confined all that time to a salt diet. So serviceable, however, had the many antiscorbutic articles proved, that at this period there was scarcely one sick person in the ship.

On the afternoon of the 11th, Cook departed from Resolution Bay, as he named the harbour where he had lain, and steered nearly south-west, with a fine wind, till the morning of the 17th, when he fell in with the most easterly of the King George's Islands of Byron, and ascertained its native appellation to be Tiookea. Another of the same group was seen the next day; and on the 19th, four small and half-overflowed islands were observed, and named after Sir Hugh Palliser. The succeeding evening, a great swell rolling from the south, convinced him that he was now clear of those low lands; on which account, and being favoured by a strong gale, he bore down for Otaheite.

A pleasant voyage, of little more than a day, brought them within view of that island, and spread general joy on board. "The forests on the mountains," says Mr Forster, "were all clad in fresh foliage, and glowed in many variegated hues. . . . The plains shone forth in the greatest luxuriance of colours, the brightest tints of verdure being profusely lavished upon their fertile

## CHAP. X.

Trade resumed with the islanders.

Departure from Resolution Bay.

Arrival at Otaheite.



## CHAP. X.

Anchor in  
Matavai Bay.

groves ; in short, the whole called to our mind the description of Calypso's enchanted island." The Resolution anchored in Matavai Bay on the 22d ; and no sooner was her arrival known, than the friendly natives visited their old acquaintances with every demonstration of gladness. Provisions had become very plentiful during the eighteen months' absence of the discoverers, and the desire to possess the red feathers, which had been obtained at the Tonga Islands, rose almost to a phrensy among the people. The improvement in the general state of the country surprised even those who had thought most highly of its capabilities, and induced Cook to protract his stay much longer than he originally intended. Hogs were now abundant, fruits of every kind equally so, and industry had displayed itself in the erection of habitations and the construction of an immense number of canoes. Many of the latter were destined for an expedition against Eimeo, which had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite ; and our countrymen had an opportunity of witnessing a grand naval review of the larger part of the island-forces. The war-canoes, each from fifty to ninety feet long, and double or joined together by strong transverse beams, amounted to 160 ; and of smaller craft, designed, it was supposed, to serve as transports or victuallers, there were 170 ; in all 330 vessels, carrying, by Cook's calculation, 7760 men, warriors and rowers. The former wore vast quantities of cloth, turbans, breastplates, and helmets ; and their weapons were clubs, spears, and stones.

Abundance  
of hogs and  
fruit.

Departure  
from  
Otaheite.

Having executed those repairs on his vessel which the tempestuous weather of the high southern latitudes had rendered necessary, he again set sail from Otaheite on the 14th of May. As the ship was clearing the bay, one of the gunner's mates, who had determined to remain in the island, slipped overboard with the intention of swimming to the shore, but was instantly taken up. "When," says the commander, "I considered this man's situation in life, I did not think the resolution he had taken so extraordinary as it may at first appear. . . ."

I never learnt that he had either friends or connexions to confine him to any particular part of the world ; all nations were alike to him. Where, then, could such a man be more happy, than at one of these isles, where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy, not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty ?”\*

CHAP. X.

Attempted  
desertion of a  
gunner's  
mate.

On the afternoon of the next day, the English anchored at Huaheine, where they found the old chief Oreo as kind as ever. When paying him a farewell visit, Cook told him that they would meet no more ; on which he burst into tears, and said, “ Let your sons come ; we will treat them well.” The commander esteemed him as “ a good man, in the utmost sense of the word,” but surrounded by persons of less worth, some of whom took advantage of his old age, and, encouraged by the carelessness of many of our voyagers, committed acts of violence, “ which no man at Otaheite ever durst attempt.”

Reception at  
Huaheine.

Leaving this on the 23d, a few hours brought the vessel to Ulietea, where she anchored on the following morning. Cook speaks with great feeling of the hospitable manner in which he was treated at this island, more especially by Oreo and his family. At parting, he writes, “ the chief, his wife, and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. . . . His last request was for me to return : when he saw he

Hospitable  
treatment at  
Ulietea.

\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 345. These reflections may perhaps recall to the recollection of the reader a passage in *The Island* :—

“ Men without country, who, too long estranged,  
Had found no native home, or found it changed,  
And, half uncivilized, preferr'd the cave  
Of some soft savage to the uncertain wave,—  
The gushing fruits that nature gave untill'd ;  
The wood without a path but where they will'd ;  
The field o'er which promiscuous Plenty pour'd  
Her horn ; the equal land without a lord ;  
The earth, whose mine was on its face, unsold,  
The glowing sun and produce all its gold.”

CHAP. X  
 Singular  
 inquiry.

could not obtain that promise, he asked the name of my *marai* (burying-place). As strange a question as this was, I hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney, the parish in which I live when in London. I was made to repeat it several times over till they could pronounce it; then, '*Stepney marai no Toote,*' was echoed through a hundred mouths at once. I afterwards found the same question had been put to Mr Forster by a man on shore; but he gave a different, and indeed more proper answer, by saying, no man who used the sea could say where he should be buried. What greater proof could we have of these people esteeming us as friends, than their wishing to remember us even beyond the period of our lives? They had been repeatedly told that we should see them no more; they then wanted to know where we were to mingle with our parent dust." \* He quitted Ulietea on the 5th June, leaving Oedidee behind him, to their mutual regret.

Final depar-  
 ture from the  
 Society  
 Islands.

At one time he intended to visit Bolabola, but this design was abandoned for want of leisure; and "taking a final leave of these happy isles, on which benevolent Nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand," he directed his course to the west. On the next morning, he fell in with the Howe Island of Wallis, and following a track a little more to the south, in ten days he found another insular reef, which he named after Lord Palmerston. On the 20th, he saw one that was inhabited, and from the indomitable fierceness of the people, through which even his life was in danger, denominated it Savage. It lies in latitude  $19^{\circ} 1' S.$ , longitude  $169^{\circ} 37' W.$ , is about eleven leagues in compass, of a circular form, and has deep water close to its shores. Favoured by a gentle trade-wind, the Resolution pursued her route to the south-west, and passing, on the 25th, through various islets, several of which were connected by breakers or reefs of rocks, anchored on the succeeding day about a mile

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\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 373.

from the northern shore of Annamooka or Rotterdam, one of the Friendly or Tonga group. Here the gallant officer experienced no small trouble from the dishonesty of the natives, which he was obliged to check by prompt and severe measures,—seizing some of their canoes, and firing small shot at one of the most resolute of the culprits, who, besides trifling articles, had possessed themselves of two muskets. These were forthwith given up, and mutual good feelings restored. The productions of this place were found to be the same as those of Eooa or Amsterdam; but hogs and fowls, with some kinds of fruit, were not so plentiful: there seemed also to be more waste land, and the people generally were poorer. He departed from Annamooka on the 29th, and steered to the south-west, passing between two islands of the same group, of which the native titles are Kao and Tofooa. Continuing his course to the west, on the 1st of July he fell in with an island about a league in length and half that extent in width, situated in latitude  $19^{\circ} 48' S.$ , and longitude  $178^{\circ} 2' W.$  He named it Turtle Island, and its few inhabitants, though armed with clubs and spears, fled at the approach of a boat.

CHAP. X.

Native  
dishonesty.

Turtle Island.

For thirteen days the Resolution held on her westerly track, followed by strong and steady gales. On the 16th July, the weather changed, the sky became foggy, the wind blew in heavy squalls, and was attended with rain, signs which, within the tropics, generally indicate the neighbourhood of some mountainous country. On the same afternoon, high land was seen bearing south-west, and “no one doubted that this was the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros,”—L’Archipel des Grandes Cyclades of Bougainville.\* Cook sailed round the north end of the Ile Aurore of his French predecessor; and during the 18th continued to ply between it and L’Isle des Lépreux. On the 20th, he stretched across to Ile de la Pentecôte, and passing an-

Discovery of  
the Ile  
Aurore.

\* See above, p. 224-227.



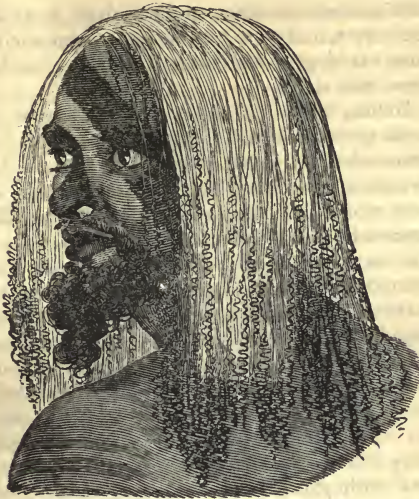
## CHAP. X.

Mallicollo  
Island.Appearance  
of the  
natives.Skirmish  
with the  
natives

other called by the natives Ambrym, anchored the next day on the north-east side of an island, of which he discovered the name to be Mallicollo.\* The natives were evidently of a race in every respect different from the inhabitants of any of the countries he had yet visited. "They were," says he, "the most ugly ill-proportioned people I ever saw;" their stature was diminutive; they had "flat faces and monkey countenances;" their complexion was very dark, and their hair short and curly. But few women were seen, and these had their heads, shoulders, and faces, painted of a red colour. The language spoken was distinct from that of the other South Sea Islands: "Of eighty words," writes Cook, "which Mr Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the tongue of any other place I had ever been at." From hence, on the 23d, he proceeded towards the south, inclining eastwards, till, having passed Ambrym, Paoom, Apee, Monument, Three Hills, Shepherd's, Montagu, Hinchinbrook, and Sandwich Islands, he anchored on the 3d of August on the south-east side of Erromango. The treachery of the natives led to a skirmish, in which some of them lost their lives; and the following evening, he sailed for the neighbouring island of Tanna, where he found an anchorage on the 5th. The next day, the ship was moored close to the shore, so as to afford to the landing-place and to the whole harbour the protection of her artillery. Some thousands of the inhabitants were drawn up on the beach, evidently with hostile intentions; but the discharge of a few guns speedily dispersed them, and the voyagers, though watched with strict jealousy, were allowed to explore the country in peace. The natives were considered as a distinct race from those of Mallicollo or of Erromango; they were of the middle size,

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\* "Some of our people," it is added, "pronounced it Manicolo or Manicola."—Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 32. There can be no doubt that it is the same country of which Quiros received tidings from the chief of Taumaco. See above, p. 97.



Man of the Island of Tanna.

rather slender, nimble and active, and having for the most part good features and pleasing countenances. Language and characteristics. They were found to possess two languages; the one, peculiar, it was understood, to themselves and to the inhabitants of Erromango and Annatom, the other the same with that of the Tonga group. Their complexion was very dark, their hair for the most part black or brown, of considerable length, and crisp and curly. "They separate it," we are told, "into small locks, which they woold or cue round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends; and as the hair grows, the woolding is continued. Each of these cues or locks is somewhat thicker than common whip-cord; and they look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of their heads." \* They

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\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 78

## CHAP. X.

Native arms.

were armed with clubs, spears or darts, bows and arrows, and staves, and wore bracelets of marine shells or coconuts, ear-rings of tortoiseshell, necklaces and amulets of a greenish stone.

New  
Hebrides  
Islands.

Having taken in a large supply of wood and water, Cook made sail on the 20th with a fresh breeze, and stretched to the south; but, seeing no more land in that direction, he altered his course and steered north-north-west along the eastern shores of Tanna, Erromango, Sandwich, and Mallicollo. The night of the 23d found him in Bougainville's Passage; and on the 25th, he entered a large and spacious harbour, which he was convinced was that named by Quiros San Felipe y Santiago.\* The port of La Vera Cruz was recognised in the anchorage at the head of the bay, one of the two rivers mentioned by the Spaniards was visited, "and, if we were not deceived," says Cook, "we saw the other.

Luxuriant  
vegetation.

. . . . An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was every where to be seen; the sides of the hills were checkered with plantations, and every valley watered by a stream. The columns of smoke we saw by day, and the fires by night all over the country, led us to believe that it is well inhabited and very fertile." By the 31st, he had circumnavigated the island, which proved to be the largest and most western of the cluster; it was sixty leagues in circuit, and the name of Tierra del Espiritu Santo was given to this, "the only remains of Quiros' continent." The survey being now completed, the group was found to extend from latitude  $14^{\circ} 29'$  to  $20^{\circ} 4'$  S., and from longitude  $166^{\circ} 41'$  to  $170^{\circ} 21'$  E., 125 leagues in the direction of north-north-west half west, and south-south-east half east. "As, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands," he remarks, "we added to them several new ones, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them, and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides." †

Survey  
completed.

\* See above, pp. 97, 98.

† Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94, 96.

Having spent more than forty days in examining this archipelago, he made sail from it on the 1st of September, and with a steady wind stood to the south-west. On the 4th, he came in sight of an extensive coast beset with reefs, on which the sea broke with great violence. A passage through this dangerous barrier having been discovered, he came to an anchor on the 5th, when his ship was immediately surrounded by a great number of natives in sixteen or eighteen canoes. They were of a peaceable and friendly disposition, and offered no opposition to a landing, which was effected in the afternoon. The country much resembled some parts of New Holland; the hills and uplands were rocky, and incapable of cultivation; the thin soil which covered them being scorched and burnt; and, "indeed," we are informed, "were it not for some fertile spots on the plains, and a few on the sides of the mountains, the whole country might be called a dreary waste." The natives were robust and well made, in colour nearly approaching those of Tanna, but surpassing them in stature, and having finer features and more agreeable countenances. Their language appeared to have many words in common with that used in New Zealand, in the Tonga Islands, and in Tanna. In affability and honesty, they excelled the people of any place yet visited.

CHAP. X.  
—  
Discovery  
of New  
Caledonia.

Appearance  
of the  
natives.

On the 13th, Cook quitted his anchorage, and for two days sailed to the north-west, when, finding a termination to the land in that direction, and a reef extending as far as the eye could reach, he altered his course to the south-east, and again came in sight of the coast on the 17th. He ran rapidly along it, and, on the 23d, reached its south-eastern extremity, which was called Queen Charlotte's Foreland. In attempting to get round this point, some islands were discovered stretching in the same direction as the mainland; the largest received the name of the Isle of Pines, while the designation of Botany was conferred upon one on which a party landed. The whole of this survey was attended with the greatest danger; and, considering the vast

Dangerous  
navigation.



CHAP. X.  
— —

Man of New Zealand.

Partial  
exploration.

extent of sea yet to be investigated, the state of his vessel and her crew, and the near approach of summer, our navigator, to use his own expression, was obliged, "as it were by necessity, *for the first time*, to leave a coast he had discovered, before it was fully explored." He gave it the appellation of New Caledonia, and fixed its position between latitude  $19^{\circ} 37'$  and  $22^{\circ} 30' S.$ , and west longitude  $163^{\circ} 37'$  and  $167^{\circ} 14'$ . With the exception of New Zealand, it exceeds in size all the islands of the Austral Ocean, extending in length about eighty-seven leagues, though nowhere more than ten in breadth.\*

Voyage re-  
newed

He lost sight of land on the 1st of October, and pursued his course to the south till the morning of the 10th, when in latitude  $29^{\circ} 2' 30'' S.$ , longitude  $163^{\circ} 16' E.$ ,

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\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 103-145. Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 377 442.

he discovered an island to which the name of Norfolk was applied. It was of considerable height and about five leagues in circuit, fertile and luxuriantly wooded, but uninhabited, and our voyagers were, perhaps, the first that ever set foot upon its shores. CHAP. X.  
Norfolk Island.

On the 17th, they came in sight of New Zealand, and could distinguish the summit of Mount Egmont "covered with everlasting snow." The next day, they anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound, for the third time, nearly eleven months after their former visit. Immediately on landing, they looked for a bottle, containing a memorandum which had been left for Captain Furneaux. It was removed, and circumstances soon occurred which showed that the Adventure had been here; while, from conversing with the natives, of whom only a few appeared, and those in a state of unusual timidity, it was inferred that some calamity had befallen her crew. New Zealand.

On the 10th of November, Cook departed from New Zealand, and with all sails set steered south by east, to get into the latitude of 54° or 55° S., with the view of crossing the Pacific nearly in these parallels, and thus exploring those parts left un navigated in the previous summer. On the 27th, he was in latitude 55° 6' and longitude 138° 56' W., when, abandoning all hope of finding land, he determined to steer directly for the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, which he reached on the 18th of December. With the exception of that achieved by his colleague, of which he was then ignorant, this was the first run directly across the Pacific in a high southern latitude. "And I must observe," he writes, "that I never made a passage any where of such length, or even much shorter, where so few interesting circumstances occurred; for, if I except the variation of the compass, I know of nothing else worth notice. . . . I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean, and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored; or that more could have been done in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this."\* Course determined on.  
Run directly across the Pacific.

\* Voyages towards the South Pole, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.

CHAP. X. The southern shores of Tierra del Fuego, and the  
 ——— Strait of Le Maire, being still very imperfectly known,  
 Christmas he now resolved to survey them. On the 20th, he  
 day at Tierra anchored in a large harbour, which received the name  
 del Fuego. of Christmas, from his keeping that festival there.  
 “Roast and boiled geese,” he remarks, “and goose-pie,  
 was a treat little known to us, and we had yet some  
 Madeira wine left; so that our friends in England did  
 not perhaps celebrate the day more cheerfully than  
 we did.” Cape Horn was doubled on the 29th, and,  
 two days after, the Resolution anchored off Staten  
 Land.

Survey of the Having explored those dreary regions, Cook proceed-  
 southern ed to examine the southern part of the Atlantic, in  
 Atlantic. search of an extensive country, laid down in Mr Dal-  
 rymple’s chart of the ocean between Africa and America.  
 This new enterprise commenced on the 3d January  
 1775. On the 6th, he found himself in latitude  $53^{\circ} 9'$   
 S., longitude  $53^{\circ} 14' W.$ , nearly in the situation assigned  
 to the south-western point of the Gulf of St Sebastian  
 in this supposed shore. Perceiving no sign of land,  
 he altered his course to the north, looking out for the  
 coast discovered by La Roche in 1675,\* and revisited  
 by the Spanish ship Leon in 1756. On the 12th, in  
 latitude  $54^{\circ} 28' S.$ , longitude  $42^{\circ} 8' W.$ , nearly three  
 degrees east of the north-eastern point of the fancied  
 gulf, he experienced a swell from east-south-east, which  
 he deemed sufficient proof that no considerable land  
 existed in that direction. On the 14th, a small rocky  
 islet was seen, and the next day a more extensive  
 region presented itself at the distance of eight leagues.  
 It was covered with snow, and offered several bays or  
 inlets, in which large masses of ice were observed.

New South  
 Georgia.

\* See above, p. 130. It has been already incidentally stated (p. 215, note), that the French navigator, Duperrey, is of opinion that La Roche was anticipated in his discovery by Amerigo Vespucci; but this hypothesis seems more unfounded even than that stated by Bougainville. With much more probability says Don M. F. de Navarrete, “Esta tierra pudo ser alguna de las islas de Tristan de Acuna, de Diego Alvarez ó la de Gouhs.”—Coleccion de Viajes y Descubrimientos (Madrid. 1829), vol. iii p. 273, note.

He landed on the 17th, and, displaying the ship's colours amid a discharge of small-arms, took possession of the island by the title of New South Georgia. It was found to be about seventy leagues in circuit, but utterly desolate, covered with frozen snow, and without a stream of water.

CHAP. X.  
Desolate  
appearance  
of the island

Quitting this "poor apology for a continent" on the 25th, he stood to the south-east, and on the 27th had attained the latitude of 60° S., where he met with a long hollow swell from the west,—a decisive sign of an open sea in that direction. Four days later, land was discovered at the distance of three or four miles; it proved to be three rocky islets, and over the outermost there appeared "an elevated shore, whose lofty snow-clad summits were seen above the clouds." A coast of the same nature which was shortly after perceived still farther to the south, received the appellation of Southern Thule, and was considered to be in latitude 59° 13' 30" S., longitude 27° 45' W. On the next morning, a new territory was descried to the north, and other portions were observed on succeeding days. Cook gave to his discovery the name of Sandwich Land, though he was uncertain whether the whole were a group of islands or the point of a continent; "for I firmly believe," he says, "that there is a tract of land near the Pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean." He was anxious to clear up this question; but he felt that he could not justify himself in now encountering the hazards of thick fogs, snow-storms, intense cold, islands or mountains of ice, a sea unknown and almost un-navigable, and risking all that he had done for the sake of exploring so dreary a country, "which, when discovered, would have answered no end whatever, or been of the least use either to navigation or geography."\* The condition of his ship and company, after thei.

Southern  
Thule.

Sandwich  
Islands.

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\* Modern discovery has shown that Sandwich Land is a cluster of small islands.



CHAP. X. lengthened voyage, almost precluded the hope of success, even had the inducement been greater.

Search for  
Cape de la  
Circoncision

On the 6th February, accordingly, he made sail towards the east, in order to renew his search for the Cape de la Circoncision. He held on in the same direction till the 22d of February, when he found that he had run down thirteen degrees of longitude in the very latitude assigned to Bouvet's discovery, and had crossed his own track of 1772. Being now only about forty miles from his route to the south when he departed from Table Bay, he considered it unnecessary to proceed any farther eastwards, as he had already satisfied himself in that quarter. "Having now," he says, "run over the place where the land was supposed to lie, without seeing the least signs of any, it was no longer to be doubted but that the ice-islands had deceived M. Bouvet;"\* and he accordingly determined to yield to the general wish of his companions and get

Conclusions  
arrived at.

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\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 238. The opinion here expressed by Cook, though not unopposed by some French writers, received the general sanction of geographers; but, after a lapse of more than thirty years, the cape seen by Bouvet was again accidentally discovered. On the 6th October 1808, two English whalers, in latitude  $53^{\circ} 58' S.$ , and about the longitude of  $3^{\circ} 55' E.$ , came in sight of an island about five leagues in length. It was covered with snow and surrounded by ice, and no doubt could be entertained of its identity with Cape de la Circoncision.—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. v. p. 35-37. Cook's nearest approach to it was on the 17th February 1773, in the latitude of  $54^{\circ} 20' S.$ , and longitude of  $6^{\circ} 33' E.$ , when he had "a prodigious high sea from the south, which assured us *no land was near in that direction.*"—Voyage, p. 235. In fact, at this time Bouvet's discovery lay to the northward. It may be remarked, that, on another occasion, Cook was in the vicinity of land in the South Atlantic Ocean without perceiving any signs of its existence. On the 17th of January 1773, he was in latitude  $67^{\circ} 15' S.$ , and longitude  $39^{\circ} 35' E.$ , not far to the south-east of Enderby's Land, discovered on the 27th February 1831, by Captain Biscoe, in the brig Tula, in latitude  $65^{\circ} 57' S.$ , and longitude  $47^{\circ} 20' E.$  Eight days previous to his discovery, Captain Biscoe informs us that he "crossed Cook's track in 1773, and found the field-ice precisely in the position in which he left it."—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 108. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, tome xx. No. cxxiv. (Août 1833), p. 71.—Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tome xxix, p. 303.

Subsequent  
discovery of  
Cape de la  
Circoncision.

into port as soon as possible. From latitude  $38^{\circ} 38' S.$ , in longitude  $23^{\circ} 37' E.$ , on the 13th March, he steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he made after a voyage of eight days.

CHAP. X.

Here he found a letter from his colleague, who had reached this colony about a year before. It cleared up the mystery which had perplexed Cook on his last visit to New Zealand, by acquainting him that a boat's crew, ten in number, had been massacred at Queen Charlotte's Sound by the savages, who, not content with an indiscriminate butchery, had feasted on the mangled remains of their victims. After this unfortunate calamity, Captain Furneaux, despairing to meet his consort, ran eastward across the Pacific,\* and, doubling Cape Horn, reached Table Bay on the 19th March 1774.

Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.

The anchorage at the Cape may be regarded as the termination of Cook's second voyage, during which, reckoning from his departure to his return to this place, he had sailed over no less than 20,000 leagues,—an extent nearly equal to thrice the equatorial circumference of the earth. In this navigation only four men had been lost out of the whole company, and but one of them by sickness,—a proportion considerably below that shown by the bills of mortality in Europe. Many, indeed, were weakly, and all, it may well be imagined, in need of refreshment; but only three required to be sent on shore for the recovery of health, and the rest, by an improvement in diet, speedily regained their usual strength. Almost all the sails and tackling of the Resolution were worn out, though the standing rigging

Extent and success of the voyage.

State of the crew.

\* During this navigation, he narrowly missed seeing the islands called South Shetland (seen by Dirck Gherritz in 1599, rediscovered in 1818 by Mr William Smith, in the brig William, and fifteen months afterwards by the U. S. brig *Hersilia*—see *Voyages* by Edmund Fanning, New York, 1833, p. 428-434) and South Orkneys. "He passed," says Captain Weddel, "within forty-five miles of the east end of Shetland, and seventy-five miles of the South Orkneys: hence twenty miles, we may presume, of a more southerly course would have given us a knowledge of South Shetland fifty years ago."—*Voyage towards the South Pole in 1822-24*, p. 28. See *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, tome xvii. p. 58.

CHAP. X.  
Condition of  
the vessel.

was still of service. "In all this great run," he states, "which had been made in all latitudes between 9° and 71°, we sprung neither low-masts, top-mast, lower nor top-sail yard, nor so much as broke a lower or top-mast shroud; which, with the great care and abilities of my officers, must be owing to the good properties of our ship." He left the Cape on the 27th of April, and, on the 30th of July 1775, anchored at Spithead, having been absent from England three years and eighteen days.

Reception of  
Cook at  
home.

The design of the voyage now completed was, in vastness and grandeur, without a parallel in the history of maritime enterprise; and never, perhaps, had any expedition been conducted with greater skill, perseverance, or success. Cook was received with every mark of approbation and honour; he was raised to the rank of post-captain, by a commission dated the 9th of August, and three days thereafter he was named captain in Greenwich Hospital,—an appointment which afforded him the means of spending the rest of his days in honourable and easy retirement. In February 1776, he was unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 7th March, the evening of his admission, a communication was read, in which he detailed the means he had employed to preserve the health of his crew in their long and perilous navigation.\* For this most

Honours and  
rewards  
conferred  
on him.

\* Phil. Trans., vol. lxvi. p. 402, *et seq.* In addition to a liberal use of the various antiscorbutics furnished by the Navy and Victualling Boards (see above, p. 295), Cook had recourse to various other arrangements, which he thus details:—

"The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and they had generally dry clothes to shift themselves when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little as possible. Proper methods were employed to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal pains were taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a-week she was aired with fires; and, when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder, moistened with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which greatly purified the air in the lower parts of

valuable and important essay, the council awarded to him the Copley Medal; and on the occasion of its delivery, the president, Sir John Pringle, delivered a discourse highly encomiastic of the great discoverer:—"If," concluded the worthy baronet, "Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your Transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, save numbers of her intrepid mariners, who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country?"

CHAP. X.  
—  
Reception at  
the Royal  
Society.

The account of his first voyage, along with the narrative of the expeditions of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been prepared for publication by Dr Hawkesworth. The manner in which that gentleman executed the charge intrusted to him gave little satis-

Account of  
his first  
voyage.

the ship. To this and cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid. The least neglect occasions a putrid offensive smell below, which nothing but fires will remove; and if these be not used in time, those smells will be attended with bad consequences.

"Proper care was taken of the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat, which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people, as is customary; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy. I never failed to take in water wherever it was to be procured, even when we did not seem to want it; because I looked upon fresh water from on shore to be much more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always an abundance for every necessary purpose. I am convinced, that with plenty of fresh water, and a close attention to cleanliness, a ship's company will seldom be much afflicted with the scurvy, though they should not be provided with any of the anti-scorbutics mentioned.

Means for  
securing the  
health of the  
crew.

"We came to few places where either the art of man or nature did not afford some sort of refreshment or other, either of the animal or vegetable kind. It was my first care to procure what could be met with of either by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from such refreshments soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to employ either the one or the other."



## CHAP. X.

Preparation  
of the narra-  
tive of the  
second  
voyage.

Modesty of  
the author.

Omai.

Moderate  
knowledge of  
English.

faction ; and on this occasion it was deemed more advisable that the history of the enterprise should be written by him who had so ably conducted it. In submitting his work to the public, Cook considered it necessary to plead in excuse for any inaccuracies of composition, or deficiencies in the elegance of style, which might be observed in his narrative, "that it was the production of a man who had not had the advantage of much school-education, but who had been constantly at sea since his youth ; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he had passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice-boy in the coal-trade to a post-captain in the royal navy, he had had no opportunity of cultivating letters." But, in truth, the "Voyage towards the South Pole" stands in no need of such an apology. The sentiments and reflections are in every instance just, manly, and sagacious ; the descriptions are clear and graphic ; and the style is free from affectation,—plain, flowing, and expressive.

Omai, the native of Ulietea whom Captain Furneaux took on board at Huaheine, was the first inhabitant of the South Sea Islands seen in Britain, where his presence naturally excited intense curiosity. He was at once introduced into the highest circles, and patronised by the rank, fashion, and beauty of the metropolis. He was honoured by an interview with his Majesty George III., who settled on him a pension during his residence in this country, and made him several presents. He does not seem to have attained to great proficiency in the English language ; but, by the aid of signs and gestures, he was able to make himself generally understood, and in a short time acquired such a knowledge of the town, that he could traverse it without guide or interpreter. For the opera, which had so many charms for the Otaheitan brought to Paris by Bougainville, he appears to have cared little. But we are assured by Madame D'Arblay, that nothing could be more curious or less pleasing than one of the songs of his native land.

which he chanted in the presence of her father: "Voice he had none; and tune or air did not seem to be even aimed at, either by composer or performer; 'twas a mere queer, wild, and strange rumbling of uncouth sounds. His music, Dr Burney declared, was all that he had about him of savage."\* The ease and grace of his manners, indeed, excited much wonder. With the talent for mimicry which is characteristic of his nation, he readily copied the forms of the society in which he mixed; and as his intercourse was with the most refined circles, he imitated only admired and elegant models. Dr Johnson, whose vision, however, was none of the keenest, tells us, that dining at Streatham with Lord Mulgrave and the Ulietean, "they sat with their backs to the light fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other."† We are informed by another writer, that the island-barbarian was frequently contrasted with Mr Stanhope (the son of Lord Chesterfield), who, after all that could be effected for him by the care and knowledge of a fond father, by the best teachers, and the most advantageous circumstances, was far surpassed, at least in the outward graces of personal demeanour, by the rude and ignorant native of a remote island of the Pacific.

CHAP. X.  
Unmusical  
songs.

Dr. Johnson's  
observations.

But unfortunately his acquirements were limited to the superficial observances of social life. No greater proof of his intelligence has been recorded than his knowledge of the game of chess, in which he became singularly proficient. With that zeal in good works for which he was so distinguished, the benevolent Granville Sharp laboured to instruct the Ulietean in the principles of writing, in which, it is said, he acquired such skill as to be able to pen *one* letter to Dr Solander. Mr Sharp

Superficial  
acquirements  
of Omai.

\* Memoirs of Dr Burney, by his Daughter, Madame D'Arblay, vol. ii p. 7.

† Boswell's Life of Johnson (Mr Croker's edition), vol. iii p. 374.

CHAP. X.  
—  
Benevolent  
efforts of  
Granville  
Sharp.

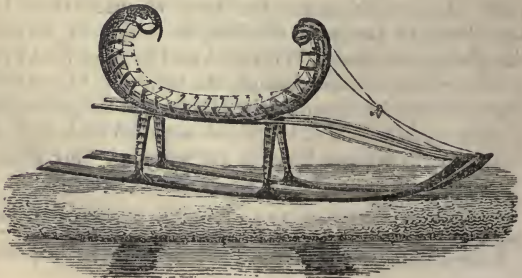
endeavoured likewise to impart to him a knowledge of religious principles; but the attempt met with little success. He appears, indeed, to have possessed a very ordinary intellect, and was far inferior in genius and observation to the unfortunate Tupia, who embarked in the Endeavour, and died at Batavia. The opinion which Cook at first expressed as to the talents of Omai was unquestionably just, although partiality for his savage ward afterwards induced him to think differently.

Motives of  
Omai's visit  
to England.

The rank which he held in his own country was by no means elevated; he belonged to neither of the dominant classes,—the chiefs or the priests. His object in accompanying Captain Furneaux to England appears to have been, a desire to obtain the means of successfully waging war with the men of Bolabola, expelling them from Ulietea, and regaining possession of his paternal domains.

Distinguish-  
ed favours.

It has been remarked, that few savages have enjoyed so distinguished a destiny as Omai; he was painted by Reynolds, sung by Cowper, and befriended by Cook; while he enjoyed the society of Johnson, Banks, Lord Sandwich, Burney, Solander, Sharp, Lord Mulgrave, and many others illustrious for their rank or their learning. In his own estimation, perhaps, he was more fortunate, in having been favoured with the notice of the most celebrated beauties of the day, the Crewes, the Cravens, and the Townshends of the last century.



## CHAPTER XI.

*Cook's Third Voyage.*

Objects of the Expedition—Kerguelen's or Desolation Island—Van Diemen's Land—New Zealand—Mangeea, Wenoa-ette and Wateoo—Palmerston Island—Transactions at the Friendly Islands—the Society Islands—Otaheite—Eimeo—Huaheine—Settlement of Omai there, and Notice of his Life—Ulietea—Bolabola—Cook sails northward—Christmas Island—Discovers the Sandwich Archipelago—Makes the Coast of New Albion—Nootka Sound—Cook's River—Behring's Strait—Icy Cape—Progress to the North arrested—Revisits the Sandwich Islands—Reception by the Natives—Cook is worshipped as their God Orono—Sails from Karakaoa Bay, but is obliged to return to it—Hostile Disposition of the Natives—The Discovery's Cutter is stolen—Cook goes on Shore to recover it—Interview with the King—A Chief slain—Attack by the Natives—Death of Cook—Recovery and Burial of Part of his Remains—The Voyage is resumed—Death of Captain Clerke—The Ships reach China—Fur-trade—Arrival in England.

WHILE Cook was exploring the depths of the Southern Hemisphere, the British government prepared an expedition to investigate the seas and regions of the Arctic Circle. In 1773, Captain John Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, sailed from England in order to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole;\* and, though the general result of his lordship's enterprise could not be regarded as very favourable,

CHAP. XI.

Northern  
expedition  
of Captain  
Phipps.

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\* A notice of this expedition will be found in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. I., Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions (3d edition), p. 326-335.



## CHAP. XI

Hopes of  
further  
discovery.

hopes were still cherished that a channel between the Atlantic and the Pacific might be discovered on the northern verge of the American continent, and it was resolved that a voyage for this purpose should be undertaken.

Enthusiasm  
of Cook

Lord Sandwich, anxious to consult Cook as to the management of the enterprise, invited him to dine at his house, along with Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr Stephens, the secretary to the Admiralty. In the discussion that followed, the importance of the design, the advantages which it would confer on science and navigation, and the fair field which it opened for honour and distinction, were so strongly represented, that the great discoverer, becoming exceedingly animated, at length started to his feet, and declared that he himself would take the command of it. His active and restless spirit seems to have looked with impatience on retirement and repose, however honourable; and scarcely had he returned from his second voyage when we find him longing to engage in a new expedition.\* The offer which he now made

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\* We are indebted to Mr Locker (Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, part i.) for the following letter from Cook, addressed within a week after his appointment in Greenwich Hospital to one of his earliest friends and patrons,—the worthy Quaker to whom he was apprenticed at Whitby:—

“ Mile End, August 19th, 1775.

Letter of  
Cook.

“ DEAR SIR,—As I have not now time to draw up an account of such occurrences of the voyage as I wish to communicate to you, I can only thank you for your obliging letter and kind inquiries after me during my absence. I must, however, tell you, that the Resolution was found to answer on all occasions even beyond my expectations, and is so little injured by the voyage that she will soon be sent out again. But I shall not command her: my fate drives me from one extremity to another. A few months ago, the whole Southern Hemisphere was hardly big enough for me, and now I am going to be confined within the limits of Greenwich Hospital, which are far too small for an active mind like mine. I must, however, confess it is a fine retreat, and a pretty income; but whether I can bring myself to like ease and retirement time will show. Mrs Cook joins with me in best respects to you and all your family, and believe me to be, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend, and humble  
ervant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ To Captain John Walker, at Whitby, in Yorkshire.”

gratified the secret wishes of his noble entertainer, and was most willingly and joyfully accepted. On the 9th of February 1776, he was accordingly re-appointed to the Resolution; Captain Clerke being placed under his orders in command of the Discovery, a vessel of 300 tons, fitted out exactly as the Adventure had been in the former voyage.

CHAP. XI.

Third voyage determined on.

The instructions for conducting this expedition were dated on the 6th of July 1776. They directed the captain to make his way to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence "proceed southward in search of some islands said to have been lately seen by the French, in the latitude of 48° S., and about the meridian of Mauritius," that is, 57° 28' 30" E. He was then to steer for Otaheite, with power to touch, if he judged it necessary, at New Zealand; and having refreshed his crews there, to run directly for the shores of New Albion, about the parallel of 45° north. Having sailed along the coast till he reached the latitude of 65°, he was ordered "very carefully to search for and to explore such rivers, or inlets, as may appear to be of a considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, and if there should appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water-passage into the afore-mentioned bays, to use his utmost endeavours to pass through." Failing in this, he was to winter in the port of St Peter and St Paul, in Kamtschatka, and in the spring to renew the search for a north-east passage into the Atlantic.\*

Instructions for the voyage.

Exploration for a north-east passage.

By an act of the legislature passed in 1745, a reward of £20,000 was held out to any ship *not* in his majesty's service, which should discover a channel leading from Hudson's Bay into the Pacific; and, with a view of encouraging the crews, the statute was now amended, so

Reward offered.

\* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere (3 vols 4to, 2d edition, London 1785), Introduction, p. xxxi-xxxv. Of this work, the first and second volumes were written by Cook, the third by Captain King, while the long and valuable introduction, and the erudite notes and illustrations, were from the pen of Dr Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury

CHAP. XI. as to bring this noble premium within the reach of the present enterprise. To co-operate with Cook, a vessel was despatched to Baffin's Bay to examine its western shores for an opening into the same ocean; but Lieutenant Young, to whom the command was intrusted, returned without having effected any thing.

Departure  
of the  
Resolution.

The Resolution, with Omai on board, sailed from Plymouth Sound on the 12th July 1776, and was joined by the Discovery at the Cape of Good Hope on the 10th of November. They put to sea on the 3d December, and proceeded south-east, according to their instructions, in search of the alleged French discoveries, the position of which was by no means fully determined.\* On the 12th, they fell in with the islands seen by Marion and Crozet in 1772. Leaving these, they shaped their course to the southward, and on the 24th, got sight of some small ones about the latitude of  $48^{\circ} 29' S.$ , and longitude  $68^{\circ} 40' E.$ , which had been visited and named by Kerguelen in December 1773. On the same day, standing to the south-south-east in search of land seen in the morning, they reached a more extensive coast indented by several bays, among which they expected to find a good harbour. This proved to be the true Kerguelen's Land of which our navigator was in quest; but, in place of being a continent, as was at one time supposed, he found it an inconsiderable and steril island, worthy of the name of Desolation, if delicacy to the discoverer had permitted a change of title. No spot in either hemisphere under the same parallel of latitude according to the report of Mr Anderson, the surgeon, who officiated

Kerguelen's  
Land.

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\* The discoveries so vaguely mentioned in the instructions were those made by M. Kerguelen, who sailed from the Isle of France in January 1772, and on the 12th of February, in lat.  $50^{\circ} 5' S.$ , discovered a high land to which he gave his own name. On his return to France he represented his discovery in such glowing colours, that Louis XV. gave him the cross of St Louis, and sent him out to complete its survey. He reached it in December 1773, and continued to explore its coasts till the 6th of January following. On reaching France he was accused of misconduct, deprived of his rank, and thrown into prison.

as naturalist, presented less employment to the botanist ; and its only living creatures were of the marine species, chiefly ursine seals, and birds, as penguins and albatrosses. The hills, though of moderate height, were covered with snow, even at this season, which corresponded with the month of June in England ; and the land, where not frozen, was for the most part a mere bog, which yielded at every step.

CHAP. XI.

Meagre  
Fauna and  
Flora.

The voyagers quitted this bleak shore on the 30th of December, and steered east by north for New Zealand. On the 24th of January, they descried the coast of Van Diemen's Land, and two days after, anchored in the bay formerly visited by Captain Furneaux, and by him named Adventure. Here wood and water were procured in abundance ; but fodder for the animals on board was not so readily obtained. While some of the crew were engaged in procuring these supplies, others carried on a successful fishery, and a party was employed in surveying the bay. The natives, who approached without fear, had no weapons of offence except pointed sticks about two feet long, occasionally used as darts. They were destitute of clothes or ornaments of any kind, but small punctures were observed on different part of their bodies, some in straight lines and others in curves. They were of the common stature, but rather slender ; their skins were black, as also their hair, which was woolly ; but they were not remarkable for the other peculiarities of the negro race,—thick lips, or flat noses.

Arrival at  
Van Die-  
man's Land.

Natives.

On the 30th, the ships weighed anchor and put to sea, pursuing their course to the east, till the 10th of February, when they came in sight of New Zealand, and on the 12th, anchored in the well-known station of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Several canoes in no long time made their appearance, but very few of those who occupied them would venture on board. Their shy and timid behaviour Cook considered to arise from a dread of punishment for the murder of the boat's crew belonging to the Adventure, and used every means to reassure

Arrival at  
New Zealand.



## CHAP. XL



Weapons of New Zealand.

Restoration  
of native  
confidence.

them of his friendly intentions. In this he was successful; their distrust gradually gave way, every sign of fear vanished, and as amicable an understanding was established as if no evil had ever happened to mar it. The inquiries which he made, as to the melancholy fate of his former companions, were readily answered, though considerable discrepancies appeared in the accounts which he received from different individuals.

Cause of  
former colli-  
sion with the  
natives.

The party, it should seem, left their boat in charge of a black servant, and, unsuspecting of danger, sat down to dinner about 200 yards off, surrounded by the natives, who, at that period, there is reason to believe, entertained no unfriendly designs. During the repast, some of the savages snatched away a portion of the bread and fish, for which they were punished with blows; while, about the same time, one of them detected in pilfering from the boat received a severe stroke from the keeper. His cries alarmed his countrymen,

who imagined he was mortally wounded ; and as their resentment had been excited by the usage which they themselves experienced, they readily yielded to the desire of revenge. A quarrel instantly ensued, in which two of them were shot dead by the only muskets discharged ; more would probably have fallen, had they not rushed upon the English, armed with their stone weapons, and, overpowering them by numbers, left not one alive. Kahoorā, one of the chiefs, acknowledged that he attacked the commander of the party ; but endeavoured to justify himself on the ground that one of the muskets fired was levelled at him, and that he only escaped by skulking behind the boat. Whatever truth there might be in his vindication, the natives frequently importuned Cook to kill him, and were surprised that he did not comply with their request. “ But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends,” says he, “ I might have extirpated the whole race ; for the people of each hamlet, or village, by turns applied to me to destroy the other.” \*

CHAP. XI.  
Fatal quarrel.

Kahoorā.

The voyagers left Queen Charlotte's Sound on the 25th February, carrying with them two native youths, and stood for the Society Islands. On the 29th of March, they came in sight of one, small but inhabited, called by the natives Mangeea, situated in latitude 21° 57' S. and longitude 201° 53' E. Its appearance was very pleasing, and indicated a fertile soil. The people, who seemed a fine and vigorous race, were of a tawny colour, and had strong, straight black hair and long beards ; the insides of their arms were tattooed in the manner adopted by several of the other islanders of Polynesia ; their language was a dialect of that which is

Sail for the  
Society  
Islands.

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 124. In 1827, Mr Earle met with an aged savage who, in answer to inquiries put to him, said he did not remember Cook, but “ well recollected Captain Furneaux, and was one of the party which cut off and massacred his boat's crew ; and, from other information,” adds the author, “ which I received, I believe his assertion to have been correct.”—Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Augustus Earle, (London, 1832), p. 23.

## CHAP. XI.

common throughout the South Sea. One of them, who ventured on board, happening to stumble over a goat, asked Omai what *bird* it was.

Wateoo  
Island  
discovered.

Leaving this island on the afternoon of the 30th, the next day brought the navigators in sight of another similar in appearance and extent, and situated only a few leagues farther to the north. On approaching its shores, a third was observed right ahead; but as it was much smaller, Cook sent boats to look for anchorage and a landing-place on the one first discovered. As they were putting off, some natives rowed to the ships in their canoes, and, when asked, gave a few cocoa-nuts, seemingly without any notion of barter or care for the value of the presents made in return. Soon after their departure, another party arrived, whose conductor brought a bunch of plantains,—a donation which was afterwards understood to be from the chief of the island, and was acknowledged by an axe and a piece of red cloth. In a short time, there came alongside a double canoe, in which were twelve men, who, as they drew near, recited some words in concert, one of them first standing up, and giving note of preparation. This ceremony over, they asked for the commander, to whom they offered a pig, a few cocoa-nuts, and a piece of matting. They were then led through the ship, some of the contents of which surprised them considerably, though none fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid of the cows and horses, but the sheep and goats did not seem wholly strange to them, though, like the native of Mangeea, they supposed these animals to be *birds*. In most points they resembled the inhabitants of that island, although several of them were of darker complexion. No landing having been effected on this day, the attempt was renewed the next morning by Messrs Gore, Burney, and Anderson, who, accompanied by Omai, at length reached the shore, but amid dangers which occasioned much anxiety to their companions.

Intercourse  
with the  
natives.

Having anchored within 100 yards of the land, two

canoes came off to give assistance, which they thought proper to accept; and their conductors, watching the movements of the surf, caught a fit opportunity to push through, and placed them on the reef. On the beach, they were met by several natives, bearing green branches in their hands, who led them among a crowd whose curiosity was so troublesome that it was necessary to repress it by blows from some persons in authority. The party were then guided through an avenue of cocoa-palms, to a number of men, arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, among whom sat a chief cross-legged on the ground, and cooling himself with a leaf used as a fan. After saluting this personage, who was distinguished by large bunches of red feathers placed in his ears, the party approached two others seated in the same posture, and wearing similar ornaments; one of them was remarkable for size and corpulence, though not above thirty years of age; the second, who was apparently older than either, desired the strangers to sit down. The people were then directed to stand aside, and make room for the performance of a dance by about twenty young women, adorned like the chiefs. Their motions, which were dictated by a prompter, or master of the ceremonies, were accompanied by a slow and serious air sung by all the dancers. This entertainment was followed by a mock club fight.

CHAP. XI.

Reception on shore.

Dance of women.

The island, though never before visited by Europeans, was found to contain three countrymen of Omai, natives of the Society Isles. They were the sole survivors of about twenty persons of both sexes, who, in a voyage from Otaheite to Ulietea, were driven by contrary winds to this spot,—a distance of nearly 200 leagues. They had been here probably twelve years, and were so thoroughly satisfied as to have no wish to return. This incident, says the intelligent navigator, “will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea, may have been first peopled, especially those that lie

Evidence of the mode of peopling the islands.



## CHAP. XI.

Fine character of the people.

remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other."\* The native name of the island was ascertained to be Wateoo; it is described as a place of great beauty, agreeably diversified by hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues; it lies in latitude  $20^{\circ} 1' S.$  and longitude  $201^{\circ} 45' E.$ , and is about six leagues in circumference. Mr Anderson pronounces the inhabitants a well-made race, more especially those of rank. Many of the young were perfect models in point of shape, and had delicate complexions. According to the report of Omai, their manners and religion were nearly the same with those of the Society Islands; and their language was equally intelligible to the Otaheitan and to the New Zealanders.

## Otakootaia.

On the morning of the 4th April, Cook proceeded to visit the neighbouring island, which the natives of that which he had left termed indifferently Wenooa-ette and Otakootaia. It lay in latitude  $19^{\circ} 51' S.$ , and did not exceed three miles in circuit. No human beings were seen; but many traces occurred to show that it was occasionally visited; some deserted huts were observed, and under the shade of trees were found monuments of stone, and enclosed spots which had perhaps been used as sepulchres.

## Hervey Island.

The voyagers now shaped their course towards Hervey Island, observed in the preceding voyage.† To the great surprise of the captain, who had believed the place to be without inhabitants, several canoes put off from the shore. From three to six men were in each, but not one of them could be persuaded to venture on board. Although they differed much in appearance from the natives of Mangeea,—their complexion being of a darker hue, and their aspect more fierce and warlike,—no doubt could be entertained that they were of the same race. The name of their island was Terouggemou Atooa, and they acknowledged that they were subject to the King of Wateoo; their language was very

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 202.

† See above, p. 310.

similar to that of Otaheite. They said they had seen two great ships sail past, but did not speak with them : these must have been the Resolution and Adventure during the former voyage.

Cook resolved, on the 6th, to bear away for the Friendly Islands, at which he was sure to obtain the supplies which the groups he just passed had been found to deny. On the 13th, when in danger of losing his cattle from want of food, he reached Palmerston Island, which he had discovered in 1774.\* Here he fortunately procured scurvy-grass, palm-cabbages, and young cocoa-trees for the animals on board ; while his crew fared sumptuously on birds, fish, and cocoa-nuts. This cluster, which is uninhabited and without water, comprehends nine or ten low islets, which are probably the summits of the coral-reef that connects them together. One, on which a landing was made, was scarcely a mile in circuit, and not more than three feet above the level of the sea ; its surface appeared to be merely a coral-sand, with a small mixture of blackish mould ; but notwithstanding the poverty and thinness of this soil, trees and bushes were both numerous and varied. Several small brown rats were seen, conveyed thither, it was conjectured, in a canoe, a fragment of which still remained on the beach.†

Palmerston  
Island.

From this position, which he left on the 17th, the navigator proceeded westward. On the night of the 24th, he passed Savage Island, discovered in his second voyage ; ‡ on the fourth day after, he came in sight of some of the Friendly group, and moored about five miles off Komango or Mango, the natives of which brought cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other articles, in exchange for nails.

Friendly  
Islands.

\* See above, p. 324.

† By some continental geographers the name of Cook's Archipelago has been applied to Mangeea, Otakootaia, Hervey Island, and their dependencies. See Balbi, *Abrégé de Géographie*, p. 1277. Murray's *Encyclopædia of Geography*, p. 1523.

‡ See above, p. 324.

CHAP. XI.  
 Annamooka

On the 1st of May, he dropped anchor at Annamooka (the Rotterdam of Tasman), in the same spot which he had occupied three years before. A few days after his arrival, he met with a chief, whose name has since acquired a European renown,—Feenou or Finow, —who was then only tributary lord of Hapai, but was introduced to Cook as king of all the Friendly Islands, one hundred and fifty-three in number. This individual was found very serviceable in forwarding the object of the voyagers, who experienced no little annoyance from the thievish disposition of the common people, and even some of the chiefs. After punishing one of the latter by inflicting a dozen lashes and temporary confinement, the nobles no longer pilfered in person, but depredations were continued by their slaves, on whom, we are told, a flogging appeared to make no greater impression than it would have done on the main-mast. The only means by which they could be effectually restrained from pillage was shaving their heads; which at once exposed them to the ridicule of their countrymen, and enabled the English to keep them at a distance.

Punishment  
 of native  
 theft.

Hapai  
 Islands.

Finding the supply of provisions almost exhausted in little more than a week, Cook meant to visit Tongataboo; but, by the advice of the king, he proceeded to a group of islands called Hapai, lying to the north-east, of which the principal are Lefooga, Foa, Haano, Wilia, and Hooaleva. After a dangerous passage through a sea studded with shoals, rocks, and small islands, the ships came to an anchor on the 17th May, and soon after, Feenou and Omai undertook the task of formally introducing the captain to the natives of the island. He was conducted to a house on the margin of the sea, where he was seated beside his patrons; while the chiefs and a multitude of people were ranged in a circle outside and in front of the erection. Taipa, a friendly noble, then addressing his countrymen by order of Feenou, exhorted them to behave with kindness and honesty to their visiters, and bring to them supplies of



BOXING MATCH AT HAWAII  
One of the Friendly Islands





provisions, for which they would receive valuable articles in exchange. CHAP. XI.

Early next morning, the latter chief came on board, and persuaded the discoverer to accompany him to the shore, where they found a great concourse of the inhabitants. A large quantity of yams and other articles having been presented with much pomp, the spectators formed themselves into a ring to witness a succession of single combats, in which the parties fought with clubs. Wrestling and pugilistic matches were also performed, and the voyagers saw with surprise "a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men." These diversions took place in the presence of 3000 people; and the gifts offered on the occasion loaded four boats, and far surpassed any donation yet received in the islands of the Pacific. On first landing, Cook's quick and sagacious eye perceived "that something more than ordinary was in agitation;" but he seems afterwards to have considered that the magnitude of the preparations was sufficiently explained by the munificence of the present. How little was he aware of the dangers which surrounded him! Snares were laid for his destruction; and the chiefs and their followers, who seemed to outvie each other in kindness and hospitality, only awaited a token from Feenou to commence a general massacre. Fortunately, disputes arose among the conspirators which led to the abandonment of the treacherous design, and the games passed on without the expected signal being made.\* The

Native  
hospitality.

Treacherous  
designs.

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\* Mariner's Tonga Islands (3d edition), Edinburgh, 1827, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72. "Mr Mariner," it is said, "had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present, and in particular from Feenou himself, the son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy." Had Cook discovered their treacherous intentions, he would have probably hesitated to apply to these islanders the epithet Friendly, which so many events have shown to be singularly undeserved. A witty Frenchman writes, "Nous dimes adieu aux habitans des îles des *Amis*, dont le nom, ainsi que

## CHAP. XI

Friendly pro-  
fessions inter-  
changed.

treacherous chief, on whose nod the lives of the strangers had depended, accompanied them on board, and having been entertained at their table, was dismissed with renewed marks of their liberality and friendship. "As soon as he got ashore," says Cook, "he sent me a fresh present, consisting of two large hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and some yams." It would be difficult to determine the feelings by which the savage was actuated in this step; whether he was swayed by remorse or by gratitude; if his generosity was a cunning device to obviate suspicion, or if it flowed from a heart softened into penitence by unmerited kindness, and anxious to expiate the crime which it had meditated.

Review and  
fireworks.

Two days after, the islanders were gratified by witnessing a review of the marines, and by a display of fireworks. The music, performed for their amusement, obtained no praise; the French horns were absolutely despised; and even the drum, which they most admired, was not thought equal to their own. The natives on their part exhibited numerous dances and other entertainments, which were prolonged through a great portion of the night. On the 27th, a large canoe appeared, having a personage on board not previously seen, who was said to be the real king of Tongataboo and all the neighbouring islands. It was with difficulty the commander could be persuaded that Feenou was a subordinate chief; and it was only from the urgent representation of the natives, that he was induced to acknowledge the supremacy of this new visiter. Futtafaihe or Poulaho, for he went by both names, was accordingly invited into the ship, which he was desirous to inspect; and he brought with him a present of two fat hogs. "If weight of body could give weight in rank or power," says the captain, "his majesty was certainly the most eminent man we had seen." When introduced into his

King of  
Tongataboo.

presence, Feenou paid precisely the usual obeisance, saluting the sovereign's foot with his head and hands, and retiring when the monarch sat down to eat.\* Poulaho invited Cook to Tongataboo, which they reached on the 10th June, after a passage dangerous from the number of coral rocks, on which both vessels struck, fortunately without receiving damage.

CHAP. XI.  
Obeisance to  
the chief.

Their reception was friendly in the extreme, a house was set apart for their use, and they were welcomed with the acclamations of the people. Feenou proved very serviceable, and the treatment experienced from other chiefs, though a little capricious and mercenary, held forth every hope of an amicable intercourse. Feasting occupied a considerable portion of the time, both in the ships and on the shore. It was frequently troublesome in the former, owing to the number who thronged into the cabin, provided neither the spiritual sovereign nor Feenou was there,—the presence of either generally operating as an exclusion to all the rest. His majesty's visits were, consequently, much prized by his host, and appeared to be far from disagreeable to himself. He was soon reconciled to English fare: "But still, I believe," says the former, "he dined thus frequently with me, more for the sake of what we gave him to drink, than for what we set before him to eat.

Friendly  
reception at  
Tongataboo.

Troublesome  
native visits.

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\* Cook failed to acquire a correct knowledge of the peculiar government of the Tonga Archipelago. Poulaho was *Touitonga*, that is, a divine chief of supreme rank, and of absolute power in religious affairs, but of little authority in secular matters. His person is considered sacred, and the highest chiefs must perform towards him the humiliating ceremony of saluting his feet. "Dans les attributions du toui-tonga," says D'Urville, "il est difficile de ne pas saisir sur-le-champ une ressemblance assez frappante avec le caractère et les honneurs dont les chrétiens catholiques avaient environné la personne du chef de leur religion : puissance spirituelle sans bornes, une demi-divinité, autorité temporelle plus ou moins étendue, baise-mens de pieds et tributs universels."—Voyage, tome iv. p. 235. Feenou was in possession of the temporal and executive power of the state, in virtue of an office somewhat analogous to that of the Maire du Palais in France and his family eventually succeeded in deposing Touitonga.

Chief priest.



## CHAP. XL

Continued  
native  
depredations.

For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it." This social communication did not prevent many depredations by the lower orders, whose repeated and daring offences became at length so serious, that it was necessary they should be effectually checked. On the disappearance of a kid and two turkey-cocks, Cook had recourse to a measure, which he had found not unsuccessful on former occasions. "I could not be so simple," he says, "as to suppose that this was merely an accidental loss; and I was determined to have them again. The first step I took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships. I then went ashore, and, having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs, in the house that we occupied, I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand, that they must remain under restraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things that had been stolen from us at different times were restored. They concealed as well as they could their feelings on finding themselves prisoners; and, having assured me that every thing should be restored as I desired, sat down to drink their *kava*, seemingly much at their ease. It was not long before an axe and an iron wedge were brought to me. In the mean time, some armed natives began to gather behind the house; but, on a part of our guard marching against them, they dispersed, and I advised the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On asking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily consented; but some having afterwards objected to the king's going, he instantly rose up, and declared he would be the first man. Accordingly, we came on board. I kept them there till four o'clock, when I conducted them ashore, and soon after the kid and one of the turkey-cocks were brought back. The other, they said, should be restored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and released both them and

Resolute  
measures  
of Cook.

Visit by the  
king on  
board.

the canoes." \* This confidence was verified by the result ; the remaining fowl and most of the articles that had been stolen were soon after returned, and the expedient which had been adopted had not the slightest prejudicial effect on the friendly dispositions of the king or his nobles.

CHAP. XI.  
Restoration  
of stolen  
property.

A few days before his departure, Cook entertained Poulaho at dinner. The monarch was observed to take particular notice of the plates, and having obtained one of pewter, mentioned two remarkable purposes to which he meant to apply it. When he had occasion to visit any other island, he would leave the dish at Tongataboo as a representative, to which the people would pay the same obeisance as to his own person ; and, on being asked what had performed this service before, he replied, " A wooden bowl in which he washed his hands." The other use was for a species of ordeal : when a theft was committed, and the guilty person could not be discovered, the people were assembled before him, and when he had washed his hands in the plate, they advanced one after another to touch it, in the same manner as they touched his foot on other occasions. If the robber ventured to lay his hands on the sacred vessel, he was overtaken by instant death, not by violence, but by the finger of Providence ; if, on the contrary, he declined the test, his refusal was considered a clear proof of his guilt. †

Parting en-  
tertainment  
of Poulaho.

Singular  
native ordeal.

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 304.

† Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 326. More than thirty years afterwards, Mr Mariner saw this dish in the possession of Touitonga's son. Cook does not seem to have been made fully aware of the purposes to which it was destined, which are thus explained by the other :—" If any one is *tabooed* [consecrated or set apart] by touching the person or garments of Touitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank ; and to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing) belonging to Touitonga is applied to and touched instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Touitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook."—Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 188. This ceremony is termed *mōē-nōē*, and

Native taboo.

## CHAP. XI.

Departure  
from the  
Tonga  
Islands.

After a sojourn of nearly three months, during which time the most cordial friendship was maintained, our countryman bade adieu to the Tonga Islands on the 17th of July. The time which he passed among them was by no means unprofitably spent, as the season for proceeding to the north had gone by before he resolved to visit them, and more especially as the abundance of fresh provisions enabled him to spare his sea-stock. He likewise benefited the people, by leaving with them several useful animals, while he recruited those which were destined for Otaheite.

Toobouni  
Island.

On the 8th of August, in latitude  $23^{\circ} 25' S.$ , longitude  $210^{\circ} 37' E.$ , the voyagers discovered a small island, called by the natives Toobounai, and surrounded by a coral reef, on which there was a violent surf. The inhabitants, who spoke the language of the Society Islands, appeared to be unarmed.\*

Reception of  
Omai.

From this he steered northwards, and, on the fourth day after, came in sight of the S E. end of Otaheite, whence several canoes came off. Those on board seemed scarcely to recognise the travelled Ulietean, and the meeting even with his brother-in-law was cold and distant, until he presented him with a few red feathers; upon which the heart of the latter warmed, and he begged that Omai and he might be *tayos* or friends, and exchange names. The crimson plumes produced an alteration equally favourable on the rest of his countrymen. Our navigator counselled him to economize the treasures with which he had been loaded in Britain, so that he might be respected in his own land; but the advice was little regarded, and he allowed himself to be cheated by every cunning flatterer. "His first in-

Imprudent  
extrava-  
gance.

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until it is performed no person who is *tabooed* will dare to feed himself with his own hands. The "wooden bowl," which was formerly used in this rite, it is said, was given to the ancestor of Poulaho by Tasman, in 1643.—Quarterly Review, vol. ii. p. 32.

\* This place, where Christian and the mutineers of the Bounty endeavoured to effect a settlement in 1789, Lord Byron has selected as the scene of his poem of The Island, altering the name for the sake of euphony into Toobonai.

terview with his sister," we are told, "was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than to be described;" and an old woman, sister to his mother, equally fervent in her joy, fell at his feet and bedewed them with her tears. Having anchored in Oaitipihā Bay,\* Cook proceeded to inspect

CHAP. XI.

Reception by his sister.

\* On going ashore at this place, Cook found a wooden house erected on the margin of the sea, and near it a cross, with the inscription, "CHRISTUS VINCIT—CAROLUS III. IMPERAT. 1774." They had been raised, he was told, by the crews of two vessels, which had recently visited the island, and which he rightly conjectured had been despatched from the Spanish settlements in South America. He was not able, however, to obtain any certain information regarding the voyage; and it is only within the last year that an account of its transactions has been brought to light, by a manuscript presented to the Geographical Society of Paris by M. H. Ternaux. An abstract of this interesting document, by M. D'Urville, is inserted in the Bulletin of the Society for March 1834 (2nd série, tome i. p. 145-164); and some farther details of the enterprise have appeared in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London (vol. iv. p. 182-191).

Spanish voyage.

In October 1771, the court of Spain, alarmed at the late visits of the English to the South Sea, gave orders to the Viceroy of Lima to prepare, without delay, an expedition to examine the Society Archipelago, and particularly Otaheite, and to report upon the capabilities, population, and resources of these islands. The viceroy in consequence fitted out the *Aguila* frigate; which, under the command of Don Domingo Bonechea, sailed from Callao on the 26th of September 1772. She reached Otaheite on the 10th of November, and on the 26th of March 1773 arrived at Valparaiso. The commander made a very favourable representation of the countries he had been sent to explore; and, in conveying his journals and observations to the king, "I could not," says the viceroy, "but at the same time strongly express my own opinion to his majesty, as to the great prejudice which would result to his dominions in these seas if any other power were permitted to take previous possession of them."

These views met the approbation of the court of Madrid, and Captain Bonechea was again despatched to the Society group. He sailed from Callao on the 20th September 1774, having on board two monks of the order of St Francis, a portable house, sheep and cattle, seeds and implements, two natives brought away in the previous voyage, and a linguist, to be left at Otaheite with the missionaries. On the 30th October, he discovered an island, which he named San Narcisso, and which is believed to be the same with *Ile Daugier* of Duperrey. The next day, he descried another, which he called *Las Animas* (the *Moller* of *Billinghausen*, and the *Frey-cinet* of Duperrey). On the 1st of November, he discerned one

Discovery of the Society Islands.



CHAP. XI. his provisions, caulk the vessels, and make other necessary arrangements. Knowing the excellence of the

Spanish naming of the Society Islands.

which he had seen in his previous voyage, and denominated San Simon et Judes; it is supposed to be identical with the Resolution of Cook (see above, p. 307). On the morning of the 3d, he saw a low isle (the Doubtful of the great English navigator), which he entitled Los Martines; and, in the evening of the same day, another, which he designated San Quintin; the latter seems to be that on which Beechey, in 1826, bestowed the appellation of Croker, in honour of the very learned and talented Secretary to the Admiralty. The following afternoon, he observed a third, on which he conferred the title of Todos Santos, and which is apparently the Chain Island of Cook. At sunset of the 8th, the summits of Otaheite (or, as he designs it, Amat) came in sight; and on the 27th, he anchored in the harbour of Oaitipihā. The building of the wooden mansion was completed towards the end of the year; and on the 1st of January 1775, the symbol of Christianity seen by Cook was erected on the shore with great pomp, amid the chanting of masses and discharges of muskets and artillery. Having landed the cattle, the captain set sail on the 7th, and passing by Eimeo and Huaheine, touched at Ulietea; and having descried Bolabola, Tabuaemanu, Tethuroa, and Maupete or Maurua, returned to Otaheite on the 20th. Six days after, Bonechea died, and was interred with becoming ceremony at the foot of the cross. The command now devolved on Don Tomas Gayangos, who on the 28th made sail for Lima, where he arrived in April, having seen and named in his route the islands Santa Rosa (the Ravavaï or Vavitou of modern maps), San Juan (the Melville of Beechey), San Julian (the Adventure of Cook), and San Blas (the Tchtshagoff of Billingshausen). "The result of this voyage," we are told, "was the examination of twenty-one islands, nine of which were low, and the others lofty. A particular account of them, as well as the track of the frigate correctly laid down, and all the details of the interesting expedition, were immediately forwarded to Spain."

Death of Bonochea.

Unsuccessful mission of Spanish monks.

Anxiety for the fate of the missionaries left at Otaheite prompted a third visit; and, on the 27th September 1775, the *Aguila*, under the command of Don Cayetano de Langara, once more set sail from Callao. After a voyage of thirty-six days, the captain anchored in the harbour of Oaitipihā. He found that the missionaries, who were determined to abandon their task, had made no progress in the conversion of the natives, and were so alarmed by the human sacrifices prevalent in the island, that nothing but a Spanish garrison would have induced them to remain. It was in vain that the commander called to their recollection their high and holy vocation, and exhorted them to persist in the glorious work they had begun. Having embarked in the *Aguila*, they returned to Callao on the 17th of February 1776. "Il est remarquable," writes M. D'Urville, "qu'à l'époque des deux expéditions en 1772 et 1774 les Espagnols n'aient point senti ni même soupçonné que

cocoa-nut liquor, he was desirous of prevailing on his seamen to exchange for it part of their allowance of spirits during their stay at the island; and having assembled the ship's company, he represented the advantages of this measure, in an address so clear and judicious, that his own crew first, and afterwards that of Captain Clerke, readily concurred in the proposal.

CHAP. XI.  
Cocoa-nut  
liquor.

On the 23d, the vessels were removed to Matavai, where the caulking and other operations could be more conveniently carried on. Cook found the sovereign, his ancient friend Otoo, as anxious as ever to relieve his wants by ample supplies of provisions, and to contribute to his amusement by sports and entertainments. In return for these important services, the Englishman made him various presents of poultry and other animals. Omai here conducted himself with such imprudence, that he soon lost the friendship and respect of the king and every chief of rank: "He associated," says Cook, "with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole views were to plunder him; and if I had not interfered, they would not have left him a single article worth the carrying from the island." The voyagers here met with their former companion, Oedidee, who, in 1773, had accompanied them from Ulietea and visited the Tonga Archipelago, New Zealand, and the Marquesas, and who now took pains to evince his superior civilisation by constant repetitions of "Yes, sir," or "If you please, sir." He entertained his ancient shipmates at a dinner of fish and pork,—the latter consisting of a hog weighing thirty pounds, which was killed and served up at table within an hour.

Friendly  
reception at  
Matavai.

Imprudence  
of Omai.

Hospitality of  
Oedidee.

On the fourteenth of September, the two captains mounted on horseback, and rode round the whole plain of Matavai, "to the very great surprise of a great train of people who attended on the occasion, gazing on them with as much astonishment as if they had been

Ride round  
Matavai.

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Taïti (Otaheite) et Maïtea (Maitea or Osnaburg) pouvaient se rapporter aux îles Sagittaria et Dezena, découvertes au commencement du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle par leur compatriote Quiros."

CHAP. XI.  
 ———  
 Curiosity of  
 the natives.

centaurs." Though this feat was repeated daily, the curiosity of the islanders continued unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with the animals, which perhaps impressed them with a higher notion of the greatness of European nations than all the novelties previously exhibited.

Native  
 treatment of  
 rheumatism.

On the 22d, the commander submitted to a native cure for a rheumatic affection, under which he at that time laboured. The process, called *romeé*, and generally performed by females, was of the same nature with that to which Wallis and two of his officers had been subjected. "I was desired," says he, "to lay myself down. Then, as many of them as could get round me began to squeeze me with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack, and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing-down before I went to bed; and it was so effectual, that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning, and again in the evening; after which I found the pains entirely removed."\*

Native desire  
 for further  
 intercourse.

The repeated visits of our countryman had created a persuasion among the natives that the intercourse would be continued; and Otoo enjoined Cook to request the *Earee rahie no Pretane*, the King of Britain, to send to him, by the next ships, red feathers, with the birds which produced them, also axes, muskets, powder, shot, and horses. He followed this solicitation with an assurance that, should the Spaniards, who had recently been there, return, he would not permit them to occupy Matavai Fort, which he said belonged to the English. This remark showed with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite, which, however, the great

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 63.



MATAVAI BAY.—Page 361.





navigator hoped would never happen ; apprehending that, conducted as most European establishments among savage nations have unfortunately been, it would give the people just cause to lament that their island had ever been discovered. " Indeed," he adds, " it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition nor of private avarice ; and, without such inducements, I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken." \*

CHAP. XI.

Apprehended  
results of  
European  
establish-  
ments.

On the 29th, Cook took his departure from Otaheite, and the next day anchored in Eimeo, which he now visited for the first time. During a stay of six days, he was hospitably entertained, and the greatest harmony subsisted between him and the inhabitants ; but when he was on the eve of quitting the island, one of his goats was stolen,—a loss which interfered with his views of stocking other places with these animals. Having resolved to use every possible expedient for its recovery, he in the first place employed menaces, but with so little effect, that in the mean while another was taken away. Some of the natives alleged that it had strayed into the woods, and went off as if in quest of it ; but not one of them returned ; and the people began to leave the neighbourhood,—the usual indication of con-

Reception at  
Eimeo.

Theft of  
goats.

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 77. Cowper would seem to have had this passage in his view when he wrote his verses on Omai, which thus conclude :—

“ We found no bait

To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,  
Disinterested good, is not our trade.

We travel far, 'tis true, but not for nought ;  
And must be bribed to compass earth again  
By other hopes and richer fruits than yours.”

“ The ship *Duff* had not sailed,” says Mr Ellis, in allusion to these lines, “ and the spirit of missionary enterprise was not aroused in the British churches. Had Cowper witnessed these operations of Christian benevolence, he would have cheered with his own numbers those who had gone out from Britain and other lands, not only to civilize, but to attempt the moral renovation of the heathen.”—*Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 375.

CHAP. XI. conscious delinquency. Having regained the animal first abstracted, Cook, in order to obtain restitution of the other, despatched a boat to that part of the country where it was said to be. The officers intrusted with the duty having returned after a fruitless search, he proceeded the next morning with thirty-five men across the island, three armed boats being at the same time ordered to support them if necessary. The inhabitants fled at their first approach, but, on being assured of safety, remained in their dwellings. Still no benefit resulted from the expedition, which was more than once artfully misdirected, and in danger of being attacked. Having gathered some of the natives together, he informed them, that unless the goat were immediately delivered up, he would set fire to their houses and boats. Even this menace failed ; and, in consequence, six or eight huts and several war-canoes were consumed. The day however passed, and the animal was not restored till next evening, nor without a repetition of the same severities. The following morning, he took his departure, and at noon of the 12th October anchored at Huaheine.

Intimidation  
of the  
natives.

Restoration  
of the stolen  
goods.

Extravagant  
desires of  
Omai.

The chief object entertained in visiting this island was the establishment of Omai in safety and independence. It was his own desire to settle in Ulietea, where, as was formerly mentioned, his father had been deprived of some territorial possessions when the island was conquered by the warriors of Bolabola. "I made no doubt," says the captain, "of being able to get the paternal inheritance restored to the son in an amicable manner ; but he was too great a patriot to listen to any such thing, and was vain enough to suppose that I would reinstate him by force." This belief seems, indeed, to have taken strong possession of his mind. From the commencement of the voyage, the defeat and expulsion of the invaders were his constant themes, and he delighted to indulge in dreams of their flight, when the tidings of his return with the powerful strangers should be spread



HUAHEINE, SOCIETY ISLANDS.—Page 365.





throughout the islands. For some time no remonstrances could dispel these delusions, and "he flew into a passion if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage;" but, as he drew nearer to his home, his sanguine hopes sank into despondence, and he would have willingly remained at Tonga under the protection of Feenou. He appears, however, still to have cherished some expectations that the English would employ their arms to replace him in his father's lands; and it was not until Cook peremptorily declared, that he would neither assist in such an enterprise nor allow it to be undertaken, that the Ulietean consented to take up his abode in Huaheine, along with the youths who had come on board at New Zealand. The grant of a piece of ground on the seashore having been obtained from the chiefs by the influence of our countryman, the carpenters of both ships proceeded to erect a house. A small garden was enclosed, and stocked with shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetables. The European arms which Omai possessed were a musket, bayonet, and cartouche-box, a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and several swords or cutlasses; besides these he was furnished with a helmet and coat of mail, numerous toys and trinkets, a portable organ, an electrical machine, fire-works, hatchets, iron tools, and kitchen utensils; and there were left with him a horse and mare, a boar and two sows, and a male and female kid. To conciliate the chiefs and secure their protection, he made them valuable presents; while Cook threatened them with the weight of his resentment if his friend were injured.

On the second of November, a favourable breeze springing up, the vessels got under weigh. Long after the other islanders had taken their departure, Omai, melancholy and dejected, lingered on deck. It is related by a journalist of the voyage, that he so much dreaded lest, after the departure of the squadron, he should be despoiled of his wealth, and reduced to his former insignificance, that he earnestly entreated to be taken back

CHAP. XI.

Passionate  
demands.Establish-  
ment at  
Huaheina.European  
acquisitions.Fears of  
Omai.

CHAP. XI. to Britain;\* and it was not until the ships were out at sea, that he proceeded to bid farewell to the officers.   
 Grief at parting. When he came to part with the captain he burst into tears, and continued to weep bitterly as the boat conveyed him to the shore.

Fate of Omai. For many years the fate of this "gentle savage" was an interesting topic for speculation in England; and, as Cook predicted, with "future navigators of that ocean, it could not but be a principal object of curiosity" to trace his fortunes." But a long time elapsed ere a sail returned from those favoured islands with tidings of his lot, to contrast the harsh reality of truth with the glowing picture which the fancy of Cowper had delineated:—

Cowper's lines in the task.

"The dream is past; and thou hast found again  
 Thy cocoas and bananas, palms and yams,  
 And homestall thatch'd with leaves. But hast thou found  
 Their former charms? And, having seen our state,  
 Our palaces, our ladies, and our pomp  
 Of equipage, our gardens, and our sports,  
 And heard our music; are thy simple friends,  
 Thy simple fare, and all thy plain delights,  
 As dear to thee as once? And have thy joys  
 Lost nothing by comparison with ours?  
 Rude as thou art (for we returned thee rude  
 And ignorant, except of outward show),  
 I cannot think thee yet so dull of heart  
 And spiritless, as never to regret  
 Sweets tasted here, and left as soon as known.  
 Methinks I see thee straying on the beach,  
 And asking of the surge, that bathes thy foot,  
 If ever it has wash'd our distant shore.  
 I see thee weep, and thine are honest tears,  
 A patriot's for his country: thou art sad  
 At thought of her forlorn and abject state,  
 From which no power of thine can raise her up.  
 Thus Fancy paints thee, and, though apt to err,  
 Perhaps errs little, when she paints thee thus.  
 She tells me, too, that duly every morn  
 Thou climb'st the mountain-top, with eager eye  
 Exploring far and wide the wat'ry waste  
 For sight of ship from England. Every speck  
 Seen in the dim horizon turns thee pale

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\* Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, faithfully narrated from the original MS. Lond. 1781, 8vo. Analyzed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. li. pp. 231-234, 278, 279.

With conflict of contending hopes and fears.  
 But comes at last the dull and dusky eve,  
 And sends thee to thy cabin, well prepared  
 To dream all night of what the day denied." \*

How different from this was the real life of Omai! Return to savage habits.  
 Speedily abandoning his European dress, and adopting the costume of the islanders, he sank into their indolence, barbarism, and vice. The horses which were left with him, he regarded only as means of exciting the fear or the wonder of his countrymen; and, far from lamenting their forlorn state with the tears of a patriot, his childish vanity found constant gratification in the superiority which the English presents enabled him to assume. His fire-arms rendered him a powerful subject, and secured for him the hand of his sovereign's daughter, with the dignity or title of *Paari* (wise or instructed). Henceforth he continued the inglorious tool of the king's cruel and wanton humour, assisting him with his musket in time of war, and in peace frequently amusing the monarch by shooting at his subjects at a distance, or gratifying his revenge by despatching with a pistol in the royal presence those who had incurred his wrath. He died within three years after his celebrated voyage, and the New Zealanders did not long outlive him. It was expected by many that, by imparting the arts and civilisation of Europe, he would acquire the title of his country's benefactor; but his name is now rarely mentioned except with contempt or execration. Abuse of his powers and influence. The site of his dwelling is by the natives still called Beritani (Britain); and amid the ruins of the garden, they show a dark and glossy-leaved shaddock-tree, which they love to tell was planted by the hands of Cook. The horses which he left did not long survive, but the breed of goats and pigs yet remains; many of the trinkets, part of the armour, and some of the cutlasses, are also preserved, and the numerous coloured engravings of a large quarto Bible are objects of general attraction. Execration of his name.

\* The Task, book i.



## CHAP. XI.

Interesting  
associations.

There is, perhaps, no place in the island to which greater interest is attached ; for, besides its associations with the names just mentioned, on this spot was reared the first building in which the true God was publicly worshipped in Huaheine ; and here also was erected the first school for the instruction of the benighted inhabitants in the knowledge of letters and the principles of Christianity.\*

Arrival at  
Ulietea,

Cook now stood over for Ulietea, where he moored on the 4th of November. A few days afterwards, a marine, yielding to the enticements of the natives, deserted with his musket and accoutrements. He was speedily apprehended ; but little more than a week had elapsed when a midshipman and a sailor were missing from the Discovery. Captain Clerke set out in quest of the fugitives, but returned after a fruitless day's toil, impressed with the belief that the inhabitants were desirous to conceal them. The commander resolved to undertake the search in person ; but he proved not more fortunate than his colleague ; and, as a last resort, he determined to detain the chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law, till the deserters were delivered up. Oreo, deeply alarmed for the safety of his family, lost no time in making every exertion for the recovery of the runagates ; while the common people bewailed the captivity of such eminent personages with long and loud exclamations of sorrow. Not trusting for their release to the stipulated condition, or too impatient to await its fulfilment, they formed a conspiracy to secure the person of Cook and that of his second in command. The former had been accustomed to bathe every evening, often alone, and always without arms ; but, after confining the chief's family, he deemed such exposure imprudent ; and, at the same time, cautioned his officers against going far from the ships. Oreo betrayed his knowledge of the design by repeatedly asking him, if he would not go to the bathing-place. Being thus disappointed, it was determined to seize on Messrs Clerke and Gore,

Attempted  
recovery of  
deserters.

Native plots.

\* Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 364-372.

who had landed ; and accordingly, a party of the natives armed with clubs advanced against them, while some canoes were preparing to intercept their retreat to the ship. A few shots, though they fortunately wounded no one, dispersed these assailants ; and the next night, the deserters having been recovered, the prisoners were set at liberty.

CHAP. XI.

Recovery of  
the deserters

On the seventh December, the voyagers quitted Ulietea and steered for Bolabola, in order to purchase an anchor which had been lost by Bougainville at Otaheite, and brought hither by the natives as a present to the warlike Opoony. Cook's wish to possess it arose, not from his being in want of such an implement, but from the necessity of having iron tools to trade with, and from his original stock being exhausted. He lost no time, therefore, in offering for it a night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads, with other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last articles there was a general shout, and the chief refused to accept the commodities till the English were put in possession of the anchor. It was found to be so greatly mutilated, that Opoony probably considered it quite inadequate to the value of the goods proposed in exchange ; but our navigator, gratified by the fair conduct of the chief, took it, and sent in return all the articles originally intended. The Bolabola men were esteemed invincible by their neighbours, and had extended the fame, if not the terror of their arms, as far as to Otaheite. The present of the anchor was a proof of the awe in which they were held ; nor was this the only gift which they had acquired, for a ram, left by the Spaniards, had been transported hither from the same island. The captain, on being informed of this fact, put a ewe on shore, in hopes of producing a breed of sheep. At Ulietea he left pigs and goats, and from the numerous presents which he had dispensed, he was of opinion, that in a few years this archipelago would be stocked with all the valuable domestic animals of Europe. " When once this comes to pass," he remarks,

Barter at  
Bolabola.Estimation of  
the Bolabola  
men.

## CHAP. XI.

Hopes of a  
breed of  
domestic  
animals.

“no part of the world will equal these islands in variety and abundance of refreshments for navigators. Indeed, even in their present state, I know no place that excels them. After repeated trials in the course of several voyages, we find, when they are not disturbed by intestine broils, but live in amity with one another, which has been the case for some years past, that their productions are in the greatest plenty; and particularly the most valuable of all the articles, their hogs.”\*

Departure on  
a northward  
course.

On the eighth of December, he took his departure from Bolabola, and made sail to the northward. Seventeen months had elapsed since he left England, yet he was aware, “that with regard to the principal object of his instructions, the voyage was at this time only beginning.” He had now reached the limits of his former navigation, and entered upon a region rarely traversed, and never thoroughly explored. In the night between the 22d and 23d, he crossed the equator in longitude  $203^{\circ} 15' E.$ ; and, soon after daybreak on the 24th, saw a low island, of a very barren appearance, on which he bestowed the title of Christmas. It was uninhabited, was about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and of semicircular form. No fresh water could be found on it, and only a few low trees; but it abounded with turtle, of which about 300 were caught, “of the green kind, and perhaps as good as any in the world.”

Tanai Island  
discovered

The voyagers weighed anchor on the 2d January 1778, and resumed their course towards the north, favoured by serene skies and gentle breezes. On reaching the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 30' N.$ , various birds and turtles were seen every day, and regarded as indications of the vicinity of land. None, however, was discovered till the morning of the 18th, when an island appeared bearing north-east by east; soon after, another was seen bearing north; and, on the 19th, a third, in a west-north-west direction. Doubts were entertained whether the second, which lay most convenient for approach, had

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 134.

any inhabitants, till some canoes came off, having in each from three to six men, who, to the agreeable surprise of our navigators, spoke the language of Otaheite. Though easily prevailed on to come alongside, they could not be persuaded to venture on board. The name of their island was ascertained to be Atooi or Tauai; they were of a brown complexion, and a considerable diversity was observable in their features, some of which were not very different from those of Europeans. The greater number had their hair, which was naturally black, but dyed of a brown colour, cropt short; others permitted it to flow unconfined in loose tresses; and a few wore it tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In general they had beards; no ornaments were observed on their persons, nor were their ears bored; some showed punctures on their hands or near the groin; and the pieces of cloth worn by them were curiously stained of various hues. On certain rare occasions they wore a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with a perforation for the eyes and nose; the top was adorned with small green twigs, and from the lower part hung stripes of cloth.

CHAP. XI.

Native  
canoes.Appearance  
and orna-  
ments.

No anchorage being found here, the vessels bore away to leeward, when the canoes departed; but as the discoverers sailed along the coast others succeeded, bringing roasting-pigs and some fine potatoes, which the owners readily exchanged for whatever was offered to them. Several villages were seen,—some on the margin of the sea, others in the interior of the country; and the inhabitants were perceived thronging to the shore for the purpose of viewing the ships, which passed the night standing off and on. In the morning, as they were moving towards the land, several canoes approached, and some of the natives had the courage to come on board. Never before, in the course of his voyages, had our navigator witnessed such astonishment as these savages displayed. Their eyes wandered from one object to another in restless amazement; they endeavoured to seize every thing they came near; and the wildness of

Native  
barterAstonish-  
ment of the  
natives



## CHAP. XI.



Man of Sandwich Islands in a Mask

Ideas of iron. their looks and actions proved them to be totally unused to European visitors, and ignorant of all their commodities,—iron alone excepted; and of this it was evident that they had merely heard, or obtained a small quantity at a distant period. When asked what it was, they replied, “We do not know; we only understand it as *toe* or *hamaite*,”—the former signifying a hatchet, and the latter, probably referring to some native instrument, in the construction of which iron might be advantageously substituted for stone or bone. When beads were shown to them, they inquired “Whether they should eat them?” When their use was explained, they were given back as of no value, and a looking-glass was regarded with equal indifference. Plates of earthenware and china-cups were so new to their eyes, that they asked if they were made of wood.

Indifference  
for beads.

About three o'clock, the vessels succeeded in anchoring, and Cook rowed to the land with three armed boats and a party of marines. "The very instant," he says, "I leaped on shore, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture till by expressive signs I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain-trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised on such occasions at the Society and other islands; and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined. I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them in return such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose."\*

The same deferential obeisance was afterwards paid to him during an excursion which he made through the country; and he believed it to be the mode in which the natives manifested respect to their own chiefs. The people assisted his men in rolling casks to and from the watering-place, readily performed whatever was required of them, and merited the commendations of their visitors by fair dealing; there having been no attempt to cheat or to steal after the first interview.

CHAP. XI.  
Reception on shore.

Presents.

Deferential conduct.

On the morning of the 23d, a breeze sprung up at north-east, when, to avoid being driven on shore, it became necessary to stand out to procure sea-room; and the adverse winds and currents having drifted the vessels far from the harbour, after several unsuccessful attempts to regain it, they anchored off the neighbouring island of Oneeheow or Ni-Hau. Here the captain deposited some goats, pigs of the English breed, and various useful seeds, which he had intended for Atooi. The provisions obtained at these islands were reckoned sufficient for nearly four weeks' consumption; and, having thus recruited his stores, on the 2d of February he made sail with a gentle breeze to the northward. "Of what

Goats and pigs landed on Oneeheow.

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 198.

CHAP. XI.  
The Sand-  
wich Islands.

number," he says, "this newly-discovered archipelago consists, must be left for future investigation." Besides those visited, three others were seen, Woahoo or Oahu, Oreehoua, Tahoorā or Taura. This group, lying between the latitudes of  $21^{\circ} 30'$  and  $22^{\circ} 15' N.$ , and  $199^{\circ} 20'$  and  $201^{\circ} 30'$  east longitude, received, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, the name of THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Discovery of  
New Albion.

On the 7th, the wind, having veered to south-east, enabled the voyagers to steer north-east and east till the 12th, when another change induced them to stand to the northward. About a fortnight after, when proceeding more towards the east, they met with rockweed or sea-leek, and now and then a piece of wood floated past. During the whole of this course, scarcely a bird or living creature was seen; but, on the 6th of March, two large fowls settled near the ships. The next day, two seals and several whales were observed; and the dawn of the 7th revealed the anxiously-expected coast of New Albion, in latitude  $44^{\circ} 33' N.$ , longitude  $235^{\circ} 20' E.$  It was richly wooded, of moderate height, and diversified with hills and valleys. To its northern extremity Cook gave the name of Cape Foulweather, from the gales which he experienced in its vicinity, and which obliged him to tack off and on several days. At length, after various hazards, a large opening was observed on the 29th, in latitude  $49^{\circ} 15' N.$ , longitude  $233^{\circ} 20' E.$ , and from its promising appearance received the title of Hope Bay. Into this inlet he sailed four miles, when the night closing in, he came to anchor in deep water, within a hawser's length of the shore.

Appearance  
of Inhabit-  
ants.

It was certain that the country was inhabited; a village was observed on the western side of the sound; and three canoes shaped like Norway yawls came off. When they drew near, a native rose and made a long oration, apparently inviting the strangers to land, and at the same time he continued strewing feathers towards them, while some of his companions scattered handfuls of red powder. The speaker, who was dressed



Man of Nootka Sound.

in the skin of an animal, held in each hand a kind of <sup>Native</sup> rattle; and when he sat down, another began to declaim <sup>speeches</sup> in his turn, in a language wholly unintelligible to their visitors. They then quietly conversed among themselves, betraying neither distrust nor surprise; some of them occasionally stood up and made harangues; and one sang a very pleasant air, with a softness quite unexpected.

The next day, the vessels were removed to a safer anchorage, amid a great concourse of the inhabitants. Their disposition was quiet and friendly, and they willingly supplied the voyagers with such provisions as they possessed, though their refusal to accept any thing but metal in exchange gave rise to some perplexity. They preferred brass to iron; and we are told that, to gratify their demands, "whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button, bureaux of their furniture, and copper-kettles tin-canisters, candlesticks, and the





Woman of Nootka Sound.

Natives of  
Nootka  
Sound.

like, all went to wreck." The name of the sound was Nootka; and the natives are described as being under the common size, with full round visages and small black eyes. In many individuals the ears were perforated in two or three places, for the purpose of suspending bits of bone, quills fixed on a thong of leather, shells, bunches of woollen tassels, or pieces of thin copper. Ornaments of iron, brass, or copper, shaped like a horse's shoe, were frequently introduced into the septum of the nose, from which they dangled over the upper lip. The sexes so nearly resembled each other in dress and stature, that it was difficult to distinguish them; the females, it is said, "possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable."\*

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 303. The reader will find some details of Cook's proceedings on the American shores in the

Nearly a month was passed in uninterrupted friendship among these savages; and when the ships weighed anchor, they followed the strangers to the mouth of the sound, importuning them to repeat their visit, and promising an ample supply of skins.

The voyagers reached the open sea on the 26th of April; but scarcely had they cleared the land, when a storm coming on, accompanied with such darkness that they could not see beyond the ship's length, they were obliged to stand out from the shore with all the sail which the vessels could carry. They did not regain the coast till the 1st of May, in the parallel of  $55^{\circ} 20'$ ; on the 4th they saw Mount St Elias, in latitude  $58^{\circ} 52'$ , and nine days after came to anchor in an inlet two degrees towards the north, on which they bestowed the name of Prince William's Sound. The natives were strong chested, with thick stout necks, and heads disproportionately large; their hair was black and straight; and their beards, which were generally thin, were in many altogether wanting. "A mark," says Admiral Burney, "which distinguished these people from every other known, was their under lips being perforated or slit through in a line parallel to the mouth, and about three quarters of an inch lower, through which they wore pieces of carved bone; and sometimes, which had a hideous effect, they would remove the bone-ornament, and thrust as much as they could of their tongue through the opening." \* This incision, indeed, was not universally adopted, and the sailor who first noticed it, called out that the man had two mouths. The ears, however, were generally pierced, and bunches of beads suspended from them; while the nose was ornamented by thrusting through the septum a quill of three or four inches in length. They wore high truncated caps of straw or wood, like those observed at Nootka. The

Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX., Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, p. 104-110.

\* Burney's Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery (London, 1819), p. 222.

## CHAP. XI.

Female  
ornaments.

females allowed their hair to grow long, and the majority tied a small lock of it on the crown. In some the lower lip was bored in several places, to admit the introduction of strings of shells or beads of such length as occasionally to hang below the point of the chin.

Cook's River.

The commander sailed hence on the 20th, and pursued his course along the coast, which now trended to the southward. On the 23d, he reached an opening to the north, into which he steered the ships, in the expectation of finding the desired termination of the American continent. It was, however, soon discovered to be only an inlet or an arm of the sea leading to the mouths of two rapid streams: no name was bestowed on it at the time; but the Earl of Sandwich afterwards directed that it should be called Cook's River. Eleven days were spent in its examination, and the vessels did not clear its entrance before the 6th of June. They now sailed south-westward along the great promontory of Alaska, passing several islands in their course, till the 19th, when some natives came off and delivered a wooden box, containing a note written in Russian characters. Unfortunately these were unintelligible to the voyagers, but they deciphered the dates 1776 and 1778; and the captain was of opinion that it was a paper left by Russian traders to be delivered to any of their countrymen who should next visit these regions. On the 26th, the vessels reached a large island, which was found to be one of the Aleoutian or Fox Archipelago, called Nowan Al-sacha or Oonalaska; and two days after they came to an anchor in the small bay of Samgonoodha, on its south-eastern shore.

Promontory  
of Alaska.Cape  
Oonamak.

On the 2d of July, they again made sail, and doubling Cape Oonamak, coasted the northern side of the peninsula till they arrived at a large bay, which received the name of Bristol, while its northern point was called Cape Newenham. On the 3d of August, they had attained the latitude of  $62^{\circ} 34' N.$ , and on that day died Mr Anderson, the surgeon of the Resolution. "The reader of this journal," says Cook, "will have observed



Man of Prince William's Sound.

how useful an assistant I had found him in the course of the voyage; and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications on the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward; it was supposed to be an island; and to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island." \* Death of Mr. Anderson.

Anderson's  
Island.

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. pp. 439, 440. Burney's Chron. Hist. of North-East. Voyages of Discovery, p. 232-234. From the circumstance that Anderson's Island has not been seen by subsequent visitors, there might have been some grounds for questioning Cook's accuracy; but Beechey has informed us, that he "discovered a note by Captain Bligh, who was the master with Captain Cook, written in pencil on the margin of the Admiralty copy of Cook's Third



## CHAP. XL.



Woman of Prince William's Sound.

Defective  
charts.

The discoverers were now at the southern entrance of Behring's Strait, though, from the defective nature of the charts then in use, they were not aware of this important fact. On the 5th, they anchored near a small island off the continent, and Cook, after landing, gave it the name of Sledge, from having found one on the shore, though no inhabitants were seen.\* Four

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Voyage, by which it is evident that the compilers of the chart have overlooked certain data collected off the eastern end of St Lawrence Island, on the return of the expedition from Norton Sound, and that the land named Anderson's Island was the eastern end of the island of St Lawrence. Had Cook's life been spared, he would no doubt have made the necessary correction in his chart."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 293.

\* The native name has since been ascertained to be *Ayak*; and Captain Beechey remarks the singular coincidence, that this word, in the language of the Esquimaux, signifies a *sledge*.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 400.

days after, in the latitude of  $65^{\circ} 45' N.$ , and longitude  $168^{\circ} 18' W.$ , he reached a remarkable promontory, the most westerly point of America yet known, to which he gave the title of Cape Prince of Wales. In the evening, the coast of Asia came in view, when he stood across the strait, and having passed three islands,\* anchored on the following morning in a harbour of the Tschuktschi territories, where the natives, though much alarmed, received the voyagers with unexpected politeness, taking off their caps and making low bows. From this port, which he named the Bay of St Lawrence, he stood over to the north-east to prosecute his examination of the American coast. On the 14th, he was in latitude  $67^{\circ} 45'$ , near a cape which was named Point Mulgrave, and three days after he encountered a field of ice, dense and impenetrable, extending from west by south to east by north, as far as the eye could wander. The following day, he reached the parallel of  $70^{\circ} 44' N.$ , when his progress was arrested by the ice, which was ten or twelve feet in height, and compact as a wall. The remotest point in sight towards the east, named, from the glaciers which surrounded it, Icy Cape, lay in latitude  $70^{\circ} 29' N.$ , and longitude  $161^{\circ} 42' W.$ , and nearly half a century elapsed before the limits of European discovery were carried beyond this dreary headland.†

Bay of St.  
Lawrence.

Icy Cape.

\* When in Behring's Straits, in 1816, the Russian commander, Kotzebue, fancied that he saw *four* islands; and as that which he conceived himself to have discovered considerably exceeded the others in size, he was surprised "that neither Cook nor Clerke should have seen it, as both their courses led them close by it; and," he adds, "it has occurred to me that it may have since risen from the sea."—*Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, in the years 1815-1818* (London, 1821), vol. i. p. 198. But Captain Beechey subsequently found that Kotzebue's supposed discovery has no existence, and that "the islands in the strait are only three in number, and occupying nearly the same situations in which they were placed in the chart of Captain Cook."—*Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. i. p. 335-338, and pp. 399, 400.

† In 1826, the expedition of Beechey extended our knowledge of the American coast 126 miles north-east of Icy Cape, to a promontory named Point Barrow, in latitude  $71^{\circ} 23' 31'' N.$ , longitude

## CHAP. XI.

Abandonment of northern exploration.

The season was now too far advanced to leave any hope that the great object of the voyage could be accomplished before winter. Abandoning, therefore, all attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic, Cook turned his course to the southward, and, on the 2d September, passed the most eastern promontory of Asia, ascertaining the breadth of the strait, where narrowest, to be thirteen leagues. He coasted its western shores till he made the point called Tschukotzkoi Noss, when he again crossed to the American continent; and having explored the large gulf named Norton Sound, anchored on the 3d of October in Samgonoodha Harbour, in the island of Oonalaska.\* The natives of this place were the most peaceable and inoffensive people he had met with. Their stature was rather low; their necks short; their faces swarthy and chubby, with black eyes and small beards. Their houses were large oblong pits in the ground, covered with a roof, which was thatched with grass and earth, so that, in external appearance, they resembled dunghills. Towards each end a square opening was left, one of which served as a window, while the other was used as a door, the ascent or descent being facilitated by a post with steps cut in it.

Natives of Oonalaska.

Present of a salmon-pie.

A few days after their arrival, the captains were surprised by the present of a salmon-pie, baked in rye-flour, which, with a note in the Russian language, was delivered to them by two natives from a distant part of the island. John Ledyard, afterwards distinguished as a traveller, then a corporal of marines, volunteered his services to proceed with the messengers, and discover

156° W.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 425. Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, p. 289.

\* "Here," says Burney, "closed our first season of northern discovery,—a season of unremitting activity. The ability and diligence exercised will best appear by comparing the map of the world, as it stood previous to this voyage, with the map of the world drawn immediately after; and by keeping in mind, that the addition of so large an extent of intricate coast, before unknown, was effected by the labour of a single expedition, in little more than half a-year."—Chron. Hist of North-East. Discov., p. 251

by whom the friendly gift had been sent. He returned after two days, along with three Russian traders, whose visit was shortly followed by that of Mr Ismyloff, the principal person in the island, with whom, as far as signs and figures permitted, mutual communication of geographical knowledge and kindly intercourse took place. To this hospitable and excellent individual, Cook intrusted a letter to the Admiralty, enclosing a chart of his discoveries, which was faithfully transmitted. On the 26th, our navigator set sail for the Sandwich Islands, where he now proposed to pass the winter, if he should find sufficient supplies of provisions.

On the 26th of November, nearly in the latitude of 20° 59' N., he discovered Mowee or Maui, one of the Sandwich group, lying farther west than those visited in his voyage towards the north. The country seemed well wooded and watered, and the inhabitants were evidently of the same nation with the tribes to leeward. On the evening of the 30th, another and a much larger island, Owhyhee or Hawaii, was discovered to windward; and as he drew near its northern shores, the captain saw with surprise that the tops of the mountains were covered with snow to a considerable depth. Nearly seven weeks were passed in sailing round it in search of a harbour; but at length a large bay named Karakaoa was observed on the western side, and he came to anchor on the morning of the 17th January 1779. "I had nowhere," says he, "in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place;" the ships were covered with the natives; vast multitudes came off in canoes; many hundreds were swimming around "like shoals of fish," and even the shores of the bay were thronged with spectators. One feeling of pleasure seemed to pervade this great crowd, and was expressed in shouts, in songs, and a variety of wild and extravagant motions.

In gazing on the lofty vessels of the English, the people of Owhyhee beheld the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy. At an early period of their history, when

CHAP. XI.

Visited by  
Russian  
traders.

Discovery of  
Mowee  
Island.

Karakaoa  
Bay,  
Owhyhee.



## CHAP. XI.

Native  
prophecy  
fulfilled.

the peace and plenty of the golden age prevailed among them, there lived, near Karakaooa, a god named Rono. The beautiful goddess Opuna having proved unfaithful to his bed, he threw her from the summit of a precipice; but soon becoming frantic with remorse, he roamed throughout the islands, boxing and wrestling with every one he could meet. Having deposited the mangled body of his consort in a morai, near the bay, he remained there for a long time in the deepest dejection and sorrow, and at length determined to quit the country where so many objects reminded him of his loss and of his crime. He accordingly set sail for a foreign land in a strangely shaped canoe, having promised that he would one day come back on a floating island, furnished with all that man could desire.\*

Divine  
honours.

After his departure, he was worshipped as a god, and annual games were established in his honour. The fulfilment of his assurance to return was eagerly looked for; and when the vessels under Cook arrived, it was believed that the prediction had come to pass; the ships

Native song.

\* The American missionaries have preserved one of the songs in which this tradition is embodied, entitled, O RONO AKUA.

1. Rono, Etooah [or Akua, *that is*, God] of Hawaii, in ancient times resided with his wife at Karakaooa.

2. The name of the goddess, his love, was Kaikiranee-Aree-Opuna. They dwelt beneath the steep rock.

3. A man ascended to the summit, and, from the height, thus addressed the spouse of Rono:—

4. “O Kaikiranee-Aree-Opuna, your lover salutes you. Keep this—remove that: one will still remain.”

5. Rono, overhearing this artful speech, killed his wife with a hasty stroke.

6. Sorry for this rash deed, he carried to a morai the lifeless body of his wife, and made great wail over it.

7. He travelled through Hawaii in a state of phrensy, boxing with every man he met.

8. The people, astonished, said, “Is Rono entirely mad?” He replied, “I am frantic on her account, I am frantic with my great love.”

9. Having instituted games to commemorate her death, he embarked in a triangular boat [*piama lau*] and sailed to a foreign land.

10. Ere he departed he prophesied, “I will return in after-times, on an island bearing cocoa-nut-trees, and swine, and dogs.”—Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands (London, 1826), p. 20.

were regarded as *motus* or islands, and their commander was hailed as the long-absent Rono, who had at length re-appeared to restore the reign of content and happiness.\* It is to be regretted that this belief was not known to the English; and in perusing the following details of the divine honours and worship with which Cook was received, the reader must, in justice to our great countryman, bear in mind that he was ignorant of their true intent.

CHAP. XI.  
Supposed  
character of  
Cook.

Shortly after the Resolution was moored, two chiefs brought on board a priest named Koah, who, approaching the captain with much veneration, threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, and having retired a few paces, made an offering of a small pig, while he pronounced a long oration. This ceremony performed, the holy sage sat down to table, eating freely of the viands before him; and, in the evening, the commander, with Messrs King and Bayly, accompanied him on shore. On landing, they were met by four men, bearing wands tipped with dog's hair, who advanced before them shouting a few words, among which Rono, or Orono, was very distinguishable. Of the immense crowd previously collected the whole had now retired, except a few who lay prostrate on the ground beside the adjoining village. Near the beach there stood a morai, consisting of a pile of stones, fourteen yards in height, twenty in breadth, and forty in length; the summit of this erection was well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed several skulls. In the centre was an old wooden building; at one side, five poles, more than twenty feet high, supported an irregular scaffold; and on the other were two small houses, between which there was a covered communication. The voyagers were conducted to this spot by an easy ascent, and at the

His worship  
by the  
natives.

Moral.

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\* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 134. Kotzebue's Voyage round the World in 1823-1826, (London, 1830), vol. i. p. 161-166, and p. 179-184. Voyage of the Blonde, p. 24 28. Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 596.

CHAP. XI.  
Native Idols.

Ceremonial  
presents.

Proceedings  
before the  
idols.

entrance, where they saw two large idols with distorted features, they were met by Kaireekēea, a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Cook to the statues, and having chanted a hymn, in which Koah joined, led him to that part of the morai where the poles were erected. Under these stood twelve images ranged in a semicircle, and before the idol in the centre was a high table, containing a putrid hog, pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, and other fruit. The priest, placing the captain under this stand, took down the carcass, and held it towards him; then, addressing him in a long speech delivered with great fervour and rapidity, he dropped the animal, and led him to the scaffold, which both ascended, not without great hazard. At this time appeared in solemn procession ten men, who bore a live hog and a large piece of red cloth, and, advancing a few paces, prostrated themselves and delivered the latter to Kaireekēea. He carried it to Koah, who, having wrapped it round the Englishman, offered him the pig, which was brought with like ceremony. These two personages now began to chant, sometimes together, and sometimes alternately, while the navigator remained on the scaffold, swathed in red. When the song was over, the priest threw down the hog, and having descended with Cook, led him before the images, each of which he addressed, seemingly in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers as he passed, till, coming in front of that in the centre, supposed to be of higher estimation than the others, he threw himself prostrate and kissed it. The commander was desired to do the same, and, we are told, "suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony." The party was next conducted to another division of the morai, sunk about three feet below the level of the area, where Cook was seated between two idols, the sacred functionary supporting one of his arms, and Captain King the other. When in this position a second procession drew near, bearing a baked pig, with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, the first of which Kaireekēea presented to him, and

again began to chant; while his companions made regular responses, in which they frequently used the word *Orono*. On the conclusion of this ritual, which occupied the fourth part of an hour, the natives, sitting down in front of the strangers, began to cut up the hog, peel the vegetables, and prepare *ava*, by the same process as that practised in Tonga and elsewhere. Part of a cocoa-nut was taken by *Kaireekkea*, and having been chewed by him and wrapped in cloth, was rubbed on the navigator's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. Then the *ava* was handed round; after which the priest and another chief began to feed their visitors by putting pieces of the flesh into their mouths. "I had no great objection," says Captain King, "to being fed by *Pareea*, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by *Koah*, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him."\* This was the last part of the ceremony, and the English, after distributing iron and other articles, quitted the *morai*, and were conducted to the boats by men bearing wands as before,—the people again retiring, and the few who remained falling down before them as they walked along the beach.

Several days passed without any event of interest: the observatory was erected, supplies of provisions were procured, and the necessary repairs executed on the ships. Whenever the commander landed, a sacred herald marched before him, proclaiming the approach of *Orono*, and desiring the people to prostrate themselves. Offerings were made to him; and, in a temple called *Harre-no-Orono*, he was subjected to a repetition of the various rites with which he was worshipped on his first landing. The priests daily supplied both the ships and the party which was stationed on shore with hogs and vegetables beyond what was really needed, and not only

CHAP. XI.  
Preparations  
for a feast.

Unpalatable  
favours.

Observatory  
erected.

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 8.



CHAP. XI. without an expectation of return, but in a manner which betokened the discharge of a religious duty. When asked at whose instance these presents were made, the answer was, at that of Kaoo, their chief, and grandfather to Kaireekeea. This dignitary was then absent, attending on Terreeoboo, the sovereign of Owhyhee and its dependencies.

Liberal  
supply of pro-  
visions.

Taboo.

On the morning of the 24th, the navigators found that the whole bay had been *tabooed*, which had the effect of cutting off all communication between them and the natives. This ceremony was occasioned by the arrival of the king, who privately inspected the ships, preparatory to a public visit on the 26th, which was attended with great state. In one canoe was the monarch with his chiefs, dressed in red feather cloaks and helmets, and armed with daggers and long spears; a second was filled with hogs and vegetables, and a third was occupied by Kaoo, his priests, and their idols,—gigantic images made of wicker-work and covered with small feathers of various hues. The canoes having paddled round the ships amid the solemn chanting of the priesthood, made toward the shore, whither Cook soon followed. When

Reception of  
Cook by the  
king.

he came into the royal presence, the king rose up, and gracefully threw his own mantle over the captain's shoulders, put a feathered helmet on his head, and a curious fan into his hand; and lastly, spread five or six cloaks, all of great beauty and value, at his feet. The attendants then brought four large hogs, with sugar-canes and other vegetables; and this part of the pageant closed with an exchange of names, the strongest pledge of friendship. Shortly after appeared a sacerdotal procession, and a lengthened train of men bearing hogs and fruits, led by Kaoo, who, having wrapped some red cloth round the person of the commander, gave him a small pig, and took his seat next the king. Kaireekeea and his followers then began chanting, while all the other grandees joined in the responses. When these formalities were over, the commander invited the monarch and several nobles on board his vessel, where they were re-

ceived with every mark of respect. Kaoo and some old chiefs still remained on shore ; while throughout the whole bay not a canoe was to be seen, and the people either kept within their dwellings or lay prostrate on the ground,—the taboo still continuing in full force.

CHAP. XI.

Entertainment of Kaireekoa by Cook.

The submissive demeanour of the natives had removed every apprehension of danger, and the officers freely mingled with them on all occasions. Wherever they went, refreshments, games, and recreations, were presented, and even the boys and girls formed themselves into groups, and endeavoured to please their visitors by exhibiting their skill in dancing. The sole interruption to this amicable intercourse arose from the thieving disposition of the islanders, which sometimes compelled the English to have recourse to acts of severity.

Free intercourse with the natives.

Towards the end of January, the sovereign and his chiefs began to manifest an impatience for the departure of their guests. They imagined, it seems, that the strangers had come from a country where food was scarce, and that their principal object was to obtain a supply of provisions.—“Indeed,” says Captain King, “the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. To these may be added a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us ; together with our quiet conduct and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides, and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs and partly by words, that it was time for them to go ; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants.”\* The navigators had now been sixteen days in the bay ; and, considering the

Symptoms of impatience.

Ludicrous signs.

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 26

## CHAP. XI.

Preparations  
for a parting  
gift.

great consumption of hogs and vegetables, the desire expressed for their absence can excite little surprise ; but, so far was the monarch from entertaining any hostile feeling towards them, when he made inquiry as to the day of sailing, that it is manifest he was actuated only by a wish to prepare suitable gifts for the occasion. He was told that the voyagers would leave the island in two days, and a proclamation was immediately made throughout the villages, commanding the inhabitants to bring hogs and vegetables to be offered to Orono on his departure. At the time fixed, Terreeboo invited the two commanders to visit him ; and, on arriving at his residence, they saw the ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers, and a great number of hatchets and other instruments of iron, procured in barter with the ships ; while at a little distance they observed a large herd of hogs, with an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind. The king, having set apart about a third of the iron-ware, feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, ordered the remainder of the robes, with all the hogs and vegetables, to be presented to the English, who were astonished at the value and magnitude of the donation, “ which far exceeded every thing of the kind they had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands.” Captain King was among the last to quit the island, and the natives crowded round him, lamenting his approaching departure. They urged him to remain among them, and even made offers of the most flattering kind ; and when he informed them that Captain Cook, whose son they supposed him to be, would not quit the bay without him, Terreeboo and Kaoo waited on the commander, and requested that his colleague might be left behind. Unwilling to give a direct refusal, he parted from them with a promise, that he would revisit the island the succeeding year, and endeavour to gratify their wishes.

Valuable  
donations.

Departure  
from Kara-  
kooa Bay

He sailed from Karakooa Bay on the 4th of February, with the intention of completing his survey of the archipelago. On the 8th, he was still in sight of

Owhyhee, when it was perceived that the foremast of the Resolution had given way during a gale which sprang up at midnight. Before this injury could be repaired, it was necessary to take out the mast,—an operation which could only be performed in some secure anchorage; and no other harbour having been discovered, it was determined to return to that which had been so lately quitted; and on the 11th, the vessels came to moorings nearly in the same place as before. That, and part of the following day, were employed in sending workmen and materials on shore, together with the astronomical apparatus, under guard of a corporal and six marines; and the friendly priests *tabooed* the position against annoyance from the inhabitants.

CHAP. XI.

Return to  
the Bay.

The voyagers were struck with the altered appearance of the bay, which was now silent and deserted, except by one or two canoes. Some individuals, indeed, came off with provisions, but they were few in number, and the vast multitude which had been assembled on the former visit seemed to have dispersed on the departure of the ships.

Changed  
appearance  
of the Bay.

On the evening of the 13th, several chiefs interfered to prevent the natives from assisting the sailors in rolling the water-casks; and shortly afterwards, the islanders armed themselves with stones, and became insolent and tumultuous. Alarmed by these indications, Captain King went to the spot; and on his remonstrating with the leaders, they dispersed the mob, and allowed the casks to be filled in quietness. He then went to meet Cook, who was rowing towards the land in the pinnace, and having communicated to him what had just passed, was directed, in the event of any attack on the part of the people, to fire on them with ball. In a short time after, they were alarmed by a continued discharge of muskets from the Discovery, against a canoe which was seen paddling hastily towards the shore, pursued by a small boat. The commander, concluding that a theft had been committed, ordered King to follow him with an armed marine, in order to seize the delin-

Warlike de-  
monstrations.



## CHAP. XI.

Affray with  
the natives.

quents as they landed. These, however, escaped into the country, and Cook, having pursued them about three miles without success, returned to the beach, ignorant that the stolen articles had been recovered. Meanwhile, the officer in the small boat, not content with this success, seized the canoe of the offender, when Pareea, one of the principal nobles, claimed the skiff as his property. A violent affray ensued, in which the chief was knocked down by a blow from an oar. This was no sooner observed by his followers than they attacked the English with a shower of stones, and forcing them to retreat, began to ransack a pinnace belonging to the Resolution, which would have been forthwith demolished, had not Pareea driven away the crowd. He made signs to the voyagers to return and take possession of their boat, which they did, while he promised to use his endeavours to get back the rest of their property. As they were proceeding to the ships, he followed them, and restored the cap of Mr Vancouver, one of the midshipmen, and some other trifling articles. He appeared much concerned at what had happened, and inquired "if Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day?" Being assured that he should suffer no harm, he joined noses with the officers, the usual token of friendship, and paddled off towards the village of Kowrowa.

Apprehen-  
sions of the  
chief.

Regrets of  
Cook.

On learning these events, which had occurred during his pursuit of the fugitives, Cook appeared deeply mortified at their unfortunate result, and said to Captain King, "I am afraid that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." It was too late to take any steps that evening; and this officer, having executed the orders he received to remove all the natives from the vessels, returned to the shore. Feeling less confidence in the barbarians, he also posted a double guard on the morai where his party was lodged. About eleven o'clock, five men were observed creeping round the building, who, on finding them-

selves discovered, retired out of sight; and, about an hour afterwards, one of them, having ventured up close to the observatory, a musket was fired over him by the sentinel, which put the whole to flight. No other interruption was offered, but "those who were on duty," says Mr Samwell, "were disturbed during the night with shrill and melancholy sounds, issuing from the adjacent villages, which they took to be the lamentations of the women. Perhaps the quarrel between us might have filled their minds with apprehensions for the safety of their husbands; but, be that as it may, their mournful cries struck the sentinels with unusual awe." \*

CHAP. XI.  
Disturbance during the night.

With daylight of the next morning, Sunday the 14th, it was discovered that the six-oared cutter of the Discovery had been stolen. It was moored to a buoy close by the ship, in such a manner that its gunwale was level with the surface of the sea, and though under the eye of the watch, it had been cut from its fastenings and carried off without observation.

Cutter of the discovery stolen.

On being informed of this theft, Cook desired his colleague to go on shore and endeavour to persuade the king, Terreeoboo, to exert his authority for the recovery of the boat. Unfortunately, Captain Clerke was so

Captain Clerke desired to visit the king.

\* Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook, &c., by David Samwell, Surgeon of the Discovery (Lond. 1786), p. 8. It may be proper here to indicate the sources from which the account given in the present work of the unfortunate transactions which took place during this and the following day has been drawn. They are, 1st, The relation of Captain King in the Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 35-52. 2d, The narrative of Mr Samwell, quoted above. 3d, That of the late Admiral Burney, in his Chron. Hist. of North-East. Voy. of Discov., p. 255-266. [These writers were eyewitnesses of the whole or part of the events which they describe.] 4th, The anecdotes collected from a resident in and natives of the Sandwich Islands, by Mr Mariner, in his Account of the Tonga Archipelago, vol. i. p. 72-74. 5th, The account gathered from the natives by Mr Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 130-138. 6th, The narrative of Kotzebue, New Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 179-186. As might be expected, these authorities exhibit various discrepancies, which it has been our endeavour to reconcile as far as possible. The account given by Kotzebue has been used with considerable caution, as its accuracy has been impeached. See Mr Ellis' Vindication of the South Sea Missions (Lond. 1831), p. 13.

## CHAP. XL

Cook determines to go in person.

weak as to be unable to undertake the expedition, and the great navigator determined to go in person. At this time King came on board the *Resolution*, where he found the marines getting ready their arms, and the commander loading his double-barrelled gun. While relating the events which had occurred at the morai during the night, he was interrupted by the other "with some eagerness," and made acquainted with the loss of the cutter, and the plan which he had formed for its recovery. This was, as on similar occasions,\* to get possession of the sovereign, or some of the principal chiefs, and detain them till the stolen property was restored. In the event of this method failing, he resolved to make reprisals on the vessels in the harbour, and with this view ordered three boats to stations near the outer points of the bay, with directions to give no molestation to the small skiffs, but to prevent the departure of any large canoe.

Expedition to visit the king.

A little before eight o'clock, Cook left the *Resolution* and rowed towards the village of Kowrowa, where the king resided. He landed along with Lieutenant Philips, a sergeant, two corporals, and six private marines, and as he proceeded towards the hamlet, he was received with all accustomed respect, the people prostrating themselves at his approach, and presenting him with small hogs. On inquiring for Terreeboo and his sons, the latter, two youths who had been his constant guests on board ship, came to him in a short time, and instantly conducted him towards the house where their father was. On his way, he was joined by several chiefs, some of whom more than once asked if he wanted any hogs or other provisions; to which he replied, that he did not, and that his business was to see the king. On reaching the royal residence, he ordered some of the natives to inform the monarch of his desire to speak with him; but these, returning without an answer, only presented pieces of red cloth; when he, suspecting from this circumstance that his majesty was not there,

Offers of provisions.

\* See above, pp. 271, 356, 368.

directed Lieutenant Philips to enter. This gentleman found the prince newly wakened from sleep, who, though apparently alarmed at the message, at once came out. The captain took him by the hand, and invited him to spend the day on board the Resolution, to which he at once consented, and the party proceeded towards the boats,—Terreeoboo leaning on the shoulder of the lieutenant, while his youngest son, Kaoowa, had reached the shore and taken his seat in the pinnace. Cook was perfectly satisfied from what he had learned that the cutter had been stolen without the knowledge of the king.

CHAP. XI.  
Confidence of  
Terreeoboo.

It was while these things were passing, that the boats placed near the south point of the harbour, observing a large canoe endeavouring to leave the bay, fired several muskets over the heads of her crew, with the view of preventing their escape. One of the balls unfortunately killed a chief who happened to be on the shore; and two islanders immediately proceeded to the ships to complain to the commander, and finding that he was at Kowrowa, followed him thither.

Unfortunate  
reencounter  
with the  
natives.

Terreeoboo, accompanied by his English friend, had already advanced almost to the water's edge, when his people, conscious of transgression, began to put on their war-mats, and to equip themselves with spears, clubs, and daggers. One of his favourite wives came after him, and throwing her arms about his neck, with many tears and entreaties besought him to go no farther; and with the help of two chiefs, she even forced him to sit down by the side of a canoe, telling him he would be put to death if he went into the ship. No ardour of expostulations could overcome their fears; and the natives, in the mean while, collecting in great force along the shore, began to throng around their sovereign. While they did so, an old priest advanced towards the captain holding out a cocoa-nut as a present, and, in spite of all entreaty or remonstrance, singing aloud, with the purpose, it was thought, of diverting attention from his countrymen, who were every moment growing

Warlike pre-  
parations.



## CHAP. XI.

Dangerous  
position of  
the party.

more tumultuous. Perceiving the dangerous position in which the voyagers were now placed, and that his men were too much crowded together to use their arms with effect, the marine officer proposed to withdraw his party to some rocks close to the water-side, at the distance of about thirty yards,—a measure which was promptly adopted, the crowd making way without reluctance. Previously to this, it is related by Mr Samwell that Koah was observed lurking near with an iron dagger partly concealed under his cloak, with the intention apparently of stabbing Captain Cook or Lieutenant Philips. The latter proposed to fire at him, but was forbidden by his commander; the savage, however, still pressing nearer, the officer struck him with his piece, on which he retired; another islander seized on the musket of the sergeant, and attempted to wrench it from his grasp, but a blow from the lieutenant forced him to abandon his hold. Terreeboo remained seated, in a state of alarm and dejection, while our navigator urged him in the most pressing manner to proceed, and such was the irresolution of the monarch, that his persuasions might have prevailed, if the chiefs had not interposed, first with earnest entreaties, afterwards with threats of violence. The captain held the timid prince by the hand; but seeing the general alarm of the natives, he let go his grasp, observing to Lieutenant Philips, that it would be impossible to force him on board without much bloodshed, and that other means must be employed to recover the boat. The perplexed ruler was immediately taken away, and was no more seen; while Cook, in company with the lieutenant, slowly turned his steps towards the beach.

Moderation  
of Cook.

Alarm of the  
king.

War  
declared.

At this moment, a native from the opposite shore of the bay rushed into the crowd, almost breathless, exclaiming, "It is war! The foreigners have commenced hostilities,—have fired on a canoe from one of their boats, and killed a chief!" \* This announcement occa-

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\* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 131.

sioned a violent ferment; the women and children immediately disappeared; while such of the men as had not already armed themselves, hastened to put on their war-mats and seize their spears. One of them advanced towards Cook, flourishing a long iron spike or *pahooa*, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw a stone which he held in his hand. Although called on to keep back, he continued to draw nearer, when our navigator considered it necessary to fire on him with small shot. The savage received the full discharge on his thick mat, which he held up in derision, crying out "*Matteemanoo!*"—The gun is only fit to kill birds,—and poised his spear as if to hurl it at his antagonist, who, unwilling to take away his life, knocked him down with the butt-end of his musket. The only object now contemplated by the discoverer was the safety of his party; but the remonstrances which he addressed to the islanders on their turbulence were answered by a volley of stones, which brought down one of the marines. A native was observed in the act of darting a spear at him, when, in self-defence, he discharged his piece, but, missing his aim, killed another near the assailant, who was equally engaged in the tumult. This was instantly followed by a general attack with stones, which was answered by musketry from the marines, succeeded by that of the people in the boats. The captain, expressing his astonishment at the conduct of the latter, waved his hand towards them, and called on them to cease firing and pull close in to receive the marines. The pinnace accordingly approached as near as it could without touching the ground; but the launch, apparently from misunderstanding the signal, was unfortunately drawn farther off. There was on that morning a considerable swell in the bay, and the surf on the shore was greater than usual, so that the boats were obliged to lie off on their oars; and from the noise of the waves on the rocks and the uproar of the multitude, it was impossible for them to hear their commander's orders with distinctness.

## CHAP. XI.

Courage of  
the natives.

The natives, contrary to expectation, had stood the fire with great firmness, and though they fell back at first, they advanced before the marines had time to reload, and broke in upon them with frightful yells. After this all was horror and confusion. The soldiers were borne down and forced into the water, where four of them were slain and three dangerously hurt. Among the latter was the lieutenant, who, after he had gained the pinnace, perceiving one of his men left on the shore, gallantly leapt overboard, and, swimming to the rocks, succeeded in bringing him off in safety.\* Cook, who had lingered behind, was now observed walking towards the boats; he held his musket in one hand, and the other was placed against the back of his head, to protect it from the stones showered by the natives. A man followed him, but cautiously and timidly, stopping once or twice, irresolute whether to strike or not; and it was remarked that, when the captain's face was towards the barbarians, none of them offered any violence. On reaching the water's edge, he turned about to give orders to the boats, when his pursuer, advancing unawares, struck him on the back of the head with a club or stave, and immediately retreated.† Stunned by the

Retreat to  
the boats.

Cook  
wounded.

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\* Burney compares this with a similar exploit performed during the cruise of the Nassau Fleet off the coast of New Spain in November 1624. A boat's crew, who had landed to procure water, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Spaniards, in which four of them lost their lives, while the rest were forced to embark in great confusion. "In the haste made, one man was left behind on the beach; but his captain, Cornelys de Witte, who had gone himself on this service, returned to the shore in the face of the enemy, and took him into his boat,—'an act of generosity,' as is justly observed by the French translator, 'worth a wound which he received in his side, and of which he was afterwards cured.'"—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov., vol. iii. pp. 31, 32, note. Hist. of North-Eastern Discov., p. 265.

† Mr Mariner was informed that this individual was a native carpenter, and that he struck Cook, "either in the apprehension that he was at that moment ordering his men to increase their fire, or not knowing him to be the extraordinary being (Rono) of whom he had heard so much; for he lived a considerable distance up the country, and was not personally acquainted with him. The natives

blow, he tottered forward a few paces, and then fell on his hand and knee, letting his musket drop, while a great shout burst from the islanders. As he was rising, and before he could regain his footing, another savage stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron spike, on which he again fell into a pool among the shelves, scarcely more than knee-deep. Unable to swim, and dizzy from the wounds he had received, he turned towards the rocks, and was immediately surrounded by the natives, who crowded about him and endeavoured to keep him under the water. He struggled violently against them, and succeeded in raising his head, when he turned his eyes towards the pinnacle, as if beseeching that aid which, in the confusion of the scene, it was impossible to afford. Though again forced under water deeper than before, he was once more able to lift his head above it, and, almost exhausted, had laid hold of a rock for support, when a savage struck him with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They then dragged his body from the water, and were observed to snatch the daggers from each other's hands in order to pierce the corpse; nor did they desist for some time, though a fire was directed against them from the boats, and several were seen to fall by the side of their victim.\*

CHAP. XI.

The fatal  
blow.Indignities  
to his body.

had no idea that Cook could possibly be killed, as they considered him a supernatural being, and were astonished when they saw him fall."—*Tonga Islands*, vol. ii. p. 74. *Samwell's Narrative*, p. 16.

\* The anxiety manifested by the islanders to mangle the body of our great countryman was, at the time, commonly attributed to "a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction." But it has been remarked by Dr Martin, that, "in all probability, this eagerness to seize the dagger was prompted in each by the wish to be possessed of an instrument which had become consecrated, as it were, by the death of so great a man; at least, this is presumed from what would have been the sentiment had it happened at the *Tonga Islands*."—*Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75. That the seeming barbarity exhibited on this occasion arose from some superstitious notion, such as that mentioned by Dr Martin, is a supposition which derives confirmation from the belief which the islanders entertained with regard to Cook, from the honours afterwards rendered to his remains, and from the expressions used by the natives to Mr Ellis,—“After he was dead, we all wailed!”—*Polynesian Researches*, vol. iv. p. 132.

Cause of the  
natives' con-  
duct.



## CHAP. XI.

Sorrow and  
dismay.

When they at last gave way, a small skiff, manned by five young midshipmen, pulled to the shore, where they saw the bodies of their companions lying on the ground without any signs of life ; but considering it dangerous to land with so small a force, they returned to the vessels, where the tidings of this great calamity spread universal sorrow and dismay.

Danger of  
Captain  
King.

Animated by their success, the natives began to gather round the morai in another part of the harbour, where Captain King with some men had been left in charge of the astronomical instruments, the foremast of the Resolution, and the greater portion of the sails of both vessels ; but after a brief conflict, a truce was agreed to, and the voyagers were permitted to withdraw, carrying their effects with them, without molestation. The savages, however, seemed to be still bent on hostilities ; an immense concourse was drawn up on the shore, and several went off in their canoes till within pistol-shot of the ships, challenging the people on board with marks of defiance and contempt. In the afternoon, King rowed towards the land, where he had an interview with some of the chiefs ; and, in answer to his inquiries after the body of his late commander, was assured that it had been carried up the country, but would be restored the next morning. This promise was not fulfilled ; but, after nightfall of the 15th, a person who had constantly attended Cook when on shore, came off to the ship and presented to Captain King a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, containing a piece of flesh about ten pounds in weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body of the unfortunate navigator ;—that the rest had been cut off and burned ; and that the head and all the bones, except those of the trunk, were in the possession of the king and the chiefs. Before departing, he asked with great anxiety, “ When Orono would come again ? ” and “ What he would do to them on his return ? ”—questions which were frequently repeated by others. The impression of the islanders that the murdered leader was their ancient deity was not even yet wholly dis-

Unsuccessful  
attempt to  
recover  
Cook's body.

sipated ; and although some, when they saw his blood streaming and heard his groans, exclaimed, " This is not Rono ! " others still believed in his divinity, and cherished the hope that he would once more appear among them.

CHAP. XI.

Belief in his divinity.

On the 17th, a party, who landed to procure water, experienced so much annoyance from the inhabitants, that it was necessary to burn down a few straggling huts which afforded them shelter. Those to whom this order was intrusted carried it far beyond the proper limits : the whole village was set on fire and consumed, along with the houses of the priests, at whose hands nothing but friendship had been experienced. This act, followed by the death of several of the savages, who were shot in attempting to escape from the flames, conveyed a suitable terror of the English power ; and, on the evening of the 18th, a chief came with presents from Terreeboo to sue for peace.

Assault on the natives.

On the morning of the 20th, the mast of the Resolution was replaced, and the same day the remains of the lamented commander were delivered up to his successor, wrapped in a large quantity of fine cloth, and covered with a cloak of black and white feathers. " We found in this bundle," says Captain King, " both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone ; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting ; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it ; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them, the thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire ; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut on the back part of it, but the skull was free from

Mangled remains of Cook.

## CHAP. XI.

Committed  
to the deep.

Sanctity  
attached to  
Cook's  
remains.

any fracture." \* The lower jawbone and the feet were restored on the morning of the 21st; and in the afternoon, these remains having been enclosed in a coffin, the burial-service was read over them, and, with the usual military honours, they were committed to the deep. "What our feelings were on this occasion," says Captain King, "I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know that it is not in my power to express them." Part of the bones, it may be observed, were retained by the natives; and several of them, held sacred as those of the god Rono, were deposited in a temple dedicated to that deity. They were preserved in a basket of wicker-work, covered with red feathers; religious homage was paid to them, and they were annually borne in procession through the island by the votaries of Rono, when gathering offerings for the maintenance of their worship. They were thus preserved and honoured for a period of forty years, until the abolition of idolatry, and the establishment of the Christian faith in 1819. At that date they disappeared, having probably been carried off by some of the priests, and the English missionaries have hitherto failed to discover their destination.†

By the next day all was ready for sea, and on the

Worship of  
Rono.

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 80.

† "All those," says Mr Ellis, "of whom inquiry has been made, have uniformly asserted, that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped, but have never given any satisfactory information as to where they are now. Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now lost."—Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 137. Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 73. The last-quoted author was informed "that the natives of Owhyhee returned very few of the bones of Captain Cook, but chiefly substituted the bones of some other Englishman that was killed on that melancholy occasion." But this statement seems to require corroboration.—"Not only," says Mr Ellis, "were the bones of Cook worshipped, but almost every relic left with them; among other things, a sledge from the north-west coast of America, which they called *Opaitauarii*, a crab or shrimp for a chief to rest on."—Vol. iv. p. 133.

22d of February our navigators stood out of the bay; while the islanders, collected in great numbers on the shore, received their last farewell with every mark of affection and good-will. CHAP. XL

After visiting other islands of the Sandwich group, about the middle of March they proceeded once more to the northward, and came to anchor in Awatska Bay in Kamtschatka near the end of April. They were most hospitably treated by the commander of that remote province, the celebrated Major Behm, who refused any remuneration for the liberal supplies with which he furnished them. They did not quit this friendly harbour till the 16th of June, "at least a month later," says Burney, "than should have been desired; as, in a pursuit like ours, it was our business to have been early in the year to the north." They reached Behring's Strait on the 5th July, and on the 19th, attained the latitude of  $70^{\circ} 33'$ . Beyond this point, which was five leagues short of that which had been attained the previous season, they were not able to penetrate, nor did they succeed in advancing so far along the coast of either continent. On the 27th, all farther attempts were abandoned, and the course bent to the southward. "I will not," says Captain King, "endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as this resolution was made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's End." \* Three days after, they repassed the strait, and on the 21st of August, came in sight of the mountains of

Return to  
the north.

Reach  
Behring's  
Strait

Homeward  
voyage.

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\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 260.



## CHAP. XL

Death of  
Captain  
Clerke.

Kamtschatka. Captain Clerke had been long and seriously indisposed, and all hopes of his recovery had been for some time relinquished by every one but himself. He died on the 22d, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was interred on the north side of the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, where the vessels arrived two days after his demise. His body was attended to the grave by the officers and crews of the ships, and by the Russian garrison; the service was read by the priest of the settlement, amid the firing of minute-guns; and the melancholy ceremony was concluded by the discharge of three volleys from the marines. An escutcheon was placed in the neighbouring church, setting forth his age and rank, and an inscription of the same purport was affixed to the tree under which he was buried.\*

Captains  
Gore and  
King.

Captain Gore now assumed the command of the expedition, on board the Resolution, while Captain King removed to the Discovery. The instructions from the Admiralty directed that, if the vessels failed to find a passage into the Atlantic, they should return to England by such course as seemed most likely to advance geographical knowledge. On this point Captain Gore requested the opinions of his officers, who unanimously thought that the largest field for discovery, the sea between Japan and Asia, could not be safely explored in the present condition of the vessels, and that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward, along the Kuriles, and examine the islands lying nearest the northern coast of Japan; then to survey the shores of that country; and, lastly, to make the coast of China at as northerly a point as possible, and run along it to Macao. Of this judicious plan only a small part could be carried into effect. The attempt to reach the islands

Course deter-  
mined on.

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\* In 1787, the unfortunate La Perouse placed a brass plate on the tomb of Captain Clerke; and more lately the Russian admiral, Krusenstern, erected a monument to his memory; which, before Captain Beechey's visit in 1827, had, for better preservation, been removed to the governor's garden.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 245.

north of Japan proved fruitless ; and the ships, driven from those latitudes by contrary winds, anchored at Macao early in December.

CHAP. XI :  
Arrival at  
Macao.

The discoverers here received information of the public events which had occurred in Europe since the commencement of their voyage ; and, in consequence of the war which had arisen between Great Britain and France, they prepared their vessels for meeting the enemy. Fortunately their precautions were rendered unnecessary by the generous conduct of their adversaries. In March 1779, the court of Versailles issued orders to the captains of their ships, stating the objects of the expedition, and the advantages which would result from it to all nations, and directing that Cook should be treated as the commander of a neutral or allied power. This measure, so honourable to the French character, was, we are informed by the Marquis de Condorcet, adopted on the advice of the enlightened Turgot. Benjamin Franklin, then in Paris as the plenipotentiary of the United States, addressed to the officers of the American navy an earnest recommendation to spare the ships of "that most celebrated discoverer Captain Cook ;" but the noble feelings which dictated this letter found no response in Congress, who instantly issued orders that especial care should be taken to seize our voyagers. The same mean policy was pursued by the government of Spain.

Generous  
conduct  
of France.

Different  
conduct pur-  
sued by  
America and  
Spain.

While lying at Macao, the sailors engaged in an active trade with the Chinese for the furs of the sea-otter, which they had procured, without any view to sale, at Cook's River on the North American coast. "One of our seamen," says King, "sold his stock for 800 dollars ; and a few prime skins, which were clean and had been well preserved, were sold for 120 each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of £2000 sterling ; and it was generally supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or

Trade with  
the Chinese.

## CHAP. XI

Indications  
of successful  
trading.

had been given away and otherwise disposed of in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the savages, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that probably we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.\* The seamen were astonished at the high prices which they received for an article they had so easily procured; and their eagerness to return to Cook's Inlet, and by another cargo make their fortunes, led them to the brink of mutiny. The profits of the barter produced a whimsical alteration in the appearance of the crews, who, on their entry into the river, were clad in a motley mixture of rags, skins, and the rude cloth of the savage countries they had visited—garments which they soon exchanged for the gaudiest silks and cottons of China.

Threat of  
mutiny.

Return home.

The ships took their departure from Macao on the 13th January 1780, and touched at the Cape of Good Hope on the 13th of April. They made the western coast of Ireland on the 12th August, anchored on the 22d at Stromness in Orkney, and arrived at the Nore on the 4th of October, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days. During this long period the Resolution lost only five men by sickness, while no death had taken place in the Discovery.† Another cir-

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 435.

† The bark which bore Magellan in his eventful voyage became a favourite theme with the poets and romancers of Spain; and the ship in which Drake sailed round the globe received equal honours.\*

\* One of the uses to which "the ship of famous Draco" was applied, is pointed out in the old play of "Eastward Hoë," (by Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston), where Sir Petronel Flash is introduced, saying,

cumstance, attended this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service on which they were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular, namely, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a whole day together except twice. CHAP. XI.  
Uninterrupted co-operation of the ships.

The destiny of the vessel of a greater circumnavigator than either may be seen from the following notice :—"Cook's old ship, the *Discovery*, was, some time since, removed from Woolwich, and is now moored off Deptford as a *receiving ship for convicts*."—London Newspapers, August 20, 1834.

"We'll have our provided supper brought aboard Sir Francis Drake's ship, that hath compassed the world, where, with full cups and banquets, we will do sacrifice for a prosperous voyage. My mind gives me that some good spirit of the waters should haunt the desert ribs of her, and be auspicious to all that honour her memory, and will with like orgies enter their voyages."—Act iii.





## CHAPTER XII.

*Observations on the Character of Cook.*

Honours paid to him—Personal Appearance—Temper and Habits—His Children and Widow—Energy and Perseverance—Self-education—His vast Contributions to Geography—Skill in delineating and fixing his Discoveries—Discovery of the Means of preserving the Health of Seamen—Advantages derived from his Voyages—Progress of Civilisation in Polynesia—Conclusion.

**CHAP. XII.** THE tidings of the melancholy fate of Cook excited a deep and general sorrow throughout Europe, and distinguished honours were rendered to his name alike by foreigners and by his countrymen. The Royal Society caused a medal to be struck, containing on one side the head of their late associate, with the inscription *JAC. COOK, OCEANI INVESTIGATOR ACERRIMUS*; on the other, the figure of Britannia holding a globe, with the words *NIL INTENTATUM NOSTRI LIQUERE*; and on the exergue, *REG. SOC. LOND. SOCIO SUO, and AUSPICIS GEORGI III.* His majesty conferred on the widow of Cook a pension of two hundred pounds a-year, and on each of his sons an annual sum of twenty-five pounds. Honourable armorial bearings, symbolical of his achievements, were assigned to his family.

Sorrow at the death of Cook.

Pension and honours to his family.

Monuments to his memory.

Sir Hugh Palliser, on his estate in Buckinghamshire, erected a monument to the memory of his old and dear friend; in 1812, the parishioners of Marton placed a marble tablet to his memory in the church where he was baptized; a handsome obelisk, fifty-one feet in height, was built on the hill of Easby, near Rosberry Topping, in 1827; and the officers of the Blonde raised on the place where the body of the distinguished voyager

was burned a cross of oak, ten feet in height, with this CHAP. XII.  
 inscription,—

Sacred  
 to the memory of  
 Capt. James Cook, R.N.  
 who discovered these Islands  
 in the year of our Lord 1778.  
 This humble monument is erected  
 by his countrymen  
 in the year of our Lord 1825.

Monument at  
 Owhyhee.

Few visitors leave Owhyhee without making a pilgrimage to the spot where its discoverer met his untimely end, and many carry away pieces of the dark lava-rock on which he stood when he received his death-wound. The place is marked by the ruins of a morai, and by some stunted cocoa-trees, in which the natives show perforations, produced by the balls fired on the fatal morning of the 14th February 1779.

In person, Cook was of a robust frame, and upwards of six feet in height. His head was small, and his face animated and expressive, though his prominent eyebrows imparted to it an appearance of austerity. His eyes, of a brown colour, though not large, were quick and piercing: his hair, which was of a dark-brown hue, he wore tied behind, after the fashion of the day. His constitution was strong, and capable of sustaining great labour; he was exceedingly temperate, and his stomach bore without difficulty the coarsest viands. In his address he was unaffected and retiring, even to bashfulness: his conversation was modest, lively, and agreeable; although at times he appeared thoughtful, wrapped up in his own pursuits, and apparently under a pressure of mental fatigue when called on to speak upon any other. Like Columbus, he seems to have been somewhat passionate; yet of him, as of the discoverer of America, it may be said, that the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The calumny that his disposition was harsh, gloomy, and morose, has been already disproved. "He was beloved by his people," says Mr Samwell,

Personal  
 appearance  
 of Cook.

Address and  
 manner.

## CHAP. XII.

Attachment  
of his crew.

“ who looked up to him as to a father, and obeyed his commands with alacrity : the confidence we placed in him was unremitting ; our admiration of his great talents unbounded ; our esteem for his good qualities affectionate and sincere.”

Portraits  
of Cook.

Two representations of his features have been preserved ; one by Hodges, the artist who accompanied him in his second voyage ; another, which was executed by Dance, is now in Greenwich Hospital, and an engraving from this fine portrait is prefixed to the present Work. It was at the pressing request of Sir Joseph Banks that Cook sat for this picture, on the eve of his departure to explore the southern hemisphere, when all his thoughts were devoted to his arduous undertaking ; and his active mind impatiently regretted every hour that he was absent from his duties. These circumstances may account for the deep thoughtfulness and the stern expression visible in this delineation of his countenance ; for, while the painter was busy with his features, doubtless his mind was “ occupied in great waters.” \*

Domestic  
character.

Few of his days were passed in the quiet scenes of private life ; but though his fortunes called him too often from the society of his family, not many men present a more amiable character as a husband and a father. His hours were divided between the instruction and amusement of his children, and the study of his favourite sciences,—navigation, astronomy, and mathematics. He was fond of drawing ; but did not take much delight in music or poetry, or in any of the pursuits of rural life.

Family.

Captain Cook had six children, of whom three died in infancy. Nathaniel, when sixteen years old, was lost in 1780 with Commodore Walsingham, in the *Thunderer* ; Hugh, who was educated at Cambridge

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\* Memoir of Cook in Gallery of Greenwich Hospital. “ His widow,” says Mr Locker, “ has more than once expressed her regret that a portrait, in all other respects so perfect, should convey this erroneous expression to the eye of a stranger.”

for the church, died in 1793, in his seventeenth year. James, who, at the age of thirty-one, was drowned in 1794, the only son who attained to manhood, displayed much of his father's intrepidity. When pushing off from Poole to join the Spitfire sloop of war, of which he was the commander, he was advised to wait till the storm which was raging should abate:—"It is blowing hard," he replied, "but my boat is well manned, and has weathered a stronger gale; we shall make the ship very well, and I am anxious to be on board." He perished in the attempt, along with the whole of his crew.

CHAP. XII.

Death of his last surviving son.

The widow of the great voyager survived him for more than half a century. To the last she cherished the most devoted affection for his memory; and even after the lapse of so many years, could not speak of his fate without emotion. Such was her sensibility, that on receiving tidings of the death of her son James, in the vain hope of banishing from her mind the recollection of her losses, she committed to the flames almost all the letters she had received from his father. For a long period she resided at Clapham, where her unaffected goodness and generosity secured universal love and respect. Her latter years passed away in intercourse with her friends, and in the discharge of those offices of charity and kindness in which her benevolent mind delighted. The afflicting loss of her husband and children, though borne with submissive resignation, was never effaced from her memory; and we are informed that there were certain melancholy anniversaries which, to the end of her days, she devoted to seclusion and pious observance. She died on the 13th May 1835, in the ninety-fourth year of her age. Her body was deposited in a vault in the church of St Andrew the Great, at Cambridge, where her sons James and Hugh were interred. To the parish in which she was buried she assigned £1000, under the conditions, that, from the interest of that sum, the monument she had erected to the memory of her family shall be kept in perfect

His widow.

Residence at Clapham.

Interment at Cambridge.



## CHAP. XVII

Requests to  
the parish of  
St. Andrew  
the Great.

Legacies.

Mental  
characteris-  
tics of Cook.

repair; that the parochial clergyman shall receive a small annual remuneration for his attention to the due discharge of the trust; and that the remainder shall be equally divided yearly, on St Thomas' Day, among five poor and aged women residing in the parish, but deriving no relief therefrom. Besides many legacies to her relatives and servants, she left to the poor of Clapham £750, and to the Schools for the Indigent Blind and the Royal Maternity Charity about £1000. The Copley Medal awarded to her husband, and one of the gold medals struck in his honour by the Royal Society she bequeathed to the British Museum.\*

The great characteristics of Cook's mind were energy and perseverance. By the aid of these properties, and stimulated by an honourable ambition, he was able, amid the bustle and toil of active service, not only to acquire a knowledge of his profession rarely equalled, but to supply the deficiencies of a very imperfect education, and raise himself to an eminent station among men of literature and science. After he had reached his thirty-first year, with no assistance from teachers, he mastered, in the few leisure hours which his situation afforded, the study of mathematics and astronomy.

Parents of  
Cook.

\* Gentleman's Magazine, July 1835.—Nautical Magazine, July 1835 and February 1836. Cook's mother died in 1765, aged 63; "the tombstone which records her death, and that of two sons and three daughters, most of whom died in infancy, is understood to have been carved by her husband, who about ten years after removed from Ayton to Redcar to spend the evening of his days with his daughter Margaret, the wife of Mr James Fleck, a respectable fisherman and shopkeeper. . . . The father of Cook outlived his son only a few weeks; and never heard of his untimely end. He was interred at Marske, April 1, 1779, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His son-in-law died a few years ago. The captain's sister had three sons, all master mariners, and four daughters; her descendants are numerous. One only of Cook's nephews is living; but three of his nieces yet survive."—Life and Voyages of Cook, by the Rev. George Young (Lond. 1836), pp. 16, 456. From the same source we learn that the elder Cook is said to have been born at Ednam on the Tweed. About the time that his son entered the navy he became a mason, and a house which he built for his own residence at Ayton is still in existence. Here he was visited by his son in the brief interval between his second and third voyages.

Under similar circumstances, he attained great proficiency in drawing. The literary talent and information displayed in the narratives of his second and third circumnavigations will ever excite astonishment in those who reflect on the few opportunities for the cultivation of letters which their author enjoyed. His mental activity was conspicuous throughout all his voyages. "No incidental temptation," says Captain King, "could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with impatience." The immovable constancy with which he pursued his objects was equally remarkable; and there are perhaps few instances of perseverance on record more worthy of note than his survey of the coast of New Holland, carried on by him amid continual dangers; or his search for a Southern Continent, in which he persisted in spite of every privation, concealing from all a dangerous illness that brought him to the brink of the grave. His courage and resolution were invincible, yet unaccompanied with temerity; his self-possession never failed; and we are told, that "in the most perilous situations, when he had given the proper directions concerning what was to be done while he went to rest, he could sleep during the hours he had allotted to himself with perfect composure and soundness." His mind was equally ready and copious in resources; and his designs were marked by a boldness and originality which evinced a consciousness of great powers. These characteristics were demonstrated in the very outset of his first expedition, when, differing from the opinions of every one, he selected his vessel upon principles which the result most amply vindicated.

It may be justly said, that no other navigator extended the bounds of geographical knowledge so widely as he did. The great question of a Southern Continent, which had been agitated for more than two centuries,

CHAP. XII.

Literary acquirements.

Remarkable constancy.

Ready resources.

Unequaled as a navigator.

CHAP. XII  
Extent of his  
discoveries.

Exploration  
within the  
Antarctic  
circle.

Observations  
on the north-  
west coast of  
America.

he completely set at rest. He first made known the eastern coast of New Holland, more than 2000 miles in extent, and presenting perils of the most formidable nature. He ascertained the northern limit of Australia, and restored to Europeans the knowledge of the long-lost Strait of Torres. He dissipated the belief that New Zealand was a part of the Terra Australis Incognita, brought to light its eastern boundary previously unknown, and circumnavigated its shores. He completed the labours of Quiros and later voyagers in the archipelago of the New Hebrides, and first delineated an accurate chart of their coasts. He discovered New Caledonia, with one exception the largest island in the Austral Ocean. He investigated the depths of the Southern Atlantic, made us acquainted with Sandwich Land, fixed the position of Kerguelen's Island, visited the almost-forgotten Isla Grande of La Roche, and surveyed the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego with a fidelity at that time unprecedented. During this navigation, he twice crossed the antarctic circle, and attained a higher latitude than had been reached by any former voyager. He explored the Tonga Archipelago and that of Las Marquesas, neither of which had been visited since the days of Tasman and Mendana, and added greatly to our knowledge of their situation and productions, their inhabitants, manners, and customs. Easter, or Edward Davis' Island, which had been sought in vain by Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Bougainville, did not elude his researches. He greatly increased our acquaintance with the Low or Coral Archipelago, and completed the discovery of the Society Islands. In other parts of the South Sea, he brought to light the islands of Norfolk, Botany, Pines, Palmerston, Savage, Hervey, Mangeea, Wateoo, Otakootaia, Turtle, Toubouai, and Christmas. Along the north-west coast of America, he effected more in one season than the Spaniards had accomplished in two centuries. Besides rectifying many mistakes of former explorers, he ascertained the breadth of the strait which separates Asia from the New World—

a point which Behring had left unsettled. Passing the arctic, as he had crossed the antarctic circle, he penetrated farther than any preceding navigator; and as more than half a century expired without a nearer approach being made to the Southern Pole than he had achieved, a like period elapsed before our knowledge of the American coast was extended beyond the point to which he attained. Among the latest and greatest of his discoveries were the Sandwich Islands,—which, in the sentence wherewith his journal abruptly terminates, he truly characterizes as “though the last, in many respects the most important that has hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.”\*

CHAP. XII.  
Arctic  
exploration.

Sandwich  
Islands.

But it would be injustice to him if we were to estimate his merits only by the extent, number, or importance of the countries which he added to the map of the world. It has been remarked by a distinguished circumnavigator of a neighbouring nation, that his labours created a new era in geographical science.† Unlike his precursors, he was not content with being able to announce the existence of new lands, but delineated the bearing and figure of their coasts, and fixed their position with an exactness which can hardly be surpassed even by means of the improved instruments of our own days. While great errors have been detected in the longitudes of Byron and his successors, and still greater in those of the earlier voyagers, every succeeding navigator has borne testimony to the accuracy of Cook's determinations. So late as 1815, his chart of the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego was characterized by Admiral Burney as the best guide which the seaman possessed to that region. Of a more juvenile performance, his map of the shores of Newfoundland, the late surveyor of the island, Captain Bullock, speaks in terms of warm commendation. Praise equally high has been awarded to his representation of

Influence on  
geographical  
science.

Errors of his  
predecessors

\* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 548.

† M. D'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde, tome i. p. xii.



## CHAP. XII.

Accuracy of  
his charts.

the coasts of New Zealand, by M. Crozet, the companion of the unfortunate Marion. "As soon," says he, "as I had got hold of the voyage of the English, I compared with care the chart which I had drawn with that taken by Captain Cook and his officers. I found it to possess an exactness and minuteness which astonished me beyond all expression. I doubt whether our own coasts of France have been delineated with more precision." La Perouse never mentions the name of the great seaman without expressing warm admiration of his accuracy; and M. D'Urville assigns him the title of "fondateur de la véritable géographie dans l'Océan-Pacifique : ceux," he adds, "qui sont venus après lui sur les mêmes lieux n'ont pu prétendre qu'au mérite d'avoir plus ou moins perfectionné ses travaux."\* Testimony of no less weight has been borne to the correctness of his delineations of people, manners, and countries. "A residence of eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands," says Mr Ellis, "has afforded me an opportunity of becoming familiar with many of the scenes and usages described in his voyages, and I have often been struck with the fidelity with which they are uniformly portrayed. In the inferences he draws, and the reasons he assigns, he is sometimes mistaken; but in the description of what he saw and heard, there is throughout a degree of accuracy, seldom if ever exceeded in accounts equally minute and extended."†

Testimony of  
Mr. Ellis.

Discoveries  
relative to  
the health  
of crews.

Great as are the contributions which Cook made to geographical science, they are perhaps surpassed in utility and importance by his discovery of the art of preserving the health of seamen in long expeditions. The reader

\* Voyage autour du Monde, tome i. p. xiii.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 3. See also Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. xv. A later voyager, Captain Waldegrave, who visited the Friendly Archipelago in 1830, writes, "In our tour through these islands we had great reason to admire the general accuracy of Captain Cook; his description of the houses, fences, manners of the Hapai Islands, is correct to the present day."—Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. iii. p. 186.

who has perused the details which have been given of the sufferings of Anson's expedition, will not be at a loss to appreciate what praise is due to him who removed the scurvy from the list of diseases incident to a nautical life, and first showed that a voyage of three years' duration might be performed with the loss of but one man by sickness. To use the words with which he concludes the narrative of his second circumnavigation,—"Whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage the attention and to divide the judgment of philosophers."\* Indeed, had he made no other discovery but this, he would have been justly entitled to the praise and gratitude of mankind.

CHAP. XII  
Sufferings on  
former expedi-  
tions

There still remains one important view in which his voyages must be regarded, namely, as having added to the power and riches of his country, by laying open new fields of commercial enterprise, disclosing sources of wealth previously unknown, and extending the limits of her territorial possessions. The shores of New South Wales, which he was the first to explore, have become the seat of a vast and flourishing colony, whose wealth and resources are daily increasing. The ports of New Zealand are frequented by British shipping; settlements of our countrymen have been formed on its bays; and its vegetable treasures—its trees and flax—have been rendered available to the wants of our navy. His discoveries on the northern coast of America gave rise to a

New fields of  
commercial  
enterprise.

\* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 293.

CHAP. XII. valuable and extensive trade in furs. The Sandwich Islands have become so great a mart of traffic, that it has been found necessary to establish an English consulate at their capital. The Southern Pacific is every where the resort of whaling-vessels, engaged in a lucrative fishery, and deriving their supplies of sea-stores from those fertile islands, the various ports and harbours of which he was the first to make known.\* Even the barren rocks of New South Georgia, which he visited in his second voyage, have been far from unprofitable ; it is believed that, besides the skins of the fur-seal, they have yielded no less than 20,000 tons of the sea-elephant oil for the London market. Kerguelen's, or Desolation Island, has proved a scarcely less fruitful source of advantage ; and it is calculated "that, during the time these two islands have been resorted to for the purpose of trade, more than 2000 tons of shipping, and from two to three hundred seamen, have been employed annually in this traffic." †

Trade result-  
ing from his  
discoveries.

South Sea  
fishery.

Advantage to  
the natives.

While so many advantages have accrued to the civilized world from the voyages of the illustrious navigator whose history has just been narrated, the countries and nations which he made known have likewise reaped a rich harvest of benefit ; and it is consolatory to reflect, that the fears which troubled his benevolent mind lest the islanders of the Austral Ocean might have "just cause to lament that our ships had ever found them out," have not been realized. The labours of the good and pious men who sailed in the ship *Duff* to spread the glad tidings of salvation among "the isles of the sea," though long unsuccessful, have at length been crowned with a prosperous issue. Throughout the principal groups of the Pacific idolatry has been overthrown, and

\* "Le nombre des navires Anglais et Américains, principalement de baleiniers, qui abordent à Tahiti, est de 200 à 250, terme moyen en six mois. On dit que la population blanche y est de 200 à 300 personnes, et augmente chaque jour."—Singapore Chronicle, quoted in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (1833), tome xxx. p. 111.

† Weddel's Voyage towards the South Pole, pp. 53, 54.

along with it the darker crimes and more brutal vices of the natives. Those desolating wars, in which mercy was altogether unknown, and neither sex nor age was a protection from the exterminating fury of the victors, have ceased. The barbarous sacrifices of human beings, and the still more sanguinary usage of infanticide, which prevailed to an extent almost incredible, have been abolished. Peace, order, and tranquillity are established; not a few of the customs and comforts of Europe introduced; schools and churches erected; and a knowledge of letters extensively diffused. A printing-press has been established in the Society Islands, from which a translation of the New Testament into the native language, a number of initiatory treatises, and a code of laws ratified by the nation, have already issued. Many of the inhabitants have made so great progress in learning, that they have been able to take on themselves the character of missionaries, and go forth to preach the Gospel to their benighted brethren in less favoured places. Others have acquired the arts of the smith, the mason, the weaver, the cotton-spinner, the turner, the agriculturist, or the carpenter. In the trade last mentioned they have made such proficiency as to build, after the English style, vessels of seventy tons burden, for commercial enterprises to different parts of Polynesia.

CHAP. XII.

Desolating  
native wars.Arts of  
civilization.

The people of the Sandwich Archipelago have advanced still farther in civilisation. The Bay of Honoruru, in the island of Woahoo, almost resembles a European harbour. Fifty foreign vessels have been seen in it at one time. In the latter part of the year 1833, it was resorted to by more than 26,000 tons of shipping, employing upwards of 2000 seamen, and bearing the flags of England, Prussia, Spain, America, and Otaheite.\* It is defended by a fortress mounting forty guns, over which, and from the masts of the native barks, is suspended the national ensign,† which has already been

Bay of  
Honoruru.

\* Canton Register, 6th May 1834, quoted in the Asiatic Journal (March 1835), vol. xvi. p. 191.

† "Le pavillon Sandwichien, se composeoit d'un yacht Anglais,



## CHAP. XII

Town of  
Honorou.

seen in the ports of China, the Philippines, America, Kamtschatka, the New Hebrides, and Australia. The town is regularly laid out in squares, the streets are carefully fenced, and numbers of the houses are neatly built of wood. It possesses a regular police, contains two hotels, the same number of billiard-rooms, and nearly a dozen taverns, bearing such inscriptions as "An Ordinary at One o'Clock," "The Britannia," and "The Jolly Tar." It is the residence of a British and of an American consul, and of several respectable merchants of the United States.\* Education and a knowledge of religion are widely spread throughout the islands; nine hundred seminaries, conducted by native teachers, are established, and fifty thousand children receive instruction in reading.† Within a little distance of the very spot where Cook was killed, a school has been opened, and a building erected for the worship of the true God.

Missions  
established.

The fortune of some others of the countries explored by him has hitherto been less auspicious; but in most of them missions are already planted with every prospect of success, and we may confidently look forward to the day when teachers of Christianity shall be established in all.

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sur un fond rayé horizontalement de neuf bandes alternatives, blanches, rouges et bleues: le blanc étoit placé le plus haut et le yacht à l'angle supérieur, près la ralingue."—Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 621.

\* "Dans cette ville naissante, fondée dans un pays dont les habitans, il y a dix ans, étoient tout-à-fait sauvages, on trouve déjà presque toutes les commodités des villes d'Europe."—Observations sur les Habitans des Iles Sandwich, par M. P. E. Botta.—Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tome xxii. p. 135.

† Quarterly Journal of Education, vol. iii. p. 376.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Efforts made by Spain, England, and France in the Northern Pacific and on the North-western Shores of America.*

Spirit of Enterprise excited by Success of Captain Cook—Voyages of Portlock and Dixon—Their Account of the Falkland Islands—Commercial and Nautical Advantages—The Ships reach the north-western Coast of America—Description of the Country—Winter in the Sandwich Islands—Renewed Exertions on the American Shore—Discovery of Norfolk Sound and the Queen Charlotte Islands—Number and Language of the Inhabitants—Return to Owhyhee—Proceed to China and finally to England—Supposed Motives which led to the Voyage of La Perouse—Boussole and Astrolabe sail from Brest—Visit the western Shore of South America—Miserable State of Spanish Colonies—Supposed Voyages of Maldonado and Fuentes—La Perouse examines the North American Coast—Desolate Aspect of Country—State of the Missions—Proceeds to the eastern Shores of China and Tartary—Discovers the Strait which bears his Name—Massacre of De Langle and eleven Men at Maouna—Arrives at New Holland—His future Projects.

THE first fruits of the successful voyage performed by Captain Cook on the north-western shores of America, appeared in a very general spirit of enterprise, both among political rulers and mercantile men, who resolved to combine, as far as might be practicable, the honours of discovery with the advantages of trade. During the repeated visits made by European navigators to those

CHAP. XIV.  
Geographical  
cal enter-  
prise.



CHAP. XIV. remote waters which separate the two great continents, it was observed that the natives of the adjoining coasts were in possession of valuable furs, for which a ready market has always been found in China, Russia, England, and France.

Emulation  
of Spain,  
France, and  
Britain.

In addition to these views, in which commercial interest might be considered the predominant motive, Spain felt herself influenced by a jealousy, far from unreasonable, in regard to her right of property and dominion in that portion of the New World to which adventure was now directed. On the other hand, the ministers of Louis the Sixteenth, sensible that Great Britain, by the exertions of her seamen in every section of the globe, had gained at once a high reputation and a vast accession of power, determined to imitate her ambition in the same path and by the use of similar means. Meanwhile, the merchants of London, less restricted in their operations than even the cabinet of a despotic monarch, perceived that a portion of their capital might be profitably invested in the purchase of furs; and, in pursuance of this object, certain individuals of their number procured a charter from the South Sea Company, to whom belonged the exclusive privilege of trading in that part of the world, investing them with the sole right of carrying on this traffic to whatever extent they might deem expedient. As the principal movements began from the three sources just mentioned, we shall consider them separately; having satisfied ourselves that, both as to their respective intentions and the manner in which they were gradually developed, they will throw light on one another.

Spanish  
squadron  
under De la  
Bodega.

The Spaniards, about the year 1775, sent out a small squadron under the command of Francisco de la Bodega, in order to protect their interests in the higher latitudes of the American coast, and at the same time to watch the proceedings of the English in the Pacific, who had recently made extensive discoveries in that quarter. The only account of this expedition which has reached our days was drawn up by Maurelle, who sailed in the

capacity of pilot—an office at that period not destitute of a certain degree of rank and respectability in the navies of foreign states. Two years later, the same individual undertook a similar voyage, of which some details have been preserved; and in 1780 he was again employed by the governor of the Philippines to carry despatches from Manilla to Mexico, in the execution of which order he resolved to add a more general importance to his voyage, by proceeding in an unusual track where he might possibly make some accessions to the dependencies of the Spanish crown. The particulars of this mission, bequeathed to the public through the medium of La Perouse, are not of much interest; and would not, perhaps, have been noticed at this stage of our progress, were it not that they contain statements, the accuracy of which has been called in question by subsequent navigators, whose strictures could not otherwise be fully understood. Owing to the vague manner in which the position of certain groups is determined, and more especially the indistinctness which marks all his entries of longitude, the most careful reader finds it very difficult to arrive at the conclusion whether Maurelle really detected the existence of unknown lands, or has merely given new names to clusters which had been formerly visited. We shall therefore proceed at once to the volumes of Portlock and Dixon, who about the same time effected a voyage round the world.

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Voyages of  
Maurella.

Both the officers just named, who had sailed under the command of Captain Cook, were selected on account of their experience as seamen, as well as for their knowledge of the coast towards which their main exertions were to be directed. It has been already mentioned that a body of merchants in the metropolis had procured a charter from the South Sea Company, authorizing them to carry on trade in the northern Pacific; and in pursuance of this object two vessels, the King George and the Queen Charlotte, were fitted out in the spring of the year 1785, the former being committed to the charge of Captain Portlock, the latter to that of Mr

Voyages of  
Portlock  
and Dixon.

CHAP. XIV. Dixon. The principal object of this enterprise, it is candidly admitted, was not discovery, but the establishment of commercial relations with the native tribes on the western shores of North America, the value of whose furs, as already noticed, was no longer unknown in the great marts of Europe and of Asia.

Arrival at  
the Falkland  
Islands.

The adventurers left England in the month of August ; and, without encountering any accident or making a single observation worthy of notice, they arrived in January 1786 at the Falkland Islands. As this settlement, now rising into some degree of importance, is recognised as a regular colony, subject to the laws and placed under the protection of the British government, the reader will not be displeased if furnished with some details relative to the history and capabilities of the little group of which it is composed. It is well known that they are situated between latitude  $51^{\circ} 40'$  and  $52^{\circ} 10'$  S., and longitude  $57^{\circ} 30'$  and  $60^{\circ}$  W. The two larger islands, which are distinguished by their position as East and West Falkland, are separated by Carlisle Strait, which is about ten miles in width ; and the surface of both, taken as a whole, is estimated at not less than three thousand four hundred square miles. The islets by which they are surrounded are numerous, but not of much value ; being the retreat only of sea-birds, and of those amphibious animals which seem to delight equally in the land and in the water. The northern districts in both the principal islands have a mountainous character, though the highest ground, we are assured, does not much exceed two thousand feet above the surface of the ocean. At the foot of the hills the plain stretches in some places to the extent of fifteen miles along the margin of the sea ; and the southern districts are in general level. The coast being much indented, the harbours are numerous and excellent ; among which may be mentioned Berkeley Sound in the western island, and Port Egmont in the eastern, both having sufficient depth of water for ships of the line, and a safe anchoring-ground. The climate, it is said,

Surface and  
coast of these  
islands.

does not differ much from that of Great Britain, though it is admitted that the weather is still more unsteady. Fogs darken the atmosphere in the mornings throughout spring and autumn ; but in winter snow usually disappears in the course of a few hours, and the frost is never intense. CHAP. XIV.

The soil of East Falkland is well adapted to cultivation, consisting generally of a black vegetable mould, from six to eight inches in depth. Wheat and flax have been raised with considerable success ; and potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and similar productions, are obtained of an excellent quality. It is not doubted that all the crops which cover the fields in England might be brought to maturity, and that even fruit-trees would succeed in sheltered places, though the progress of horticulture has not hitherto been marked by any signal triumph over the disadvantages of nature. Domestic animals from Britain would find the climate not at all unfavourable to their increase. The Europeans who occupied these islands about a hundred years ago, left behind them, when their settlements were broken up, several species of quadrupeds ; the greater part of which, though they have not improved their qualities, continue to enlarge their numbers. There are herds of cattle and of hogs in a wild state ; the horses are small, but very hardy ; and the rabbits, which are numerous and large in body, present a very fine fur. Their agricultural capabilities.

The history of these islands is not destitute of importance ; though their value as a colony must be confined, perhaps, to their position, and not extended to their spontaneous productions, which, taken by themselves, can never constitute the basis of a lucrative trade. They were first discovered, in 1594, by Hawkins, who, in compliment to his sovereign, it may be presumed, called them the Maiden Islands ; and nearly a hundred years afterwards they were seen by Strong, who, not aware that their existence had been formerly made known, gave them the name which they now bear. In 1764, the French formed on Berkeley Sound a settlement Their history.



CHAP. XIV. which they called St Louis ; but after the lapse of three years it was given up to the Spaniards, by whom it was subsequently abandoned. In 1765, the English established themselves at Port Egmont, from whence, in 1770, they were expelled by a body of warriors from Spain ; an act of violence which nearly involved the two monarchies in war. Our countrymen, when restored to their possessions, finding little inducement to remain, voluntarily relinquished the station after an occupation of only four years ; but about the beginning of the present century, when the whale-fishery in those seas assumed a new importance, the Falkland Islands again attracted attention, and drew to their principal harbours a more resolute class of settlers. Port Egmont was once more supplied with people, as well from among those who were interested in the great fishing establishments in the Antarctic Ocean, as by the adventurers who wished to profit by the flourishing trade on the western coast of South America, now laid open, by the revolution in the Spanish colonies, to all the nations of the world. It is related that, in a brief space after this facility was provided, nearly a hundred large ships touched at the islands, and availed themselves of the ample accommodation provided for the seamen of all friendly states.\*

Reverses of  
that esta-  
blishment.

The author of the volume which passes under the name of Dixon was altogether ignorant of navigation, and his book accordingly is more interesting to the general reader than that of Portlock, which, besides being full of professional terms, displays little acquaintance with the ordinary pursuits of life. At the period when the King George and the Queen Charlotte reached Port Egmont, hardly any thing met the eye which was

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\* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 94. The Falkland Islands, about the year 1771, derived from the spirit of party in England an importance which they could not in any other way have obtained. The celebrated Junius attacked the ministry for their tame submission to the supposed insult inflicted by Spain ; and Dr John, in an able pamphlet, defended the conduct of government, whose motives, he maintained, were not understood. See John's Works, and the Letters of Junius, Nos. 42 and 43.

not calculated to excite regret and even some degree of resentment. The town was in ruins, but near the place which it had occupied were some small pieces of ground enclosed with turf, which, no doubt, were intended for gardens, as it might easily be perceived that they had once been in a cultivated state. In one of them were found several sorts of flowers and some fine horse-radish. CHAP. XIV.

It is said that the soil near the port is of a light free nature, and well calculated for meadow or pasture-land ; but it is added that in many places it is no easy matter to tell of what it is composed, for the various plants have grown and rotted and grown again, till numbers of large hillocks are formed, from the tops of which spring rank blades of grass, which, naturally inclining to each other, form a kind of arch, and afford an occasional retreat to the seal, the sea-lion, penguin, and to such other animals as abound on the coast. On the beach were great numbers of geese and ducks, but much smaller and of a different species from the English : they are tame and easily run down. The sailors were much elated on seeing them, imagining that they should live luxuriously during their stay ; but in this they were grievously disappointed, for both were found exceedingly rank and fishy, owing no doubt to their constantly feeding on marine productions. Besides these were observed the Port Egmont hen and the albatross ; the former of which is a very ravenous bird, resembling a hawk, but somewhat larger ; the latter belongs to the species which Pennant has characterized as the "wandering," although no token of its migratory habits has yet been discovered. It is manifest that it breeds in the Falkland Islands ; for while Portlock and Dixon were there, hundreds of them were seen sitting on their nests, and great numbers of young were scarcely fledged.\*

State of the  
vegetation.

The Port  
Egmont hen  
and the  
albatross.

\* Voyage round the World by Captain George Dixon, 1 vol. 4to. 1789, p. 42. Mr Darwin, in his interesting work on the natural history of these islands, states that their geological structure is in most respects simple. "The lower country consists of clay-slate and sandstone associated together, and the hills of white granular quartz

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Effects of  
the South  
American  
revolutions  
on the Falk  
land Islands

Some years passed before any particular attention was paid to this colony, the value of which had been not a little depreciated in the controversy that followed the attack by Junius on the policy of the British cabinet. It was not till the emancipation of South America from the Spanish dominion gave rise to new prospects of commerce on the shores of Chili and Peru, that the maritime powers on both continents manifested an unequivocal desire to possess so convenient a station, uniting, in some degree, the Pacific with the Atlantic. After the event just noticed, the Argentine government made a grant of East Falkland to John Louis Vernet, who, having surmounted many difficulties, was advancing prosperously in his attempt at colonization, when he unwisely seized two vessels belonging to Buenos Ayres, the crews of which were engaged in catching seals. In consequence of this aggression, the republicans landed a body of men from a ship of war, who broke up his gardens, razed his buildings, and carried away all his servants as prisoners. The result of this outrage was the entire annihilation of Vernet's settlement; and the islands themselves were for a time the common property of all seafaring persons, whom the want of supplies or the desire of relaxation might induce to enter the harbours.

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rock; the strata of the latter are frequently arched with perfect symmetry, and the appearance of some of the masses is in consequence most singular. As a passage between the quartz and sandstone can be traced, it seems probable that the former owes its origin to the sandstone having been heated to such an excess that it became viscid, and upon cooling crystallized; while in the soft state it must have been pushed up through the overlying beds. In many parts of the islands, the bottoms of the valleys are covered in an extraordinary manner with myriads of great angular fragments of the quartz rock. These have been mentioned with surprise by every voyager since the time of Pernety. The whole may be called a stream of stones; the blocks vary in size from that of a man's chest to ten or twenty times as large, and occasionally they altogether exceed such measures."—P. 354.

It appears that the subsoil in some parts is a yellow earth, being the surface of the yellow sandstone partially decomposed; but the true soil consists of vegetable matter, and is, as might be expected, sufficiently fertile.

National  
disputes  
respecting  
the islands.

It now became a question between the rulers of the United States and the masters of the rising commonwealth on the banks of La Plata, which of the two governments had the better right to the Falkland group. In the discussion which ensued, the representative of the former observed, that if any nation in the world had a better claim to them than his own, it was Great Britain; a concession which afterwards shut the mouth of the President when the English sent out a force to secure possession. There cannot be any doubt that if our ministers had not taken this decisive step the rival republics would have gone to war; and considering their relative power on the ocean, the issue of the contest could not have been long in suspense. On all accounts, therefore, the policy of this measure must be pronounced at once seasonable and wise, inasmuch as it prevented those islands from falling into the hands of an ambitious foe, who, in the event of hostilities, would have used them as the key of the Pacific, and dictated the conditions on which trade should be enjoyed with the numerous tribes beyond the verge of Cape Horn.

Their  
commercial  
importance  
to Britain.

Great advantages, in a commercial point of view, will probably arise now that the Falklands are formed into a regular settlement, with an enterprising officer as governor. It is well known that our homeward-bound ships from New South Wales and the republics of Chili, Peru, and Western Colombia, are often obliged to put into some port in the Brazils for water and provisions; but there can be no doubt that as soon as it shall be generally known they can procure both in Berkeley Sound, they will prefer it, particularly because it is quite in their track, whereas they must run far to leeward in sailing to any harbour on the mainland. As our mercantile relations with the rising states on the western shores of America increase, the beneficial effects of having a regular colony at the Falklands will become more apparent; for besides Port Louis being more convenient to our merchantmen than any station in Brazil, the certainty of procuring supplies at a much



CHAP. XIV. lower rate than in any other country, will be a great inducement to touch at a British settlement. They will also escape the various lighthouse and harbour dues, which are rather high on the American continent. The English whalers will, in like manner, derive considerable benefit from colonization in this quarter; but in a naval point of view, more especially, the advantages are obvious whether for attack or defence. Few vessels in time of war could sail to Australia, New Zealand, or the numerous clusters near the Equator, except under the English flag, without manifest risk of capture. The extreme anxiety of the Spaniards, as long as they had any territorial interest in the New World, the violence they used, the arts and negotiations they employed, to wrest these islands from us, show the importance they attached to them, with reference to the navigation of the Pacific, in days too when the commercial capabilities of that ocean were little known. A small depôt under the auspices of the Admiralty will secure an essential convenience to our smaller ships of war, as the nearest naval station, the Cape of Good Hope, is some thousand miles distant. At present our officers are dependent for aid, in that quarter of the globe, on foreigners, who, if from policy they do not refuse supplies, charge for them an exorbitant price.

Their naval importance.

British right to them.

It was in December 1832 that the British admiral at Rio de Janeiro received orders to send without delay an armed vessel to re-hoist the national colours on the Falklands. The attention of our government was drawn to the subject, in consequence of the dispute already noticed between the cabinets of Washington and Buenos Ayres; and hence the resolution, now adopted, of asserting the prior claim of the English crown to the exercise of sovereignty in that remote part of the world. The sloop *Clio* was immediately despatched under the command of Captain Onslow, who forthwith planted the royal standard both at Port Egmont in the western, and at Port Louis in the eastern island. The ship *Tyne* was shortly afterwards sent on the same duty, lest the

other should have encountered any formidable resistance from the Buenos Ayreans, who had been some time established there, in the form of a garrison; but it was found that the *Clio* had already taken peaceable possession, owing chiefly to the fact that the foreign governor had been previously murdered by some of his own troops, and the assassins taken into custody by the crew of a French merchantman. Lieutenant Smith, with four seamen of the *Tyne* who had volunteered to accompany him, assumed the duties of commandant, which he discharged with great zeal in circumstances extremely unfavourable to the exercise of regular authority. Some Indian gauchos, or natives of America, were allowed to remain when the British landed; and these barbarians, insensible to the protection they enjoyed, availed themselves so far of the temporary absence of this officer, as to plunder his house and put to death six Europeans. Such evils can no longer occur, because, in order to control the proceedings of whalers and such strangers as may happen to visit the coast, a ship of war is regularly stationed in the sound, where the imperial flag is always displayed, and to the commander of which all offenders are amenable.\* Still it appears that the Falkland Islands, so far from being fully colonized, are, generally speaking, allowed to lie waste. From the erroneous impressions which continue to prevail throughout the merchant service, of the boisterous climate and the danger attending the approach to the harbours, very few ships enter the bays; but when it is known that the ports are at once accessible and safe, and that abundant supplies may be obtained on moderate terms, the prejudice, we may hope, will altogether cease.†

British  
possession  
of them.

Their  
neglected  
condition.

\* United Service Journal, 1834, part iii. p. 337, where is inserted a communication from a "Commissioned Officer in the Royal Navy," together with "Extracts from a Private Journal;" both obviously written by individuals who must have resided in the islands.

† Some Account of the Falkland Islands, from a Six Months' Residence in 1838 and 1839. By L. B. Mackinnon, R. N. London. 1840. "The climate of these islands," says this author, "may be

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Portlock and  
Dixon sail up  
the Pacific.

Russian  
settlement  
on Cook's  
River.

Upon leaving the Falklands, Portlock and Dixon shaped their course for the Sandwich Isles, where they expected to find a supply of provisions, wood, and water. In these respects they enjoyed not the full measure of success which they had been led to anticipate; wherefore, after procuring some yams and a few hogs, they again weighed anchor, standing to the north-west under the influence of moderate breezes. On the 13th July 1786, they entered Cook's River, leaving the Barren Islands to the southward and eastward. Both wind and tide being in their favour, they proceeded along the eastern shore, with the view of reaching Anchor Point, where they meant to pass the night; but about seven in the evening they were surprised by the report of a gun, which issued from a bay about four miles distant. Upon inquiry, it was discovered that a party of Russians had formed a temporary settlement on the coast, for the purpose of trading with the natives, whom they were pleased to describe as at once very quarrelsome and vindictive. To this recess the English gave the name of Coal Harbour, from the circumstance of their discovering a small vein of that mineral near the south-eastern point.

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said to resemble that of Ireland in its mildness, without being so damp; perhaps even it may be more like that of the western isles of Scotland, equally mild and more dry, and as healthy. When drained and cultivated, the produce must be beyond calculation great, and the hardy peasants of Connaught or of the Hebrides, might there find, in a climate congenial to their own, all the benefits of cultivation. One thing is certain: in parts of the British Islands the population rather exceeds the means of subsistence; in the Falklands the means of subsistence are ready for thousands, and might be extended for millions. In most countries the settlers have to clear woods, to turn up land, and to sow and reap, and a year may elapse before any return from the soil can be obtained: in the Falklands, the wild cattle, and the multitude of other animals fit for man's use, are ready at hand, and the means of living in plenty are secured to the settlers to the fullest extent."—P. 71.

Dixon, pp. 60, 61. In reference to the Falkland group this author observes, that "we need not wonder at the Spaniards envying us the possession of these islands, as their situation commands the passage to the Spanish settlements in the South Sea;" an opinion held by later and more experienced navigators.

The historian of this voyage remarks that the adjacent country is very mountainous: the hills which slope down to the shore are quite encumbered with pines, intermixed with birch, alder, and various other trees and shrubs, whilst the more distant ridges, whose summits outreach the clouds, are completely covered with snow, and have the appearance of everlasting winter. Though it was the latter end of July, the weather was cold, damp, and disagreeable, with frequent showers of sleet; and the surrounding prospect, it need not be added, was most dreary and uncomfortable.

At this period the natives were friendly, and brought what furs they happened to possess, having already sold the best to the Russians, who considered them as slaves bound to obey their commands. Salmon was in such abundance, that a good fish was obtained for a single bead: they were indeed so plentiful, that, if the sailors refused to purchase, the generous savages threw them on board without demanding any price. On the fifth of August, the officers resolved to leave Cook's River, being convinced, from the poverty which every where prevailed, that the materials for a cargo no longer existed.

The appearance and manners of the inhabitants are so well described by the great navigator whose name this inlet bears, that it would be quite superfluous to add any details in regard to their aspect or the usages of life. They seem not to have fixed on any particular spot for their residence, but remove from place to place as best suits their convenience or inclination. It is probable that they are divided into clans or tribes; for in every canoe which approached the ships there was at least one person who appeared to have an authority superior to the rest, and who, in virtue of his station, not only directed their traffic but also maintained a certain degree of subordination.

Upon leaving Cook's River the adventurers attempted to enter Prince William's Sound, but, owing to bad weather, were altogether unsuccessful. Nor were the elements more propitious when they endeavoured to force

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The country  
around  
Cook's River.

The state of  
its inhabi-  
tants.



CHAP. XIV. a passage into King George's Sound ; their path being encumbered by shoals and small islands, which, towards the close of September, proved exceedingly dangerous, particularly during the night. It was therefore resolved to return to the Sandwich archipelago, where they hoped to find at once a good supply of provisions and a comfortable asylum till the season for action should again call them to the American coast.\*

The island of  
Santa Maria  
la Gorta.

On the passage towards their winter quarters, considerable pains were taken to discover an island called Santa Maria la Gorta, which is laid down in Cook's chart in lat.  $27^{\circ} 30'$  N. and long.  $149^{\circ}$  W. Being aware of the source of error in this case, as well as in respect to certain other clusters mentioned by the early Spanish navigators, Dixon and his colleague were not in any degree disappointed, though they sailed over the very spot indicated by their predecessors without perceiving any trace of land. This inaccuracy has led to certain remarks, and even confirmed some conclusions, touching the loose method of reckoning longitude followed by the seamen of the sixteenth century, to which we shall invite the attention of the reader when we come to analyze the voyage of La Perouse.

The harbour  
and people  
of Oahu.

About the middle of November, the ships reached a safe harbour in Oahu, finding that they could not obtain a good anchorage at the larger island of Owhyhee or Hawaii. Seven years had elapsed since the murder of Captain Cook, but the principles and usages of the inhabitants were not in any measure changed. Nor was their dexterity in thieving at all diminished ; for, though they parted with their hogs, fowls, plantains, and bread-fruit at a moderate price, they failed not to seek ample compensation by abstracting, even in the presence of

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\* Portlock's Voyage round the World, p. 130-150. It is admitted that the trade in furs had hitherto been a failure, and that the crews of both ships were greatly disappointed; a result which may be ascribed to their late arrival in the country, and the prior visit of the Russians.

their visiters, every thing that admitted of concealment or easy removal. The taboo, or sacred prohibition, was imposed, for no other reason, perhaps, than to enhance the value of their produce, for which the appearance of two English ships secured an extensive demand. A seasonable application to the cupidity of the king and chief priest procured the removal of this restraint, upon which an active trade commenced ; but soon afterwards, a woman being convicted of eating pork on board the King George, it was again imposed with greater strictness, and enforced until her crime was expiated by the sacrifice of her life in the presence of the offended idol. It is hence manifest that the same sanguinary superstition, which so much appalled the first Europeans who visited these fine islands, still retained its full influence over the minds of the people ; and that the chiefs, whose power had no firm basis in the principles of abstract justice or of public good, were as yet permitted to enforce the maxims of an irresponsible government by an appeal to terror founded on the credulity of their dependants.

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Continued  
superstition  
at Oahu.

Roused by the love of gain, the original motives of the expedition, the Englishmen once more put to sea ; and on the 24th April 1787 descried the American coast near Montague Island, at the entrance to Prince William's Sound. Next day a number of the natives surrounded the ships in their canoes, and upon seeing some dogs on board who barked at them, they called out "Towzer, Towzer, here, here!" whistling at the same time after the manner of our own country. The inference drawn from this circumstance was at once natural and consolatory, namely, that a vessel from Great Britain must either be in the sound at present or had been there very lately. Dixon accordingly, in one of the long boats, proceeded into the creek, where he found the Nootka from Bengal, commanded by Captain Meares, who had wintered in the inlet, and who was indeed still fast in the ice. The scurvy had made dreadful havoc among his men, several of whom had fallen

Prince  
William's  
Sound.

CHAP. XIV. victims to it; and the remainder at one time were so enfeebled, that he himself was the only person able to walk the deck.

King  
George's  
Sound.

The beauty  
and bad  
taste of the  
women.

On the 15th May, according to a previous arrangement, the two English ships parted company, and Captain Dixon steered towards King George's Sound, in the hope of collecting a large quantity of furs. Proceeding on an easterly course, he entered a bay, to which, supposing himself the first discoverer, he gave the name of Port Mulgrave. The extent of the recess could not be ascertained on account of the incessant fogs; but, at the apparent distance of ten miles, high mountains were observed in a north-western direction, entirely covered with snow. The number of inhabitants dwelling on the shores of this sound appeared not to exceed seventy, including women and children. They were in general about the middle size, their limbs straight and well-shaped; but, like the other natives along the coast, so much addicted to the painting of their faces with a variety of colours, that it was not easy to discover their real complexion. A woman was induced by a trifling present to wash her face, and the alteration it made in her appearance was absolutely surprising. Her countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milkmaid; the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her eyes were black and sparkling; her eyebrows the same colour, and finely arched: her forehead so remarkably clear that the translucent veins were seen meandering in their minutest branches. But this symmetry of features, it is added, is destroyed by a custom extremely singular, of which the voyagers had never seen any example, and were even ignorant that any former traveller had mentioned it. The author here alludes to the practice which prevails at Nootka Sound of making an aperture in the thick part of the under lip, parallel to the mouth, in which a piece of wood is constantly worn. This ornament is not, however, used indiscriminately, but only by the women, and

especially by such as arrogate to themselves a station superior to the other females of the tribe.\* CHAP. XIV.

The account here given corresponds with that supplied by Maurelle, when second captain of the Spanish frigate Favorita. After mentioning that the women evince in their dress the modesty and decorum of their manners, he observes that their countenances are pleasing, their complexion tolerably clear, their cheeks rosy, and their hair, which they wear braided, of great length. Their principal garment is a long robe of smooth fur, girded about the loins, and not unlike that of monks, covering them from the neck to the feet, and with sleeves reaching down to the wrists; and over this they wear several skins of otters or other animals, to protect them from the cold. Were they better dressed, he continues, "many might dispute the prize of beauty with the handsomest of our women in Spain; but not content with their native charms, they have recourse to art, which, far from embellishing, serves only to disfigure them." He states, also, that it is only the married women who have the large opening in the lower lip, filled up with the oval-shaped piece of wood; while the young ones use a copper needle, which crosses the lip where the ornament is afterwards to be placed.†

When the crew of the Queen Charlotte entered the harbour, their attention was attracted by the sight of a number of white rails, on a piece of level ground, which, though at the distance of a mile and a half, appeared constructed with such a degree of order and regularity as to suggest the notion that they must have been erected by a civilized people. Upon a minuter examination, it was found to be a "kind of burying-place where dead bodies are not deposited in the earth;" and the manner in which the funeral-rites are performed is

\* Dixon's Voyage to the North-west Coast of America, p. 172.

† "Extract from the Account of a Voyage made in 1779, by Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, ensign of a frigate in the service of the King of Spain, to explore the Western Coast of North America." This "extract" is inserted in the first volume of the English translation of the Voyage round the World by La Perouse, p. 242.



## CHAP. XIV.

The rites of  
sepulture.

worthy of being described. The relations separate the head from the body of the deceased, and, wrapping them both in furs, put the former into a square box, the latter into a species of oblong chest. At each end of this case, a pole about ten feet long is driven into the earth in a slanting position, so that the points meet together, and are firmly fastened with a rope prepared for the purpose. About two feet from the top of the arch so formed, a small piece of timber is laid across, and neatly fitted to either pole; and on this the box containing the head is placed, strongly secured with a thick cord. The box itself is frequently decorated with two or three rows of small shells, and sometimes teeth, which are indented in the wood with much neatness and ingenuity; the whole being ornamented with a great variety of colours, suited perhaps to the age or character of the defunct. The poles are uniformly painted white; and hence the appearance which struck the eyes of our countrymen at a distance.

Similarity of  
customs here  
and in Poly-  
nesia.

In this respect, as well as in some others having an immediate reference to the habits, enjoyments, and opinions of the natives of King George's Sound, it is not difficult to trace a resemblance to the usages of the several tribes who are scattered over the islands of the Southern Pacific. For example, we find that the savages of the north dress their victuals by putting heated stones into a kind of wicker-basket among pieces of fish, seal, and porpoise, and covering it up very closely. This method they always prefer to boiling, even when furnished with pans, and instructed in the use of them. They are also particularly fond of chewing a plant possessing a narcotic quality; and, not content with the leaf in its simple state, they usually add a little lime, and frequently the inner rind of the pine-tree, together with a resinous substance extracted from it.\*

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\* The captain was particularly struck by the expertness of the natives in fishing; acknowledging that "we were fairly beat at our own weapons, and our boat was never sent on this business afterwards."—P. 174.

About the middle of June, after proceeding some days in a south-easterly course, Captain Dixon added to our knowledge of the western coast of America by entering a sound which he named in honour of the Duke of Norfolk. It is almost certain that two ships, under the flag of Spain, had already visited this inlet; but as no authentic record is preserved whereby the precise time and extent of their discovery could be fixed, the Englishman claimed the merit of first making known to the curiosity of Europeans the nature of the shore and the character of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XIV.

The Duke of  
Norfolk's  
Sound.

The manners of the people, we are assured, approach nearer to those in Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, than to the more unsophisticated dwellers at Port Mulgrave. Their traffic seems to be conducted with great order and regularity: they constantly appeared alongside the Queen Charlotte at daybreak, and never failed to spend more than half an hour in singing before the trade commenced. The chief, on all occasions, assumed the management of the whole property belonging to his subjects, and took infinite pains to dispose of their furs advantageously. Should a different tribe arrive while he is trading, they wait with patience till he has concluded the negotiation; and if in their opinion he has made a good bargain, they frequently employ him to sell their commodities.

One day the captain was endeavouring to get the meaning of some words in their language from a chief, when, on pointing to the sun, the latter took great pains to make his visiter understand that, notwithstanding the apparent superiority of the strangers in the knowledge of arts and possession of useful articles, their origin was the same; that all mankind came from above; and that the solar orb at once animated and supported every creature in the universe. Besides their ordinary dress, the natives have a peculiar kind of cloaks made purposely to defend them from the intense inclemency of the weather, composed, it was imagined, of reeds sewed very closely together. A gentleman on board, who had

Large ideas  
of a chief

CHAP. XIV. accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage, remarked that they were exactly the same with those worn by the inhabitants of New Zealand.

Proceeding still towards the south, with the ultimate intention of casting anchor in King George's Sound, the pilot discovered a bay which, from its favourable situation, seemed to afford some prospect of success in trading with the natives. A convenient harbour, completely land-locked, and having a depth of water extending to upwards of twenty fathoms, was named Port Banks, as a token of respect to the distinguished naturalist, who at that period gave his countenance to every attempt made for the extension of geographical knowledge. It is situated in long.  $136^{\circ}$  W., and lat.  $56^{\circ} 35'$  N. The prospect, though rather confined, had something in it more pleasing and romantic than any yet seen on the coast. The land on either side, no doubt, rises to an elevation sufficiently great to convey the most distinct idea of winter even on the 24th of June; but, though the mountains at that season were covered with snow, the numerous pines which every where project their bushy tops on the declivities, contribute greatly to divest the scene of that dreary aspect which belongs to the barren hills on the northern side of Cook's River.

We have now to mention the principal discovery made during this voyage, that, namely, of the group called the Queen Charlotte Islands. It was some time doubtful whether the broken coast towards the east was not part of the continent; but Captain Dixon at length decided this question by sailing between the group and the mainland, through a strait which is distinguished by his name. The inhabitants are evidently a more ferocious class of savages than any who occupy the higher latitudes. An aged chief, whom the seamen had formerly met, exhibited both in his person and manners a specimen of human nature in its most repulsive aspect. His stature was above the middle size; his body spare and thin; and though at first he appeared emaciated, his step was bold and firm, and his limbs

Port Banks.

Queen Charlotte Islands.



strong and muscular. His eyes, which were large and goggling, seemed ready to start out of their sockets; his forehead was deeply wrinkled, not merely by age, but from a continual frown; all which, joined to a long visage, hollow cheeks, and a natural ferocity of expression, formed a countenance that could not be contemplated without some degree of emotion. Nor did he attempt to conceal that the spirit which animated him corresponded to his outward appearance. Alluding to the numerous wars in which he had taken a part, he boasted of the numbers he had slain, and of the enemies' skulls he still had in his possession. His descriptions of bloody triumphs, and the horrible scenes which followed, seemed even to justify the conclusion, that the victors feasted on the bodies of those who had fallen under their blows.

The Queen Charlotte Islands are situated in lat.  $51^{\circ} 24' N.$ , and long.  $133^{\circ} 30' W.$  The land, which in some places is considerably elevated but not mountainous, is entirely covered with pines, affording a pleasing contrast to the snowy heights which occupy the interior. In harmony with this description, the air was temperate and soothing, the thermometer usually indicating about fifty-four degrees of Fahrenheit. According to an estimate made by the officers on board, the number of inhabitants must have amounted to about seventeen hundred. They add that "the great plenty of furs we met with here, sufficiently proves that these people have had no intercourse whatever with any civilized nation; and we may therefore justly claim the honour of adding these islands to the geography of this part of the coast."

A deep impression of fraud, cunning, and cruelty, was left on the mind of the simple civilian on whom the duty was imposed of recording the incidents of the voyage. In addition to their savage temper and brutal disposition, he remarked a kind of ferocity even in their manner of singing. It was in vain that he endeavoured to gain some knowledge of their language;

General fraudulence and ferocity.



CHAP. XIV. for every attempt he made either excited a sarcastic laugh or was treated with silent contempt. Hence he never learned so much as their numerals, or the names of the simplest objects. The captain, meanwhile, whose ambition seems not to have at any time been impeded in its flight by any weighty regard to literature, was much gratified by the successful trade he carried on with the natives; for these last, being ignorant of the value which their skins and furs bore in the foreign market, parted with them for the veriest trifles.\*

Portlock and  
Dixon's  
homeward  
course.

Upon leaving the Queen Charlotte group, Dixon directed his course for the Sandwich Islands, where, having left a letter for the commander of the King George, he proceeded to China. Both ships met near Macao, where the masters found a profitable demand for their cargoes; and, after realizing the amount of their sales, they agreed to make a separate passage homeward by the Cape of Good Hope, thereby completing a voyage round the world.

Comparative  
value of their  
discoveries.

Considering that this adventure was entirely commercial in its motives and object, we are ready to admit that the addition made by it to our knowledge of the American coast is greater than could have been anticipated. Before Captain Cook's last visit to the Pacific Ocean, this part of the new continent was very little known. In 1741, Behring, the celebrated Russian navigator, discovered land in lat.  $58^{\circ} 28' N.$ , and anchored about sixty miles nearer the pole; but the account which was published of his voyage is at once imperfect and inaccurate. The Spaniards, too, were probably well acquainted with the shore a little southward of King George's Sound and in the vicinity of Cape Edgecombe, at both of which places they are said to have touched in the year 1775. Beyond this lati-

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\* Dixon, p. 228. "The numbers of sea-otter skins purchased by us at Queen Charlotte's Islands was no less than 1821, many of them very fine. Thus, in one fortunate month has our success been much greater than that probably of both vessels during the rest of the voyage!"

tude, however, their acquaintance with the country did not extend; and it is well known that the bays surveyed with the greatest attention by the renowned English seaman were Prince William's Sound and the one which still bears his own name. In all other parts his examination was slight and unsatisfactory, more especially between the parallels of 42° and 53°. His principal cares were lavished on Behring's Straits, both sides of which he inspected with much minuteness, in order to decide the important geographical question whether a passage could be accomplished between the South Sea and Atlantic within the arctic circle. So vague, indeed, was the information possessed by seafaring men, even after Dixon's voyage was completed, that, while claiming credit for what he himself had achieved, he admits, in regard to the American coast, "so imperfectly do we still know it, that it is in some measure to be doubted whether we have yet seen the mainland. . . . Certain it is that the coast abounds with islands; but whether any land we have been near is really the continent, remains to be determined by future navigators."\*

From the descriptions already given, it must be manifest that this vast region has the appearance of one continued forest, being covered with pines of various species, alder, birch, hazel, and a mass of brushwood. The earth which covers the lower portion of the mountains is a kind of compost, consisting of rotten moss and decayed trees; which, being frequently washed down into the valleys, and there incorporating with a light sand, forms a soil where most of our garden productions might be cultivated with success. Even at present, in the low grounds which are exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, are found currants, gooseberries, and raspberries, as well as a variety of flowering shrubs.

The appearance of the country encourages the hope that metals and other minerals will be found in abundance. Coal was detected on the bank of Cook's River; and the paint used by the natives for daubing their

CHAP. XIV.

Cook's re-  
searches in  
North-West-  
ern America

Character of  
North-West-  
ern America

\* Dixon, pp. 236, 237.

CHAP. XIV. faces, appears to consist of black lead and red ochre. Both at Norfolk Sound and Queen Charlotte's Islands large circular wreaths of copper were seen, which, having no appearance of foreign manufacture, must have been twisted into that shape by the people themselves, to wear as an ornament about the neck.

The inhabi-  
tants of  
North-West-  
ern America.

It is estimated that the number of inhabitants along the whole coast known sixty years ago to Europeans, did not exceed ten thousand. Judging by the extent of land they possess, and the ample means of subsistence within their reach, a stranger would conclude that the population must be larger. In their simple state an exemption is enjoyed from those diseases which luxury and intemperance have introduced among more civilized nations. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that neighbouring tribes of savages are generally at war with each other; and that their contentions, both from the nature of their weapons and their vindictive disposition, must be attended with the most fatal consequences. Besides, there is reason to believe that many are lost at sea when fishing, as they go out to a very considerable distance; and should bad weather come upon them, it is almost impossible they should escape. Their habits are totally at variance with every notion of comfort or cleanliness; nay, it is maintained that "a love of dirt and filth is universally predominant over all the coast."\*

Their dress  
and decora-  
tions.

In their dress there is not much variety: but in ornaments, if they may be so called, there is a considerable difference of taste. For example, the aperture, or second mouth a little above the chin, seems confined to the men of Cook's River and Prince William's Sound; whilst the wooden stretcher in the under lip is worn by

\* Dixon, p. 238. Captain Portlock (p. 272) says that "to see their manner of living in summer, one would think it a miracle that any of them escaped with their lives. I found men, women, and children all huddled together in a close house near a large fire, and entirely surrounded with stinking fish; and in several places around the house were beds of maggots, a foot deep and ten or twelve feet in circumference."

the women only in that part of the coast which extends from Port Mulgrave to Queen Charlotte's Islands. CHAP. XIV.

There are at least two or three different languages spoken on the coast, or rather, perhaps, so many dialects of one mother-tongue. When written, they all appear uncouth and difficult to pronounce; and yet, though they abound in consonants, the sounds when uttered by a native are not disagreeable, proceeding from the lips and teeth rather than from the throat. It is superfluous to observe that they have no literature, and, so far as there were any means of judging, no form of divine worship. Maurelle remarks, that he could not perceive any trace of religion among them, except that they sometimes made an inclination towards the sun; but that it was an act of devotional reverence it was impossible for him to determine. Whether or not they make use of any species of hieroglyph to perpetuate the memory of events, is a point that remained doubtful, notwithstanding the inquiries of our people. The numerous drawings of birds and fishes which every where met their eyes, as well as the graven images of animals, and even of men, led them to conjecture that the arts were called in to aid the recollection of the passing age, or to hand down to posterity a knowledge of occurrences important to the tribe in days which had gone by. Not a few of these carvings were executed with a degree of correctness and ingenuity which could not but appear extraordinary among a class of men so remote from civilized life. It is true that this art is not in its infancy on the wild shores of North America: a fondness for sculpture and design was remarked by Captain Cook; iron implements were in use when he first visited the natives of the western coast; and their knives are so thin and flexible that they can be bent into a variety of forms, which suit their purposes nearly as well as if they had recourse to the tool-chest of a European carpenter. The only instruments observed in their hands, not made of iron, were formed of jasper, the same as those used by the rude artists of New Zealand. But, as

Their languages.

Their implements.



CHAP. XIV. we shall have occasion to accompany subsequent travellers to the same part of the world, we abstain from entering into further details, which may be brought forward more seasonably hereafter.

The weapon  
with which  
Cook was  
slain.

Portlock, who, as already noticed, sailed under the command of Cook in his last voyage, and was present when that distinguished navigator was murdered at Owhyhee, recognised, while in that island on his return homewards in October 1787, a person who stood on the shore when the tragedy took place. He asked whether the great captain was killed with a pahoā: the other replied that it was a different weapon, the point of which entered at the shoulders and came out at the breast. He hunted about the cabin till he found a bayonet, and asserted that the Orono was slain with an instrument of that kind. This statement is the more probable, because it was known that the natives had procured some of these weapons, either by stealth or by trading with the crews. The islander added that a great number of the inhabitants were wounded by the repeated discharges or musketry, the majority of whom died; and he did not conceal that the reason why the present sovereign and other chiefs declined to come on board the King George, was the apprehension that the death of a leader so much venerated might be visited on their heads, even though they had no immediate share in its perpetration.\*

The voyage of  
La Perouse.

The circumnavigator who comes next in order is the unfortunate La Perouse, whose fate, a long time doubtful, excited much anxiety throughout Europe; a feeling which, when hope could be no longer entertained, was succeeded by the profoundest grief. Various motives have been assigned for the interest manifested by the French government in the voyage of discovery committed to his care, some of which do little honour to those writers in whose minds they originated. It has been asserted, for example, that, at the time when the expedition departed to make new acquisitions for philosophy

\* Portlock, p. 309.

and commerce, one of the king's ministers presented to the royal council a memorial on the great advantages which might be expected to accrue from it. He assured his majesty that it would divert his subjects from the dangerous Anglomania—the passion for liberty, so destructive of peace and good order, which prevailed among them; that it would amuse them with new ideas, and give them food for their idle hours, the variety of which would gratify the frivolous turn of their minds. “They had better,” said he, “be employed in admiring the ridiculous tricks of a few Chinese apes, than in following the fashion of the day, which leads them to admire the horses and philosophers of England.”\*

The views of the public were very different from those now stated; for, imagining that the death of Cook would interrupt the progress of discovery among the mariners of Great Britain, it seemed proper that France, availing herself of the leisure arising from the peace she had just concluded, and having due regard to the rank she now held among maritime powers, should fit out some ships for the advancement of science, and thereby contribute her share towards our completer knowledge of that globe which has been so long the habitation of man. But the sovereign did not so far yield to his ardour for the progress of philosophy as to overlook the great interests of trade, and even of colonization. He pointed out, in a formal body of private instructions, those objects of politics and commerce to which he wished the attention of the captain to be particularly directed at the different places where he might happen to stop, in order that the expedition, undertaken at the national expense, might produce results honourable to the crown and beneficial to his subjects. For instance, he was desired, when anchoring at Madeira and St Jago, to neglect no means of procuring information respecting the force kept there by the Portuguese, and the trade carried on with the English and other nations. He was

The general  
objects of it.

Objects at  
Maderia and  
St. Jago.

\* Historical and Picturesque Tour on the Rhine, by George Foster, vol. i. p. 311.

CHAP. XIV. commanded also to ascertain whether the British had entirely quitted the island of Trinidad ; whether any natives of Portugal had settled there ; and what might be the establishment they have formed since its evacuation. If he should find Isle Grande, he was instructed to examine whether it affords any safe and commodious harbour ; what conveniences it offers for a settlement, supposing the whale-fishery were to induce French merchant-ships to visit the southern part of the Atlantic ; and whether there be any place, capable of being fortified with advantage and maintained by a small force, suitable for a colony so remote from the protection of the mother-country.

Objects in  
Polynesia

It was not expected that the islands of the great equatorial ocean could furnish many observations under the interesting heads of commerce and political relations. When in that part of the world, therefore, his instructions required no more than that he should study their climate and productions, the manners and customs of the natives, their religion, government, mode of making war, arms, and vessels ; the distinguishing character of each tribe, what they have in common with other savage nations, and especially what is peculiar to each. In such of the islands as have already been visited by Europeans, he was required to learn whether the inhabitants have been able to distinguish the different countries of the navigators, and what opinion they have formed of each in particular ; to examine into the use they have made of the various commodities, metals, tools, stuffs, and other things, with which they have been furnished from time to time ; to obtain information whether the cattle, fowls, and other animals left on some of the islands by Captain Cook have bred ; what grain and pulse from Europe have succeeded best ; what methods have been employed in cultivating them ; and what use has been made of their produce.

Objects at  
the intertro-  
pical groups

Upon La Perouse it was particularly enjoined that in his visit to New Caledonia, Queen Charlotte's Islands, the land of the Arsacides, and Louisiada, he should

examine carefully the productions of those countries, which, lying under the torrid zone and the same latitudes as Peru, might be expected to open a new field for commercial speculation; and, without trusting to the reports of the Spanish navigators relative to the fertility of some of the islands which they discovered in the Pacific, to ascertain, if possible, whether those seen by Bougainville in 1768, and by Surville the year following, are not the same which were brought to light by Mendana in 1567, and since known by the name of the Solomons. New Zealand having been minutely described by the English, he was not desired to make any researches there. But during his stay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, says the card of instructions put into his hand, "he will endeavour to gain intelligence whether the English have formed, or entertain the project of forming, any settlement in these islands; and if he should hear that they have actually formed a settlement, he will repair thither, in order to learn all particulars respecting its object, strength, and condition.\*"

Objects at  
New Zealand

In regard to the north-western shores of America, and the establishments formed there by the Spaniards, the navigator was commanded, in the name of his royal master, to inform himself touching their present state, and to find out whether those at San Diego and Monterey were the only settlements they had in that part of the world; to inquire also in what latitude furs began to be procured; what quantity can be furnished; what commodities are best adapted to the trade; and what conveniences might be found for making a settlement on the coast. With respect to the Kurile Isles and Scso, he was told to survey them with prudence and circumspection, both as to the navigation of a sea

Objects in  
the Northern  
Pacific.

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\* A Voyage round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of J. F. G. de la Perouse, &c. Two volumes 4to, London, 1799. The French edition of this narrative, on which we have chiefly relied, is that published at Paris, in the year 1834, by Armand Aubrée, and superintended by M. Albert Montémont.



CHAP. XIV. unknown to Europeans, and also as to the intercourse he might have with the natives, whose character and manners must, it was supposed, have some resemblance to those of the Japanese, by whom part of them are said to have been subjected. He was likewise instructed to visit the north-eastern provinces of Japan; to land at one of its harbours to satisfy himself whether the government oppose insuperable obstacles to a commercial intercourse with Europeans. He was reminded that the examination of Corea and Chinese Tartary must be conducted with great vigilance and caution, there being many Japanese pirates in the sea which divides these countries; and, because the government of Pe-king is very jealous, he was not to hoist his colours when on the coast, nor in any way to make himself known to the local authorities.

Objects on  
the Japanese  
and Chinese  
coasts.

The royal directions are summed up by imposing upon the commodore as a primary duty, that, in all the islands and harbours of the continent, occupied or frequented by Europeans, at which he should happen to touch, he shall make every inquiry with the view or ascertaining, with some minuteness, the nature and extent of the trade of every nation; the naval and military force which they maintain there; the ties of interest or friendship which subsist between them and the chiefs of the country where they have settlements; and, in general, every thing which concerns politics or commerce.

Great scope  
of the voy-  
age.

From the details now produced, it must be manifest that the object of the voyage conducted by La Perouse was not exclusively scientific; though, upon reference to the same authorities, it will be found that on no former occasion were more ample means provided for the extension of knowledge in all the branches to which human curiosity is attracted, whether physical, moral, or antiquarian. The spirit of vain-glory or of an envious ambition was not allowed to mingle with the wish to add new provinces to the empire of man. The patrons of the French enterprise frankly admitted that the English navigators had merited the just admiration of the

world; but they were convinced at the same time, that, in so vast a field, there will be for ages to come new triumphs to reward the intrepidity of seamen, unknown coasts to be explored, plants, trees, fishes, and birds to be described, minerals and volcanoes to be examined, nations to be studied, and perhaps to be rendered happier, since the introduction of one fruit or one species of tame animal may prove to the inhabitants of a remote land a source of inestimable benefit.

The Boussole and Astrolabe sailed from Brest on the first day of August 1785, and doubled Cape Horn about the end of January following, an achievement which was attended with fewer obstacles than the commandant had apprehended. The supposed difficulties, he thinks, are the effect of an ancient prejudice, soon to be laid aside, and which the account of Anson's voyage has hitherto tended to keep alive among seamen. It is remarkable that La Perouse, either owing to very defective maps or unskilful seamanship, failed to reach several islands and points of the coast marked by some of his predecessors in the South Atlantic; and not finding them, he yielded too readily to the impression that they had no existence. We allude, in particular, to his hasty conclusions relative to Ascension and the Isle Grande of La Roche.\*

Sailing of the  
ships from  
Brest.

On the 24th February, he arrived in the bay where the city of Conception once stood, pleasantly situated on

Arrival at  
the coast of  
Chili.

\* It is but just to this acute though unfortunate seaman to observe, that he corrected an error of Admiral Drake in regard to a supposed island which long bore the name of this discoverer. The Englishman relates that, after leaving the Strait of Magellan, he was assailed in the great Western Ocean by strong gales of wind which continued to blow nearly a month, when at length he descried an island in the latitude of  $57^{\circ}$  S. Putting in here he saw abundance of birds, and running afterwards to the north the space of twenty leagues, he fell in with other islands inhabited by savages who had canoes. These islands produced wood and antiscorbutic plants. There is now no doubt that one of these islands was Tierra del Fuego, at which he must certainly have touched; and in all probability the other was the island of Diego Ramirez, situated almost in the very latitude assigned to the supposed land of Drake.

## CHAP. XIV.

Destruction  
of the city of  
Conception.

the western shore of America, and formerly subject to the government of Chili. By means of a powerful glass he endeavoured to obtain a view of the buildings, but saw no traces of any habitation. In the course of the evening some pilots appeared, who informed him that the town had been destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1751, and that a new one had been built at the distance of three leagues from the sea, on the banks of the river Biobio. It was not till 1763 that the people made choice of the site now mentioned, on which they renewed the bishop's palace, the cathedral, and all the other religious houses. The inhabitants were said to amount to ten thousand; a small number compared to the wide country by which they were surrounded, and the ample means of subsistence thereby afforded, at the expense of little labour. Their territory extended to the Cordilleras on the east, and southwards to the Straits of Magellan. The lands beyond the river, it is true, belonged to the Indians, with the exception of the island of Chiloe and a small district around Valdivia. Nor could these people be properly held as subjects of the King of Spain, with whom they were almost constantly in a state of war; and hence the governor had at his disposal a large body of troops, both regulars and militia. In no part of the world is the soil more productive than in this section of Chili. Corn yields a return of sixty-fold, and the vines are equally productive. The plains, too, were covered with innumerable flocks and herds, which multiplied immensely, though left entirely to themselves, without either watch or feeder. The usual price of a fat ox was about eight dollars, that of a sheep not more than three shillings and ninepence; but there were no purchasers, and on this account the inhabitants were accustomed every year to kill a great number of cattle, the hides and tallow of which were alone preserved.\*

The fertility  
of the sur-  
rounding  
country.

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\* With regard to the city of the Conception, La Perouse observes that "le village de Talcaguana est aujourd'hui le seul établissement Espagnol de cette baie. On voit encore, dans la direction de

But it is in vain that nature lavishes her gifts, if the social institutions are unfavourable to the development of industrious habits; and accordingly, notwithstanding all the advantages now mentioned, the colony did not advance either in wealth or population. The genial influence of the climate was counteracted by that of the government; prohibitory regulations were extended from one end of the province to the other; and hence, though the productions of the soil, if increased to the full extent, would have been sufficient to maintain the half of Europe, though its wool would have supplied all the manufactories of France and England, and its salted meat would have produced a vast revenue, it had no commerce. Four or five vessels, indeed, arrived annually from Lima, with sugar, tobacco, and a few manufactured articles, which the unfortunate inhabitants could only obtain from the second or third hand, and after immense duties had been paid both in the Spanish and American ports. All that they had to give in exchange was wheat, the value of which was so depressed that the agriculturist found no encouragement to cultivate his waste lands, together with tallow, hides, a few planks, and a trifling portion of gold. It is unnecessary to add that, the balance of trade being always against the settlers, their condition received no improvement, and admitted little hope.

Disastrous effects of bad government.

One of the evils under which this colony groaned arose from a circumstance which most men would deem highly favourable, namely, that it produces a small quantity of gold. As nearly all the rivers contain grains of this metal, a native, by merely washing the earth, could earn half a dollar a-day; but as provisions were very plentiful, he was not excited to labour by any real

Calamitous influence of gold-finding.

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l'est, les ruines de l'ancienne ville de la Conception, qui ne dureront pas autant que celles de Palmyre, tous les bâtiments du pays n'étant bâtis qu'en torchis ou en briques cuites au soleil: les couvertures sont en tuiles creuses, comme dans plusieurs provinces méridionales de la France."—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, tome xii. p. 71.



## CHAP. XIV

Miserable  
condition of  
the very rich-  
est colonista.

want. Deprived of communication with foreigners, and unacquainted with European luxury and arts, his desire could not be fixed on any object with sufficient intensity to overcome his love of ease. The houses even of the most opulent were, on this account, wretchedly furnished; their gardens were uncultivated; and their whole establishment bore marks of indifference, laziness, and neglect. The same indolence, it was thought, still more than credulity or superstition, has contributed to fill the country with monks and nuns, the former of whom it is said enjoyed a greater degree of liberty than elsewhere; and the disadvantages of having nothing to do, the want of family attachments, a state of celibacy without being separated from the world, seemed to have produced a very unfavourable effect upon their characters. The natives of Conception, generally, did not sustain a high reputation, viewed in reference at least to our standard of morals; and being of a mixed descent, with a large portion of Indian blood, they were considered on all hands in the light of a degenerate race, having no quality to inspire confidence or self-respect.

Character  
and condition  
of the native  
Indians.

A much higher estimate was formed of the Indians themselves, who are no longer those ancient Americans who were struck with terror by the arms of the Spaniards. The increase of horses, now dispersed over all the immense deserts of the interior, as well as of oxen and sheep which seem to own no proprietor, have rendered these people real Arabs in the usages of life. Continually mounted, a journey of five hundred miles is to them only a short excursion. They travel accompanied by their flocks, feed on their flesh, their milk, and even their blood; clothing themselves also with their skins, of which they make helmets, cuirasses, and bucklers. Thus, the introduction of two domestic animals into America has had the most striking influence upon the manners of all the tribes who dwell between St Jago and the extremity of Patagonia. They no longer follow any of their ancient customs; they no longer live upon the same fruits nor wear the same garments; and they

have a much more considerable resemblance to the Tartars, or to those nomade freebooters who infest the eastern shores of the Red Sea, than to their own ancestors as they existed two centuries ago. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that such men soon learned to contemn the Spaniards, and at no time yielded more than a nominal subjection.

On the 9th April, La Perouse with part of his followers landed on Easter Island, discovered by Roggewein in the year 1722. It soon appeared that the natives had not in any respect improved since they were visited by Captain Cook, and that the various gifts conferred on them by this navigator had not been turned to any advantage. The Frenchmen had hardly touched the shore when their hats were taken from their heads, and their handkerchiefs stolen from their pockets. The whole multitude appeared to be accomplices in these thefts, for upon the commission of each individual act they all fled like a flock of birds when suddenly alarmed. Some among them indeed seemed to exercise a small degree of authority over the others; but it was perceived that their pre-eminence consisted in nothing beyond their greater dexterity in stealing, and their ingenuity in hiding the pillage already achieved. Though they pretended to shield their guests, and actually ran after those who had abstracted their goods, it was very easy to perceive that they had not the most distant intention of overtaking the delinquents.

The impression made on the minds of the French voyagers by the busts in Easter Island, did not correspond to that received by the companions of Cook. Mr Forster thought them the work of a people much more advanced in civilisation than the present natives; an opinion which the philosophers of the Boussole and Astrolabe consider to be ill founded. The largest of them was not found by actual measurement to be more than fourteen feet six inches in height, seven feet and a half broad at the shoulders, and about five feet square at the base. Upon the whole, they appeared to present no

Easter Island  
and its inha-  
bitants.

The busts in  
Easter Island.

## CHAP. XIV.

The origin  
and design of  
the busts.

difficulty in the execution which might not be overcome by the ingenuity of the men now existing. All the monuments, indeed, had an air of antiquity; but it is remarked that the actual form of government has rendered the condition of the inhabitants so equal, that there is no chief among them of sufficient consideration to merit a statue with the view of preserving his memory. Instead, therefore, of colossal structures, they have substituted small pyramidal heaps of stones, the summit of which is whitewashed with lime. To explain the use of these last, one of the islanders extended himself on the ground; and afterwards, by raising his hands towards the sky, appeared desirous of expressing to the foreigners his belief in another life. But no distinct traces of religion could be observed, if certain tokens of reverence for these sepulchral stones did not intimate a feeling of respect or fear towards the dead, the basis of most superstitions in the savage state.

The form of  
society in  
Easter Island.

Perhaps La Perouse was too hasty when he concluded that the form of society is democratical; imagining that a man must find little temptation to become king of a people who live on yams, and who, as they cannot make war for want of neighbours, have no need of a leader. It is admitted, notwithstanding these tokens of equality, that there is a chief in each district, who looks more particularly after the crops, and superintends the sale or distribution of the produce. Captain Cook regarded this person as the proprietor of the whole; but the Frenchman remarks, that if the celebrated navigator found any difficulty in procuring a sufficient quantity of potatoes and other roots, it must be attributed less to the want of these vegetables than to the necessity of obtaining an almost general consent for selling them.\*

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\* Monsieur de Langle, during the time the expedition remained in Cook's Bay, made an excursion into the interior parts of the island, an account of which is published in the narrative of La Perouse. In regard to the statues or monuments, he remarks, that the largest of those which he measured was sixteen feet high, including the capital. Upon different stones composing the plat-

It is impossible to conceive a lower degree of demoralization than that into which the occupants of Easter Island have fallen. They are not only as much addicted to theft as the other natives of the South Sea Islands, but the manner in which they commit the crime betrays their consciousness that it is an act of injustice and deserving of punishment. The most daring swindlers of Europe are less hypocritical than these barbarians. All their caresses are false: their countenances do not express a single sentiment of truth; and the individual most to be suspected is he who has just received a present, or who appears to be most in earnest in offering his service. De Langle, the commander of the *Astrolabe*, made a gift of two goats to a kind of chief, who received them with one hand, and with the other stole the handkerchief of his benefactor.

CHAP. XIV.

The gross immorality of the inhabitants.

The care which they took to measure the French ships showed that they did not contemplate the arts of Europe with stupidity. They examined the cables, the anchors, the compass, and the steering-wheel; and in the evening, as if to correct their impressions, they returned to take the measures over again. But the proofs which they gave that they possessed talent and reflection rendered them still more unworthy of esteem. Their visitors supplied them with one subject of meditation which could not fail to recur to their minds,—that they did not use their overwhelming power against the transgressors, however much provoked by insolence and fraud—a forbearance which they seemed perfectly to understand, for the mere motion of a musket levelled in sport put them to flight in the greatest trepidation.

In proceeding towards the north, La Perouse followed a course nearly parallel to that which Cook pursued in 1777 when he sailed from the Society Isles to the north-western coast of America, though more than

La Perouse's course to the north.

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forms he observed the rude outlines of skeletons, and certain openings closed with stones, which he imagined might communicate with caves containing the dead.



## CHAP. XIV.

Errors in the early charts of the Pacific.

two thousand miles farther east. His daily calculation of longitude was so much disturbed by the action of the currents which sweep in all directions throughout the North Pacific, that he was led to suspect the accuracy of the position assigned to certain groups by the early navigators. It is undoubtedly from the cause now mentioned that the errors which disfigure the Spanish charts have arisen; and it is remarkable that most of the islands discovered by Quiros, Mendana, and other navigators of the same nation, have been re-discovered in modern times, owing to their being placed too near the coast of America. Hence was the French commodore led to doubt the existence of a cluster called by the Spaniards La Mesa, Los Majos, and La Disgraciada; for, finding that they are laid down in one of their maps in the precise latitude of the Sandwich Islands, but nearly seventeen degrees more to the eastward, he concluded they must be the same, and that the difference of longitude ought to be ascribed to the imperfect manner in which the reckoning was kept in those days, and more especially to the action of the currents, the power of which was quite unknown.

The discovery of the Sandwich Islands.

It is worthy of notice that in the same year Captain Dixon, from the same process of reasoning, arrived at a similar result; and also subsequently fortified his conclusion by a minute research in that part of the ocean where the Spanish navigator had placed the supposed islands. The discovery of the Sandwich group by Cook is therefore a mistake; for they had been visited by Mendana in 1567, and named by him, as already stated, La Mesa—understood to be Owhyhee—and Los Majos. It is proper to add, for the information of the less experienced reader, that the error now mentioned has been perpetuated by the map prefixed to the volume of plates which usually accompanies the voyages of the great English seaman. This chart was framed after the final return of the ships from the Pacific by Lieutenant Roberts, who placed too much confidence on a manuscript draft, found on board a Spanish ship captured by

Admiral Anson. The same corrections must be applied to other islands of which the discovery is related in the maritime annals of the sixteenth century, more especially Santa Maria la Gloria, Rosa Partida, and La Neublada.\*

If the arts and enjoyments of civilized life could be introduced among rude tribes without sowing in their families the seeds of dissolution, it would be pleasant to mark the progress of discovery, by land and by water, on all parts of the earth. But as there is no example of such union between the European and the barbarian as would justify the hope that the Sandwich islander will be allowed to retain the inheritance of his fathers, and at the same time receive the gifts of knowledge and refinement, we share in the sentiments of La Perouse as to the ambiguous nature of the benefit which has been usually

Effects of geographical discovery on savage nations

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\* Dixon says, "from the 11th to the 14th we lay to every night, and when we made sail in the morning, spread at the distance of eight or ten miles, standing westerly; it being probable that though the Spaniards might have been pretty correct in the latitude of these islands, yet they might easily be mistaken several degrees in their longitude. But our latitude on the 15th at noon being 20° 9' north and 140° 1' west longitude, which is considerably to the westward of any island laid down by the Spaniards, we concluded, and with reason, that there must be a gross mistake in the chart."—P. 49.

La Perouse deems it necessary to apologize for having detected the error of the old charts, as he might thereby appear to detract from the merit of his English predecessor. "Those who know my character," says he, "will not suspect that in this research I could be guided by any wish to rob Captain Cook of the honour of this discovery. Full of respect and admiration for the memory of this great man, he will ever be considered by me as the first of navigators,—as the individual who has determined the exact situation of these islands, explored their coasts, ascertained the manners, usages, and religion of the inhabitants, and who has paid with his life for all the information we at present possess respecting them."—Vol. i. p. 338, English Translation.

It is maintained by the editor of the work just quoted, that the Sandwich Islands were discovered by Gaetan in 1542, who, sailing from the coast of Mexico, stood westward into the Pacific nine hundred leagues, where he fell in with a group inhabited by savages almost naked. But the historian, either unintentionally or by design, gives a wrong statement as to the latitude; in other respects his description suits Owhyhee and the adjoining islets.

## CHAP. XIV.

Opinions respecting the rights of discovery.

offered to the natives of the South Sea. When he landed at Maui, he refused to take possession of it in the name of the king ; not so much because the English had already planted their standard in the group without any attempt at appropriation, as because he considered the practice as on all occasions unjust and even ridiculous. Persons who are capable of thinking must doubtless lament to see that men, for no better reason than because they have firearms and bayonets, should make no estimation of sixty thousand of their fellow-creatures, and consider as an object of conquest a land fertilized by the painful exertions of its inhabitants, and for many years the tomb of their ancestors. He claims for modern navigators such a purity of motive as to declare, in their name, that they have no other object in describing the manners of remote nations than that of completing the history of man ; and that the knowledge they endeavour to diffuse has for its sole aim to render the people they visit more happy, and to augment the means of their subsistence.

Course from the Sandwich Islands to North-Western America.

On the first of June 1786, the Boussole and her companion left the Sandwich group with their prows turned towards the coast of America. The fishes which had followed them from the vicinity of Easter Island to their anchoring-place at Maui, only now disappeared. It is a fact unquestionably worthy of attention, that the same shoal had accompanied the frigates more than four thousand miles. Several bonetas, wounded by the harpoons of the seamen, carried on their backs a mark which it was impossible to mistake, and thus, day after day, they recognised the same individual they had seen the evening before. But for the interruption occasioned by the short stay among the islands, it is probable that they would have continued the pursuit three hundred leagues farther, and till they had arrived at a temperature too cold for them to bear.\*

\* La Perouse does not enter into details respecting the Sandwich Islands, for the reasons stated in these words: " Le lecteur ne doit pas s'attendre à trouver ici des détails sur un peuple que les re-

Steering a northerly course, the expedition soon found themselves involved in mist and dampness, accompanied by most of the inconveniences which such a change of climate occasions to the mariners. In these circumstances the commander bespeaks the sympathy of those who may peruse with pleasure the events of his voyage, trusting that they will not think with indifference of those who have undergone the fatigue ; and who, at the verge of the earth, incessantly struggling amidst fogs and storms, have explored an unknown coast, the theatre of all the geographical fictions too readily embraced by modern geographers.

The fictions to which an allusion is here made are the voyage of Maldonado, supposed to have taken place in 1588, and that of Fuentes or De Fonte, referred to the year 1640. There are, besides these, certain enterprises of the Chinese and of the merchants of Japan, who are said to have reached the American shore ; but the dates are so vague, and the facts related so little worthy of credit, that no reliance can be placed on the narratives in which they are contained. Maldonado is said to have discovered a north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific, by entering a strait in Hudson's Bay, which afforded him a channel into the latter ocean. The opening in question, which has since been repeatedly examined with the greatest care, now bears the name of Repulse Bay, and is well known to supply no communication with the South Sea. Fuentes, on the other hand, is described as having made his way from the opposite coast in an eastern direction towards Labrador, and to have accomplished a passage across the American continent from the vicinity of Prince William's Sound to the bay already mentioned.\*

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The fogs of  
the Northern  
Pacific.

Fictitious  
voyage of  
Maldonada

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lations Anglaises nous ont si bien fait connaître : ces navigateurs ont passé dans ces îles quatre mois, et nous n'y sommes restés que plusieurs heures ; ils avaient de plus l'avantage d'entendre la langue du pays : nous devons donc nous borner à raconter notre propre histoire."—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, tome xii. p. 138.

\* The works in which allusion is made to the voyages mentioned



## CHAP XIV.

La Perouse's  
opinion of the  
North-west  
Passage.

In reference to these triumphs of navigation at so early a period, La Perouse expresses his opinion very boldly, that neither the pretended channel of St Lazarus nor the Spanish admiral Fuentes ever had an existence. Nay, he maintains that a voyage into the interior of America, through lakes and rivers, and performed in the course of one season, is so absurd, that, but for the spirit of system, which is injurious to all the sciences, geographers of a certain degree of reputation would have rejected a story destitute of all probability, and fabricated in England at a time when the question of a north-west passage was discussed with a vehemence which closed the minds of the several partisans against the approach of truth. The narrative, therefore, of the adventurer Fuentes must, he concludes, be ranked with those pious frauds which sound reason has since rejected with contempt, and which cannot bear the weight of argument.

Imaginary  
discoveries of  
De Fuca.

But it is not improbable that the mistake in this case may have had a similar basis with the imaginary discoveries of De Fuca, who, after passing the mouth of the Columbia river, entered the Straits of Georgia, through which he passed till he came to Queen Charlotte's Sound. Having accomplished this achievement, the Spanish pilot imagined, not unnaturally, considering the imperfect state of geographical knowledge, that he had sailed through the fabulous Strait of Anian; and that, instead of being still in the Pacific, as he actually was, he had conducted his vessel into the spacious waters of the Atlantic. This voyage, however, as well as that of Fuentes, rests on an authority which has not ceased to be questioned by the accurate historian.\*

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above are, "Explication de la Carte des nouvelles Découvertes au Nord de la Mer du Sud. Par M. De Lisle, Paris, 1752. Considérations Géographiques et Physiques, &c. Par Philip Basche, Paris, 1753. Nouvelles Cartes des Découvertes de l'Amiral De Fonte, &c. Par De Lisle, Paris, 1753. Observations critiques sur les nouvelles Découvertes de l'Amiral Fuentes. Par Robert de Vaugondy, Paris, 1753.

\* See "Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the

On the 23d June 1786, the French commodore obtained a view of the American coast about the latitude of fifty-nine and a half. A long chain of mountains covered with snow burst upon the sight, among which was the St Elias of Behring, with its summit rising above the clouds. The ridge appeared to be at a very little distance from the ocean, which broke against the cliffs of a table-land apparently three or four hundred yards in height and totally destitute of verdure. Disappointed in his expectation of a suitable anchorage, he bent his course towards the south-east, and on the second July discovered an inlet which appeared to lead to a very commodious bay. A mole of rocks was perceived stretching six or eight hundred yards in length, and leaving a pretty wide opening; "so that nature seemed to have constructed in the remotest part of America a harbour resembling that of Toulon, but on a gigantic scale, adapted to her ampler powers." It extended about twelve miles into the land, having a good bottom with more than ten fathoms of water. To it the discoverer gave the name of "Port des François;" maintaining, with some show of reason, that it had never been entered by any previous navigator. It is situated thirty-three leagues south-west from that of Los Remedios, the extreme boundary of the Spanish voyages; about two hundred and twenty-four from Nootka, and about a hundred from Prince William's Sound. Hence, says the narrator, "it appears to me that if the French government entertained any project of founding a factory on this part of the coast, no nation could have the least pretext for opposing it."

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Mount St.  
Elias.Port des  
Francois.

The Indians, who were no strangers to European traffic—a circumstance which might have shaken the confidence of La Perouse as to the originality of his discovery—presented a variety of skins in return for iron, and exercised their ingenuity as usual in committing

CHAP. XIV. the most shameless depredations. They crept like snakes through the thickest wood, almost without stirring a leaf, and stole valuable effects under the eyes of the sentries. They had even the address to enter in the night a tent where two officers slept, and removed their clothes, which they had used the precaution to put under their pillows, without either awaking the gentlemen themselves, or being perceived by the guard who surrounded the place of their repose.

The head of  
Port des  
Francois.

A party visited the head of this bay, which they described as being perhaps the most extraordinary place in the world. To form an idea of it, the reader must conceive a basin of water, unfathomable in the middle, bordered by peaked mountains of great height covered with snow, and without one blade of grass to decorate this vast heap of rocks, condemned by nature to eternal sterility. Nothing disturbs the dark surface of this salt lake which they encompass but the fall of enormous masses of ice, frequently separated from the different heights, and causing a sound that is re-echoed by the distant caverns. The air is so calm, and the silence so profound, that the human voice can be heard at the distance of half a league; and it was in this recess that they hoped to find a channel by which they might penetrate into the interior of America through connected rivers and lakes. But they soon found the passage terminated by two huge glaciers which stopped all further progress.

Purchase of  
an island.

An island, conveniently situated near Port des Francois, had created in the mind of the captain a strong desire for its acquisition, either with the view to future colonization, or merely to secure an asylum from the impertinent curiosity of the natives. In return for this territory, to which no one among the Indians could prefer any individual right, the chief accepted a few yards of red cloth, with some hatchets, adzes, and nails. The bargain being thus concluded, and the equivalent duty paid, La Perouse took possession of the little spot with the usual formalities; burying at the foot of a rock several bronze medals, which

had been struck before his departure from France, with a bottle containing a memorial recording the claim of his country to this portion of the American coast. CHAP. XIV.

But this harbour was destined to be associated with a melancholy accident,—the loss of two boats employed in sounding, and having on board twenty-one individuals, including officers, all of whom perished. No means could be used to save them, although another pinnace was in sight; and every care which was afterwards employed to discover the bodies on the beach proved unavailing. Nothing remained to the survivors but to raise, as a token of affection and regret, a monument to their unfortunate companions on an island in the middle of the bay, at the foot of which was lodged an account of the painful catastrophe, with the names of the sufferers.\*

The picture given of the country cannot recommend it to any settler who has higher views than mere traffic with the natives for furs and fish. The mountains, formed of granite or slate, present acclivities so steep that even the wild goats cannot climb above five or six hundred yards; and the gullies which separate them were, in the middle of July, immense glaciers, the summits of which could not be seen, while their bases were washed by the sea. At the distance of only a cable's length from the shore, no bottom could be found with a line of a hundred and fifty fathoms. For a land so repulsive, long usage has provided inhabitants differing as widely from civilized nations as their soil differs from our cultivated plains. They seem to possess those wild regions only to extirpate every thing which lives and moves upon them; carrying on against the animals a continual war, and despising the few vegetables which spontaneously spring up around their paths. They are not without arts, but in every thing that softens ferocity of manners, they are yet in their infancy;

\* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xii. p. 176. "A l'entrée du port but peri vingt-un braves marins: qui que vous soyez, mêlez vous larmes aux nôtres."



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Brutality of  
the natives.

while the mode in which they live, excluding every kind of subordination, renders them continually exposed to the impulses of vengeance or of fear. Passionate and ever ready to take offence, their poniards are usually unsheathed against one another. In winter, when the chase cannot be had, they are menaced with the dreadful fate of perishing by hunger; while during the remaining portion of the year they wallow in a gross abundance, accompanied with entire idleness. They seem to occupy on the earth the place which the vulture holds in the air, and the tiger in the forest. Nothing is wanting but the use of intoxicating liquors to ensure the utter extirpation of their race; an evil to which the Russians, who may be regarded as the only European people with whom they could have had any intercourse, did not subject them.

La Perouse spent the greater part of August in examining a portion of the coast, of which the general outline had been marked by Captain Cook, though he did not survey it with his usual minuteness. Dixon, who happened to be in the Northern Pacific at the same period with the French navigator, made discoveries and formed conclusions that coincide remarkably with those which appear in the journal of the latter. The descriptions, indeed, differ in nothing but name; and, in some cases, it is difficult to decide to which of the two commanders the priority belongs. For example, on the 7th day of the month, the Boussole made a group of five islets, separated from the continent by a channel of at least four leagues in width, and mentioned neither by Cook nor Maurelle. These little islands were named by the commodore, "Les isles de la Croyere," in memory of the geographer who sailed with Tschirikow, a Russian officer, and died during the voyage. To the same cluster Dixon applied the epithet "Hazy," by which they are distinguished in some English maps. Both navigators were satisfied that much land which had been regarded by earlier voyagers as part of the continent really belonged to insular groups, the limits of

Coincidences  
between La.  
Perouse and  
Dixon.

which were not determined. The port Buccarelli of Maurelle, and the volcanoes he describes, instead of being situated on the main, must be sought in islands not less than forty leagues from it. "I own," says La Perouse, "that I should not be surprised to learn that we had coasted along nothing but islands since we left Cross Sound." Dixon had, in similar circumstances, arrived at the same opinion. From indications perfectly satisfactory to the mind of a seaman, he concluded that "the land we had been coasting along for near a month must be a group of islands."\*

We follow the adventurers of the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* to Monterey, the chief town of a Spanish settlement in California. A lieutenant-colonel was intrusted with the government of the province, extending in circumference to not less than two thousand four hundred miles, and having about fifty thousand inhabitants, most of whom led a wandering life, according to the vicissitude of the seasons. The military force on which he relied for aid in supporting his authority did not amount to quite three hundred horsemen, who supply garrisons to five small forts, and furnish a detachment to each of the twenty-five missions or parishes into which the colony is divided. The natives are described as being generally of diminutive size, and exhibiting none of that love of independence which characterizes the tribes of the north, to whose arts and activity they are equally strangers. Their colour very nearly approaches that of the negroes whose hair is not woolly; and a great number of them were without beards, either because they are denied by nature, or considered inconvenient, and therefore removed by an artificial process. Their ingenuity in hunting is very remarkable. One of them was seen with a stag's head fastened on his own, walking on all-fours and pretending to graze; and he played this pantomime with such truth, that the sailors, when within thirty yards, would have fired at him if they

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Monterey in California.

The natives around Monterey.

\* La Perouse, vol. i. p. 419. Dixon's Voyage, p. 216.

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had not been forewarned. In this manner they approach a herd of deer within a short distance, and kill them with their arrows.

The Romish missionaries in California

The rule exercised by the missionaries over the converted natives seems to have been neither wise nor humane. In return for the instruction they communicated, the holy fathers demanded constant labour in the field or at their establishments; and the colour of the people, which is that of negroes, their storehouses built of brick, the appearance of the ground on which the grain is trodden out, the cattle and horses, every thing, in short, brought to the recollection of the navigators a plantation in some West India island. The proselytes were collected by the sound of a bell; and it was observed, not without concern, that both men and women were occasionally loaded with irons, or placed in the stocks; the sound of the whip from time to time completing the resemblance which the general outline had suggested. Corporal punishment used to be inflicted on the Indians of both sexes who neglected the exercise of piety; and many sins which in Europe are left to the divine justice, were checked or avenged by the endurance of bodily suffering.

Their treatment of renegade converts.

To a convert the effect of baptism was the same as if he had pronounced a vow for life. If he withdrew from the station to reside with his relations in one of the independent villages, he was summoned three times to return; and if he refused, the missionaries applied to the governor, who sent soldiers to seize him in the midst of his family, and conduct him to a monastery, where he was condemned to receive a certain number of lashes. It was suggested by the civil authorities, that the progress of the faith might be more rapid, and the devotions of the catechumens equally sincere, if they were relieved from some degree of this restraint; but the priests replied that they could not conscientiously administer one of the sacraments to men so inconstant, unless the government would take the place of sponsors, and become bound for their perseverance in the christian

course. Having no confidence either in their intelligence or constancy, they admitted very few of their pupils to the holy communion ; but there was reason to lament that the plan pursued by their instructors was little calculated to remove the ignorance which proved an obstacle to their wishes on a point so important. In all respects, indeed, nothing but a better system was wanting to render the Californias a most valuable acquisition to a European crown ; the soil being uncommonly fertile, the mines at no inconvenient distance, and the fur-trade accessible to merchants at a moderate expense of capital. Events comparatively recent have established the truth of these remarks.

The commercial worth of California.

About the end of September, the French frigates left the American coast, and, bound to Manilla, steered such a course as might afford every chance of discovering new lands. In latitude  $23^{\circ} 34'$  N. and long.  $164^{\circ} 52'$  W. they came in sight of an island of very small dimensions, to which La Perouse gave the name of "Necker ;" and at the distance of twenty-three leagues they encountered a shoal, which had nearly proved fatal to both. On the 2d January 1787, they cast anchor at Macao, whence, after receiving supplies, they were destined to proceed to the eastern shores of China, to examine the maritime borders of Tartary, and to ascertain the position of certain territories belonging to the sovereign of Japan.\*

La Perouse's course to China.

\* When at Macao, the French disposed of their otter skins ; a circumstance to which Dixon alludes (p. 320) in a spirit which has given offence to the countrymen of the unfortunate commander, who maintain that he traded solely for the benefit of his seamen. The offensive remark is as follows :—"The Astrolabe and Boussole, commanded by MM. Perouse and De Langle, sailed from France in 1785. They are said to have traced the north-west coast of America from the Spanish settlement of Monterey to  $60^{\circ}$  north latitude ; but this seems improbable, for though these vessels were professedly fitted out on discovery, yet the commanders did not forget that furs were a valuable article ; and, accordingly, whilst on the American coast, they procured about six hundred sea-otter skins, chiefly in pieces, of a very inferior quality, and evidently the same as those imported by the Spaniards, whereas had these gentlemen been well in with the coast to the northward, they undoubtedly must have met with sea-otter skins of a quality far superior to what they procured."—



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The Pisca-  
dore Islands.

It was not till April that they left the island of Luçon, and when, sailing through the channel of Formosa, they encountered a bank not marked in any chart. The Piscadore Islands attracted the notice of the commodore, who has bequeathed to navigators such a description of them as must prove very useful. His remarks on the Bashee and Loo Choo groups present nothing definite, because he did not land, nor even approach so near the shore as to hold any intercourse with the people, whose fears in every instance seemed to overpower their curiosity. On the 25th May, he passed the Strait of Corea; and in directing his course towards the south-western point of Nippon, he discovered an island which is not found mentioned in the journal of any former seaman. It bears the name of Dagelet, the astronomer of the expedition; is about nine miles in circumference; and, though thinly inhabited, is well covered with trees, whence supplies of timber are conveyed to Corea, which is not more than twenty leagues distant. But La Perouse was less desirous to visit the inhospitable people of Japan, who, while they reject all acquaintance with the rest of the world, wish also to remain unknown, than the Tartars on the western side of the gulf, who are not so hostile to strangers. Their country, besides, was the only part of the globe which had escaped the indefatigable activity of Cook; on which account the French officers were exceedingly impatient to effect a landing, in order that they might associate their names with the knowledge of a distant region, the inhabitants and productions of which were as yet only subjects of conjecture even to the most enlightened individuals in Europe.

The coast  
of Chinese  
Tartary.

The landscape, we are assured, presented the most inviting appearance to the eyes of the sailors as the ships moved along the coast. The freshest spring never exhibited in France such vivid and variegated shades of

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It appears, however, that the skins in question were purchased at Port des François, and were not of very inferior quality; and also that by trading to this extent La Perouse simply fulfilled the instructions put into his hands by command of the king.

green. Every where was the ground carpeted with the same plants which grow in our climates, but more bright and vigorous. At every step were seen roses, lilies, and all the flowers common in our meadows. The summits of the mountains, too, were crowned with pines, and the lower declivities with oaks. On the border of the rivers were willows, birch, and maple; and on the skirts of the forests appeared apple-trees in blossom, with clumps of hazel, the fruit of which was just beginning to set. The astonishment of the strangers could not fail to be increased, when they considered that there is in the neighbourhood a vast empire, overburdened with an excessive population, the rulers of which, whose polity had obtained praise for the wisdom supposed to be manifested in it, dare not extend themselves beyond their wall to seek subsistence from a soil where vegetation requires rather to be checked than promoted.

CHAP. XIV.

—  
The brilliant  
beauty of  
that coast.

La Perouse was now about to achieve the discovery which has associated with his name the highest honour procured to France by the expedition he commanded. The several islands which stretch northward from Japan were, in the year 1787, so imperfectly known to the geographers of Europe, that it still remained doubtful whether Jesso, called by the natives Chika, was not attached to the Asiatic continent; whether, in short, it were not a peninsula, bearing the same relation to Chinese Tartary that Kamtschatka bears to the eastern extremity of the Russian dominions. It therefore became an object of the greatest interest to ascertain whether the strait, which appeared to separate it from the mainland, actually extended to the Sea of Ochotsk, or was merely a gulf running into the interior of the country.

The islands  
which flank  
it.

In his endeavours to solve this question, one of the chief purposes of his voyage, he was gratified on the 12th July with a sight of Sagalien, or Tchoka, in the latitude of 48° 35' north, and landed on it the following day. From the inhabitants, whose descent may perhaps be ascribed to a union of Chinese and Tartars, he learned

## CHAP. XIV.

The strait of  
Sagalien.

The southern  
parts of  
Sagalien.

the important fact, that the strait which divides their country from the continent does not terminate in the coast, but, at a considerable distance northwards, joins the great ocean. To prove the accuracy of this statement, he proceeded as high as the fifty-second degree, and thereby dispelled all doubt as well in regard to the insular character of the land he had just visited, as with respect to the imaginary gulf which was supposed to penetrate the coast of Tartary. He found, indeed, that the strait of Sagalien was not navigable for large vessels, and was even obliged to admit the probability forced upon him by circumstances, that it will soon be so much filled up with mud as to render the island almost a peninsula. This change, it is apprehended, will arise from the great quantity of earth brought down by the Amour, which, rising in an alpine region of Asia, runs through a space of more than fifteen hundred miles, receives numerous streams in its course, and at length falls into the narrowest part of a long channel; a state of things which is known to contribute powerfully to the formation of new land. The soundings, indeed, diminished so rapidly that the captain of the *Boussole* could not venture to sail farther into the strait, though he was extremely desirous to reach the open sea in that direction. It is true he had not surveyed the southern parts of Sagalien, having seen nothing of it in a lower latitude than  $47^{\circ} 49'$ ; but he confesses that he would willingly have left this honour to some future navigator, could he have escaped from the narrows of Japan by pursuing a course along the western margin of the island into the ocean beyond it.

Returning to the south, he continued to run along the coast at the distance of two leagues, when, on the 10th August, he discovered, towards the south-west, a small flat island which formed a channel of about six leagues in width with the shore of Sagalien. Steering his course between these two islands, he soon saw a peak, not less than three thousand feet in height, consisting of a bare rock, and having snow on its summit. Sagalien was

now observed to end in a point; every thing indicated that he was approaching its southern extremity, and that the peak belonged to another island still farther south. To the extreme point just mentioned, which is in lat.  $45^{\circ} 57' N.$ , and long.  $142^{\circ} 34' E.$ , he assigned the name of Cape Crillon. We give the result in his own words, which, to the professional reader, will be more intelligible than any we could substitute. "The Cape," he remarks, "terminates this island, which is one of the longest from north to south on the globe, separated from Tartary by a channel, in the upper portion of which, owing to banks and seaweed, there is no passage for ships, though there still is for canoes. This island is the Oku-Jesso of the Japanese; and their Jesso is the island of Chika, which was abreast of us, separated from that of Sagalien by a channel of twelve leagues, and from Japan by the Strait of Sangaar, which is its boundary towards the south. The chain of the Kuriles lies farther east, and forms with Jesso and Oku-Jesso a second sea communicating with that of Ochotsk, and from which to the coast of Tartary there is no passage except through the strait we have just discovered, or that of Sangaar, after sailing out between the Kuriles. This point in geography, the most important of all that modern navigators have left to their successors to elucidate, cost us much fatigue, and required many precautions, as the survey of those unknown seas was rendered extremely difficult by incessant fogs."\*

The French have been unanimous in the resolution to connect the memory of their favourite navigator with the strait between the northern and southern Jesso, the Tchoka and Chika of the indigenous geographers. This name, says the editor of his voyage, "connected with

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\* Sagalien is known by a variety of names.—Tchoka, Sahalien, Ulahata, Saghalien, Angahata, and Amur. The Chinese call it Ta-han. Subsequent voyagers, it will be found, have thrown doubt on the fact, rather assumed than proved by La Perouse, that the Gulf of Tartary joins the sea of Ochotsk. For the details in the text, see *Voyage round the World*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57.



## CHAP. XIV.

La Perouse's  
Strait.

the globe by his discoveries and misfortunes, is in no danger of falling into oblivion. Obligated, however, in order to prevent confusion, to change the designation of the channel he brought to light, I did not think I could act more conformably to the national opinion than by naming it La Perouse's Strait." It is admitted, at the same time, that this opening was not quite unknown to the framers of maritime charts, though no one had just notions concerning it. A map of Asia, without date and without a name, but which must have been published subsequently to the adventure of the Dutch in the ship *Kastricum*, represents Jesso as separated from Sagalien by a strait in the latitude of  $44^{\circ}$ ; and hence, it is conceded by the writer just quoted, that the channel discovered by La Perouse, conjectured by Father Duhalde, adopted and afterwards abandoned by D'Anville, was by the anonymous author of the chart supposed to have an existence, however doubtfully established.

Kamtschatka.

From the Kurile Isles the two frigates proceeded to the Russian settlement of St Peter and St Paul in the sterile region of Kamtschatka, where the crews were received with the utmost kindness, and whence the officers despatched a variety of communications to France. The voyage of Cook having been so recently performed, and the information supplied by Captain King being at once minute and authentic, it is quite unnecessary to select any notices relative to this country or people from the posthumous pages now before us. We cannot, however, refrain from repeating an observation, which has been confirmed by all who have touched at the remote station where the *Resolution* and the *Boussole* sought supplies for their wearied seamen, that, though the Russians have established a despotic government in those rude climes, it is tempered by principles of mildness and equity which render its inconveniences unfelt.\*

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\* See Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXI. p. 470.—An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe. It is known that among the papers sent by La Perouse from the harbour of Avatsha, was the manuscript of his voyage down to the date at

In his return towards the equator, La Perouse ran about a thousand miles in the parallel of 37° N., hoping to rediscover some of the islands said to have been detected by the Spaniards in former days; but he was not rewarded by any degree of success. On the 21st November, he crossed the line with the view of adding to the discoveries which from time to time had been made in Polynesia, since the various groups which compose it were first visited by Quiros, Mendana, Tasman, and the more early of the English navigators. In the following month, he arrived at Maouna, an island celebrated for its beauty and the fierce character of the inhabitants, and which must for ever bring painful associations to the mind of a Frenchman, on account of the massacre perpetrated upon Captain De Langle and eleven of his followers. The boats of both ships had been sent ashore to procure water, well manned and armed; but the chief officer, dreading no danger, allowed the savages to obtain such an advantage before he had recourse to his weapons, that all his efforts to save his people or his own life proved unavailing. His humanity occasioned his death, and the eminent hazard of more than sixty individuals whom he had under his command, many of whom, besides those who fell, were severely wounded before they could be rescued from the hands of the sanguinary barbarians.

Maouna, it is scarcely necessary to mention, belongs to the cluster to which Bougainville gave the name of the Navigators' Islands; and that, with Oyolava and Pola, it deserves to rank with the finest in the South Sea. From this vicinity, which haunted him with the most depressing recollections, the commodore proceeded to the Friendly Islands, whence, after correcting some mistakes in the charts, and holding a distant communication with the natives, he directed his course to New Holland,

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which he reached Kamtschatka. From New Holland he forwarded to France the continuation of it, describing his course in the Pacific, the massacre at Maouna, and his reception in the English colony.

CHAP. XIV.

Cruise  
through  
Polynesia.

The Navigators' Islands

CHAP. XIV. where, in the month of January 1788, he found himself under the protection of the British flag. All Europeans, he remarks, are countrymen at such a distance from home; and the moment, accordingly, he entered the bay, a midshipman and lieutenant were sent on board his ship, offering, on the part of Captain Hunter, who commanded the *Sirius* frigate, all the services in his power. It is well known that, after his communications from this colony, nothing was ever heard respecting the proceedings or fate of *La Perouse*. On the 7th February, he wrote, stating his intention to proceed to the Friendly Islands, and do every thing enjoined in his instructions relative to the southern part of New Caledonia, the island of Santa Cruz, the land of the *Arsacides*, and the *Louisiade* of *Bougainville*; and endeavour to ascertain whether the latter constitutes a part of New Guinea or is separated from it. "Towards the end of July," says he, "I shall pass between New Guinea and New Holland by another channel than Endeavour Straits, if any exist; and during the month of September and part of October, I shall visit the Gulf of *Carpentaria* and all the coast of New Holland as far as *Van Diemen's Land*, but in such a manner that it may be possible for me to stretch northwards time enough to arrive at the *Isle of France* in the beginning of December."\*

Disappearance of *La Perouse*.

Facts respecting his fate.

As no trace of the wrecks was found, either on the shores of the South Sea or of any of the islands which he proposed to visit, it was concluded that both ships must have been swallowed up in a tempest, involving the loss of every life on board. At a later period, however, certain facts were collected which seemed to warrant the conclusion that the catastrophe must have taken place at one of the islands of the *Queen Charlotte* group, known in England by the name of *Vanisoro*, and in France as the *Isle de Recherche*. To these circumstances we shall afterwards have occasion to revert, when de-

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\* This letter is inserted in the appendix to vol. ii. p. 479 of the *Voyage round the World*.

scribing the efforts made by his countrymen to obtain intelligence respecting the fatal termination of his voyage, the progress of which they had viewed with the greatest interest. CHAP. XIV.

The acquisitions attained by maritime geography, through the medium of Maurelle, Dixon, Portlock, and La Perouse, might be restricted to very narrow bounds, were we to omit the discoveries of the Frenchman on the coast of Tartary and in the Japan Sea. There he examined a part of the world altogether unknown to Europeans; and removed doubts which had perplexed the views of the practical navigator as well as the delineations of the speculative cosmographer, neither of whom knew the precise position of the principal islands which line the eastern borders of Asia. Maurelle, without any reason, has been called the Cook of modern Spain: his details are confused, and lead to no valuable result. The two English captains did throw some light on the north-western parts of America, and thereby rendered the fur trade at once safer and more profitable; but, even according to their own statements, their researches were so limited that they had not acquired the means of determining whether they actually reached the continent, or were merely embayed among successive groups of islands. Nor in this respect was La Perouse more successful; for though he boasts that he examined the coast from Mount Elias down to Nootka Sound, his conclusions are not more satisfactory, and therefore fail to secure the confidence of his reader.

Estimate  
of his  
discoveries  
around  
Japan and  
in South  
Western  
America.



## CHAPTER XV.

*Voyages of D'Entrecasteaux, Marchand, and Vancouver.*

French Government resolve to send two Frigates, *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance*, under D'Entrecasteaux, in search of *La Perouse*—Account of Van Diemen's Land—The Captain surveys New Caledonia—Researches in the Solomon and Admiralty Islands—Touches at New Guinea—Examines the western Coast of New Holland—Proceeds to Friendly Isles—Hostile Spirit of the Inhabitants—Visits New Hebrides—Discovers the Islets of *Beaupré*—Stretches along the Coast of *Louisiade*—His Death, and Command assumed by M. D'Auribeau—Expedition breaks up at Java on political Grounds—Marchand sails in 1790 on a mercantile Speculation—Touches at the *Marquesas*—Discovers some small Islands—He anchors in *Norfolk Sound*—Sails for the *Sandwich Islands*, and returning by the *Cape of Good Hope*, completes a Voyage round the World—*Vancouver* sent out by the British Government to make Inquiries respecting *Nootka Sound*—Supposed Channels of *De Fuca* and *De Fonte*—Discoveries on the Coast of *New Holland*—State of Inhabitants—Geology—He proceeds to *New Zealand*.—Discovers the "Snares"—Island of *Oparo*—The two Ships meet at *Otaheite*—*Vancouver* steers for *New Albion*, and surveys the Coast—Remarks on Channel of *De Fuca*—*Admiralty Inlet*—*Gulf of Georgia*—Arrival at *Nootka*, and diplomatic Difficulties—*Port St Francisco*—*Monterey*—State of Missions—*Columbia River*—*Lieutenant Hergest* and *Dædalus*—His Discoveries—*American Coast* again examined—Quarrel with Natives—*Cook's Inlet*—*Prince William's Sound*—Port Conclusion—Return Home after a Voyage of four Years—Amount of Discoveries—Remarks on the *Sandwich Islands*—Murder of *Hergest*—Concluding Observations.

## CHAP. XV.

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Anxiety  
about *La*  
*Perouse*.

Two years passed in deep anxiety, relieved by occasional gleams of hope, before the French government came to the resolution of sending out ships in search of *La Pe-*

rouse. The voice of sorrow and entreaty first reached the public ear through the Society of Natural History, whose interests were closely connected with the success of his enterprise. Some of the members appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, where, calling to the recollection of the audience that it was not for trifling objects nor for private emolument he had braved all kinds of danger, they demanded from the public, who would have reaped the fruit of his labours, an expression of sympathy, and an effort to save him should he be still alive. He may now, said they, be enduring sufferings more dreadful than the death we apprehend; he may have escaped shipwreck only to sustain the agony of a hope continually reviving to be continually disappointed; perhaps he has been cast on one of the South Sea Islands, where he stretches forth his hands towards his country and vainly expects a deliverer.

The assembly, having listened to the committees of other public bodies, decreed that the king should be requested to give orders to all the ambassadors, residents, and consuls of France in foreign countries, to entreat, in the name of humanity and the sciences, the different sovereigns in whose dominions they were, to enjoin all their navigators, wherever they might be employed, but particularly in the southern latitudes of the Pacific Ocean, to make the most careful search for the Boussole and Astrolabe; to pursue every inquiry which might serve to determine the question whether the officers and crews had perished; and, if La Perouse and his companions should any where be found, to furnish them with the means of returning to their native land. His majesty was further solicited to equip one or more vessels; to place on board men of science, naturalists, and draftsmen; and to confer on the commander the double duty of searching for the chief of the late expedition, and, at the same time, of making such investigations respecting commerce, and the productions of different climates, as might render the voyage advantageous to

CHAP. XV.

Appeal to  
the National  
Assembly  
respecting  
him.

Decree of  
the National  
Assembly  
respecting  
him.

CHAP. XV. navigation, geography, trade, the arts, and all the practical branches of philosophy.\*

D'Entrecasteaux sails to search for him.

Two frigates, *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance*, of sixteen guns and 110 men each, were accordingly fitted out for sea, and placed under the command of Rear-admiral D'Entrecasteaux, who, sailing from Brest on the 29th September 1791, reached the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of the following January. But scarcely had he cast anchor in Table Bay when he received a despatch from the officer to whose care was committed the French squadron then stationed in the Indian Ocean, conveying to him the important information that *La Perouse* had been wrecked on one of the Admiralty Islands. Although the apparent contradictions connected with the intelligence thus forwarded left little ground for hope that he should find his countrymen in any of those isles, he resolved instantly to proceed thither; hereby availing himself of the discretionary power with which the government had intrusted him, to alter the plan of his voyage according as circumstances might seem to favour the accomplishment of its principal object.†

Mistake as to the proper line of search.

The resolution adopted by the rear-admiral on this occasion must appear somewhat surprising, when we call to mind that *La Perouse* in his last letter states distinctly that he should proceed from Botany Bay to the Friendly Islands, and carry into execution his instructions relative to the southern part of New Cale-

\* Voyage round the World by M. De la Pérouse, volume i. p. xxxvii. Introduction. Voyage by M. De la Pérouse, p. xv. Paris, 1834, 8vo.

† The despatch mentioned above contained the deposition of the master of a Dutch merchant vessel, who had been at Batavia when Captain Hunter and the other officers of the *Sirius* frigate, after being wrecked on Norfolk Island, arrived there. He deponed that these Englishmen, when near the Admiralty Islands, had seen some of the natives wearing pieces of the uniform and even the sword-belts of the French marines. Hunter and his friends positively assured the commander of the forces at Cape Town that they had not communicated any such intelligence. D'Entrecasteaux, though still in Table Bay when the officers of the *Sirius* were there, nevertheless considered it his duty to act on the information received from his superior, however little worthy of credit.

donia, the island of Santa Cruz of Mendana, the south coast of the Arsacides of Surville, and the Louisiade of Bougainville, and endeavour to discover whether this last be connected with New Guinea or separated from it. There is no mention made of the Admiralty Islands. But supposing that the information he had obtained was so free from challenge as to justify the path on which he now entered, it must still be difficult to account for his cruising along the eastern coast of Africa, within a few leagues of the shore, instead of pushing towards the south, where only he could expect to find a wind which would carry him to New Holland. After spending twenty days in a lower latitude than that of the Cape, he discovered his error, and saw that it would be impossible for him, on account of the monsoon, to reach Timor, as he had intended. Upon consulting with M. Huon, the captain of the *Espérance*, it was agreed that they should stand to the southward, and shape a course for the island of St Paul or Amsterdam, and from thence round the remoter extremity of Van Diemen's Land. In this manner nearly a month was lost, at a very important period of the season, and the confidence of the crews in the skill of their officers not a little shaken.

Injurious  
delay on the  
east coast of  
Africa.

The first aspect of the island whither they were bound created a feeling of curiosity mixed with fear. The summit was enveloped in clouds which, on a nearer approach, were found to consist of smoke, whence flame was presently observed to issue. This conflagration, on uninhabited land, gave rise to a conjecture that it might be a signal made by some unfortunate persons, who had escaped from shipwreck, to obtain assistance. But it soon became obvious that the mass of fire was too considerable to allow them to suppose that it had been lighted only on the first appearance of the ships, and therefore they passed along without so much as sending a single boat ashore in order to determine the real character of the phenomenon. On the 20th April, they arrived in the Bay of Storms, at the south-eastern point of Van

The island of  
St. Paul.



## CHAP. XV.

The Bay  
of Storm  
in Van  
Diemen's  
Land.

Diemen's Land, on the north side of which the frigates were brought to anchor in a commodious recess, where the water was smooth in the most tempestuous weather, and the shores covered with beautiful trees. The admiral says it would be in vain for him to attempt to describe the emotions with which the first aspect of this solitary retreat inspired the minds of his people, placed as it were in the extremity of the earth, and closed in so completely that they might easily have considered themselves shut out from the rest of the world. Every thing seemed to partake of the wildness of uncultivated nature. On one hand were trees of vast height, without a branch on the lower parts, but having their summits crowned with evergreen foliage: on the other were shrubs so interlaced as to be nearly impenetrable, seeking a support from those aged stems, which were about to fertilize the earth whence they had sprung, by their ruins reduced to a state of corruption. It was remarked that a great number of the largest trees had their trunks hollowed out, apparently by means of fire, and were intended as huts to shelter the natives from the inclemency of the weather. The hollow side invariably faced the east, which is the quarter towards which the strongest winds generally blow.\*

The strait of  
D'Entrecas-  
teaux.

It was during his continuance in this bay that the admiral discovered the passage between Van Diemen's Land and the islands which lie at some distance from its southern shore. To this strait was given the name of the commander, who was not aware that its importance would be diminished by the knowledge of that larger channel which was brought to light by the surgeon Bass. On each side of the opening of D'Entrecasteaux a few natives were occasionally seen, whose appearance indicated that they were still strangers to all the bless-

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\* Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux, envoyé à la Recherche de La Pérouse, publié par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sous le Ministère de S. E. le Vice-Amiral Decrès, Compte de l'Empire. Redigé par M. de Rossel, Ancien Capitaine de Vaisseau. 2 tomes, avec un Atlas, à Paris, 1808, tome i. p. 54-78.

ings of social life. At one place were found some bones, which it was supposed must have belonged to the body of a very young girl. Certain fragments of broiled flesh were attached to these bones; affording some ground for the suspicion which arose in the minds of the navigators that the inhabitants were addicted to cannibalism, more especially as they were discovered at a station where the savages usually cooked their victuals. But the author of the volumes which record this fact does not admit the justness of the conclusion embraced by some of his countrymen. He maintains that a single instance, separated from all other indications of an appetite so unnatural, is not sufficient to justify an inference than which none could be more reproachful to human nature; sinking it below the most ferocious beasts of prey, which, even when most pressed by hunger, spare their own species. He is therefore disposed to conclude that the aborigines of those remote islands are charged with a crime which has no other foundation than the probable practice of consuming by fire the last remains of the human body. Perhaps a more intimate acquaintance with the inhabitants of the South Sea would have shaken his belief in their abstinence from the most revolting of all food. It may indeed be doubtful whether the bones examined by the naturalist were those of a human being or of a kangaroo; but as to the practice, which excited his disgust and thereby supported his incredulity, the more recent annals of Polynesia deprive us of the satisfaction of entertaining any reasonable scepticism.\*

CHAP. XV.

Suspected  
cannibalism.

After spending nearly a month in the luxury of their anchorage, they set sail, and on the 16th June reached the Island of Pines on the southern extremity of New Caledonia. From hence to its northern point they assure us that they examined with minute attention the whole of the western coast, standing in with both frigates close to the reef of coral rock which is

New  
Caledonia

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\* See Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 30.

## CHAP. XV.

The coral  
reef of New  
Caledonia.

said to bind the full extent of the island as it were with an uninterrupted chain, whose edge, rising to the surface of the sea, shows, even in the calmest weather, a rippling line as far as the eye can reach. They assert that this unbroken ledge did not afford such an opening as would allow even the smallest of their boats to reach the shore; and, as they saw neither natives nor canoes, they concluded that it might equally prevent them from coming out, and thus contribute to the peculiar mildness of character which the captain ascribes to the inhabitants on the opposite side. D'Entrecasteaux, however, adds, that being in lat.  $24^{\circ} 4'$  south, they did at length detect a break in the reef; but as, on approaching close to it, he observed the sea dashing with great violence inside, he gave it the name of the Deceitful Haven, and continued his voyage. This was rather an unfortunate appellation, for had he examined it with the attention he ought to have bestowed, he would have found it one of the finest harbours in the world. Captain Kent of the Buffalo, who in 1803 anchored there some time, describes the haven as at once beautiful and extensive. It is formed, he states, by islands, many of them being of considerable size, which are about four miles within the reef that extends, with a few intervals, along the whole of the south-western side, distant off shore from four to eight miles, but considerably farther from the north and south ends, where the land is out of sight to the observer even when on the verge of the coral girdle which invests so large a portion of New Caledonia.

Port St.  
Vincent.

The harbour now described is known to navigators as Port St Vincent, the name given to it by the discoverer, who has laid it down in lat.  $22^{\circ} 0' 10''$  S. and long.  $165^{\circ} 55' 20''$  E. The passage into it is three quarters of a mile in width, the anchorage well sheltered, the water perfectly smooth, and the depth from four to twelve fathoms. During a stay of six weeks, the Buffalo was frequently visited by the natives, who took on board fish, yams, sugar-canes, spears, clubs, and nets, neatly

made ; the whole of which they were happy to exchange for such things as might be offered. Red cloth particularly struck their fancy, and was in great request ; but iron, the commodity most highly prized in the Pacific, as they knew not its use, they showed no inclination to possess. On the whole, they were a superior race of black people, answering the description given by Captain Cook of the inhabitants of Balade, on the north-eastern side of the island.

Leaving New Caledonia, the Recherche and her consort proceeded in the direction of the Solomon Islands, all of which are surrounded with reefs similar to those already described ; some of them, it is stated, being as steep as the wall of a house, and rising in that perpendicular form from an unfathomable depth of water. It is to be regretted that D'Entrecasteaux was not led, either by curiosity or the love of science, to examine into their structure, whence might be derived some knowledge in regard to the operation of the wonderful animalcules whose productions extend thousands of miles, and cover a large expanse in the Pacific Ocean. On the 17th July, the frigates reached New Ireland, where they lay at anchor till the 24th, oppressed with incessant torrents of rain which prevented the officers from making a single observation. Passing through St George's Channel as defined by Carteret, they arrived at Vendola, one of the Admiralty group, which was supposed to be near the spot where, according to the depositions made by the merchantmen, the traces of La Perouse's expedition had been seen. A boat being sent ashore, the natives flocked to the beach in great numbers ; and the air of confidence with which they advanced, as well as their open and pleasing countenances, were highly prepossessing. Many of them had strings of shells round their waists, which the admiral supposes may have been mistaken by the crew of the Dutch vessels for French belts, while the peculiar colour of their skin might have given the idea of a naval uniform. A similar deception, arising from the dominion of fancy over the senses,

CHAP. XV.

The Solomon  
Islands.The Admir-  
alty Islands.



CHAP. XV. had nearly imposed upon himself and the other officers, who thought they perceived, long before they were near enough to see objects distinctly, men covered with red cloth ; while the branches and roots of a tree tumbling about in the breakers on the edge of the reef were at once converted into the wreck of the Boussole and Astrolabe !

Illusion respecting traces of La Perouse.

A short residence satisfied D'Entrecasteaux that La Perouse had not perished among the Admiralty Islands, nor left a single trace of having touched at any of the cluster after his residence at Botany Bay. He therefore directed his course towards the shores of New Guinea, where he dropped anchor on the 17th August. Shortly afterwards, he proceeded to Amboyna, a settlement long occupied by Dutch colonists, whose industry had conferred on it a degree of importance which it could never have derived from its natural qualities. Having repaired his ships and refreshed his crews, he set sail for the western coast of New Holland, which he surveyed with a considerable degree of attention. Doubling Cape Leuwin, he discovered a bay which still bears the name of one of his frigates, the *Espérance* ; and he advanced so far with his face towards the east that a little more perseverance would have secured to him the honour of making known Bass's Strait. The whole line of coast which bounds Australia on the south-west is the most dreary that can be imagined, consisting of small sand-hills, salt-lakes, and stagnant marshes. It still appears in our maps as Nuyt's Land, the name of a Dutch seaman, whose report first rendered it familiar to the ears of cosmographers.\*

The south-west coast of Australia.

In January 1793, the navigators, whose thoughts seem now to have been more sedulously directed to maritime adventure than to the recovery of their lost countrymen, steered once more for Van Diemen's Land, and anchored in the Bay of Storms. On this occasion

\* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, tome xv. p. 92. "C'était partout la même aridité : on ne voyait que des rochers ou des dunes de sable, qui laissaient peu d'espoir de trouver de l'eau."

they enjoyed a less restricted intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be a mild inoffensive people, and not in any degree chargeable with the revolting usages of cannibalism. Each family appeared to live apart in great harmony and affection, being content with the simple food supplied by the sea, such as shell-fish, lobsters, slugs, and similar productions. They refused to taste the victuals presented to them by the sailors, and turned away with aversion from strong drink, whether wine or spirituous liquors. Having not the least desire for trinkets, iron, or red cloth, they had no propensity to thieving. In Adventure Bay, the admiral searched for the fruit-trees which had been planted by Captain Cook, some of which were still in existence, but so weak and languishing as to hold out no hope of their ever bearing fruit: no traces were found of the hogs left there.

CHAP. XV

The natives  
of Van Die-  
man's Land

From Van Diemen's Land the expedition steered a direct course for the Friendly Islands, and on the 23d March touched at Tongataboo. The inhabitants, whose character deceived even the penetration and vigilance of the English navigator, conducted themselves in such a manner as to lead first to disputes and afterwards to actual hostilities. To repress their petulance and rouse their fears, the officers deemed it advisable to make them acquainted with the power of firearms. For this purpose two birds were suspended from the branch of a tree at a little distance, and one of the best marksmen presented himself in full confidence of bringing them down at the first shot, but he missed them twice; a second marine renewed the attempt with still smaller success, for his musket would not go off; and these failures caused peals of laughter to burst forth on every side, especially among the natives who themselves carried arms. One of them drew his bow, and pierced one of the birds; an exploit which was followed by the loudest applause, and contrasted in a manner sufficiently mortifying with the deficient expertness of the Europeans. A third musketeer indeed came forward, and

The inhabi-  
tants of  
Tongataboo

## CHAP. XV.

Insolence of  
the natives.

brought down the second bird ; but the first impression remained, and it was remarked that the confidence of the savages in their own strength was augmented, and their fear of the French weakened in proportion. The insulting air now perceptible among them made D'Entrecasteaux conclude that his means of defence were too weak, and that it would be necessary for one of the frigates, without loss of time, to approach the island, and overawe the people by the appearance of his cannon.\*

It soon appeared that the precautions thus adopted were not unnecessary, for the same night one of his sentinels was knocked down at his post and his musket taken from him. A conflict now appeared inevitable, and the natives seemed willing to try the fortune of war ; but the chiefs, more prudent than their followers, and appreciating at a higher rate the value of a free intercourse with the strangers, carried the culprit on board, whom, at the same time, they pronounced worthy of death. Justice on this occasion was satisfied with a more gentle punishment : the assailant was flogged and dismissed. At a later period a more serious affray took place, attended with the loss of life on the part of the islanders ; but even this misfortune did not materially interrupt the friendly disposition which continued to be professed by the principal inhabitants.†

Recollections  
of Cook.

The people of Tongataboo still cherished the recollection of Cook, especially the family of Fatafé, by whom his memory was regarded with much affection. There was reason to believe, though all classes seemed desirous to conceal the fact, that the horses and cows left by the English were dead or destroyed ; but their pigs were most abundant, and had greatly improved in quality by the introduction of the European species. No token was found at any of the Friendly Islands that the cap-

\* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. p. 150.

† Ibid. p. 169. "Cet événement n'a pas paru troubler la bonne intelligence qui avait alors régné entre les habitans de Tongatabou et nous."

tain of the Boussole had been known to the natives, either in traffic or in war. No trace could be discovered of any thing that had belonged to him; no French manufacture or commodity; neither clothes nor trinkets; and when the admiral showed copies of the medal which La Perouse had carried out with him, the chiefs declared that they had never seen any thing similar. He therefore resolved to leave that archipelago, and, steering towards the north-west, he passed the islands of Tanna, Annatom, and Erromango, three of the New Hebrides, without finding a vestige of ship or crew. At length he came to anchor in the harbour of Balade, on the north-eastern extremity of New Caledonia, where he found the natives to resemble in their persons those of Van Diemen's Land, but to differ from them in their habits, inasmuch as they are exceedingly ferocious and much addicted to stealing. He asserts, besides, that they are undisguised cannibals, and manifest a ravenous avidity for human flesh. On this head, as is well known, intelligent navigators and historians hold different opinions; some of them continuing to deny, even in the face of incontestable facts, that any of the South Sea Islanders are anthropophagi, while others maintain that the propensity, if not the usage, is established upon the clearest evidence. No attentive reader of the latest missionary records can any longer console himself by the persuasion that voyagers have done injustice to the indigenous tribes of the New Hebrides, and especially to the bloodthirsty families who occupy Erromango.

CHAP. XV

The New Hebrides.

It would be injurious to the fame of D'Entrecasteaux not to mention, that on his passage from Tongataboo to New Caledonia he discovered some islets apparently uninhabited, to which he assigned the appellation of "Beaupré," and ascertained their position to be lat.  $20^{\circ} 15' 30''$  S., and long.  $163^{\circ} 50' E.$ \*

The Beau-  
pre isle: a.

\* "Une terre très basse s'offrit à la vue; on vit cette terre entourée de brisans sur lesquels nous eussions donné, sans la précaution de l'officier de quart. Cet écueil dangereux fut reconnu de très près. Il peut avoir de neuf à onze milles de longueur du nord au sud, et



## CHAP. XV.

Affray at the  
New Hebrides.

The natives  
of Louisiade.

Taking leave of a people who had nothing to recommend them, the admiral proceeded in a course due north till he reached Santa Cruz, one of the New Hebrides, having lost M. Huon, his second in command, before he commenced this part of the voyage. After anchoring near the island just named, he had the misfortune to witness a quarrel between his men and the natives, which terminated in the death of one of the latter, who was shot when leading the assault against the strangers. On passing the Solomon group, his ships were attacked by a number of proas, which, both in their construction and ornament, indicated an advanced state of certain of the arts. It is true that the men in them were naked, but their bodies were decorated with plumes, bracelets, and necklaces composed of mother of pearl. He next stretched along the northern coast of the Louisiade, an archipelago discovered by Bougainville in 1768; and after examining the south-eastern side of New Guinea, he passed the Straits of Dampier, having on his left hand the northern verge of New Britain. The natives of the first-mentioned cluster appeared to be more civilized than those of any islands he had recently visited. Not only were they more attentive to dress than the inhabitants of the Solomons or of New Caledonia, but they also used shields as weapons of defence; they had large boats with masts; and they showed a taste for European manufactures, though they were perfectly indifferent to iron. This last circumstance, so rare among uncivilized nations, taken in connexion with the equipment of their vessels and their personal finery, seems to justify the conclusion that they must have found out a substitute for that metal, which, as an aid to mechanical operations, is more valuable than any other.

On the 20th July, the commander of the expedition,

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sept a huit milles de largeur de l'est à l'ouest. Nous vîmes deux petites îles boisées, placées à la partie orientale de ce récif, et une troisième plus grande que les deux autres au milieu; nous les avons nommées *îles Beaupré*."—Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. pp. 189, 190.

whose health had been gradually giving way, sunk under the load of care, and perhaps of disappointment, to which his long voyage had subjected him. It had already been resolved to proceed to Java, with the intention of renewing their stores and checking the progress of disease among the men. M. D'Auribeau, to whom the command now descended, adopted the views of his predecessor, and proceeded to act upon them without delay. In pursuance of this object, he sailed past the Admiralty Islands a second time, and coasting New Guinea, Waijoo, and Boero, he entered the Strait of Booton; and at length, on the 27th October, he anchored at Sourabaya on the shores of Java, the point at which the history of the expedition in search of La Perouse found its termination. It is not meant that the main purpose of the voyage was attained, or that the means of discovery were exhausted, for in neither point had the ends accomplished corresponded to the magnitude of preparation, and to the hopes connected with the high character of those to whose hands the enterprise was confided. But on the arrival of the frigates at the Dutch settlement, the officers had the mortification to learn that their native country was desolated by the sanguinary proceedings of the revolutionists; that the king had been beheaded; and that a war had begun with England, in which Holland also was involved. Having no government to acknowledge, they determined to leave every individual to take the side to which his principles or inclination might lead him. The ships were dismantled; the engagement of the crews was declared to be at an end; two parties were formed, one espousing the cause of the royalists, the other that of the republicans; and as D'Auribeau died almost immediately after landing, the keeping of the journals, charts, and astronomical observations was intrusted to M. Rossel, now become senior officer. The greater number obtained a passage to Europe in certain Dutch Indiamen, then about to sail; several of which were taken by English cruisers, including those on

CHAP. XV.

D'Entrecasteaux and  
D'Auribeau.Breaking up  
of the expedition.

CHAP. XV. board of which were the journals, naturalists, their whole collection of specimens, and all the materials of their history, nautical and scientific. Copies, however, were supplied to Rossel as soon as he was permitted to return home; a privilege which, as being a royalist, was not conceded to him till after the accession of Napoleon, under whose auspices the voyage was published in the year 1808.\*

Estimate of  
D'Entrecas-  
teaux's re-  
searches.

The editor observes, that we must not expect to find in the narrative of D'Entrecasteaux's expedition any important discoveries, such as those of the ancient navigators who made us acquainted with countries of vast extent, or with new channels to reach those previously known. All the great masses of land were already brought to light, and hence nothing remained for him but the task of visiting with more minute attention the various coasts of which a knowledge had formerly reached Europe. As a proof of his unremitting care and the success which followed it, the reader is referred to the detailed description given of the southern shore of Van Diemen's Land, and the discovery of the strait which separates it from the contiguous islands. It is maintained, in short, that his labours were deserving of all praise; though it has been asserted on another authority more worthy of reliance, that even his own journal furnishes incontestable proofs of inaction and a total absence of curiosity. Satisfied with idle conjectures founded on the reports of his officers, he seldom gave himself the trouble of setting his foot on shore. The reader has seen his want of skill on leaving the Cape of

His indo-  
lence.

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\* The plans and papers drawn by M. Beautemps Beaupré, hydrographer-in-chief, were among those captured on board the "Espérance," and placed with the others in the hands of the Admiralty; and though they were all put into the possession of M. Rossel, "comme l'officier le plus ancien de l'expédition"—it is said that the English board "sans doute a pu faire usage des reseignmens qu'elle en a tirés, lorsqu'en 1797 et 1798 elle a envoyé reconnaître les découvertes faites à la terre de Van Diemen." The editor afterwards confessed that he had fallen into error, as no such expedition as he describes sailed from England in either of those years.—Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. pp. 6, 7.

Good Hope ; his vague speculations at the island of St Paul ; his lack of perseverance on the south coast of New Holland, which lost him the merit of discovering Bass's Strait ; and his mistaken views as to the natives of Tasmania, whom he loads with the imputation of cannibalism. He is chargeable, besides, with a serious neglect in delaying so long to visit the Friendly Isles, to which La Perouse had distinctly stated his intention of proceeding upon leaving Botany Bay. He did not arrive at them till the 23d March 1793, though they are within a month's sail of Van Diemen's Land, which he left in May the foregoing year. Nay in June 1792, when at New Caledonia, he passed the Friendly Islands, though not distant from them more than a run of eight days, with the wind at south-west, the most favourable point from which it could blow. Thus nearly twelve months were lost in arriving at the group to which, by his instructions, he was directed to go without delay, and where intelligence was most likely to be received. His unfortunate countrymen and all his companions might, for aught he knew to the contrary, have fallen into the hands of savages, and be anxiously expecting their release, while he was circumnavigating New Holland ; studying the political relations of Amboyna ; or composing memoirs on the population, commerce, and religion of the great Indian archipelago.\*

CHAP. XV.  
—  
His mistakes.

Postponing all further notice relative to the captain of the Boussole and his followers till we arrive at the era of Dumont D'Urville, we proceed to give some account of the labours of Captain Etienne Marchand, who began a voyage round the world in the year 1790. This officer, on returning from a mercantile speculation to Bengal, made known to his countrymen in the south of France the lucrative trade in furs which the English were carrying on between Asia and the north-western coast of America. Influenced by the hope of sharing in these advantages, a commercial establishment at Mar-

Voyage of Marchand.

\* Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 41.



CHAP. XV. seilles freighted a ship of three hundred tons, the charge of which they committed to the gentleman who had conveyed to them intelligence so important, placing under his command a crew of fifty men, and two lieutenants whose names were Masse and Chenal. The vessel was called "Le Solide," because it was constructed on a principle combining such a degree of strength and power of resistance, as to protect all on board against the effect of those accidents which are inseparable from an enterprise of similar duration.

Marchand  
sails from  
Marselles.

Marchand sailed from the port of Marselles on the 14th December 1790, and in the month of April next year he passed the meridian of Cape Horn. Upon entering the Pacific, his attention was chiefly occupied by the strange fishes and birds which presented themselves to his view. One of the latter gave rise to much profound speculation on the part of M. Roblet the surgeon and the sub-captain Chenal, who found some difficulty in reconciling the taste of its flesh to the qualities of its food. In short, says the historian of the voyage, this bird presents a kind of problem which our navigators have not sought to resolve; but not knowing that any voyager had ever designed it under any other name than that of the "white bird," they used the privilege always claimed by discoverers, and called it the antarctic pigeon.

Proposed run  
of 4000  
leagues.

It had been the intention of the captain to proceed at once from the Cape de Verd Islands to the north-western coast of America, and without touching at any port on either side of the continent. The health of his crew it is admitted, was so little impaired either by fatigue or change of food, that no obstacle on this head presented itself to defeat the design of accomplishing a voyage of four thousand leagues without entering a harbour, whether for intelligence or supplies. This project is said to have had a seducing aspect in the eyes of the ship's company, because it put in their power the merit of overcoming a difficulty,—a triumph which seamen are always willing to remember. But the love of fame on

their part, and the desire of economy entertained by their employers, were at length compelled to yield to the necessity of obtaining a supply of fresh water; and with this view, about the middle of May, he directed his course towards the Marquesas.

The group now mentioned, it is well known, was discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited in 1773 by Cook, to whose account of the inhabitants and productions nothing material has since been added. Marchand found the people very little changed, and in no respect improved by their intercourse with Europeans. They displayed the same desire for glittering toys, the same propensity to thieving, and the same undisguised licentiousness which had marked their character in former days. It did not escape their penetration that the *Solide* was not equipped as a ship of war, and therefore was less an object of terror. A gun was indeed fired over their heads, but it created no feeling of alarm. On the contrary, the audacity of the warriors seemed to be thereby increased; they darted their lances against the side of the vessel, threw missiles on board, and even snatched a musket from the hands of a man who was appointed to guard the boats. A similar violence was inflicted upon the captain himself during a short excursion into the neighbouring woods; and when attempting to pursue the robber, his attention was immediately attracted to the danger of his own servant, who had been thrown down and plundered by a number of the natives, whose cupidity had been excited by the appearance of a box which he carried under his arm. But the savages, though covetous, were not vindictive. A blunderbuss in the hand of one of the watering-party accidentally went off and wounded a man; a circumstance which caused some fear among his tribe, but no revenge. The surgeon, upon going ashore to dress it, found the limb so skilfully bandaged as to produce in his mind no small degree of astonishment; and a few presents distributed among the relatives removed every unkind impression to which this unfortunate incident had given rise.

The Mar-  
quesas  
Islands.

Character of  
the natives.

## CHAP. XV.

The Island  
of Santa  
Christina.

Taowatte, sometimes called Santa Christina, the only island in the cluster of which any knowledge was acquired, is about twenty-three miles in circumference, and appears to be entirely volcanic. The soil is in general barren, and its productions are consequently less abundant than those of Otaheite or the other members of the Society group; but the inhabitants are described as the finest race in the South Sea in respect to personal attributes. The men, who are tall and well formed, have broad shoulders and expanded chests; and their activity, whether on land or in water, is very remarkable. The colour of their skin is a light brown; their hair, which has no resemblance to that of the negro, varies from flaxen to auburn and black; the countenance is open and frank, the nose aquiline, the eyes large and expressive, and the teeth white and regularly set. The women are said to be beautiful, and not inattentive to their appearance, being less tattooed than the other sex, and not more encumbered with ornament. The weapons in most common use are lances, pikes, javelins, clubs, and even a kind of sabre; their hatchets are composed of a hard species of stone; and their cloth is made from the bark of the mulberry tree.\*

The Revolution  
Islands.

Leaving the anchorage of Taowatte on the 20th June, Marchand discovered in the north-western quarter some elevated land, upon which the officers, imagining that it had not attracted the notice of any former navigator, bestowed the name of their leader; an honour it did not long possess. Appearances of other islands were distinguished, one of which, though he could not reach it, he nevertheless called Baux, in compliment to his employers, certain merchants at Marseilles. A couple, not much elevated above the surface of the water, were named the Two Brothers; in addition to which may

\* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, tome xv. p. 392. Speaking of the colour of the natives, the author states—"Il en a remarqué dont la couleur se rapproche des Indiens Malabares; mais plusieurs différent à peine des Européens de la classe du peuple, et seulement leur peau est un peu tannée.—Les femmes, quoique portant en apparence plus de vêtements que les hommes, ne sont guères plus vêtues."

be specified the Plate Island, the Obelisk Point, the Peak Rock, and the Bay of Welcome. The whole of these scattered spots were denominated, with reference to the events which had recently taken place in France, the Revolution Islands; and these, we are assured, occupy one degree and forty-two minutes in latitude, though only forty-four minutes in longitude.

The historian of this voyage finds fault with Captain Cook for substituting the name "Resolution Bay" in place of the title of *Madre de Dios*, given to the port by Mendana. He maintains that our countryman not only knew but proclaimed the identity of the two bays; but not being able to escape the influence of the national genius, and wishing that the Marquesas should in some form bear the seal of England, he suppressed the appellation the harbour had received from the original discoverer, and which it had borne during the long period of two centuries, in order that he might introduce the name of his own ship. He is unwilling to suspect that Cook had resolved to make reprisals upon the Spaniards, who imposed without remorse the titles of their saints on places which the heretics discovered; and he admits that in restoring their own names to isles, capes, and bays, he proved in many cases his respect for their ancient denominations. There is no one who will not assent to the truth of the remark with which the French author concludes his observations on this head; namely, that however much it may gratify self-love to associate, by means of a new term, one's own memory with certain places long before discovered by others, it is a practice which cannot fail to introduce into the nomenclature of geography a degree of confusion that must sometimes embarrass navigators, and even open the door to a multitude of anachronisms. These attempts will in the end prove fruitless; for sooner or later history will avenge herself on such substitutions, and restore to each locality the name it ought to bear, and the discovery to him who made it. But even this justice, however vigilant and impartial it may prove, will not, we fear, place M. Mar-

Resolution  
Bay.

Changing of  
geographical  
names.



CHAP. XV.

chand high on the roll of those distinguished seamen who have added to the boundaries of the world, and extended our acquaintance with the physical history of the human race.

Pitt Island  
in Norfolk  
Sound.

About the 7th August, the *Solide* was anchored near Pitt Island in Norfolk Sound, called by the natives Tchinkitané. In the traffic which ensued, the Indians showed that they were not ignorant of the value now set by Europeans on the commodities peculiar to those desert shores. They displayed their articles to the best advantage, and examined with the greatest care such as were offered to them in return. Woollen cloths of English manufacture were in the highest request; many of the people being entirely clothed with them, in preference to the furs now so much prized by the most civilized nations of the earth. The sea-otter, for the skin of which the Chinese give an exorbitant price, is about three feet in length; the hair is exceedingly beautiful, and a good specimen has been known to sell at Canton for nearly a hundred dollars.

The natives  
of Pitt  
Island.

The French had no opportunity of learning more in regard to the opinions and usages of the Americans than is to be found in the volumes of Cook, Dixon, and La Perouse. The dwellers on Pitt Island were rather short in stature, having small deeply sunk eyes, snubbed noses, high cheek-bones, and a brown colour varying from a light to a very dark tint. They treat their women with attention, never exposing them to the painful labour to which females on other parts of the coast are commonly subjected. But the climate and aspect of the country itself presented the same repulsive qualities which impressed so deeply the imagination of former navigators. The bay is nearly encompassed with mountains, the summits of which are covered with perennial snow, and the lower slopes with a wild species of wood neither used nor tended. The cove in which the ship lay was in lat.  $57^{\circ} 4' N.$ , and in long.  $137^{\circ} 59' W.$

Finding little encouragement in the way of barter among a people who had learned all the artifices of

commerce without its honour, Marchand proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Islands, where to his great mortification he learned that a vessel had been recently on the coast which carried off nearly all the skins. The few that remained unsold seemed reserved for Englishmen, whose terms of dealing the native merchants insinuated were more liberal, or whose goods were more suitable to their market. After some attempts equally fruitless on other parts of the American shore, the captain set sail for the Sandwich Islands, on his way to China; whence, having disposed of his furs at a very low price, he directed his course to the Isle of France, the Cape of Good Hope, St Helena, and Toulon, thereby accomplishing a voyage round the world in the short period of twenty months. To the mercantile speculators at Marseilles the trip was an unfortunate one, being attended with a heavy loss; and the chief officer, little gratified by the reception he met with at home, returned forthwith to the Mauritius, in possession of his journal and other papers. It appears, however, that Chenal, the second in command, kept a formal record of all proceedings on board, more especially such as respected the main incidents of the voyage, the discoveries supposed to have been made in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, and the astronomical observations which form the basis of nautical science. When it was resolved to publish, the literary part of the work was committed to the charge of Fleurieu, whose attention had been much directed to maritime subjects. The reader must have observed that the only interesting portion of the narrative is confined to the description of the islands and other prominent points, which, during a rather hazy state of the weather, seemed to present themselves to the eye of the captain when he left Santa Christina, with his face towards the north.\*

The voyage of Vancouver, of which we are now to present an outline, had its origin in a misunderstanding which took place in the year 1790 between Great

CHAP. XV

Marchand's  
homeward  
course.The voyage  
of Van-  
couver.

\* The Voyage of Marchand was published at Paris in 1794, and afterwards in England in two volumes quarto.

CHAP. XV. Britain and Spain relative to Nootka Sound. The two governments were on the point of declaring war against each other, nearly on the same principle which gave so much importance to the dispute touching the Falkland Islands, about twenty years before. On either side a feeling prevailed that national honour was implicated; and in this country especially, the public voice would have loudly declared against any compromise which might seem to have even the remotest connexion with the fear of consequences, should an appeal be made to arms. But wisdom at length prevailed, and claims, which might have involved the whole of Europe in a sanguinary struggle, were adjusted by the balancing power of a little negotiation. It nevertheless seemed expedient to the English cabinet to send out an officer to secure possession of the settlement, and also to determine, if possible, the geographical question respecting the existence of a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.\*

The object of Vancouver's voyage.

Instructions respecting the north-west coast of America.

For the purposes now mentioned Captain Vancouver was selected; and his instructions were, after accomplishing the mission at Nootka Sound, to examine that part of the coast occupied by the chain of islands discovered by the several vessels engaged in the fur-trade, and "to ascertain with the greatest exactitude, the nature and extent of every communication by water which might seem to tend to facilitate commercial relations between the north-west coast and the countries on the east of the continent inhabited by British subjects or claimed by Great Britain; and in particular, to

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\* Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, &c., performed in the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham, under the command of Captain George Vancouver, 3 vols 4to, London, 1798. In the Introduction it is mentioned that the Spaniards had committed depredations on different branches of the British commerce on the north-west coast of America, and that they had seized on the English vessels and factories in Nootka Sound. It was therefore deemed expedient that an officer should be sent to obtain, in form, a restitution of the territories of which the Spaniards had taken possession.

search for the strait of John de Fuca, and to examine if Cook's River have not its source in some of the lakes frequented by the Canadian traders, or by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The question to which allusion is made in the latter part of these instructions was revived by the discoveries of Dixon and other adventurers on the western coast of North America. Once more the archipelago of St Lazarus was called into existence, as well on their authority as on that of the famous Admiral de Fonte and of Mr Shapely, a skipper from the United States, who was said to have sailed through a mediterranean sea, where he actually met the Spanish navigator just named. The channel of De Fuca, an opening not less imaginary, was also referred to by those who made bold to condemn the haste of Captain Cook, and to rank him among the *pursuers of peltry*, solely because he held the opinion, in which a minute examination of the coast strengthened his conviction, that there exists not a channel in a lower parallel than sixty degrees, through which a communication could take place between the Pacific Ocean and any part of the northern Atlantic.

Confused ideas respecting north-western America.

Besides the usual instructions issued on such occasions, the captain received a copy of an order addressed by the Spanish minister to the governor of Port St Lawrence, directing the latter to put into the hands of his Britannic Majesty's officer full possession of the "buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of that sovereign in April 1789, as well in the port of Nootka as in the other said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues distant from the former to the southward."

The Discovery, to the command of which Vancouver was appointed, was a vessel of about three hundred and fifty tons burden, carrying ten guns of various sizes, and a hundred and thirty men including officers. The Chatham, described as an armed tender, mounted ten small cannon, and had on board forty-five seamen; the charge of her being intrusted to Lieutenant Broughton,

Vancouver's ships.



CHAP. XV. whose character amply justified the selection. After repeated delays, the two ships left England in the beginning of April 1791. On the 10th July, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where the necessity of making some repairs detained them more than a month. Bearing towards the coast of New Holland, they pursued an unfrequented tract, between those which had been adopted by Dampier and Marian. On the 27th September, they made land, and in latitude  $35^{\circ} 3' S.$ , and in longitude  $160^{\circ} 35' 30'' E.$ , passed a lofty promontory, to which was given the name of Cape Chatham, in honour of the earl who at that period presided at the Admiralty. Other points successively presented themselves, and were distinguished by the descriptive terms of Baldhead, Breaksea Island, Michaelmas, and Seal Island. Want of fuel induced some of the officers to go ashore, and there they found the most miserable human habitation that ever their eyes beheld. The shape of the dwelling was that of a beehive, vertically divided into two equal parts, one of which formed the hut, in height about three feet, and in diameter about four and a half. It was not, however, constructed without some degree of uniformity, with slight twigs of no greater substance than those used for making bakers' baskets, which were again covered with the bark of trees and small green boughs.

Appearance  
of the  
country.

Nor did the aspect of the country exhibit any thing more inviting. The shore consisted either of naked rocks or of white barren sand; beyond which dreary boundary the surface of the ground seemed covered with a sickly herbage, diversified by a few dwarf trees and stunted shrubs. But the interior presented a far more fertile and pleasing appearance. In the centre of the harbour was an island adorned with the most beautiful grass; and instead of the sterile cliffs which compose the borders of the sound, the distant hills delighted the eye with the view of luxuriant forests and other tokens of a generous soil. It was therefore resolved to take possession of the country in the name of the king,

and to honour the port just discovered by the titles of George the Third and of his eldest daughter the Princess Royal. Near the sound was observed a small stream of excellent water; and on tracing its meanders through a copse, the captain found himself in a deserted village, consisting of about two dozen miserable huts, chiefly of the same construction and materials as that already described. This spot had probably been the residence of a considerable tribe; and the form as well as arrangement of the dwellings, mean as they were, justified the conclusion that the inhabitants were not altogether unacquainted with the distinctions of rank.

CHAP. XV

King  
George's  
Sound.

Besides the little station now mentioned, and which was visited by Vancouver himself, Mr Broughton discovered one at the distance of two miles. It was of the same magnitude, but appeared of much later date, as the huts were comparatively new, and must have been recently occupied. The choice of situation might have excited some surprise, had it not occurred to the recollection of the Englishman that a swamp is convenient to those who are unwilling to put themselves to the fatigue of carrying water from a great distance. It is remarked that the larger trees in the vicinity of both villages had been hollowed out by means of fire, so as to afford to the people that shelter which, during inclement weather, they have no other means of obtaining. No species of furniture or utensil was seen in any of the houses; and the only articles which seemed to have attracted a little ingenuity and labour were some pieces of stick in the form of a spear. The bark was stripped off, and the thicker end, after having been exposed some time to the action of flame, had been scraped into a point capable of inflicting a wound by stabbing. On one of the weapons the marks of blood were still perceptible. Fire, indeed, appears to be their principal instrument, whether for clearing their lands, destroying wild beasts, securing food, or pursuing their simple manufactures. This is an expedient to which recourse is frequently made by rude nations, who know the

Houses and  
implements  
of the na-  
tives.

## CHAP. XV.

Periodical  
burnings of  
the forest.

power of the element they employ, but understand not how to direct its operations. When the forest is set on fire in a dry season, the ravages produced cannot fail to be very extensive; and the navigators remark accordingly that, during their excursions on shore, they did not see a spot, even under the rudest cultivation, which had not been previously scorched by those periodical burnings. Where the country was well wooded, the loftiest trees had the topmost branches consumed, yet none of the trunks seemed totally destroyed by it; but even in places where the luxuriance of the soil had obliterated its effects among the more hardy shrubs, the ground was perceived to be strewed over with the remains of stumps which could not resist the force of the conflagration.

The climate on the south-western shores of New Holland was pronounced extremely favourable, so far as any judgment could be formed from the short residence to which the captain found it convenient to restrict himself. Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the time of year answering to the beginning of April in the northern hemisphere, stood at fifty-three degrees, and it afterwards rose as high as sixty-four. The health of the crews bore testimony to the salubrity of the atmosphere; while the heat was sufficiently great to bring to maturity all the productions necessary to a comfortable subsistence, as well as those which contribute to the luxuries of life in a more advanced condition of society.

Rocks and  
soil of south  
western  
Australia.

With reference to its geological qualities, the appearance of the country along the coast is said to resemble in most respects that of Africa near the Cape of Good Hope. The surface seemed to be chiefly composed of sand mixed with decayed vegetables, varying exceedingly in point of richness, but on the whole superior to that of the other colony. The principal rock partakes much of the nature of coral; and it would seem, says Vancouver, that its elevation above the ocean is of modern date, both because the bank which extends along shore is, generally speaking, formed of that ingredient,

and also because it is found on the highest hills, especially on the summit of Baldhead, which is sufficiently raised above the level of the sea to be distinctly seen at the distance of fourteen leagues. Here the coral was entirely in its original state, particularly in one level spot comprehending about eight acres, which produced not the slightest degree of herbage on the white sand that occupied the whole of this space. The branches of coral protruded through the surface, and were seen standing exactly like those which are beneath the waves in all parts of the tropical ocean, with ramifications of different sizes, some not half an inch, others four or five inches in circumference. In these elevated masses and fields of coralline substance, sea-shells were observed in great abundance; some nearly in a perfect state still adhering to the original rock on which they had grown, and others in different stages of decay. The coral was friable in various degrees, the extremities of the branches being easily reduced to powder, while those which were close to the surface, or under it, required some force to separate them from the base whence they appeared to spring.

In examining the south-western coast of Australia, Vancouver preceded D'Entrecasteaux, but did not advance quite so far to the eastward, nor make himself acquainted with the cluster of islands which bear the name of the Recherche. Being not less ignorant than the French navigator respecting the channel which divides New Holland from Van Diemen's Land, he directed his course in nearly a straight line from King George's Sound to Dusky Bay in New Zealand, passing at some distance southward the former island. Although the captain of the Discovery had been on this coast with Cook in the year 1773, he found it necessary to survey the shores with some attention, more especially the approach to Facile Harbour, and the whole northern bosom of the bay, which the great English seaman could not thoroughly investigate. The pains bestowed by the officers of both ships on the present occasion were rewarded by

CHAP. XV.

The coral of  
Baldhead.Course  
round Van  
Diemen's  
Land.



CHAP. XV. some discoveries which, though not of much importance in themselves, must be highly valued by the numerous merchantmen who every season frequent that stormy sea, when trading between our rising colonies in the Southern Pacific. The harbours in Dusky Bay were described by Captain Cook himself as "numerous, safe, and convenient;" and it was now ascertained that while refreshments can be had in abundance, the climate is extremely salubrious. It is not concealed that the higher latitudes of New Zealand are exposed to occasional bursts of tempestuous weather, and that the north wind sometimes blows with incredible fury. Such gales, too, even when summer has made a considerable advance, are followed by falls of snow, which cover the surrounding mountains down to the edge of the valleys. Vancouver and his followers witnessed a storm of this nature in 1791; and in reference to it he remarks that, though it was his fifth visit to the southern island, he had never before to contend with so violent a tempest. But it occurred to him that, if such showers of snow happened frequently, vegetation must be severely checked, and that the productions of the soil would not be found to flourish, as they certainly do, in a most luxuriant manner. A few days' fine weather soon removed the greater part of the snow; and that which remained on the high, distant, barren mountains, which for some days had been entirely free from clouds, was observed to be greatly diminished.\*

Dusky Bay  
in New Zealand.

Summer  
snow in New  
Zealand.

From New Zealand the expedition, whose ultimate object was the coast of north-western America, set sail for Otaheite, the two commanders having agreed, in case of separation, to meet in Matavai Bay. On the 24th November, much to the astonishment of every one on board the *Discovery*, land was seen in a south-easterly direction, and, when approaching nearer to it, they

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\* Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean and round the World, &c. vol. i. p. 67. It was the month of November when Vancouver was in Dusky Bay; a season of the year which in the southern hemisphere corresponds, it is well known, to June in the northern.

observed the waves breaking on its shores with great violence. At length it was ascertained to consist of seven rocky islands, extending to about six miles from north-east to south-west. It was at first matter of surprise that they had escaped the watchful eye of Captain Cook, but, upon examining his charts, it was found that he had not at any time passed within ten leagues of them. The discoverer named them the "Snares," because, both from their situation and the sort of weather likely to be experienced in their vicinity, they can hardly fail to draw unguarded mariners into great difficulties.

CHAP. XV.

The Snares  
Islands.

On the 22d of December, when on his progress towards the north, Vancouver again perceived land where it was not expected, having the appearance of three small islands; one of which greatly resembled a ship under sail. Being considerably distant from the track of former navigators, some curiosity was excited as to its name, inhabitants, and geological properties; and accordingly, though at the expense of a little delay, he resolved to approach the group. Several canoes were noticed advancing from a cove, filled with natives, who invited the strangers to go nearer the coast, with the view, it might be, of establishing a more friendly intercourse, or perhaps of enriching themselves with plunder. At length one of them was induced to go on board the Discovery, who no sooner found himself on deck than he trembled as if under the deepest apprehension: fear, astonishment, and admiration seized his mind at the same moment; and though on receiving some presents his countenance became more serene and cheerful, he still appeared to suffer from intense anxiety. His reception, however, as well as the gifts lavished upon him by the foreigners, encouraged several others to mount the sides of the ship; and the crew had soon as many visitors as it was convenient to entertain. They all seemed perfectly acquainted with the uses to which they could apply iron, and how to estimate its comparative value, both according to their own scale of prices

The Austral  
Islands.Visit from  
the natives.

CHAP. XV. and that of Europeans. Two or three remained on board nearly an hour; but so unfixed and unsteady was their attention, that it was impossible to obtain any intelligence either respecting themselves or the group to which their families belonged. At length, indeed, it was gathered from their replies that the name of their island was Oparo, the chief of which, whose authority they all seemed to acknowledge, was called Korie. In short, it is one of the Austral cluster, now rendered familiar by the visits of more recent voyagers, as well as by the investigations of the several orders of missionaries, who have introduced among the natives the seeds of useful knowledge and of the true faith.

Romantic  
surface of  
Oparo Island

Oparo, when viewed from the sea, exhibited the aspect of a great mass of rocks rising to a considerable height, and forming in several places most romantic pinnacles with perpendicular cliffs from their summits to the beach. The vacancies between the mountains resembled chasms rather than valleys, crowded with shrubs, but without any appearance of cultivation. Neither the plantain nor any other of those spontaneous productions common to the inhabited islands of the Pacific presented themselves. The arts which minister to comfort and improvement seemed indeed every where unknown; while the genius of the savage appeared to have exhausted its powers in fabricating bows, spears, and canoes, or in constructing houses of defence against the inroad of an enemy. On the highest hills there were fortified places resembling redoubts, having in the centre of each a small barrack, with rows of pallasades down the sides of the declivity, planted nearly at equal distances. These, which were obviously intended for advanced works, were capable, in the hands of a few resolute warriors, of defending the citadel against a numerous host of assailants. On all of them persons were seen walking about like sentinels, as if employed on a constant and regulated duty; an arrangement so far superior to the usual habits of military life among a rude people, as to excite some degree of scepticism in

Rude mili-  
tary works.

regard to the strict accuracy of the details with which CHAP. XV  
the navigator supplies us.

The Chatham, which had separated from the Discovery soon after their departure from New Zealand, discovered a small group, the principal islet of which continues to bear her name. They are situated in latitude  $44^{\circ}$  S., and longitude  $176^{\circ}$  W. About the end of December, the two ships met at Otaheite, when Van- Tahiti.  
couver had the mortification to find that most of the friends whom he had left there in 1777 were dead. Otoo, now called Pomare, had retired to Eimeo, leaving his eldest son in the larger island, possessed of the sovereign power as well as the royal name. The young monarch, whose age did not exceed ten years, consented to meet the strangers, having arrived on the shoulders of a man, whose duty it was to carry him, in order to prevent the inconvenience which arises from the contact of his sacred feet with any property not already devoted to the use of the reigning prince. Etiquette requires that until the introduction shall have been completed, the King of the Society Isles must assume a cool, indifferent, nay, a stern expression of countenance; and the boy performed this part of the ceremony with great command of feature. But no sooner was the ratification of mutual friendship completed than his looks became cheerful, and he received the English deputation with the utmost cordiality. Each of them was presented with a quantity of cloth, a large hog, and some vegetables; the natives meanwhile manifesting an instant compliance with all their wishes, and the utmost eagerness to perform every little office of civility.

On the 2d January 1792, Pomare arrived from King  
Pomara.  
Eimeo; and going on board the Discovery, he showed a perfect recollection of the commander, indicating, at the same time, the sincerest happiness at their meeting. "He frequently observed," says the latter, "that I had grown very much, and looked very old since last we had parted." Among the chiefs who visited the English crews, was Poero of Matavai, who brought with him a



CHAP. XV.

Portrait of  
Cook.

portrait of Captain Cook, drawn by Mr Webber in the year 1777. This picture is always exhibited in the house of the governor of that district, and is become the public register. On the back of it was written that the Pandora had left this island on the eighth day of May 1791. It is known to every reader that Captain Edwards, in the vessel just named, had sailed from England a few months before Vancouver, in search of the mutineers who had risen against Lieutenant Bligh of the Bounty, and finding thirteen of the unfortunate criminals at Otaheite, he carried them home for trial. It is somewhat singular that this fact should have been recorded on the same paper which represented the likeness of the renowned seaman who first conveyed to the civilized world an intimate acquaintance with this interesting archipelago.

The historian of this voyage mentions an incident, without seeming to be aware of its importance, though closely connected with the superstitions of the South Sea. When a number of the royal family honoured the captains with their company at dinner, the wives or Pomare and Mahow were permitted to sit at table, and partake of the repast. It is added, indeed, that this indulgence is by no means common, and granted perhaps to no other women on the island. But we know that at a later period, such a freedom would have disturbed the equanimity of all the priests in the Society group, and led, it is probable, to a general insurrection. The aged chief, it is true, was not very rigid either in his opinions or his practice. "Our attention," says the commander of the Discovery, "was particularly attracted by the great desire which the generality of them, both male and female, exhibited, in their endeavours to adopt our manners and customs, and the avidity with which they sought spirituous liquors. Pomare, in the course of dinner and afterwards, drank a bottle of brandy without diluting it; an excess which ended in violent convulsions. It was in vain to expostulate with him on the ground that inebriety was highly per-

Imitation of  
European  
manners.

icious, and must affect his health. In return to such remonstrances, he insinuated that the captain was a stingy fellow, and wished to save his drink; nor was it until experience convinced him of the danger he incurred by such indulgences, that he was brought to acknowledge all he had heard of the British 'ava' was quite true." CHAP. XV.

The grandfather of the reigning prince, formerly known to the English under the name of Happi, at length made his appearance on the scene, chiefly with the view of paying his respects to the subaltern of the great Cook. It may be necessary at this stage to mention that, in the Society Islands, it is customary for the sovereign to resign the supreme power the moment that his eldest son is born; after which period, the father acts only as regent in the name and behalf of his successor. On the occasion now alluded to, the venerable Happi proceeded to perform an act of homage to his grandson, in whose person were concentrated all the dignity, honour, and divine right, which belonged to the royal house of Otaheite. It being announced that Otoo was approaching, the old man, having procured a pig and a plantain leaf, stripped himself to the waist, and advanced on tottering limbs to meet the child. Acknowledging his own inferiority, he presented on his knees the two tokens of his submission, uniting with this emblematical offering a mixture of profound respect and parental regard. This ceremony, though affecting to those who witnessed it, seemed to produce little impression on the young ruler, who appeared to notice the humble attitude of his grandsire with the most perfect indifference; his demeanour being regulated according to those fantastic notions which identify unconcern with high feeling, and associate the possession of rank with an absence of all the tender emotions incident to human nature. The aged prince Happi

His homage to his grandson.

The death of Mahow supplied an opportunity for witnessing on a large scale the funeral ceremonies which distinguished the ritual of the South Sea before Chris-

CHAP. XV. tianity was introduced among the natives. One of the principal parts consisted in the embalming of the body, which was performed in great secrecy, and with much religious veneration. The priests taught that the bowels are the immediate organ of sensation, where all impressions are first received, and by means of which all the functions of the soul are carried on; and hence they maintained, as a first principle in the philosophy of mind, that the intestines bear the greatest affinity to the immortal part of man. The officers, who occasionally entered into conversation with the leading persons at Matavai, endeavoured to convince them that all intellectual operations took place in the head. They usually answered with a smile of incredulity, remarking that they had often seen men recover whose skulls had been fractured, and whose heads had been otherwise much injured; but that in all cases where the intestines were wounded, the patient died whatever means might be used to restore health. Other arguments they also advanced in support of their belief, especially the effect of fear or any violent passion, which caused great agitation in the heart and even in the stomach. The reader must have anticipated the observation, that in these views they shared a belief very common in the western parts of Asia, and of which we find some traces in the sacred writings.

The Sand-  
wich Islands.

From the Southern Pacific, where the necessity of extensive repairs detained him longer than he had intended, Vancouver proceeded about the end of January to the Sandwich Islands, whence he expected a favourable run to the coast of America. We shall at once accompany him to the shores of New Albion, deeming it more convenient to condense the observations made by him during his repeated visits to the dominions of Tamehameha, than to state them in a separate and unconnected form. With reference to his duty on the verge of the great continent towards which his course was now turned, it may be mentioned as a singular coincidence that, when approaching the entrance which

forms the imaginary Strait of De Fuca, he met Captain Gray, who formerly commanded the sloop Washington, and was said, when in charge of that vessel, to have made a remarkable voyage behind Nootka. He frankly communicated to the English officers the amount of his supposed discovery; and it was soon found that his narrative differed very materially from that published in London. He was exceedingly astonished on being informed that his authority had been quoted, not only for the existence of an inland sea connecting the Pacific with Hudson's Bay, but that he had actually sailed through it. In contradiction to a statement at once improbable in itself, and altogether groundless so far as his relation was concerned, he assured them that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the strait in question; that he found the passage five leagues wide; that he understood from the natives the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had left it. He indeed supposed that the inlet was the same which is usually associated with the name of De Fuca; an opinion universally held by all navigators who had examined the coast. He likewise mentioned that he had been at the mouth of a river in lat.  $46^{\circ} 10' N.$ , where the current, or perhaps reflux of the tide, was so strong as to prevent his entering it for nine days. There was also, he said, another inlet to the northward, in lat.  $54^{\circ} 30'$ , in which he had sailed more than a hundred miles without discovering its termination. His statement was concluded by an assurance that the southern point of De Fuca's channel is in lat.  $48^{\circ} 24'$ , and that their distance from it did not exceed eight leagues.

On a nearer approach Vancouver recognised an island and a headland that had attracted the notice of Captain Cook, to the latter of which, owing to the deceitful promise of a safe harbour, he gave the name of Cape Flattery. Upon entering the bay, they observed that the shores on each side had such an ambiguous appearance as to indicate either continuous land or a cluster

CHAP. XV.

Fictitious  
discovery in  
North  
America.

Captain  
Gray's ex-  
plorations.



CHAP. XV.

The Gulf of  
Georgia.

of islands. A favourable wind promised a speedy termination to the survey ; for, in proportion as the ships advanced, the hills, rising higher in the horizon, seemed to close the prospect without any perceptible vacancy through which the famous strait might extend. Every new appearance furnished a subject for fresh conjectures ; the whole was not visibly connected ; it might form a succession of islands separated by large arms of the sea, or be united by intervening ground not sufficiently elevated to meet the eye from the deck of a sloop. But after advancing farther than Mr Gray the American skipper, or any other person from the civilized world, proofs were gradually supplied, that the tradition founded on the researches of the Greek pilot De Fuca, as well as on those of the Spanish admiral De Fonte, had no basis in fact ; in a word, that the North American continent is not divided by an inland sea stretching from its western to its eastern boundary.

Port  
Discovery.

The disappointment of the navigators, if any could be occasioned by their not finding what they did not expect, was amply compensated by their entrance into a fine harbour, which they named Port Discovery. The surrounding country, too, was exceedingly beautiful, some parts of it being not inferior to the most highly decorated pleasure-grounds in Europe. On one hand was an extensive lawn covered with luxuriant grass, and diversified with an abundance of flowers ; while, on the other, was a coppice of pine-trees and shrubs of various sorts, which seemed as if planted for the sole purpose of protecting from the north wind this delightful meadow, and could not have been more agreeably arranged by the most accomplished artist. While stopping to contemplate these striking features in the natural landscape, which to the eyes of men long used to the monotony of the ocean were exceedingly pleasing, they observed both gooseberries and roses in a state of considerable forwardness. Nothing seemed wanting but fresh water to make Port Discovery one of the most desirable in the world ; and it fortunately happened that, in the course

of their researches for this purpose, they came upon an excellent stream, the supply afforded by which was equal to the accommodation of a large squadron.

In the neighbourhood a phenomenon somewhat singular presented itself, of which they had no means of obtaining an explanation. On one of the low points, projecting from the shore, were observed two upright poles set in the ground about fifteen feet high, and rudely carved. On the top of each was stuck a human head, the hair and flesh being nearly entire; and they appeared to bear the evidence of fury or revenge, as in driving the flakes through the throat to the cranium, the sagittal with part of the scalp was borne on their points some inches above the rest of the surface. Between the stakes a fire had been made, and near it some calcined bones were observed; but none of these appearances led to any certain conclusion as to the manner in which the bodies themselves had been treated. It is farther related, that in the vicinity of the port, human skulls, ribs, and back-bones were found scattered about in great numbers. Some of these remains of mortality were preserved in a very singular manner. Canoes were suspended between trees, at the height of about twelve feet from the ground, in which were the skeletons of two or three persons, accompanied by the fragments of bows and arrows. Baskets were also seen hung on high branches, containing each the bones of a child, near which were usually some small boxes filled with a kind of white paste, such as the natives were frequently observed to eat.

Horrid mortal remains.

It would be unjust to the character of the inhabitants, who manifested no symptoms of a ferocious nature, to infer from the appearances now mentioned that they are addicted to the horrid practice of cannibalism, though, it is certain, the notion of eating human flesh was familiar to their minds. On one occasion, about a dozen of them were present at a dinner, where, among other viands, the officers had provided a venison pasty. They ate of the bread and fish which were

Character of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XV. — given them without the least hesitation ; but, on being offered some of the meat, though they saw the Englishmen eat it with great relish, they could not be induced to partake. They received it with undissembled aversion, subjected it to a strict examination, and either returned the morsel or laid it aside. There is no doubt, in short, that they believed it to be part of a human body ; an impression which it was extremely difficult to remove. To satisfy them that it was the flesh of the deer, the gentlemen pointed to the skins of the animal which they themselves wore ; but in reply they pointed to each other, and made signs not to be misunderstood, that it was human flesh, and at length threw it away with gestures of great displeasure. Such barbarities, it is obvious, must have been perpetrated by some of the tribes on the coast of North-western America ; though the feelings displayed in the present instance may be held to exonerate at least one family of the race from this frightful imputation. Vancouver acts the part of a generous advocate in their behalf, and remarks that, as their affinity to the inhabitants of Nootka, as well as of the people still further south, is clearly established, it is but charitable to suppose the latter are equally free from the detestable custom of eating their fellow-creatures. He admits at the same time, that they are not strangers to the general weakness attendant on savage life. “ One of them having taken a knife and fork, to imitate our manner of eating, found means to secrete them under his garment ; but on his being detected, gave up his plunder with the utmost good humour and unconcern.”

Admiralty  
Inlet.

The discovery and examination of Admiralty Inlet were attended with circumstances extremely interesting to the navigator, who, though he found not an entrance to any inland sea, made known a variety of sounds which have since proved of great convenience to ships engaged in trade, and will, at no distant day, become the scene of agricultural wealth, commerce, and civilisation. Like the country contiguous to Port Discovery, the

shores of the bay presented a delightful prospect, consisting chiefly of spacious meadows adorned with clumps of trees, amongst which some fine oaks bore a considerable proportion. In these beautiful pastures, bordering on an extensive sheet of water, deer were seen playing about in great numbers. Nature had here provided a well-stocked park, and wanted only the assistance of an improved taste to combine in a somewhat more attractive arrangement the elements of the picturesque which she so lavishly supplied.

On the 4th June 1792, the anniversary of the king's birth, the captain took formal possession of all the countries he had explored, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors. For this purpose he went on shore at one o'clock, and pursuing the formalities usual on such occasions, accompanied with a royal salute from both vessels, he consigned to the protection of the English crown all the coast from that part of New Albion, in latitude  $39^{\circ} 20' N.$ , and long.  $123^{\circ} 34' W.$ , to the entrance of the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca, as likewise all the coasts and islands within the said straits. This interior sea he called the Gulf of Georgia; and the continent, bounding the gulf and extending to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, he called New Georgia, in honour of the reigning monarch.

A short time after this ceremony took place, the discoverers fell in with two Spanish vessels, a brig and a schooner, which were employed in a duty similar to their own. Don Galiano, who commanded this little armament, informed them that Melaspina, the governor of the Philippine Isles, had visited these shores the preceding year; that it was under his direction they themselves had sailed, with instructions to survey the coast in the neighbourhood of De Fuca's Straits; and that they had recently left Nootka, where preparations were making to resign the whole settlement to the English. Upon their producing the chart, founded upon the researches of the former season, Vancouver was not a little mortified to find that the external borders of the

CHAP. XV.

Taking possession of New Georgia.

Spanish discovery ships.



CHAP. XV. Gulf of Georgia had been already examined ; that the Spanish officers had thrown light on some points concerning which he was still in darkness ; and, moreover, that they had refitted in the identical port which he named after his own ship, supposing that no European had previously entered it. But, notwithstanding this information, calculated in some degree to cool his zeal, he occupied the greater part of the summer in penetrating the various inlets which branch off from the main channel, and at length returned into the Pacific by the northern extremity of the great island whereon Nootka is situated, and which had theretofore been considered a portion of the American continent. In the older maps it is described as the Waksah nation ; and in those of a more modern date it is called Quadra and Vancouver Island. The English captain commemorated the discovery of the northern passage by connecting it with the name of Johnstone, the officer who first made it known ; but in these days, the whole of the upper portion of the gulf is commonly indicated on charts as Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Vancouver  
Island.

Diplomacy  
with the  
Spanish  
governor.

On their arrival at Nootka, our navigators found that the demands of diplomacy had not been perfectly satisfied by the correspondence which passed between the cabinets of London and Madrid. It appears that the governor, Quadra, who was appointed to the superintendence of the colony in the preceding month of April, had commissioned all the vessels under his command to inspect the coast, in order that the proper limits to be proposed in the restitution of the territory might be ascertained, and also that the several officers might inform themselves in reference to the various circumstances which preceded the capture of the two British merchantmen in the year 1789. Fortified by the intelligence thus obtained, the Spanish deputy thought himself entitled to conclude that his country had nothing to relinquish, and no compensation to make to England ; but nevertheless he declared that, as he was desirous of removing every obstacle to the establishment

of a solid and permanent peace, he was ready, "without prejudice to the legitimate rights of his sovereign," to cede the houses, offices, and gardens, which had been prepared at a great expense, and retire to the northern extremity of the island. CHAP. XV.

The first article of the convention between the ministers of the two courts provided that Great Britain should be put in possession of all the "buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of his Majesty in April 1789, as well in the port of Nootka or St Lawrence, as in the other, said to be called Port Cox." And it was also agreed that, "as well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, as in all other parts of the north-western coast of America situated to the north of the ports of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers have made settlements since April 1789, any of the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without disturbance or molestation." But Quadra maintained that, in April 1789, the English had only a small hut, and a spot of ground extending not more than a hundred yards in any direction; wherefore he was only willing to restore the ruins of the cottage, and to permit our flag to be hoisted on the small parcel of land which alone he asserted had ever been owned by a subject of his Britannic Majesty. Agreement  
respecting  
Nootka.

It fortunately happened that, while this discussion engaged the attention of Vancouver and exercised the ingenuity of the Spanish diplomatist, a Portuguese vessel arrived at Nootka, having on board, in the capacity of supercargo, a gentleman who had been there with Mr Meares in 1788. He deponed upon oath, that in the month of May the master just mentioned, accompanied by himself and Mr Robert Funter, went on shore, and bought of the two chiefs, Maquila and Calicum, the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, in the name of King George, for eight or ten sheets of copper and some other articles; that the natives were perfectly Opportune  
testimony.

CHAP. XV.

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 Prior British  
 claims.

satisfied, and, with the chiefs, did homage to Mr Meares as sovereign, according to the custom of their country; that the British flag was displayed on shore while these formalities took place between the parties; that Mr Meares caused a house to be erected on the spot most convenient for his purpose; that the leaders and people offered to quit their residence and retire to Tahsheis, a place on the straits, and, consequently, the English were not restricted to any portion of the land they had purchased, but might, had they been inclined, have built dwellings in any section of the cove; that Mr Meares appointed Mr Robert Funter to reside in the house, which consisted of three bedchambers, with a mess-room for the officers, and proper apartments for the men; that, exclusive of this edifice, there were several sheds for the convenience of the artificers, and that Mr Meares left them all in good order, enjoining Maquila to take proper care of them until he or some of his associates should return. The informant added that he was not at Nootka when Don Martinez arrived, but that on his return thither, in July 1789, he found the cove occupied by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; that he then saw no remains of Mr Meares's house; and that on the second day after the two English vessels put into the port, they were captured by the Spanish governor, while certain Americans were allowed to carry on their traffic unmolested.\*

Certainty of  
 these claims.

No doubt could remain as to the claims made by the British, nor in regard to the inaccuracy of the information on which the Spanish envoy thought it his duty to act. On due consideration, therefore, Vancouver refused

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\* Vancouver's Voyage, vol. i. pp. 407, 408. In reference to the proceedings of Martinez, who captured the English merchantmen and expelled the settlers at Nootka, the native chief Maquiana (called by the Spaniards Maquila) asserted that the governor "went on shore with a number of armed people, and obliged him by threats to make cession of Nootka to the King of Spain." It is admitted, at the same time, that little reliance can be placed on such declarations, as the inhabitants of the North American coast, like most other savages, are more desirous to please their auditors than to adhere to a simple narrative of facts.

to accept the limited cession proposed by Quadra ; being satisfied that it ought to include the whole port of Nootka, of which our traders had been forcibly dispossessed, and at which themselves, their vessels, and cargoes had been forcibly seized. It was thereupon mutually agreed to refer once more the points under discussion to the supreme authorities in Europe ; and, in pursuance of this object, the captain of the Discovery sent his first lieutenant, Mr Mudge, with despatches to England, having procured a passage for him on board a ship bound to China.

Upon leaving New Georgia the expedition sailed along the coast in a southerly direction, examining minutely, as they proceeded, every inlet and headland which diversified the outline of the province to which had been given the name of New Albion. On the 14th November, they reached Port St Francisco, where the Spaniards maintained a principal station both military and ecclesiastical. Vancouver was received with the respect and attention due to his country, which were not the less heartily bestowed by the governor who, in regard to Nootka, had disappointed the hope of his visiter, and thereby thwarted for a time the main object of his voyage round the greater portion of the globe. "The well-known generosity of my other Spanish friends will, I trust, pardon the warmth of expression with which I must ever advert to the conduct of Senior Quadra ; who, regardless of the difference in opinion that had arisen between us in our diplomatic capacities at Nootka, had uniformly maintained towards us a character infinitely beyond the reach of my powers of encomium to describe. His benevolence was not confined to the common rites of hospitality, but was extended to all occasions, and exercised in every instance where his Majesty's service, combined with my commission, was in the least concerned."\*

Both at Francisco and Monterey our countrymen

CHAP. XV.

Reference to  
the supreme  
authorities  
in Europe.

High cha-  
racter of the  
Spanish  
governor.



## CHAP. XV.

The priests  
and colonists  
of California.

indulged their curiosity in inquiries respecting the state of the missions, the character of the priesthood, and the condition of the people. In regard to the first it is remarked by them, that instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited and far advanced in cultivation, there was not, except the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, an object which could indicate the most remote connexion with any European nation or civilized community. It is admitted on all hands that the dispositions of the religious Orders who have undertaken the instruction of the people are mild and kind-hearted in the highest degree, and that, as might be expected, the natives are generally much attached to them, having a due regard to the many advantages, secular as well as spiritual, which they have derived from their labours. But, nevertheless, the latter seem to treat with too much indifference the example of industry placed before them by their benevolent pastors, whose object has ever been to allure them from an idle life by showing how numerous are the comforts within the reach of a moderate exertion applied to a fine soil under a propitious sky. Deaf to the important lessons, and regardless of the promised benefit, they still chose to remain in the most abject state of barbarism ; and excepting the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, they appeared a race of the most miserable beings that ever possessed the human form and the elements of reason. Their persons, generally speaking, were under the middle size ; their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility and expression. One of their greatest aversions was cleanliness, both in their bodies and habitations ; the latter having undergone no improvement since the days of their forefathers. Their passions are indeed calm ; even the affections are nearly stagnant ; and, regardless of reputation as men, or of renown as a people, they are never stimulated either to the obtaining of consequence amongst themselves by any peaceful arts, or superiority over their neighbours by warlike achievements ; a species

The natives  
of California.

of ambition not uncommon among the more spirited of the Indian tribes. CHAP. XV.

At the time the captain moved towards the Spanish settlements, Mr Broughton, in command of the *Chatham*, proceeded to examine the Columbia river, known also as the Oregon; the lands on the banks of which have now attained such a degree of importance as to secure the attention of rulers both in the eastern and western hemispheres. The lieutenant ascended the stream about a hundred miles, ascertaining its depth, the number and direction of its tributaries, and the qualities of the country through which it flows. Beyond this point however the Columbia could not be pronounced navigable for shipping; and, finding his provisions nearly exhausted, he resolved to return to his sloop, left near the mouth of the inlet or estuary where the current mixes with the ocean. But previously to his departure from Point Vancouver, which marked the termination of his inland voyage, he formally took possession of the river and the contiguous districts in the name of his sovereign, having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized state had ever entered it before. He had learned from a chief, to whose friendship and sagacity he was under considerable obligations, that the source of the main branch of the Oregon was still at a very considerable distance, but that a succession of falls rendered it impassable even in boats.

For the convenience of the discoverers the Admiralty had fitted out a small vessel called the *Dædalus*, to convey to them on the American coast a supply of stores and provisions. Lieutenant Hergest, to whose charge she was intrusted, sailed from New Georgia to the Marquesas, and thence to the Sandwich Islands; in the course of which voyage he discovered the small group which bears his name, as also the larger isle called *Noukahiva* or *Sir Henry Martin*. They are situated between the seventh and ninth degrees of south latitude, and about one degree westward from the principal member of the *Mendana* archipelago. In the chart

The Columbia river.

The Hergest Islands.

CHAP. XV.

Port Anna  
Maria.

supplied by the editor of Vancouver, the islands seen by Hergest are distinguished as Martin's, Trevenen's and Riou's. In the first is a very fine harbour, extending deeply into the interior, and bounded by a most delightful country. It was named Port Anna Maria; was found to be of very easy access, the depth at its entrance being twenty-four fathoms; and an excellent stream of pure water flows into it, which gives it every advantage that could be desired. The land seemed to be highly cultivated, and the inhabitants, who were numerous, disposed to supply whatever refreshments their soil produced. A variety of smaller spots were seen, scarcely elevated above the surface of the sea; the position of which has been carefully defined, rather that they may be avoided than sought for in the solitary movements of the navigator through those tropical regions. The discoverer was soon doomed to meet a melancholy fate; for having landed at Woahoo with Mr Gooch the astronomer, he was attacked by the natives, when both he and his friend were murdered.\*

The north-  
west coast of  
America.

The summer of 1793 was spent in examining the American coast from the fifty-second to the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude; the greater part of which consists of islands divided by narrow sounds and leading to numerous inlets. Some of these openings penetrate the land to a great extent, and present such a vast variety of ramifications that it is occasionally very difficult to determine which is the principal artery whence the others are derived. As the water was too shallow to admit either the brig or sloop, the investigations were usually performed in boats, supplied with provisions for eight or ten days according to circumstances. In the month of July, an extensive excursion was planned

\* Vancouver's Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 97. Some writers are disposed to refuse to Lieutenant Hergest the honour of discovering the islands mentioned in the text, alleging that they had been seen by certain American traders who had even landed upon them. But it is manifest that neither Mendana, the discoverer of the Marquesas, nor Captain Cook, who afterwards visited them, had any knowledge of Sir Henry Martin's, Riou's, or Trevenen's.

under the personal superintendence of Vancouver himself, who was induced to engage in this minor expedition by the desire to determine whether one of the sounds, not far from the parallel usually assigned to the Straits of Admiral Fuentes, might not send forth an arm towards the Arctic Ocean.

Leaving Observatory Inlet on the 24th of the month just specified, they steered their course in a north-easterly direction till they reached the latitude of 55° 32' N. The inhabitants, who afterwards attacked the party, now made their appearance, and approached the boats with little hesitation. The captain remarks that in their countenances was expressed a degree of savage ferocity infinitely surpassing any thing he had ever before observed in the various tribes with whom he had come in contact. Many of those formerly seen had their faces painted in a manner sufficiently grotesque; but these had contrived so to dispose of the red, white, and black, as to render their natural ugliness more horribly disgusting. Nor did this frightful disguise seem to be a new fashion among them; it appeared to have been long adopted, as corresponding at once to their cruel dispositions and to the stern deportment they took so much pains to exhibit. Their weapons, too, seemed well adapted to their warlike propensities. The spears, about sixteen feet long, were pointed with iron, and some of them barbed; the bows were well constructed, and abundantly supplied with sharp arrows; and each man was provided with a dagger, suspended from his neck in a leathern sheath. Their dress, when prepared for battle, was formed of several folds of the strongest hides they could procure. In the centre was a hole large enough to admit the passage of the head and left arm, the weight of the garment being entirely suspended on the right shoulder; and as a farther security, on the inside of the part which covers the breast they occasionally fixed thin laths of wood. Confident in their means of attack as well as of defence, they made an assault upon the boats, though without success, the suspicion of

The coast of  
Russian  
America.

The weapons  
and dress of  
the natives.



## CHAP. XV.

the crews having been excited by their intrusive behaviour and hostile demonstrations. Two of the seamen were wounded; but the loss on the part of the natives was not ascertained. Some of them were seen to fall as if killed or severely hurt; and great lamentations were heard after they gained their retreat in an adjoining wood, whence they showed no disposition to return either for war or commerce.

The Strait of  
Fuentes.

By the aid of a Spanish chart, Vancouver had no difficulty in ascertaining that an extensive opening, in which he found himself on the 13th August 1793, was the Strait of Fuentes; although, as he observes, the delineation made by Senior Caamano did not bear any very strong resemblance to the regions which now stretched out before him. In point of fact, the celebrated strait of the admiral whose name it still bears was found to be nothing more than one of the channels which separate the island of Revillagigedo from the American continent.

Results of  
Vancouver's  
researches.

Proceeding still towards the north, the navigators surveyed with great minuteness not only the whole of the exterior coast, but also every inlet which afforded any prospect of a passage either into the body of the mainland or into the Northern Ocean. At length the month of September drew near a close, when the long nights and stormy weather incident to a high latitude suggested to the commanding officer the expediency of again steering his course into a more genial climate. He was not, indeed, satisfied with the limits to which his investigations had been confined during the summer, though he could reflect with pleasure on the triumph he had gained over ignorance and prejudice by proving the fallacy of the pretended discoveries said to have been made by De Fuca and De Fonte, more commonly called Fuentes. He reminds his reader, too, that his researches were not carried on in a continued or direct line, but through part of an extensive and hitherto unexplored region, bounded on the east by the continent, and on the west by the ocean.

After a brief stay at Nootka, the expedition sailed for the coast of New Albion, the southern parts of which had not yet been examined with due care. When at anchor in Port Francisco, where he expected to find a supply of wood and water, a message from the governor, cold and formal, indicated to the captain of the Discovery that the sentiments of the Spanish government had undergone an unfavourable change in regard to our countrymen. Vancouver considered the restrictions thereby imposed upon him as at once so ungracious and degrading as to amount to little less than an indirect refusal. He was at the same time left in the greatest perplexity to account for a reception so totally different from what he experienced on a former occasion, and so contrary to what he had been taught to expect by the letters he had received from the Viceroy of New Spain, in return to his expression of thanks for the great civilities conferred upon him in the foregoing year. It afterwards transpired that a captain in the Spanish infantry, named Arrillaga, had arrived from Monterey in the course of the preceding spring; and being the senior officer, had taken upon himself the jurisdiction of the province, with sentiments apparently not the most favourable towards the subjects of Great Britain. The same spirit, too, continued during the whole period that our navigators passed on the American coast; arising, there is no doubt, from a jealous feeling in regard to their object, as well, perhaps, as from the unsettled state of the negotiation respecting Nootka Sound.

The remainder of the season was spent in examining the shores of New Albion, a part of the continent discovered or visited by Sir Francis Drake, and therefore held in some degree as the property of Great Britain. A brief account is accordingly given of the missions at Bueno Ventura, Santa Barbara, as also of the Presidios of St Diego, St Loretto, and St Joseph. The report is by no means favourable either to the wisdom or the activity of the Spaniards. The mode adopted in settling the country, and the system ever since pursued, have

CHAP. XV.

—  
Cold reception  
at San  
Francisco.

The shores of  
New Albion.

## CHAP. XV.

Indolence of  
the Spanish  
colonists.

been very little calculated to produce any considerable increase of white inhabitants ; for, both at the religious and military establishments, they lead a very indolent life, the monks in their cloisters, the soldiers in their barracks. These last do nothing, in the most literal sense of the expression ; they neither plough, sow, nor reap, but depend wholly upon the labour of the people at the missions for the commonest necessaries of life. To support their consequence in the eyes of the natives, it was deemed highly improper that the servants of the crown should be subjected to any laborious employment ; and therefore on no occasion are they seen to lay aside the sword and assume the tools of the agriculturist or vine-dresser. The number of converts to the christian faith in New Albion, and throughout the peninsula of California, was estimated, at the period in question, to amount to about twenty thousand, being nearly one-eighth of the whole population. Here, too, as in the more northern districts, their progress towards civilisation was very slow, having no motive to awaken their energies, and no object on which to exert that spirit of enterprise which is seldom extinct in any human breast. They have no trade ; no manufactures to exchange for the commodities of distant countries ; no desire for enjoyments of which they have never heard ; and no longing of the imagination for those luxuries, mental or corporeal, which, in more improved parts of the world, tempt the desires of even the lowest class of the people. In the whole of north-western America, there were then no towns where affluence might give birth to taste, and whose inhabitants, by diffusing a knowledge of the fine arts and displaying the dignity of social intercourse when exalted by literature, might have transplanted into those retired settlements the ambition and elegance of Paris, Madrid, or London.

Inert state of  
society.

After wintering again in the Sandwich Islands, the adventurers, on the 15th March 1794, proceeded once more to the shores of America, which they reached in the latitude of 56° 30' N. This part of the coast had

been visited by Captain Cook, whose name is still connected with an opening which he was induced to pronounce a river, but which was now proved by an actual survey to be nothing more than an arm of the sea. To remove all doubt on this point, the commander placed himself at the head of a party who proceeded in boats till they saw the opposite banks meet together, the sound terminating in a circular form, and enclosed by banks of sand. To the northward, round by the east and towards the south-east, the nearer mountains, though of a height inferior to those in the west, were capped with snow, and appeared to constitute an uninterrupted barrier; the plains descending from which seemed, by their apparent uniformity, to afford good ground for concluding that they were not any where intersected by lakes or great streams. The water in the inlet still retaining, though at a considerable distance from the ocean, the usual degree of saltness, clearly proved that neither by falls, flats, marshes, nor fens, any large body of fresh found its way to the sea by this communication, and consequently, that this could not, according to the established import of geographical terms, be any longer considered a river. Had Cook devoted one day more to an examination of it, he would, says his successor, "have spared the theoretical navigators, who have followed him in their closets, the task of ingeniously ascribing to this arm of the ocean a channel, through which a north-west passage, existing according to their doctrines, might ultimately be discovered." The northern limit of this opening, now known throughout the world as Cook's Inlet, was ascertained to be in latitude  $61^{\circ} 29' N.$ , and in longitude  $148^{\circ} 43' W.$ \*

Cook's Inlet

The next object of investigation was Prince William's Sound, which, although not unknown to European seamen, and even occupied by a Russian colony, had never been accurately surveyed by scientific dis-

Prince William's Sound.

\* Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, vol. iii. p. 125.



CHAP. XV.

Industry of  
the natives.

coverers. The details of such a research, however, are greatly too minute to be either intelligible or interesting to an unprofessional reader. It is not unworthy of notice, perhaps, that the natives in those dreary regions, where winter seems to govern the elements throughout the whole year, are at once more industrious and less savage than those in the balmy climates of the south. On one occasion about four hundred of them surrounded the English ships, in canoes made of skin, each carrying only two men. Entering instantly into traffic, they willingly bartered away their hunting and fishing implements, which, together with some salmon and neatly formed models of their tiny vessels, constituted the chief articles of their commerce. The Russians who live among them are not less simple in their habits, having accustomed themselves to the same nauseous food, and to the same miserable huts, where the notion of cleanliness never enters, and whence the fresh air of the sky is rigorously excluded. By a treaty with Great Britain in 1825, all the territory westward from the one hundred and fortieth degree of longitude, reckoning from Greenwich, is secured to the Czar, who, in virtue of its conditions, exercises an undisputed sovereignty on either side of Behring's Strait, and divides with our colonists the occupation of those inhospitable mountains and swampy plains which compose the northern portion of the American continent.

Cross Sound.

Descending towards the south, the commander of the expedition, though suffering from impaired health, the effect of fatigue and constant change of climate, lost no opportunity to make himself intimately acquainted with the coast, its frequent islands, its numerous sinuosities, and its countless bays, channels, and openings. Of these Cross Sound was one of the most important, not only as a haven where ships may find protection, but also as a station where the trader will receive an equivalent for his Indian or European commodities. As this coast had been examined during the former season as high as the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, little

remained to complete the duty on which Vancouver had been sent; and accordingly, upon reaching a harbour at no great distance from King George the Third's Archipelago, he named it Port Conclusion, in reference to the laborious task in which he had been engaged more than four years. From Cape Mendocino, in latitude  $41^{\circ}$ , he explored the whole seaboard as far as Cook's Inlet in  $53^{\circ}$ ; being more than fifteen hundred miles in a straight line, and including a survey of more than three times that extent, made either in person or under the direction of his lieutenants. In the prosecution of this hazardous voyage, he never lost sight of the surf which dashed against the shore, nor failed to take the meridional altitude once or twice every day; noting as he went along, with minute accuracy, the position of the most conspicuous points. The result of his investigations, as it disappointed the theoretical views of some ingenious writers in regard to a north-eastern passage into the Atlantic, was at first received with unreasonable scepticism, and he had just reason to complain of the strictures directed against him by that numerous class of men who resolutely oppose every thing which does not coincide with their preconceived opinions. But such groundless hostility has long since ceased to employ its arms against the cause of truth; and subsequent navigators have fully established the correctness of all his conclusions relative to the favourite hypothesis of a navigable channel through the American continent.\*

CHAP. XV.

Port Conclusion.

The delusion of the north-east passage.

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\* We are here naturally reminded of the hypothesis of Meares, who, though he saw, comparatively speaking, very little of the coast, deemed himself entitled to indulge in speculation after the manner of his age. He imagined that the entire space from St George's Sound to Hudson's Bay and Davis' Strait, was occupied by an immense archipelago, through which there might be a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic. "The channels of this archipelago were found to be wide and capacious, with nearly two hundred fathoms depth of water, and huge promontories stretching out into the sea, where whales and sea otters were seen in incredible abundance. In some of these channels there are islands of ice which we may venture to say could never have been formed on the western side of America, which possesses a mild and moderate

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Having accomplished the chief purpose of his mission, he resolved to return to England by way of Cape Horn, and accordingly bent his course southward along the coast. When at Monterey, he learned that the obstacles which had prevented the execution of the treaty respecting Nootka were quite removed, so far at least as the views of the two governments were concerned; but a letter from the Spanish minister was said to convey the intelligence, that a new commissioner had been appointed by the court of London to superintend the details of the cession, independently of any intercourse with the commander of the Discovery. This report, though it was not altogether in unison with the actual proceedings of the British cabinet, justified the resolution of Vancouver to hasten his voyage homewards. Yielding to the pressure of disease, by which his constitution was already very much debilitated, and to the entreaties of his friends in the colony, he accepted an invitation to make a short excursion into the interior. He there saw a very extraordinary mountain, which he describes with some minuteness, as not unworthy of attention on the part of a scientific reader. On one side it presented the appearance of a magnificent edifice fallen into decay; the columns, which looked as if they had been raised with much labour and industry, were of great magnitude, seemed to be of an elegant form, and to be composed of a beautiful cream-coloured stone. Between these vast columns were deep excavations, resembling different passages into the supposed building, the roof of which being the summit of the mountain, appeared to be entirely sustained by these pillars, rising perpendicularly with the most minute mathematical exactness. Viewed as a whole, it exhibited to the eye at a little distance

The treaty respecting Nootka.

An architectural-like mountain.

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climate; so that their existence cannot be reconciled to any other idea than that they received their existence in the eastern seas, and have been drifted by tides and currents through the passage for whose existence we are contending." See his *Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 242; and *Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America* (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), p. 132.

what might have been taken for a specimen of rare ingenuity combined with herculean exertion. The captain, contrasting the apparent structure with the rude condition and humble means of the native inhabitants, pronounced that it must be a work of nature not of art; though he considers it not preposterous to infer, that to similar phenomena may be traced the architectural knowledge by which man has been enabled to raise those massy fabrics which have stood for ages in all civilized countries. Every one must wish that the captain had pursued his researches to a greater extent; for, after the recent discoveries made in the interior of America, the existence of large buildings in a province now possessed by barbarians will not be pronounced altogether improbable.\*

CHAP. XV.

Possible existence of grand antiquities.

Supplying to his nautical readers some notices respecting the insular spots called the Three Marys, Cocos Island, and the Galapagos, the author describes his course through the tropical seas by Mas-afuera, Juan Fernandez, Valparaiso, St Jago, Cape Horn, St Helena, and announces his arrival in the Thames in October 1795. The remainder of his life was spent in preparing for the press a narrative of his voyage, which was at length, owing to his premature demise, ushered into public notice by his brother in 1798. To the last, he found it necessary to oppose or conciliate the opinions of certain geographers, who would not yield, even to the authority of an actual survey, their speculative notions touching the form of the northern section of America. He conceded so far as to remind his readers that, as the coast had not been examined to its remotest extremity, and that as the French navigators had placed the archipelago of St Lazarus in the 63d degree of north latitude, the opening in question might yet be found. He farther acknowledged that the stupendous barrier mountains do not seem to extend in so lofty and connected a range to the northward of the head of Cook's Inlet as to the

Impugnance of Vancouver's narrative.

\* See Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens, 2 vols 8vo, London, 1842.



CHAP. XV. southward of the same station ; and consequently it is possible that in this part the alpine chain may admit a communication with the eastern country. This conjecture, too, seemed to derive some probability from the fact that there appears a similarity in the race of people who inhabit the shores of Hudson's Bay, when compared with the natives of the north-western section of the continent. But he adds that, in all parts on which they landed, from California to the neighbourhood of the arctic circle, they nowhere found any roads or paths through the woods, indicating an intercourse between the Indians and the inhabitants of the interior ; nor were any articles usually imported or prepared by the Hudson's Bay traders ever found among the tribes whose dwellings stretch along the border of the Pacific Ocean. Suffice it to add, that more recent voyagers have completely established the conclusions here so modestly urged by Vancouver.

Vancouver's  
reasonings  
and conclu-  
sions.

We purposely omitted to notice the occurrences which diversified his residence at the Sandwich Islands, during the summers he spent in the eastern hemisphere, under the conviction that they will be better understood when brought into view at once. It is well known that he was at Owhyhee with Captain Cook when the latter was assassinated, and also that he himself made a narrow escape from the hands of the murderers ; but between the years 1778 and 1792, when he again touched at this group, as commander of the Discovery, he found that civilisation had advanced among the natives at a rapid pace. They had already made several voyages to distant parts of the world ; and, enlightened by this experience, they became so sensible of the advantages of a mercantile navy, that they made repeated attempts to take possession of some vessels which bad weather or the demands of commerce had led into their harbours. At length they actually seized an American schooner, the crew of which they murdered with the exception of the mate, who, happening to be on shore, found refuge with the chief ruler, in whose service he

Progress of  
civilization in  
Hawaii.

afterwards remained. A number of Europeans, too, who from various motives had quitted their ships, instructed the people in the use of artillery, as well as in the more simple principles of fortification. Many of the chiefs, meanwhile, had erected good houses of stone or brick, adopted in part the European dress, and even engrafted on their scanty vocabulary such English terms as were necessary to express their new ideas, or to give names to their recent acquisitions. Owing to these causes, Vancouver, when he arrived, found not only the means of an easy communication with the leading persons in the several islands, but also an ardent desire to profit by his superior knowledge, and to secure the good-will of the powerful nation to which he belonged.

CHAP. XV.  
—  
Stone houses  
and Euro-  
pean dress.

At the time of Cook's visit, the four principal islands were governed by as many independent kings, who, being frequently at war, committed great havoc on each other's domains. But four years afterwards, Tamemaha, who was originally a person of subordinate rank, conspired against his sovereign, the chief of Owhyhee, and, by his superior talents, acquired possession, first of the whole of that island, and subsequently of all the cluster. In 1792, when the Discovery and Chatham arrived, the war was not yet brought to a close; for, though the inhabitants of Owhyhee and Mowee acknowledged the authority of the usurper, Towee and Woahoo were still governed by their respective princes, who continued to maintain their ground against him. Owing, indeed, to a destructive pestilence, which had extended its ravages over the whole archipelago, an armistice was mutually conceded; and it was at this crisis that our countrymen made their appearance on the coast. Both parties courted the aid of the captain, whose interposition, they were convinced, would decide the contest in favour of the cause which he should choose to embrace. But he firmly declined to interfere in a civil war, the result of which, he well knew, must be attended with important effects on the future fortunes of the country; and resolutely refused to supply to either side the arms

The conqueror Tamemaha.

## CHAP. XV.

Cultivation  
and the  
dairy.

that they both most earnestly solicited. He conferred upon them, however, a much greater boon in a breed of cattle and of sheep, which Tamehameha immediately declared should be tabooed, or held sacred, during the full space of ten years ; and, the climate being extremely favourable to these animals, the islands are now well stocked with both, so that ships, in addition to fresh vegetables, are supplied with excellent beef. The foreigners resident at the principal havens had also introduced the culture of many fruits and esculent plants ; while, by the care they bestowed on the goats which had been left by successive navigators, they gradually made the natives acquainted with the luxuries of the dairy, and with a variety of meat more delicate than they had hitherto known.\*

Cession of  
the sover-  
eignty of the  
Sandwich  
Islands.

The king had sufficient penetration to perceive that in proportion as his dominions should become valuable in the eyes of Europeans, the independence of his government would be exposed to greater hazard. It was already suspected that the Americans as well as the Russians were desirous to form settlements on one or other of the islands ; and therefore he resolved to place himself under the protection of a powerful nation, which, from its ascendancy as a maritime state, would thwart the designs of others. It was in pursuance of this policy that he afterwards ceded to Vancouver, as the representative of the English monarch, the sovereignty of his own country, and in fact of the whole Sandwich group, which he had not yet completely established in his own right. In return, the captain assisted the aspiring barbarian to build a small vessel, which proved of essential service to him in his future expeditions, so that in the course of a few months, by the death of the prince of Woahoo, who fell in battle, he became master of his territory. Soon afterwards, the chief of Nihau and Towee, intimidated by the news of this tri-

\* Vancouver's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 155, and Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXXIII. p. 299. See also the 2d volume of Vancouver's Voyage, p. 99-172.

umph, acknowledged himself a vassal, and consented to hold the government of his paternal domains as a tributary to the ruler of Owhyhee.\*

Wisdom of  
Tameha-  
meha.

The success of Tamehameha, whose wisdom was equal to his courage, and who was known to be desirous of an intercourse with civilized countries, opened the path to traders of every class, more especially from England and America. Indeed the discovery of some excellent harbours in the island of Woahoo, which had escaped the notice of Vancouver when examining the coast, made them become the resort of shipping from all parts of the world, which, during a long voyage in the Northern Pacific, might require repairs, water, or provisions. Sandalwood, an article of great value in the Chinese market, was found in the mountains, and soon proved the means of an extensive commerce with foreigners. In return for this production the natives at first were satisfied with pieces of iron, nails, and coarse cloth; afterwards, as their notions of exchangeable value expanded, they required axes, guns, muskets, powder, and

Establish-  
ment of com-  
merce.

\* The details of the cession of Owhyhee are given in the third volume, p. 56, of Vancouver's narrative. The preliminaries being fully discussed and thoroughly understood on both sides, the king repeated his former proposition, which was unanimously approved, and the whole party declared their consent by saying that they were no longer *Tanata no Owhyhee*—the people of Owhyhee, but *Tanata no Britanee*—the people of Britain. This was instantly made known to the surrounding crowd, and the same expressions were cheerfully repeated throughout the attending multitude. Mr Puget, accompanied by some of the officers, immediately went on shore; there displayed the British colours, and took possession of the island in his Majesty's name, in conformity to the inclinations and desire of Tamehameha and his subjects. On this ceremony being finished a salute was fired from the vessels, after which the following inscription on copper was deposited in a very conspicuous place at the royal residence. "On the 25th February 1794, Tamehameha the king, in council with the principal chiefs of the island assembled on board his Britannic Majesty's ship the *Discovery*, in Karakakooa Bay, and in presence of George Vancouver, commander of the sloop, Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said Majesty's armed tender the *Chatham*, and the other officers of the *Discovery*, after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to his Britannic Majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain."



CHAP. XV.

shot; next they bargained for American and British manufactures; and finally, longing, as has been said, for the possession of ships, they purchased with the fruits of their industry schooners and brigs measuring several hundred tons.

Trial of  
murderers.

In the summer of 1793, the painful duty devolved on Vancouver of punishing the individuals who had murdered Lieutenant Hergest and Mr Gooch of the *Dædalus*. A witness stated that these gentlemen went on shore with the view of procuring water; that a dispute arose between the natives and some sailors belonging to the tender; that in order to prevent a complaint being lodged with the king, it was resolved to slay the two officers; that in pursuance of this horrid resolution Mr Gooch was instantly killed by being stabbed through the heart with a pahooa; that the first blow only wounded Mr Hergest, who, in endeavouring to make his way to the boat, was knocked down with a large stone, and then put to death in a most barbarous manner. Upon inquiry, it was found that the three individuals principally concerned were still resident in the neighbourhood; who, upon being regularly convicted of the crime, were condemned to be publicly executed. That the ceremony might be rendered as solemn as possible, a guard of seamen and marines was stationed on the side of the ship next the shore, while the rest of the crew were at the great guns, lest any disturbance should arise. It was the duty of the chief in whose district the guilty persons lived to enforce the sentence of law, who, having first cut off the hair of the devoted wretches, to be presented to the king of the island, blew out their brains with a pistol; and so dexterously was this melancholy office performed, that life fled with the report of the piece, muscular motion ceasing entirely at the same moment.\*

Their execu-  
tion.

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\* Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 210 The chiefs, for their own vindication, made every exertion to bring the offenders to justice; it being previously doubtful whether some of them had not countenanced the murder.

We purposely refrain from a more minute description of the Sandwich archipelago, as the affairs of these interesting islands will present themselves to our notice at a future period, and under a more recent aspect. Their progress in civilisation has gradually advanced, founded chiefly on an increased intercourse with the commercial states of Europe and America, and modified, in some degree, by the principles of Christianity received from the various orders of missionaries.

It may have been observed by the reader, that the officers of the expedition now described considered Captain Cook as the original discoverer of the Sandwich Islands, not being aware of their identity with Los Majos and the Islas de la Mesa, seen by the Spaniards more than a century before the English navigator visited that portion of the northern Pacific, but placed inaccurately in their charts in respect to longitude. Vancouver, as well as Dixon, Maurelle, and La Perouse, made diligent search for the cluster mentioned by Mendana, and, it need not be added, without success. In modern times, the voyager is no longer perplexed in his investigations by the mistake of the Spanish admiral, whose industry was greater than his science, and who possessed not the means which art has since supplied to aid the practical conclusions of astronomy.

The original  
discovery of  
the Sandwich  
Islands.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Edwards, Wilson, Fanning, and Turnbull.*

Motives which led to the Voyage of Lieutenant Bligh—His Instructions in Regard to Plants—He arrives at the Society Islands—Inquiries relative to Captain Cook—Co-operation of the Natives—The Areois—Funeral of the Surgeon—Attempt to cut the Cable of the *Bounty*—Suspicious of Bligh—Mutiny on Board his Ship—Supposed Cause of this Rising—Defence of Christian—Navigation in the open Boat—The Arrival at Timor—Government despatch Captain Edwards in the *Pandora* in Search of Mutineers—Proceedings at Otaheite—Treatment of the Prisoners on Board the Frigate—Plan adopted by Christian and his Adherents—*Pandora* leaves the Society Islands—Several Discoveries made—Visits the Hapai and Fijee Groups—Edwards sails to the Coast of New Holland—Wreck of his Ship—Loss of Lives, including some of the Mutineers—Sufferings of the Survivors—Arrival at Coupang—Adventures of a Boat's Crew—Departure for England—Wreck of the *Antelope*, Captain Wilson, on one of the Pelew Islands—Kind Reception by the Natives—The King and Royal Family—English Sailors assist the Inhabitants in War—Habits and Manners of the People—The King confides his Son Lee Boo to the Care of Captain Wilson—Character and History of the Youth—Voyages of Mr Fanning—Discovery of some Islands—Adventures in the higher Latitudes of South Sea—New South Shetland—Deception Island—Reasons why not sooner discovered—Voyage of Mr Turnbull round the World—St Salvador—Manners of the Portuguese—New South Wales—Natives of New Holland—Norfolk Island—Soil, Climate, and Productions—Attempt on his Ship at Ulitea—Missionaries—Scepticism of Chiefs—Return of Author.

CHAP. XVI. As the narrative of Captain Edwards could not be fully understood without a reference to an earlier voyage performed by Lieutenant Bligh, it is necessary to lay before the reader a brief account of a remarkable incident which has given a most painful celebrity to the

The voyage  
of Bligh.

latter undertaking. Upon a representation from the merchants and planters interested in our West India possessions, stating that the introduction of the bread-fruit tree, as an article of food, would be of very essential benefit to the inhabitants of those islands, George the Third gave directions to the Lords of the Admiralty to fit out a ship proper for the purpose and send her into the South Sea. A vessel of two hundred and fifteen tons, named the *Bounty*, was procured and placed under the command of Mr Bligh, an officer who, as he had served under Captain Cook, was well acquainted with the navigation of the Southern Pacific, and no stranger to the language spoken in the several groups which he might have occasion to visit.

CHAP. XVI.

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The object of  
Bligh's voy-  
age.

He was instructed to proceed to the Society Islands, whence, after having taken on board as many trees and plants as might be thought necessary, he was to direct his course through Endeavour Straits, which separate New Holland from New Guinea, to Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda; or, if more convenient, to the eastern side of Java, where he was desired to add to his stock mangosteens, durians, jacks, nancas, lansas, and other fruit-trees of that quarter, as well as the rice-plant which grows on dry land; this last, he was assured, being regularly cultivated in Prince's Island. From the stations now indicated, he was directed to proceed round the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies, and leave one-half of the plants, which might still be alive, at the royal botanical establishment in the island of St Vincent, and then go on to Jamaica, where he was to deposit the remainder. He was commanded to take care that specimens of all the varieties should be reserved for his majesty's garden at Kew, being carefully selected by the professional persons who were to accompany him on the voyage.

His instru-  
tions.

On the 23d December 1787, Lieutenant Bligh sailed from Spithead, and early in the following month reached Teneriffe, where he repaired some damages sustained in a storm at the mouth of the Channel.

He sails from  
Spithead.



CHAP. XVI. Finding it impossible to double Cape Horn, where the weather proved so exceedingly tempestuous that the elements, as Lord Anson expressed it, only ceased for a moment from their fury, as it were "to draw breath in order to return with redoubled violence," he determined to bear away for the eastward, in expectation of making a quicker passage by the Cape of Good Hope and round New Holland. On the 26th October, the *Bounty* anchored in Matavai Bay, after having run, according to the measurement of the log, not less than twenty-seven thousand and eighty-six miles, which, on the average, was at the rate of a hundred and eight miles every twenty-four hours.

Bligh arrives  
at Talitti.

Many inquiries were made by the Otaheitans after Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and other gentlemen whom they had seen on board the *Resolution* and *Discovery*. A ship had touched at the island, from the crew of which they learned that the great captain was no more; but of the circumstances which attended his death they seemed to be entirely ignorant, and Mr Bligh gave strict directions that the murder should not be mentioned. He learned with regret that Omai, and the two New Zealand boys who had been left with him, were dead; though every one agreed that they had not suffered any violence to which their premature decease could be ascribed. In return to his questions regarding the cattle which had been left by the English navigator, he received a very unfavourable account; and it was not a little mortifying to perceive that in respect to theft and intemperance, the habits of the natives were not in any degree improved. In reference to the cows and sheep, Tinah, father of the reigning prince, related that, sixty-three moons after the departure of the *Resolution*, the people of Eimeo joined with the warriors of Attahooroo, a district of Otaheite, and made a descent on Oparree: and that after some resistance, during which many men were killed, himself and his followers fled to the mountains, leaving all their property to the mercy of the assailants, who destroyed

Unimproved  
character of  
the natives.

almost every thing which they could not conveniently remove. Some of the cattle were killed and eaten, but the greater part were taken to Eimeo. The cows, it appeared, had produced eight calves, and the ewes ten lambs. The ducks, among which were included the geese, had increased greatly, but the turkeys and peafowls, whatever might be the cause, had not bred at all.

One morning a man appeared on the deck of the Bounty with Cook's picture, which had been drawn by Mr Webber in 1777, and left with Otoo. The frame was a little injured, and the object of the visiter was to get it repaired. It was pleasing to find that great value was attached to it as a memorial of "Toote earec no Otaheite"—Cook the chief of Otaheite. The natives asserted that the great captain had desired Otoo, whenever any English should come, to show the drawing, and it would be acknowledged as a token of friendship.

Mr Bligh found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the leading men in the island to select the various plants which he had been sent to procure. Addressing Tinah, he said that King George, from a desire to benefit him and his country, had sent out many valuable presents; and will you not, he added, send something to his majesty in return? "Yes," he exclaimed, "I will send him any thing I have;" and then began to enumerate the different articles in his power, among which he mentioned the bread-fruit.

Meantime the lieutenant received many invitations from the principal inhabitants, whose hospitality was not a little stimulated by the hope of receiving presents, and of being favourably reported to the King of Britain, who, they understood, exercised a generosity equal to his great power. On one occasion he was taken to visit a party of areois, a society whose existence is at once a disgrace to the natives and a paradox to strangers. The object of that licentious institute appears to be the maintenance of an aristocratic body, who, while they are exempted from the ordinary toils and cares of life, are understood to devote themselves to the defence of

CHAP. XVI.

The picture  
of CookHospitality  
to Bligh.

CHAP. XVI. their country, and perhaps to the preservation of a certain species of traditionary knowledge. To prevent the undue increase of an association who are supported at the public expense, and the accumulation of cares which would necessarily withdraw their thoughts from the fancied duties of their station, they are allowed to put to death all their children immediately after birth. The Otaheitans themselves, whose doings are regulated by habit rather than by reflection, could give no other reason for this strange indulgence than that it prevented an excess of population. "We have too many children and too many men, was their constant excuse." Yet it does not appear that they are apprehensive of an undue increase of the lower class of the people, none of them being ever admitted into this mystical society. In some respects, the areois bear a resemblance to the knights templar of Europe, who combined in their characters the attributes of a religious and a military profession. They receive offerings in the name of the gods, and they carry arms in the name of their country; nevertheless, their mode of life does no honour to their pretensions, either as patriots or defenders of the national faith.

The repress-  
ing of popu-  
lation.

In small islands like those of the South Sea, the natives of which, before they were discovered by Europeans, had not, it is probable, the remotest idea of the existence of other lands, it is not quite unreasonable that the symptoms of an increasing population should have occasioned apprehensions of universal distress. Orders of celibacy, which have proved prejudicial in other countries, might perhaps in the Society group have been found useful, could their purpose have been attained by means not absolutely wicked. But there is little doubt, that on many occasions the murder of infants was perpetrated with the view of satisfying some cruel adjustment of rank and precedency; for, considering the simple manners of the Otaheitans, nothing is more remarkable than the strictness with which the several gradations in society are maintained.

It is doubtful whether any action, however meritorious, could elevate a man above the class in which he was born, unless he happened to acquire sufficient power to conquer dignity for himself. On the same principle, it was ruled that, if any woman of the inferior classes had a child by an earee or chief, it should not be suffered to live. The introduction of Christianity, no doubt, has to some extent softened the manners and relaxed the superstitious notions of the privileged families; and there is reason to hope, that the severe restrictions and impure maxims of the areois will soon find a place among the things which have been, and will only be remembered as a proof that the principles of heathenism failed to exert on social institutions the same benign influence which springs from the milder genius of the gospel.

The influence  
of Christi-  
anity.

On the 24th December, the plants, amounting in all to seven hundred and seventy-four pots, were taken on board in a healthy state. The natives reckon eight kinds of the bread-fruit tree, each of which they distinguish by a different name; but the fruit itself, it is admitted, differs less in quality than in the season at which it ripens, and the appearance of the leaf wherewith it is covered. The common method of measuring time is by moons, though the year is also divided into six parts, marked by the succession of the vegetable bread with which nature thus supplies them. In this distribution of time, there is a short interval called *tawa*, being about the end of February, when this species of fruit is not used at all; the trees notwithstanding present the usual abundance, though not in a state quite suitable for food. It is asserted by the inhabitants that the plants cannot be raised from seed; they must be propagated from shoots, which issue in great numbers from the stem near the surface of the ground.\*

Method of  
measuring  
time.

\* Voyage to the South Sea, undertaken by command of his Majesty, for the purpose of conveying the Bread-fruit Tree to the West Indies, in his Majesty's Ship the *Bounty*, commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh. Including an account of the Mutiny



## CHAP. XVI.

## Funeral rites.

Towards the close of the year, the surgeon died from the effects, it was alleged, of indolence and intemperance. Bligh had obtained permission to bring the body ashore; and on going with Tinah to the place intended for the interment, he found that the natives had already begun to dig the grave. The chief asked if they were doing it right: "there," said he, "the sun rises, and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they learned it from the Spaniards, who had performed a funeral there in 1774, there were no means of ascertaining; but it was certain they had no intimation of that kind from any one belonging to the English ship. During the ceremony, many of the principal inhabitants, who thought it their duty to attend, paid the greatest respect to the religious service; and we are informed that numbers of them who frequented divine worship on Sundays, behaved with the utmost decency and apparent devotion. Some of the women, indeed, at one time were inclined to laugh, upon hearing the crew join in the general responses; but a look from the commanding officer was sufficient to recall them to a sense of decorum.

A mischief  
done to  
Bligh's ship.

On the 6th of February 1789, an occurrence happened which gave the lieutenant deep concern, not only on account of the danger to which the ship was thereby exposed, but as it tended greatly to diminish the confidence and good understanding hitherto maintained between him and the natives. The wind had blown fresh in the night, and at dawn of day he discovered that the cable by which the *Bounty* rode had been cut near the water's edge, in such a manner that only one strand remained whole. While the crew were engaged in securing the vessel, Tinah presented himself on board; and though there was no reason whatever to suppose

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on Board the said Ship, and the subsequent Voyage of the Crew in the Ship's Boat from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Isles, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies. 1 vol. 4to, London, 1792.

that he was privy to the transaction, Bligh nevertheless thought it his duty to speak to him in a very peremptory manner, and insisted upon his discovering and bringing the offender to justice. He promised to use his utmost endeavours to secure the guilty person. Next morning, the chief and his wife returned to the ship, and gave an assurance that they had made the strictest inquiries without success. This not appearing satisfactory to the commander, he behaved towards them with great coldness, at which they were much distressed; and the female at length gave vent to her grief in a flood of tears. "I could no longer," says he, "keep up the appearance of mistrusting them, but I earnestly recommended to them, as they valued the King of England's friendship, that they would exert their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders, which they faithfully promised to do."\*

CHAP. XVI.

The natives  
accused of  
the mischief.

At this part of his narrative, the lieutenant observes, it had since occurred to him that this attempt to cut the ship adrift was most probably the act of some of his own people; whose purpose of remaining at Otaheite might have been effectually answered without danger, if she had been driven on shore. At the time it happened, he admits, he entertained not the slightest suspicion of this kind, nor did the possibility of it enter into his mind, having no impression that so strong an attachment to these islands could prevail among his people as to induce them to abandon every prospect of returning to their native country.

Bligh's own  
men the pro-  
bable perpe-  
trators.

This afterthought on the part of Bligh has been pronounced wholly without foundation, and not in any degree supported by subsequent facts; the damage done to the cable being ascribed to its chafing over the rocky bottom. But it may be presumed that to the eye of a seaman the difference must have been obvious between the effects of friction and the use of a sharp instrument in dividing the strands of a large rope. Hence, there

\* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 124-126.

CHAP. XVI. seems to remain no small degree of probability that the injury in question, so far from being accidental, might have been traced to design, either on the side of the natives or on that of some individuals among the crew. This notion sank deeply into the mind of the commander. "When about to leave Otaheite," he remarks, "for twenty-three weeks we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, and which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events which followed more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner.\*"

Friendliness  
of the na-  
tives.

In the beginning of April, the *Bounty* was ready for sea, having on board, besides the seven hundred and seventy-four pots already mentioned, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants was one thousand and fifteen; besides which the botanist had collected a variety of others, including the "avee," which is one of the finest fruits in the world; the "ayyah," which, though not so rich, possesses a very refreshing flavour; the "rattah," not much unlike a chesnut, and may be eaten raw or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans; and the "orae-ab," which is a very superior kind of plantain. All these had been particularly recommended by Sir Joseph Banks, to whose care the arrangements for the voyage had been confided.

Bligh again  
at sea.

On the 27th April, the eve of the mutiny, Mr Bligh found himself between the island Tofoa and Kotoo, advancing in a course of uninterrupted prosperity, and attended with circumstances in the highest degree pleasing. On leaving the deck at night, he gave directions

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\* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 141. See also "The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of his Majesty's Ship *Bounty*; its Cause and Consequences," p. 54-56. 1 vol. 12mo. London, 1831.

as to the course to be steered : the master had the first watch, the gunner the middle one, and Mr Christian that of the morning. But just before sun-rising on the 28th, while he was yet asleep, the last-named officer, Charles Churchhill, ship's corporal, John Mills, gunner's mate, and Thomas Barkitt, seaman, went into his cabin, and seizing him, tied his hands with a cord behind his back, threatening him with instant death if he spoke or made the least noise. He called, however, as loud as he could, in the hope of finding assistance ; but they had already secured the officers who were not of their party by placing sentinels at their doors. Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. They hauled him out of bed, forced him on deck in his shirt, suffering great pain, says he, "from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than abuse for not holding my tongue." The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, of severe measures. When the boat was out, Mr Hayward and Mr Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and another person, were commanded to descend into it. The commander desired to know the cause of such proceedings, and endeavoured to persuade the people near him not to persist in such acts of violence ; but the only answer he received was "hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this instant."

Mr Bligh states in his narrative that he continued his endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass which he had first drawn for a bayonet that was brought to him, "and holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he threatened with many oaths to kill me immediately if I would not be quiet : the villains round me had their pieces cocked and their bayonets fixed. Particular persons were called to go into the boat, and were hurried over the side ; whence I concluded that with these people I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another effort to bring about a change, but with no other effect

CHAP. XVI.  
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Mutiny of his crew.

Personal violence to Bligh.



CHAP. XVI than to be threatened to have my brains blown out."

The boatswain and seamen who were to go in the boat were allowed to collect twine, canvass, lines, sails, cordage, with a cask of water containing twenty-eight gallons; and the clerk got one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden on pain of death to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any surveys or drawings.

Bligh put  
adrift in a  
boat.

The officers and men being in the boat, Mr Christian, the chief mutineer, advanced to his prisoner, and said, "Come, Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death." Without farther ceremony he was forced over the side, when they untied his hands; and the small bark being veered astern by a rope, the party, amounting in all to nineteen individuals, were immediately cast loose in the open ocean. "Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated," says the commander, "the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? He appeared disturbed at my question, and answered with much emotion, 'That, Captain Bligh—that is the thing—I am in hell—I am in hell!'"

The causes of  
the mutiny.

To the question which must naturally arise in the mind of every reader regarding the cause of such a revolt, the lieutenant endeavours to supply an answer, founded on the circumstances to which allusion has already been made. He concludes that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hope of a more happy life among the Otaheitans than they could possibly enjoy in England; and that this, joined to some female connexions, occasioned the miserable catastrophe. In proof of the soundness of this opinion, he relates that,

after he was turned adrift with his eighteen companions in distress, they heard a shout on board several times repeated, "Huzza for Otaheite!" The women in that island, he adds, are handsome, mild, and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and loved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people that they encouraged their stay among them, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these and many other attendant circumstances, it is not perhaps much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them having no relations at home who could engage their thoughts, should have been led away; especially when, in addition to such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty on one of the finest islands in the world, where, without any labour, the allurements of dissipation are beyond any thing that can be conceived. Desertions, accordingly, have happened, more or less, from all the ships which have been at the Society Islands; but it has always been in the commanders' power to make the chiefs return their people. "Therefore," concludes Mr Bligh, "the knowledge that it was unsafe to desert perhaps first led mine to consider with what ease so small a ship might be surprised, and that so favourable an opportunity would never offer to them again."\*

CHAP. XVI.

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The muti-  
neers attach-  
ment to  
Tahiti.

Others less partial to the commander of the *Bounty* have discovered the cause of this celebrated revolt in his own character, more especially his rough manners and tyrannical disposition. The story which he published on his return to England obtained implicit credit; but it has recently been maintained that his narrative was proved to be false in many material bearings by evidence before a court-martial; and moreover, that every act of his public life after this event was stamped with

Inculpations  
of Bligh.

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\* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 160-164.

CHAP. XVI. an insolence, an inhumanity, and coarseness, which fully developed the fierceness of his nature.\*

Beechey's  
account of  
the meeting.

It may not appear unseasonable to mention, that there is in Captain Beechey's account of Pitcairn Island, where it is well known some of the mutineers found a permanent refuge, a passage which seems to cast a stain on the memory of one of the officers, Mr Stewart, who has always been considered entirely innocent. In allusion to Mr Christian, the captain observes that his plan was to set himself adrift upon a raft, and make his way to Tofoaa, which was still in sight. "As quick in the execution as in the design, the raft was soon constructed. various articles were got together, and he was on the point of launching it, when a young officer, who afterwards perished in the Pandora, to whom Christian communicated his intention, recommended him, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, to endeavour to take possession of the ship, which he thought would not be very difficult, as many of the ship's company were not well disposed towards the commander, and would all be very glad to return to Otaheite, and reside among their friends in that island. This daring proposition is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion, and if true, certainly relieves Christian from part of the odium which has hitherto attached to him as the sole instigator of the mutiny."

Beechey's  
communication  
with  
Heywood.

But Captain Beechey, desirous of being correct in his statement, sent it to Captain Heywood, also one of the officers of the Bounty, for any observations which he might see proper to make, in regard to the part assigned to the youth who perished in the Pandora. The reply is given in the following terms, which no longer leave

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\* Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 72; and United Service Journal for April 1831. "The accusation of Bligh having falsified his narrative," says the author of the former work, "is a very heavy charge, and, it is to be feared, is not wholly without foundation;" though it would perhaps be more correct to say, that both in the printed narrative of his voyage, and in the narrative on which the mutineers were tried, there are many important omissions when compared with his original manuscript journal.

any doubt in relation to the main facts, as well as to the motives whence they originated. "That Christian informed the boatswain and the carpenter, Messrs Hayward and Stewart, of his determination to leave the ship upon a raft, on the night preceding the mutiny, is certain; but that any one of them—Stewart in particular—should have recommended, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, that he should try the expedient of taking the ship from the captain, is entirely at variance with the whole character and conduct of the latter, both before and after the mutiny, as well as with the assurance of Christian himself the very night he quitted Otaheite, that the idea of attempting to take the ship had never entered his distracted mind until the moment he relieved the deck, and found his mate and midshipman asleep." Nay, it appears that, in a voluntary communication, he stated other circumstances relative to the mutiny which acquit every one but himself of the guilt of planning it, though, to a certain extent, they might be held to extenuate the crime, if viewed in connexion with his personal feelings. It ought to be added that the particulars collected at Pitcairn Island were received from Alexander Smith, better known as John Adams, who, it is acknowledged, was not always correct in the information with which he occasionally entertained his visitors.\*

CHAP. XVI.

Heywood's  
account of  
the mutiny.

The most wonderful occurrence in the history of this mutiny, is the navigation in an open boat from the Friendly Islands to Timor in the Indian Ocean, a distance of four thousand statute miles, with hardly enough of food to keep the people alive. On the 5th June, a booby was caught by the hand, the blood of which was divided among three of the men who were weakest, and the bird kept for next day's dinner. On the 7th, after

Navigation  
of Bligh's  
boat across  
the Pacific.

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\* Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 90. The author relates that the statement made by Adams and Captain Beechey gave great pain to Heywood, who adverted to it on his deathbed, wishing, out of regard for Stewart's memory, and his surviving friends, that it should be publicly contradicted.



CHAP. XVI. a miserably wet and cold night, the sea, which was running high, broke over the boat the whole day. Mr Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogue, a hardy old seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. No other assistance could be given to them besides a teaspoonful or two of wine, which had been carefully saved for such a melancholy occasion. In the morning of the 10th, there was a visible alteration for the worse in many of the crew. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution. On the 11th, Mr Bligh announced to his wretched companions, that he had no doubt they had now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, a piece of intelligence which diffused universal joy and satisfaction. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the following day, the island was discovered at the distance of only two leagues. "It is not possible for me," says the lieutenant, "to describe the pleasure which the blessing of the sight of this land diffused among us. It appeared scarcely credible to ourselves, that, in an open boat and so poorly provided, we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoaa, having in that time run by our log a distance of three thousand six hundred and eighteen nautical miles; and that notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished in the voyage." The poor sufferers, when landed, were scarcely able to walk; their condition is described as most deplorable. But they were received with every mark of kindness, hospitality, and humanity; the houses of the principal inhabitants being thrown open for their reception. Their leader observes, that "the abilities of a painter could rarely, perhaps, have been displayed to more advantage than in the delineation of the two groups of figures which at this time presented themselves to each other. An indifferent spectator, if such could be found, would have been at a loss which

Sufferings  
of Bligh's  
companions.

Arrival at  
Timor.

most to admire, the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed with rags; in this condition, with the tears of gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.”\*

An action so atrocious as the seizure of a public ship by a mutinous crew could not be overlooked by the government, who immediately despatched the Pandora frigate under the command of Captain Edwards, with orders to proceed in the first instance to Otaheite, and not finding the deserters there, to visit the different clusters of islands in the South Sea. Sailing in August 1790, he arrived in Matavai Bay on the 23d March following, where he soon learned that several individuals belonging to the Bounty had taken up their abode. Early next morning, a canoe having one man on board put off from the shore, who, as soon as he came alongside, expressed the greatest satisfaction at seeing Mr Hayward, one of the officers who had served under Bligh. This person, whose name was Joseph Coleman, attempted, it is said, to come on board even before the Pandora had anchored, and seemed ready to give all the information that was required of him. He was almost immediately followed by Mr Peter Heywood and Mr Stewart, before any boat had been sent ashore. A conversation was about to ensue between these two midshipmen and Mr Hayward, now lieutenant; but Captain Edwards, ordering them to desist, commanded a sentinel to take the prisoners into safe custody, and to put them in irons. Four other mutineers forthwith made their appearance, from whom the infor-

The voyage  
of Edwards.

Surrender of  
some of the  
mutineers.

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\* A Voyage to the South Sea, p. 228-234. Mr Bligh mentions with great gratitude the attentions received from the governor, William Adrian Van Este, who, in that capacity, represented the States of Holland.

CHAP. XVI. mation was obtained that a certain number of the Bounty's people still remaining, had built a schooner, in which, on the previous day, they had sailed from Matavai towards the north-western part of the island.

Edwards, continuing the narrative, farther relates that, on receiving the intelligence just mentioned, he despatched the two lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, with the pinnace and launch, in order to intercept her. After an unsuccessful pursuit, they returned on the approach of night to the ship; but the fugitives, for some reason which does not appear, came back to the island, and, abandoning their little vessel, fled to the neighbouring mountains. On the second day, they descended from their place of refuge, and surrendering to Mr Corner without any attempt at resistance, were carried on board the Pandora. The total number, including those who voluntarily presented themselves as soon as the frigate entered the bay, was fourteen.

Surrender of  
others of the  
mutineers.

The captain, according to his own narrative, put the pirates, as he terms them, into a round-house which he built on the after-part of the quarter-deck, for their more effectual security, and to prevent them from having any communication with the crew, whose sympathies might have been excited in their favour. The surgeon, to whose publication we are principally indebted for particulars, describes it as the most desirable place in the ship, and adds that orders were given that the prisoners should be victualled in every respect the same as the other seamen, both in meat, liquor, and even the extra indulgences, notwithstanding the established rules of the service, which restrict persons under confinement to two-thirds allowance. But Morrison, one of the unfortunate individuals in whose favour this unwonted humanity was exercised, gives a very different account of their treatment. He asserts, that Edwards put both legs of the two midshipmen in irons, branding them with the opprobrious epithet of piratical villains; and that they with the rest being strongly handcuffed, were put into a place only eleven feet long,

Treatment of  
the prisoners.

built as a prison, and aptly named Pandora's Box, which was covered by a scuttle in the roof about eighteen inches square. He subjoins a statement which is hardly supported by probability, importing that two sentinels were kept constantly on the top of the temporary edifice, with orders to shoot the first of its inmates who should attempt to address another in the Otaheitan language.\*

CHAP. XVI.

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Extreme  
rigour of  
their treat-  
ment.

Immediately upon his arrival, the captain received information that Mr Christian, with nine of his companions and several natives of both sexes, had, after a short stay at Otaheite, slipped the Bounty's cable in the night, and leaving the rest of the crew on shore, departed no one knew whither. Edwards had not therefore the aid even of a conjecture to guide him as to the course taken by the chief mutineer; but he learned from different individuals, as well as from certain papers left behind, his proceedings on board after Bligh and the others had been turned adrift near Tofoaa. It was ascertained that the pirates, in the first instance, steered for Toobouai, where they landed on the 25th May, after having cast into the sea the greater part of the bread-fruit plants, and divided among themselves the property of the officers and men whom they had

Course first  
taken after  
the mutiny.

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\* A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Frigate Pandora, performed under the Direction of Captain Edwards, in the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792. With the Discoveries made in the South Sea; and the many Distresses experienced by the Crew from Shipwreck and Famine, in a Voyage of Eleven Hundred Miles in open Boats, between Endeavour Straits and the Island of Timor. By George Hamilton, late Surgeon of the Pandora. 8vo, Berwick, 1793.

Morrison's statement derives no corroboration from the narrative of Mr Hamilton, who, as noticed above, relates that the prison was built on the quarter-deck, with the view of affording to the unfortunate captives every advantage of a free circulation of air; and that the "captain very humanely commiserated with their unhappy and inevitable length of confinement."—"The prisoners' wives visited the ship daily, and brought their children, who were permitted to be carried to their unhappy fathers. Their wives brought them ample supplies of every delicacy that the country afforded, and behaved with the greatest fidelity and affection to them."—P. 32-34.



CHAP. XVI. sent away in the boat. At this island they intended to form a settlement, but the aversion of the inhabitants, the want of necessary materials, and the quarrels which had already begun to take place among themselves, determined them to go to Otaheite to procure what might still be required to effect their ultimate purpose.

Visit of the  
mutineers to  
Tahiti.

Their appearance in Matavai Bay excited some surprise in the mind of Otoo and the other chiefs, who asked what had become of the commander and the remainder of his people, as also of the numerous plants with which they had been provided. In reply, they had recourse to a shameful falsehood; stating that they had most unexpectedly fallen in with Captain Cook at an island called Whytootake, where he intended to establish a colony, and therefore needed the young trees procured at Otaheite. They added that Mr Bligh and the others had gone ashore to assist the great navigator, having intrusted to Mr Christian the command of the *Bounty*; and that they were now come by the orders of the lieutenant to obtain an additional supply of hogs, goats, fowls, and bread-fruit. This artful story, addressed to a class of persons equally humane and simple, was not for a moment doubted. The islanders were especially delighted to hear that their old friend "Toote" was still alive, and about to settle so near them: they therefore made every possible exertion to procure the articles required for his accommodation, and accordingly, in a very short time, they collected three hundred and twelve hogs, thirty-eight goats, eight dozen of fowls, a bull, and a cow, and a large quantity of bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, and other vegetables. With this stock on board, the *Bounty* returned to Toobouai, where an attempt was made to build a fort, though again opposed by the natives, who saw in the landing of such foreigners an end to their own peace and independence. Pressed by circumstances which he could not successfully oppose, and disturbed by angry discussions which he could not control, Christian determined that the ship should be taken once more to Otaheite, where such as

Return to  
Toobouai.

desired to go ashore might have an opportunity of gratifying their inclination, while those who preferred to remain on board should have the choice of engaging in an enterprise which would carry them for ever beyond the reach of their enemies. CHAP. XVI

When returned to their former anchorage at Matavai sixteen of the mutineers landed ; of whom fourteen, as has just been related, were received on board the Pandora, and two, Thompson and Churchhill, had already perished by violent deaths at the hands of the islanders. The others, amounting to nine, agreed to continue in the Bounty ; and, setting sail on the night of the 21st September 1789, they proceeded in a north-western direction, with the view, it may be presumed, of deceiving those who had refused to share their fortunes ; for it is well known that in point of fact their course was shaped towards the east, in a latitude little frequented by European vessels. They took with them nineteen natives, seven men and twelve women, whose services or society might prove useful to them during their exile, of which they could not foresee any termination. It was not even conjectured in what direction they meant to proceed ; but their leader had been frequently heard to say that his object was to discover some unknown or uninhabited spot in the ocean, in which there was no harbour for shipping, where he would run the Bounty ashore, and make use of her materials to form an establishment for his little colony. This account, vague and unsatisfactory as it must have been esteemed, was the only guide that could be procured to direct Captain Edwards in his intended search. Second visit to Tahiti. Flight and destination of Mr. Christian.

Leaving Otaheite in the beginning of May, he turned his prow towards the west, and visited in succession Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola. The king of this last island, whose name was Tatahoo, could not supply any information in regard to the fugitives, beyond the assurance that there were no white men in his dominions nor in those of his immediate neighbours. On the 19th day of the month, the frigate touched at

CHAP. XVI Whytootake, an islet discovered by Bligh, one of the natives of which, who recollected Mr Hayward, now formed the channel of communication between the English and the principal inhabitants. As a proof that these simple people are not in the lowest stage of barbarism, they offered for sale, as a specimen of their skill in handicraft, a beautiful lance, nine feet long, and cut in the form of a Gothic spire, all its ornaments being executed in a kind of alto-relievo.

Schooner  
built by the  
mutineers.

Upon reaching the Palmerston group, a lieutenant was sent ashore in charge of a boat and another small vessel described as the tender ; the latter being, in fact, the schooner which the mutineers had built in Otaheite, the history of which is not a little interesting. In point of size, it is said, she was not much larger than the celebrated launch which carried the late commander of the *Bounty* and his adherents from Tofoaa to Timor ; her dimensions being thirty-five feet in length, and nine in breadth. The investigation having been considerably protracted among these islands, the *Pandora* was blown out to sea, and the weather continuing hazy, the boats could not possibly rejoin her before she was compelled to leave the coast. The tender was afterwards recovered at Samarang in the Dutch settlement of Java ; but of the other, on board of which were a midshipman and four sailors, no tidings have ever been received. "It may be difficult to surmise," says the surgeon, "what has been the fate of those unfortunate men. They had a piece of salt beef thrown into the boat to them on leaving the ship ; and it rained a good deal that night and the following day, which might satiate their thirst. It is by these accidents," he adds, "the Divine Ruler of the universe has peopled the southern hemisphere."\*

Edwards  
proceeds  
westward.

Proceeding on his course westward, the captain discovered an island which was distinguished by the name of the Duke of York. The lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, were sent in yawls to examine it, who, imme-

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\* Hamilton's Voyage round the World, &c. p. 71.

diately upon landing, observed a wooden buoy which must have belonged to a ship of considerable burden. On searching the huts, nets of different sizes were found hanging in them, and a variety of fishing utensils. Stages and wharfs were likewise observed in different parts of the creek; whence it was inferred that the island was only resorted to at a particular season for the purpose of drawing from the sea an addition to the means of life. Their attention was attracted to a place of venerable aspect, formed entirely by the hand of nature, and bearing a striking resemblance to a druidical temple. The falling of a very large old tree formed an arch through which the interior part of the grotto was seen, which heightened the perspective and gave a solemn dignity to the whole. At the extreme end three altars were placed, the centre one higher than the two others, on which some white shells were piled in regular order.

CHAP. XVI.

Duke of  
York's  
Island.

Clarence's Island, which presented itself on the 12th June, is not worthy of more than a passing notice; but the one named Chatham, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, is said to be twice the extent of Otaheite, beautifully diversified with hill and dale, and to contain a hardy warlike race of people. Ootooelah, which was also visited, is described as not less than forty miles in length, well wooded, having immense trees of which the foliage spreads like that of the oak. The natives, too, are remarkably handsome, though they somewhat impair the effect of their natural endowments by tinging their bodies with a yellow paint. The women adorn their hair with chaplets of sweet-smelling flowers, as also their necks and wrists. Among the gifts they carried on board were some very fine puddings, seasoned with aromatic spiceries, and surpassing in taste and flavour the most delicate seed-cake.\*

Ootooelah  
Island.

On the 29th June, the Pandora anchored in the road

\* Hamilton's Voyage, p. 74-78. Several of the islands mentioned as new discoveries were already made known to Europe by other navigators, though under different names.



CHAP. XVI. of Anamooka, one of the Friendly Isles; and immediately afterwards Mr Hayward, in a large canoe, proceeded to the Hapai and Fijee groups to make inquiry after the Bounty and the missing tender. No intelligence was received of either; but an axe was found which had been left by Captain Cook, and an amicable intercourse was carried on with the natives, who, though equally daring as thieves and murderers, judged it expedient to restrain their atrocious propensities. On the following day, Captain Edwards received a visit from Tatafee, the king, who was understood to be lineally descended from the family who reigned in the island when first discovered by Tasman, the Dutch circumnavigator; and the fact of his supplying them with dogs and hogs is handed down by oral tradition to this day. As compared to Otaheite, society may be said to exist here in the second stage. As land is scarcer, private property is more exactly ascertained, and each possession is neatly fenced with a beautiful Chinese railing. Highways and roads leading to public places are bounded with suitable walls or hedges; and many houses have a handsome approach in the form of a gravel walk lined with shrubbery tastefully planted. Several had rows of pine-apples on each side of the avenue; a species of fruit which the English officers took much pains in teaching them how to transplant and improve. To increase their stock in this branch of rural economy, they made the valuable addition of the orange-tree, to which both soil and climate appeared extremely favourable.

The Hapai  
and Fijee  
Islands.

The Barrier  
Reef of  
Australia.

Three months being passed in this fruitless search, the Pandora, about the end of August, arrived on the coast of New Holland, near to the line of coral rocks called the Barrier Reef, which runs along the greater part of the eastern shore, though at a considerable distance from it. An opening had been discovered large enough to allow a safe passage to the frigate; but owing to some defect of seamanship, or to the action during the night of a powerful current, the existence of which was unknown to navigators in those days, she struck on the fatal ridge

where she was finally wrecked. After every exertion was made with the view of carrying out an anchor, the hull was found to have received so much damage that no means remained whereby she could possibly be saved. The carpenter reported that the water in the hold had increased to eight feet; and though the ship had beaten over the reef, and was floating in ten fathoms, the circumstances of the crew were not in any degree improved. CHAP. XVI

Wreck of  
Edwards'  
ship.

The officers, who were now consulted, gave it as their opinion that, as nothing could be done for the preservation of the vessel, it became necessary to devise means for saving the lives of the people committed to their charge. Four boats accordingly were placed astern of the Pandora, with a small quantity of bread, water, and other necessary articles deposited in them; two canoes were lashed together and put alongside; while rafts were made and every other expedient adopted which the pressing exigency either required or admitted. "About half-past six in the morning of the 29th," says the captain, "the hold was full, and the water was between decks, and it also washed in at the upper deck ports, and there were strong indications that the ship was on the very point of sinking, and we began to leap overboard and take to the boats, and before every body could get out of her, she actually sank. The boats continued astern of the ship in the direction of the drift of the tide from her, and took up the people who had hold of rafts and other floating things that had been cast loose for the purpose of supporting them on the water. The double canoe, that was able to support a considerable number of men, broke adrift with only one man, and was bulged upon a reef, and afforded us no assistance when she was so much wanted on this trying and melancholy occasion. Two of the boats were laden with men, and sent to a small sandy island or key about four miles from the wreck; and I remained near the ship for some time with the other two boats, and picked up all the people that could be seen, and then

The sinking  
of the ship.

CHAP. XVI followed the two first boats to the key; and having  
 — landed the men and cleared the boats, they were immediately despatched again to look about the wreck and the adjoining reef for any thing that might be missing, but they returned without having found a single person. On mustering the people that were saved, it appeared that eighty-nine of the ship's company and ten of the mutineers answered to their names; but thirty-one of the ship's company and four mutineers were lost with the ship.\*

Muster of  
the persons  
saved.

The muti-  
neers amid  
the ship-  
wreck.

It has been remarked that in these details, furnished by the commanding-officer, he takes hardly any notice of his unfortunate prisoners. Another narrative, attributed to Lieutenant Corner, supplies some particulars not at all creditable to the humanity of Edwards, who did not, on other grounds, sustain a high reputation for tenderness of heart or gentle manners. It is related on the authority now mentioned, that when the ship began to fill with water, three of the *Bounty's* people were let out of irons, and sent to work at the pumps. The

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\* This statement is taken from Captain Edwards' narrative laid before the court-martial, and quoted by the author of the *Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty*, p. 165. Mr Hamilton relates that, when all hope of saving the ship had passed, the next care was to save the lives of the crew; to effect which, spars, booms, hencoops, and every thing buoyant was let loose, that when she went down, they might chance to get hold of something. The prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons. The water was now coming faster in at the gun-ports than the pumps could discharge; and to this minute the men never swerved from their duty. She now took a very heavy heel, so much that she lay quite down on one side. One of the officers now told the captain, who was standing aft, that the anchor on our bow was under water; that she was then going; and bidding him farewell, jumped over the quarter into the water. The captain then followed his example, and jumped after him. At that instant she took her last heel; and while every one was scrambling to windward, she sunk in an instant. The crew had just time to leap overboard, accompanying the act with a most dreadful yell. The cries of the men drowning in the water were at first awful in the extreme; but they sunk and became faint, dying away by degrees. The boats which were at some considerable distance in the drift of the tide, in about half an hour, or little better, picked up the remainder of our wretched crew.—*Voyage round the World*, p. 107.

others offered their assistance, and begged to be allowed a chance of saving their lives; instead of which two additional sentinels were placed over them, with orders to shoot every one who should attempt to get rid of his fetters. Seeing no prospect of escape, they betook themselves to prayer, making ready to meet their fate; every one expecting that the ship would soon go to pieces, her rudder and part of the stern-post being already beaten away. CHAP. XVI

It is asserted by the surgeon that, when the dreadful crisis was at hand, "the prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons." But, in the narrative to which allusion has been made, this statement is flatly denied; the author maintaining that no notice was taken of their frightful condition, although the captain was entreated by Mr Heywood to have mercy upon them as he was passing over their prison to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside, with the larboard-bow completely under water. Fortunately the master-at-arms, either by accident or design, when slipping from the roof of "Pandora's Box" into the sea, let the keys fall through the entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation. In this they were generously assisted, at the imminent risk of his own life, by William Moulter, a boatswain's mate, who clung to the combings, and pulled the long bars through the shackles, saying he would set them free or go to the bottom with them. But his benevolence did not reap its full reward, for Mr Stewart and three others perished, all of them with their hands still in manacles. On this melancholy occasion, Mr Heywood was nearly the last person who escaped from the prison, into which the water had already found its way through certain openings in the bulk-heads. Jumping overboard, he seized a plank and was swimming towards the small sandy island already mentioned, when a boat picked him up and conveyed him thither in a state of nudity. Morrison endeavoured to follow the example of his

Conflicting statements respecting the mutineers.

Some perished while in irons.



CHAP. XVI. young companion, and although handcuffed, kept himself afloat until he received assistance. The letter which Heywood wrote to his mother from Batavia removes all doubt as to the treatment inflicted on the captive mutineers. Describing the voyage from Otaheite, he remarks, that the "Pandora, ever unlucky, and as if devoted by Heaven to destruction, was driven by the current upon the patch of a reef, and on which, there being a heavy surf, she was soon almost bulged to pieces : but having thrown all the guns on one side overboard, and the tide flowing at the same time, she beat over the reef into a basin, and brought up in fourteen or fifteen fathoms ; but she was so much damaged while on the reef, that imagining she would go to pieces every moment, we had contrived to wrench ourselves out of our irons, and applied to the captain to have mercy upon us, and suffer us to take our chance for the preservation of our lives ; but it was all in vain : he was even so inhuman as to order us all to be put into irons again, though the ship was expected to go down every moment, being scarcely able to keep her under with all the pumps at work."\*

Heywood's  
letter to his  
mother.

Sufferings of  
the wrecked  
crew. The sufferings of the people on the sandy islet were very great, augmented, in the case of the prisoners, by the severity of the commander. They remained there several days, subsisting on the small allowance of two ounces of bread and a wine-glass of water, with no

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\* This letter, "an artless and pathetic tale," which is inserted in the "Eventful History," supplies many notices not to be found elsewhere. For instance, we see the ground of the statement made by the surgeon that "the prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons," which, though to a certain extent true, does not convey a distinct impression of what actually took place. Mr Heywood informs his mother that "the boats by this time had all been prepared ; and as the captain and officers were coming upon the poop, or roof of our prison, to abandon the ship, we again implored his mercy ; upon which he sent the corporal and an armourer down to let some of us out of irons, but three only were suffered to go up, and the scuttle being then clapped on, and the master of arms upon it, the armourer had only time to let two persons out of irons, the rest, except three, letting themselves out : two of these three went down with them on their hands, and the third was picked up."

shelter from the vertical sun. The captain had tents erected for himself and his crew; but when the mutineers petitioned him for an old sail which was lying useless, he refused it; and the only shelter they had was to bury themselves up to the neck in the burning sand, which scorched the skin entirely off their bodies. No care or precaution, however, could procure an exemption from pain and depression of spirits. Providentially a small barrel of water, a keg of wine, some biscuit, and a few muskets and cartouch-boxes had been thrown into the boat: but the stomachs of the men being filled with salt brine, from the long interval which elapsed before they were picked up, rendered their thirst quite intolerable, and no water was allowed to be served out the first day. By a calculation now made, it was ascertained that, by filling the compass boxes and every other utensil they had, two small glasses of it could be allowed to each person during sixteen days. In the midst of the night they were disturbed by the irregular behaviour of one of the crew, which led them to suspect that he had stolen some of the wine and made himself drunk; but on further inquiry it was found that the excruciating torture he suffered from thirst had induced him to take sea-water, the consequence of which was madness in the first instance, and subsequent death. A small parcel of tea had been saved; of which, when it was boiled, every one took a salt-cellar spoonful and passed it to his neighbour, by which means "we moistened our mouths by slow degrees and received much refreshment from it." Nor was bread much more abundant than water. When they embarked on their voyage of eleven hundred miles to the island of Timor, a pair of wooden scales was made in each boat, and the weight of a musket ball was served out to each man.\*

Fearful  
scarcity of  
water.

Pitiful  
supply of  
bread.

Pursuing their course along the shore of New Holland, they touched at several points in search of water, which, owing to the fierce character of the

\* Hamilton, Voyage round the World, p. 115.

## CHAP. XVI

Torture from  
heat and  
thirst.

natives, they seldom procured without hazard. Berries and oysters added a little variety to their scanty meals, though the visitations of hunger were less appalling than the incessant thirst with which they were overwhelmed. The men who were engaged in steering the boats were often subject to a stroke of the sun; and the rest were continually employed wetting their shirts overboard, and putting them on their heads, which alleviated the scorching heat, to which, says the surgeon, we were entirely exposed, "most of us having lost our hats while swimming at the time the ship was wrecked. It may be observed," he adds, "that this method of wetting our bodies with salt water is not advisable, if the misery is protracted beyond three or four days, as after that time the great absorption from the skin, which takes place from the increased heat and fever, makes the fluids become tainted with the bitterness of the salt water; so much so, that the saliva becomes intolerable in the mouth."\*

Meeting at  
Samarang  
with the  
party in the  
tender.

On the 13th September, the land was observed, and the discoverer was immediately rewarded with a glass of water. On the 15th, they moored their boats opposite the fort of Coupang; and nothing could exceed the kindness of the governor, Mynheer Varion, in affording to them relief and comfort in their distressed condition. After remaining about three weeks they embarked on board a Dutch Indiaman, and on the 30th October anchored at Samarang in the island of Java. It was with inexpressible pleasure that they found their little tender at this port, after having relinquished all hope of its safety; and never was social affection more eminently portrayed than in the meeting of the two parties, both of whom had made a narrow escape from the jaws of death. The boat's crew related that on the night they parted company with the Pandora, the savages in their canoes attacked them in regular order and with great force. The circumstance that the islanders

\* Hamilton, p. 128.

had never before seen a European ship, and their entire ignorance of firearms, made the conflict at once more severe and lasting; for not observing any missile weapon employed when their companions were killed, they did not suspect that they had received any injury when they fell into the water. The seven-barrelled pieces made great havoc amongst them. One of their leaders displayed so much agility as to leap over the boarding-netting, and was levelling his club at Mr Oliver, who commanded the schooner, when he was shot dead by his intended victim. Not finding the frigate next day, they steered for Anamooka, the rendezvous appointed by Captain Edwards. Their distress, arising from want of water, was, it appears, not less than that of their friends who had witnessed the loss of their ship; and so painful was the effect on one of the midshipmen that he became delirious. At length they reached Tofoaa, which they mistook for Anamooka, where they were involved in a contest with the natives, who endeavoured to deprive them of their small vessel. The superiority of weapons in this case, as in most others, compensated for want of numbers, and the savages were soon overpowered. After enduring much distress, and having to sustain similar encounters wherever they met inhabitants, they found themselves at the reef which runs between New Guinea and New Holland, through which, not without great difficulty and danger, they made their way. Soon after they had passed Endeavour Straits, they fell in with a small Dutch vessel, from the crew of which they received much kindness, and were conveyed by the master to a neighbouring settlement belonging to the same people. The governor, though not wanting in the usual offices of humanity, regarded the strangers with some degree of suspicion, chiefly because their boat was built of foreign timber; a circumstance which favoured his conjecture that they might be connected with the mutineers of the *Bounty*, a description of whom had been sent to all the European colonies in those seas by the English government. But

CHAP. XVI.

Sufferings of  
that party.Relief from  
the Dutch.



CHAP. XVI. he satisfied himself with such precautions as did not interfere with their comfort or personal freedom; and, after a short delay, he sent them to Sanarang, where they were found by their shipmates of the Pandora.

Edward's  
course  
homeward.

From Batavia, the principal town of the colony, Captain Edwards sailed with his people in a Dutch Indiaman to the Cape of Good Hope; at which place, finding the Gorgon, a ship of war, he removed himself and the prisoners on board of her and proceeded to Spithead, where he arrived on the 19th June 1792; having accomplished, in somewhat less than two years, a voyage round the world. It belongs not to our undertaking to give any account of the transactions which followed; the condemnation and subsequent pardon of Mr Heywood; and the execution of three of the seamen, Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward, which took place with due solemnity in Portsmouth harbour. Justice seems to have been throughout tempered with mercy; and the effect produced could not fail to strengthen the bands of discipline, and even to promote that spirit of allegiance which characterizes the British navy. The criminals, it is related, behaved with great penitence and decorum, acknowledged the justice of their sentence for the crime of which they had been found guilty, and exhorted their fellow-sailors to take warning by their untimely fate; entreating them, whatever might be their hardships, never to forget their obedience to their officers, as a duty they owed at once to their sovereign and their country.

The Pelew  
Islands.

The wreck of the Antelope on one of the Pelew Islands, and the intercourse which followed between the benevolent natives and the strangers who were thus cast upon their shores, are familiar to every class of readers in this country; no one being ignorant of the history of Prince Lee Boo, his amiable character, and melancholy death. The group in question was probably first made known to Europeans by those Spaniards who, having settled in the Philippine Isles, applied to it the term Palos, with reference to the tall palms which meet the eye when approaching the shore, and have at a little

distance the appearance of numerous masts. The court of Madrid, eager to appropriate all the insular domains in the Northern Pacific, and to add them to the sovereignty of the church, appears to have sent at different times a succession of missionaries, who might at once reveal to the inhabitants the knowledge of Christianity, and a due reverence for the authority of the most catholic king. It is equally manifest, however, that the subjects of Philip did not establish themselves in the Pelew cluster, either in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The father Cantova, who wrote from Agadna in 1722, states that the Caroline archipelago was divided into five provinces, of which the Palos group constituted one; but he adds, that the strangers from whom he had derived all his information, did not pretend to have had any communication with the aborigines, who, it was understood, were inhuman and savage in a very great degree. It was even asserted that both men and women, who were entirely naked, fed upon human flesh; and hence, that the people of the Philippine colonies looked on them with horror as the enemies of mankind, and as a race with whom it would be most dangerous to hold any intercourse. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to learn that the Pelew Islands were utterly neglected by the Spanish government, who seem not to have known any thing more concerning them than that they occupied a space in the vast ocean which washes at once the shores of Asia and of America.

Connexion of the Spaniards with these islands.

The Antelope, a packet of about three hundred tons, in the service of the East India Company, sailed from Macao in the month of July 1783. After being two weeks at sea, the weather became so bad that the commander, Captain Wilson, appears to have lost his reckoning; and accordingly, on the night of the 10th August, he found himself dashed on a reef in the neighbourhood of an unknown island distinguished in those eastern parts by the name of Oroolong. A boat was sent ashore, both with the view of landing such things as could be saved from the wreck, and of ascertaining the

Wilson's voyage in the Antelope.

## CHAP. XVI

Wreck of the  
Antelope.

character of the natives, if any should be found on the coast. Meantime, as the vessel was expected every hour to go to pieces, the men employed themselves in constructing a raft; intending to form an encampment on the beach, until other means could be obtained for accomplishing their return to a civilized country. It was not till the second day that any of the inhabitants made their appearance. On the morning of the 12th, two canoes, having eight individuals on board, approached the place where the seamen had pitched their tents, and one of them, a brother of the king, as was afterwards known, inquired who the strangers were, and the reason of their landing. The captain replied, through one of his people who understood the Malay tongue, that they were "unfortunate Englishmen who had lost their ship upon the reef, and were their friends." This brief account was sufficient to interest the feelings and secure the good offices of the generous islanders, who immediately invited part of the refugees to repair to the residence of the sovereign, whose aid they confidently promised.\*

Amicable  
intercourse  
with the  
people of  
Pelew.

In compliance with this request, Mr Wilson sent his own brother, who was one of the ship's company, to Pelew, the island where his majesty dwelt; and meanwhile, Raa Kook, one of the royal family and commander-in-chief, with three others, remained as voluntary hostages, manifesting not the slightest suspicion nor any personal fear. This amiable chief, indeed, showed a perfect satisfaction with what our countrymen did for him; he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their manners; sat at table as they did, instead of squatting on

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\* See p. 26 of "An Account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the western Part of the Pacific Ocean: composed from the Journals and Communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his Officers, who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the Antelope, a Packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company. By George Keate, Esq., F.R.S. and S.A." London, 1789, 8vo.

It is worthy of notice that the natives also had with them a Malay, a person who, besides his own language, spoke a little Dutch and some words of English.

the ground ; and this pleasing disposition induced every one to return the affection which evidently warmed his own breast. As his wardrobe contained nothing beyond the gifts of nature, he was presented with trousers and a uniform coat ; and moved by the feeling of politeness which sprung from his innate sense of propriety, he forthwith put them on, not a little pleased in appearing like his new friends ; but finding the heat and restraint of dress rather inconvenient, he relinquished the distinction of European clothing, and deposited the laced jacket in his little museum of foreign curiosities.

Politeness of  
the prince  
Raa Kook.

Besides Raa Kook, the king, whose name was Abba Thule, had another brother named Arra Kooker, who returned from Pelew with the younger Wilson. At length his majesty himself appeared, attended by a small squadron of canoes, having thought it his duty to welcome the unfortunate mariners to his dominions, and to offer them all the aid in his power. He assured the captain that he was at perfect liberty to build a vessel, either at the place where he then was, or at the other island ; adding, at the same time, that Oroolong was thought to be unhealthy ; that his people might be sickly if they stayed on it during the prevailing wind, which would not change till after two moons ; and besides, that he might possibly be molested by the inhabitants of some of the neighbouring islands, who were at war with Pelew, and would not spare any who were under his protection. The Englishman, duly sensible of the considerate kindness which placed this alternative in his hands, gave a preference to the position he then occupied, on the ground that he was much nearer the wreck, whence he derived the principal part of his materials as well as the necessary stores.

Position of  
the wrecked  
crew.

But an occasion soon presented itself which proved that, however generous were the sentiments of the king and his royal brothers, their minds were not quite fortified against the approach of jealousy. The prime minister had solicited and obtained a cutlass from Captain Wilson, and on coming out of the tent Raa Kook saw it



CHAP. XVI. in his hand. A decided coldness towards the English was the immediate result. It was stated as a ground of complaint that a valuable weapon had been given to one who was almost a stranger, whilst the king's brothers, who had been with them all the time on the island, had never had any thing of such consequence presented to them. Some gifts were accordingly expected which might place the family of Abba Thule on a footing of equality with the chief counsellor. On this hint, the captain offered each of the kinsmen a remnant of cloth, which they both received very coolly; he afterwards gave them a piece of long white cloth and some ribands, but still not a smile appeared on their faces. In the afternoon of the same day, Wilson was informed that the king was come round into the bay, being on his return home, and if he wanted to take leave of him he must go off to his canoe. He accordingly went in the jolly-boat, having with him the linguist and four other men. To his surprise and vexation the meeting was not only constrained, but apparently ungracious on the part of the sovereign, very unlike that undisguised frankness which used to distinguish their interviews. Nevertheless, it afterwards appeared that the affront occasioned by the donation of the cutlass was not the sole cause of this change in the royal demeanour. His majesty wished to ask a favour; and it is imagined, considering the kindness he had conferred upon his visiters, and the predicament in which they were now placed, he feared that a request might seem to convey the obligation of a command. Being about to engage in battle with a formidable enemy, he begged that the captain would allow a few of his men to accompany him in the enterprise armed with their muskets. Wilson instantly replied that the English were as his own people, and that the enemies of the king were their enemies; upon which every countenance, before overshadowed with doubt or suspicion, became bright and gay. Nearly the whole crew volunteered in the service of Thule; but the number being restricted to five, the favoured individuals pre-

Cooling of  
the natives'  
friendship.

Renewed  
friendliness  
and formal  
alliance.

pared for embarkation, dressed in blue jackets, cocked hats, with light blue cockades, and properly supplied with arms and ammunition. Several skirmishes took place, in which the skill and prowess of his allies secured for the governor of Pelew a decided victory, and compelled his enemies, the people of Artingall, to sue for peace.

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In one of the actions, Raa Kook lost a son, a brave youth who had been severely wounded in a previous engagement. The funeral was conducted without any ceremony; but next morning the commander took Mr Sharp, the surgeon of the Antelope, who had given his professional services, to the place where the body was interred. They entered a house at a little distance, where only one old woman was sitting, who, on receiving some order from the general, immediately disappeared, and soon after returned with two old cocoa-nuts, a bundle of betel-nuts with the leaves, and some red ochre. He took up one of the cocoa-nuts, crossed it with the ochre transversely, and then placed it on the ground by his side. After sitting some time in a very pensive attitude, he repeated certain words which appeared to be a kind of prayer, as he was a good deal agitated: he then performed the same ceremony with the second cocoa-nut, and afterwards crossing the bunch of betel-nuts, he sat as before thoughtfully over it. Having finished his proceedings, he called the old woman, and delivered into her hands the two cocoas, as also the bundle of betel-nuts, accompanied with some directions. Mr Sharp and his companion, seeing her go towards the young man's grave, were inclined to follow her in order to observe the conclusion of the rites in which the general had been engaged; but, recollecting the circumstances in which the distressed father was placed, they resolved not to trespass on his feelings by manifesting any desire for farther information.

Death and  
funeral of  
Raa Kook's  
son.

The month of November had now arrived, and the little vessel on which the cares of the crew had been so long expended was approaching completion. From some

Vessel built  
by the  
wrecked  
crew.

CHAP. XVI. circumstances which are not clearly related, the greater number of the men were seized with the apprehension that the king, who knew the value of their co-operation in peace and in war, would not allow them to depart. They had even proceeded so far as to concert a plan for the assassination of the chiefs, whose death they concluded would throw confusion and dismay among the lower orders, who would not be able to maintain any formidable resistance. "As the faithful historian of these transactions," says Captain Wilson, "it is my duty to record every material occurrence, though I must confess that my hand shrinks from the paper whilst, impressed with horror and pity, I am compelled to relate that the lives first intended to be devoted were those of the humane, liberal king, the manly and benevolent general, the facetious and inoffensive Arra Kooker." But this phrensy, suggested by anxiety and despair, was of very short duration ; the cool reflections of the ensuing night weakened their apprehensions to such a degree that with the morning their wonted good-will to the natives returned, and the captain found no difficulty in manning the pinnacle to convey to Pelew all the iron and tools they could spare, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to their benefactor. Mr Sharp, who accompanied the party, was instructed to say that the English wished to see Abba Thule and his chiefs before their departure, that they might express their personal acknowledgments, and assure him that, when they returned to their own country, they would publicly declare the kind services and protection they had received at his hands.

Contemplated assassination of the chiefs.

Wilson made a prince of Pelew.

At the interview which followed, the king raised Captain Wilson to the station of a prince by conferring upon him the order of the Bone, a species of rude bracelet worn on the arm. When the ceremony was concluded, his majesty in a formal address reminded him that "the bone should be rubbed bright every day, and preserved as a testimony of the rank he held amongst them ; and that this mark of dignity must, on every

occasion, be defended valiantly, nor suffered to be torn from him but with the loss of life." CHAP. XVI.

Several individuals wished to accompany the crew to Europe, actuated not only by a regard for the strangers on whom they had bestowed so much hospitality, but more especially by the desire of learning the arts which gave to the latter a decided superiority over them. In every instance the proposal to make the voyage was coolly received except in the case of the king's second son Lee Boo, for whom his father was desirous to procure all the advantages which might arise from seeing distant countries in a high state of civilisation. He was aware, he said, that when his boy got to England, he would have such fine things to see, he might chance to slip away from the captain and run after novelty ; but he hoped he would keep the youth as much as he could under his own eye, and moderate the eagerness incident to his time of life. " I could wish you," he continued, " to inform Lee Boo of all things which he ought to know, and make him an Englishman. The subject of parting with my son, I have frequently revolved : I am well aware that the distant countries he must go through, differing much from his own, may expose him to dangers as well as to diseases which are unknown to us here, in consequence of which he may die : I have prepared my thoughts for this : I know that death is to all men inevitable, and whether my son meets this event at Pelew or elsewhere is immaterial. I am satisfied from what I have observed of the humanity of your character, that if he is sick, you will be kind to him ; and should that happen which your utmost care cannot prevent, let it not hinder you, or your brother, or your son, or any of your countrymen from returning here : I shall receive you or any of your people in friendship, and rejoice to see you again."

Desire of several natives to go to Europe.

Speech of the king respecting his son.

This address, when associated with the fate of the prince, who, it is well known, soon fell a victim to an infectious disease, the smallpox, cannot fail to be considered extremely interesting, and in some degree



CHAP. XVI. prophetic of the evil which he had most to dread. On the 12th November, Wilson, in his little vessel, named the Oroolong, took leave of the gentle savages, whose existence he first brought to light, and proceeded on his voyage to China. Next month, he with his young charge embarked at Canton on board the Morse, Captain Elliott, who in the most friendly manner accommodated them with a passage to England.\*

Names of  
the Pelew  
Islands.

The names by which the several members of the Palos group are known to the natives, taking them in their order from the northward, are Emungs, Aramalorgoo, Emillegue, Arraguy, Cooroora, Caragaba, Pethnel, and Oroolong, or Englishmen's Island. The modern nomenclature is somewhat different, but the mode of pronunciation is not precisely ascertained. In regard to the physical qualities of the natives, it is stated that they are of a deep copper colour; of a middle stature, very straight and muscular; and walk in a manner particularly majestic. Their skins are very soft and glossy, owing, it is said, to the frequent use of cocoa-nut oil.†

Character  
of the  
inhabitant.

When compared with the other inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, whether north or south of the equator, they will be found to possess a manifest superiority in

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\* Keate's Pelew Islands, p. 308. Before Captain Wilson left the cove at Oroolong, he hoisted the English pendant on a large tree which grew close to where the tents had stood; and cut upon a plate of copper the following inscription, which, after being nailed to a thick board, was affixed to a tree near the spot where the crew had built their little sloop:

The Honourable  
English East India Company's Ship  
The Antelope,  
Henry Wilson, Commander,  
Was lost upon the reef north of this island  
In the night between the 9th and 10th of August;  
Who here built a vessel,  
And sailed from hence  
The 12th day of November 1783.

† Keate, p. 321, remarks that Pelew is not an island, but merely the capital of the one known to Captain Wilson under the name of Cooroora.

manners, disposition, and moral principle. Nothing was more remarkable than the decorum which attended the intercourse of the two sexes in the ordinary transactions of life. For example, it is related that all classes rose at daylight, and immediately afterwards proceeded to bathe in fresh water; but it is added, the men and the women went to separate bathing-places, and if a male was led by his business near those appropriated to the females, he was obliged to make some particular halloo, which, if answered by a female voice, he could not go on; he was obliged either to turn another way, or wait till the women who were bathing left the water. In the arts they appear not to have made greater progress than the natives of the Society cluster when first visited by Wallis, and afterwards by Cook. No aid had yet been obtained from the assistance of iron tools, and therefore it could not be expected that their domestic implements should be either numerous or perfect. Their canoes and weapons bore a great resemblance to those which are found in all the insular sovereignties, from Easter Island to the shores of New Caledonia; the former composed of the trunk of a single tree, and the latter manufactured from a kind of timber, at once hard and heavy, and inlaid with ornamental shells.

On the head of religion we find little in the details supplied by Captain Wilson, which could justify a general conclusion either as to their belief or usages. There was not found any place appropriated to devotional exercises, nor were the people ever observed to set apart a portion of their time to the service of invisible beings. But it was remarked by the commander of the Antelope, that when he assembled his crew on a Sunday evening to read prayers to them, the natives who were present expressed no surprise at what was doing; appearing clearly to understand that it was the mode in which the English addressed the God to whom they looked for protection. However different their own notions might be, they attended on those occasions with

CHAP. XVI.

—  
Their  
decorum.

Their  
religion.

CHAP. XVI great respect, seeming desirous to join in the sacred offices, and preserving the most decorous silence. After Lee Boo had been some time in this country, Captain Wilson told him that saying prayers at church was to make men good, that when they died and were buried they might live again above—pointing to the sky. The prince replied with great earnestness, “All same Pelew—bad men stay in earth ; good men go into sky ; become very beautiful,”—holding his hand in the air, and giving a fluttering motion to his fingers ; thereby conveying the strongest belief he could express that the spirit exists when the body is no more. There were not, however, any human sacrifices to propitiate the offended divinities or to avert a threatened calamity ; no taboo was witnessed to effect a political object or to punish a suspected chief ; and no property was confiscated for the public use, merely because it had been touched by the sacro-sanct person of the monarch.

—  
 Their belief  
 in a future  
 state.

Their  
 generosity.

The general character of the Pelew islanders was mild and considerate in the highest degree. Their conduct towards the people of the Antelope was uniformly courteous and attentive, accompanied with a politeness which surprised even the least sensitive among them. At all times they seemed so cautious of intruding, that, on many occasions, they sacrificed their natural curiosity to a feeling of respect for the unfortunate condition of the strangers. Their liberality, too, at the departure of our countrymen manifested an uncommon extent of generosity, considering their narrow means ; and when the sailors, from want of stowage, were compelled to refuse the farther marks of kindness which were offered them, the entreating eyes and supplicating gestures with which the simple folk solicited their acceptance of what they had brought, most forcibly expressed how much their minds were wounded upon finding that they had not arrived early enough to have their little tributes of affection received. The only features which seemed common to their character and that of the other natives of the South Sea, were the pro-

pensity to petty thieving, and the harsh treatment of their prisoners taken in the field of battle. On the former, indeed, a check was imposed by the indignation of the higher orders; and for the latter an apology was suggested, if not strongly urged, by the chiefs.\*

Leaving these interesting children of nature, we proceed to give a brief view of the discoveries of Mr Edmund Fanning, an American citizen, who, between the years 1792 and 1833, made several voyages round the world. As he was principally employed in the seal-fishery and other mercantile speculations, he could not devote himself to those scientific researches which give a peculiar interest to the volumes of the French navigators, and to those of the great Cook, Flinders, and Beechey. In 1798, when sailing near the equator, he observed a group of islands, to which he gave his own name, situated in latitude  $3^{\circ} 51' 31''$  S. and in longitude  $159^{\circ} 12' 30''$  W. from the meridian of Greenwich. He found in them abundance of wood and water, but no trace of inhabitants. A little afterwards he recognised the isle called Washington, which, he had reason to conclude, was occupied by a race similar to those who have established their families in nearly all the clusters of the Pacific.

It is proper to mention that Fanning did not personally share all the adventures he describes, nor conduct all the proceedings of which he is the historian. In some cases he was only proprietor of the ship in which the circumnavigation was performed, or directed the commercial interests embarked in the successive voyages under the flag of a joint-stock company. For example, when the brig *Union* attained the south antipodes, as the author is pleased to describe the natives of Norfolk Island, she was commanded by Captain Isaac Pendleton, whose melancholy death forms a dark episode in the narrative of American enterprise. After having collected no fewer than fourteen thousand seal-skins, he unwisely yielded to the solicitation of a merchant at

CHAP. XVI  
—  
Voyages of  
Fanning.

Other  
persons  
associated  
with him.

\* Keate's Pelew Islands, p. 355-360.



## CHAP. XVI.

Assassination of Mr. Pendleton at Tongataboo.

Sydney, who prevailed on him to proceed to the Fijee Islands, to procure a cargo of sandal-wood for the Canton market. Having arrived at Tongataboo, Mr Pendleton went ashore to procure an interpreter, who might assist him in his negotiations with the neighbouring tribes, whose language none of his people understood ; and the only intelligence ever received of him was to the effect that he, the whole boat's crew, and a mercantile agent from Australia, were murdered by the sanguinary inhabitants. On the following day, the second officer, Mr Wright, became alarmed, and his fears were farther increased by observing that the chiefs, while declining to go on board, endeavoured by signs to convince him that the captain wished an additional boat to be sent to the shore, to take off the hogs and other provisions collected for the ship. As he declined to comply with this insidious proposal, canoes filled with warriors began to crowd around the vessel on all sides, until at length the leaders became so bold that nothing short of a cannonade could prevent them from an actual attempt to take violent possession of her.

Heroism of a white woman.

While so employed, both parties were surprised at the sight of a canoe, which was advancing with great rapidity from the shore, with a white woman on board standing at the bows. When within a certain distance of the brig, she leaped into the sea, and upon rising to the surface, she informed Mr Wright in a few words that the captain was murdered, and an attempt was about to be made to seize the Union. To protect this intrepid female from the fury of the natives, a volley of musketry was discharged upon them over her head, a measure which for a moment had the desired effect ; but no sooner did they recover from their surprise than they commenced a most determined attack, regardless of the shot poured amongst them, and of the loss of life which they thereby sustained. A fiend-like rage seemed to goad them on in their efforts to take the ship, cost what it might ; for which reason, the commander ordered the cables to be cut, and sail to be made, unwilling to occa-

sion a farther sacrifice of life in a contest where the most complete triumph could bring no honour. The woman then detailed at greater length the circumstances in which Pendleton and his followers were assassinated, as well as the plan which was formed for destroying the whole crew, and capturing the vessel. In order to escape, and save, if possible, the remainder of the people, she persuaded the chiefs to believe, that if she were allowed to go in the canoe with the men who had undertaken to induce Mr Wright to send another boat ashore, she would most certainly succeed, and thereby place the ship and cargo in their hands. She farther related that she had arrived in the island on board a ship called the Duke of Portland ; and that the savages, instigated by a European named Doyle, and a Malay previously left there, had massacred every one on board, with the exception of herself, another female, and four boys, whose lives were saved in order that they might assist in decoying other merchantmen which should happen to approach their coast.\*

How she  
escaped from  
the savages.

The brig *Hersilia*, under the command of James Sheffield, proceeded, in 1819, on a fishing and exploring voyage, which is important on no other account than because the master made an attempt to confer on Fanning the honour of having his name associated with certain islands known as South Shetland. After attaining the latitude of 63°, nearly in the longitude of Cape Horn, he saw one morning, to his great joy, a round mountainous island covered with snow, although in February, the last of the summer months. From its singular form, it was named Pisgah ; and upon a nearer approach, more land was observed stretching towards the east, of a craggy and forbidding aspect, and composing the insular group already mentioned. The American was not ignorant that this dreary settlement had been visited by an English ship more than a year before ; but

Voyage of  
Sheffield.

\* Voyages round the World ; with selected Sketches of Voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, &c. By Edmund Fanning, 8vo, New York, 1833, p. 322.

CHAP. XVI. as the rights of a still earlier discovery belonged to the Dutch, who had not availed themselves of their privilege, he considered himself entitled to supersede, in favour of his friend at New York, the name given to it by the British seaman.

Terra  
Australis.

It is well known that the idea of a great southern continent, or Terra Australis, was fondly cherished by philosophers about the close of last century. But as the Antarctic Ocean, in as high a latitude as the climate permitted access, had been carefully examined by Cook and subsequent navigators without discovering any such land, it was naturally supposed that it did not exist. In the year 1819, however, this conclusion was partly undermined by an unexpected incident. Mr Smith, who commanded a vessel called the William, trading between the river Plate and Chili, was desirous to shorten as much as possible his passage round Cape Horn, and with this view shaped his course in a higher parallel than is usual in such voyages. Having perceived land in lat.  $60^{\circ} 30'$ , and in long.  $60^{\circ}$  W., he resolved to ascertain its extent and bearings. He ran in a westward direction along the coast, as he himself expresses it, "either of a continent or numerous islands, for two or three hundred miles," in which were large bays, abounding with the spermaceti whale, seals, and other amphibious animals. After taking numerous drafts and charts of the shore, he landed, took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, and called his acquisition New South Shetland. The climate is said to be temperate, and the soil, though hilly, not entirely destitute of vegetation; presenting, in many places, firs, pines, and other trees of a similar order; and, on the whole, the aspect of this new region bore no small resemblance to that of Norway, as seen from the neighbouring ocean.

South Shet-  
land Islands.

The intelligence of this discovery, associated with the fact that the shores abounded with whales and seals, quickly roused the commercial enterprise both of the British and the Americans. In the course of a short time numerous ships of both nations sailed thither; and

it was in consequence of the prospects now opened up, CHAP. XVI.  
 that the *Hersilia* was equipped under the auspices of  
 Mr Fanning, whose name, in some maps, has actually  
 usurped the place claimed for our country by the master  
 of the brig *William*. Allusion has been made to the  
 discovery of the same islands by the Dutch in a former  
 age. Dirk Gherritz, who commanded one of the Original  
discovery of  
the islands.  
 five ships which sailed from Rotterdam in 1598 to make  
 a western passage to India, was separated from his com-  
 panions near Cape Horn, and carried by tempestuous  
 weather as far as latitude 64° S., where he observed a  
 high country covered with snow; and there can be no  
 doubt that this was the group now under consideration.  
 They seem to be a continuation of the great chain of  
 the South American mountains, being for the most part  
 precisely of the same formation, their strata even inclin-  
 ing the same way. But not the least remarkable of the  
 South Shetland archipelago is that which bears the name  
 of Deception Island, understood to be the most southerly  
 of the whole. It is completely volcanic; and its cir-  
 cular crater bears a very strong resemblance to that in  
 the island of Amsterdam, midway between the Cape of  
 Good Hope and Australia. The shape of both, too, is  
 so like that of the lagoons which are seen in most of the  
 low coral islets scattered over the tropical portions of  
 the Pacific Ocean, as to give some colour to the opinion  
 that these extraordinary fabrics, the creation of minute  
 worms, are generally based on the edges of submarine  
 craters, rising sufficiently near the surface to allow these  
 animalcules the requisite light and heat to carry on their  
 wonderful operations.

Deception Island presents a different appearance from  
 the rest of the group; the warmth of the soil and the Deception  
Island.  
 blackness of the cinders giving it a peculiar aspect,  
 while its rocks are denuded of the usual snowy man-  
 tle. On the south-eastern side is an opening of about  
 six hundred feet in width, which affords an entrance  
 to a kind of lake. This internal sea, as it may be de-  
 scribed, is nearly circular, and above five miles across;



## CHAP. XVI.

Curious  
effects of  
volcanic  
action.

Composition  
of the hills.

and as the diameter of the island itself is only eight miles, the land forms a ring round the water, in some places at once narrow and precipitous. The principal part of the island is composed of alternate layers of ashes and ice, as if the snow of each winter during a series of years had been prevented from melting in the following summer by the falling of ashes from some of the eminences where volcanic action is still in progress; and that such is the case, says an observer, "appears probable from the fact of there being at least a hundred and fifty holes from which steam was issuing with a loud hissing noise." The depth of the lake was ninety-seven fathoms, with a bottom of cinders; and the beach, composed of the same material, abounded with springs of hot water, which, at the temperature of  $140^{\circ}$ , was seen rising from beneath a surface deeply covered with snow, and rushing into a sea that rarely exceeded the freezing point. Alum was procured from some of these springs, and the lee shore of the lake was strewed with immense quantities of pumice-stone. The hills, of which the height was about one thousand eight hundred feet, were principally composed of scoria, tufa, and a red brick-like substance; but in some places, portions of obsidian and compact lava were also observed. The cliffs on the northern side of the entrance rise perpendicularly to the height of eight hundred feet, and appear to be of an older formation than the rest of the island.\*

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\* Fanning's Voyages, p. 433. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. i. p. 62. We here refer to an Extract from the Private Journal of Lieutenant Kendal, R.N., of his Majesty's Sloop Chanticleer, communicated to Sir John Barrow.

The South Shetlands were visited by Mr Weddell, who in the years 1822-23-24 was employed in a fishing expedition in the South Sea, and who succeeded in reaching the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 15'$ ; a higher parallel than had ever been attained. Mr Weddell mentions a circumstance which goes far to explain the popular fignit of the mermaid, evidently founded on the varying appearances of the seal. "A creature was reported to have been seen by one of my crew, which, according to his account of it, must have been a nondescript. A boat's crew were employed on Hall Island, and the man who saw this animal was left on one side of the island to take care of some

It may seem unaccountable that land of this extent should not have been sooner discovered, and more especially considering the pains which were taken in the early part of the reign of George the Third to solve the problem relative to the great southern continent supposed to extend into the frigid zone. But the surprise will cease when it is called to mind that, though Captain Cook penetrated much farther than to the latitude of New Shetland, the meridian on which he sailed was forty-five degrees farther to the west, and therefore that he must have left unexplored a large expanse of sea, on the parallel of  $62^{\circ}$  between that meridian and Sandwich Land, the longitude of which is  $22^{\circ}$  west. He again reached the latitude of  $67^{\circ}$  south; but this was in longitude from  $137^{\circ}$  to  $147^{\circ}$  west. Now the meridian of New South Shetland being  $60^{\circ}$  west, it is evident that, in his first attempt, he must have left unexamined the whole extent of longitude from  $28^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$ ; and in his

CHAP. XVI.

Why Cook  
did not dis-  
cover South  
Shetland.

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produce while the officers and the rest of the crew were engaged on the other side. The sailor had gone to bed, and about ten o'clock he heard a noise resembling human cries, and as daylight in these latitudes never disappears at this season, he rose and looked around, but on seeing no person, he returned to bed: presently he heard the noise again, and rose a second time, but still saw nothing. Conceiving, however, the possibility of a boat being upset, and that some of the crew might be clinging to detached rocks, he walked round the beach a few steps, and heard the noise more distinctly but in a musical strain. On searching round, he saw an object lying on a rock, a dozen yards from the shore, at which he was somewhat frightened. The face and shoulders appeared of human form, and of a reddish colour; over the shoulders hung long green hair; the tail resembled that of the seal, but the extremities of the arms he could not see distinctly. The creature continued to make a musical noise while he gazed about two minutes, and on perceiving him, it disappeared in an instant. Immediately when the man saw his officer, he told this wild tale, the truth of which was of course doubted; but to give weight to his testimony—being a Catholic—he made a cross on the sand, which he kissed in form of making oath to the truth of his statement.—He told them the story as I have related it, and in so clear and positive a manner, making oath as to the truth, that I concluded he must really have seen the animal he described, or that it must have been the effects of a disturbed imagination.”—*Voyage towards the South Pole, &c.*, 8vo, 1825, p. 143.

CHAP. XVI. second voyage he was still farther from the position of the land seen by Dirck Gherritz, and visited by Captain Smith.

The voyage  
of Turnbull.

The voyage of Mr Turnbull round the world presents no great portion of matter interesting to the general reader, because the path which he pursued has been repeatedly followed by subsequent navigators, whose descriptions bring us much nearer to the actual condition of things. Discovery was not the object of his enterprise; nor was he stimulated by any desire to make himself acquainted with the manners, usages, and opinions of distant nations: on the contrary, he acknowledges that his views aspired no higher than to share in the advantages which the Americans were supposed to derive from their trade with China and her dependencies. Several gentlemen at home being induced to enter into a mercantile speculation, a new ship was procured, mounting ten carriage-guns and two swivels; the command of which was consigned to Mr Buyers, formerly first officer of the Barwell Indiaman, while the charge of the cargo was confided to himself.

In the latter end of May 1800, the Margaret, for such was the name of their vessel, proceeded on her voyage, and in due time reached Madeira, where she was brought to anchor. Encountering baffling winds in crossing the Atlantic, the master deemed it expedient to bear up for San Salvador, where he might procure the means of repairing damages, and adding to his stock of provisions. The city, which is described as large and populous, divides itself into two sections, according to the nature of the ground on which it stands; the upper town being placed on the summit of an eminence which commands an extensive prospect towards the ocean, including the bay and harbour of All Saints. Here are the residences of the viceroy, of the civil and military officers, as well as of the principal merchants; whilst the lower town, which contains the wharfs and storehouses, is chiefly occupied by tradesmen, adventurers, and petty dealers. The streets in many parts are so narrow that the persons

The city  
of San  
Salvador.

inhabiting the opposite sides could shake hands across from their respective balconies. As might be expected, the population consisted of various races, whites, mulattoes, and blacks, the last of whom being somewhat the most numerous. CHAP. XVI.

On Sunday, the two Englishmen visited some of the churches, which they found in every respect corresponding to the genius of the Roman Catholic ritual, and to the wealth of the settlement; they were magnificently adorned, and the ornaments of the images appeared to be very valuable. They found moreover, "and though sailors, with some satisfaction," that there was one country in the world in which religion was held fashionable; the places of worship being crowded with all ranks of people, from the meanest slave to his Excellency the governor himself. It was not without difficulty that they obtained a seat in the principal church; where, they acknowledge, their eyes were in some measure diverted from the preacher to the figure of the holy virgin. She was arrayed in gold and jewels, with the prince of Brazil, as large as life, on her right hand. The bishop of the province, the second man in the country, gave the sermon, in which he addressed himself chiefly to the great, and lashed their vices in a style of freedom on which a more humble functionary would scarcely have ventured. On the conclusion of the service, the image of the virgin, with her attendant the prince, was carried in procession through the streets of the city, the ladies, in their best attire, saluting her from the windows, and showering chaplets upon her head. The churches of San Salvador.

It is confessed by the author that the captain, through his seeming inattention to this sacred mummary, was not looked upon with a good eye, and that "his impiety called down upon him a severe reprimand." The sums exacted from the people for the support of the several religious establishments, would astonish a native of Great Britain, where, for the most part, charity implores, rather than commands on the pain of ecclesiastical censure. Not a day passes in San Salvador that some sturdy Costliness of the religious establishments.



CHAP. XVI. mendicants do not parade the squares, streets, and market-places, demanding a contribution for their own maintenance, or for the sustentation of those intrusted to their care. They have no respect whatever to any difference of condition or circumstances; they go every where, and usually succeed every where; they use their sacred functions as instruments of menace; and not unfrequently punish a refusal by a solemn malediction. The churches and convents are perhaps more acceptable to the people, because they are almost the only places where ladies of condition can appear without any restraint; who, it is said, whenever they find a suitable opportunity, employ them with great zeal in making converts for the Romish religion.

The people  
of Brazil

The remark made by Mr Turnbull forty years ago is not inapplicable at the present hour to many portions of the Brazilian territory, though under the government of a European state, where the elements of improvement are not quite unknown. "This beautiful country, blest by nature with every capability of becoming great and opulent, possesses all these advantages in vain; they are rendered useless by the invincible indolence of the inhabitants."\*

The natives  
of Australia.

In respect to New South Wales we learn nothing which at so great a distance of time can appear in the least degree interesting, with the exception, perhaps, of the miserable condition in which the natives were found by the British settlers. They are indeed universally acknowledged to be the most barbarous race on the face of the earth, and to have profited nothing from their intercourse with Europeans. In vain did the officers of the colony endeavour to improve their circumstances, and induce them to wear at least so much clothing as to meet the claims of decency. They persisted in the en-

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\* A Voyage round the World in the Years 1800-1804, in which the Author visited Madeira, the Brazils, Cape of Good Hope, the English Settlements of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island, and the principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean, &c.; by John Turnbull, 4to, London, 1813, p. 37.

joyment of liberty after their own fashion, and turned CHAP. XVI.  
 a deaf ear to every remonstrance on the subject of their  
 primitive usages.

Nor is this indifference to be imputed to want of perception, or even a certain degree of intellectual acuteness. They have, more especially, a very quick eye for detecting peculiarities in voice or manner; and they can mimic the walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans they have seen in authority with so much exactness, as to afford a kind of historical register of their several actions and characters. If there be any thing particular in the soldiers, or even in the convicts,—any cast of the eye or awkwardness in the motion, any trip or strut, any stammering or thick speaking,—they catch it in a moment, and represent it so accurately as to render it impossible not to recognise the original. They are moreover great proficient in the Newgate slang which they hear used among the condemned labourers; and when provoked to a quarrel, they are by no means inferior to them in abuse. But this is the amount of their acquisitions from European intercourse; for in every other respect they appear incapable of improvement, and even of change. They are still as unprotected as before against the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of famine, the inseparable attendants of a savage life. In their persons they are exceedingly meagre; their skins are scarified in every part; their faces are besmeared with shell-lime and red gum; their hair is matted like a mop, and stuck full of shark's teeth; and a piece of wood like a skewer is fixed in the cartilage of the nose. In a word, take them all in all, they constitute the most unintellectual and disgusting tribe on the face of the earth.

Their powers  
 of mimicry.

One redeeming quality they do possess, that, namely, of personal courage; and in their pitched battles or individual encounters, they display the most determined bravery, defending themselves against the spears of their assailants by opposing only a shield of thick bark. Previously to their onset, they join in a kind of song, and

Their  
 personal  
 courage.

## CHAP. XVI.

gradually increase the noise till they work themselves up into a phrensy, their countenances being in the mean time convulsed with rage, and every feature giving a fearful expression to the vindictive feelings which rise in their minds. Their weapons are thrown with such force as to pierce the bucklers through and through ; but, though they must suffer the sharpest pain in extracting them, such is their patience, or rather their utter insensibility, that they bear it unmoved, and rarely flee from the field of battle.

Their  
wretched  
domiciles.

They sleep in the open air with only the canopy of heaven for a covering, or in some wretched hut which affords but little shelter from the fierceness of the storms which occasionally rage in that latitude. In wet weather they retreat to caverns in the rocks, and having lighted a fire at the entrance, remain in their comfortless retreat till the tempest has ceased. Nevertheless so much attached are they to the enjoyment of their wild freedom, that it has been found next to impossible to wean them from it. The governor, who had by an innocent stratagem got one of the warriors into his hands, endeavoured to reconcile him to the habits of civilized life : he lavished on him every attention and kindness, gave him good clothes and the best food, brought him with him to England, where he received the utmost attention from distinguished individuals in the fashionable world ; but all his cares proved fruitless. No sooner was the savage relanded in his own country than he laid aside all the ornaments and improvements he had received during his travels, and returned, as if with increased enjoyment, to his former loathsome usages. He threw away his clothes as burdensome restraints upon his limbs, displayed his ancient appetite for raw meat, and in all respects became as rude as if he had never left his native wilderness.

Their dogged  
savageness.

Another trial was made by a humane gentleman who procured two infants, a boy and a girl ; considering that such an early commencement gave him the best chance of success. The children were carefully brought up ; accustomed to the mode of living common among Euro-

peans ; were dressed like other young persons in the station of their benefactor, and sedulously formed to all the habits of improved society. But in this case, too, the experiment failed ; for when they had attained the age of twelve, and were allowed to make a choice, they rejected without hesitation the enjoyments to which they had been accustomed, and returned to their people to share their famine, nakedness, and cold. Hence some writers have proceeded so far as to maintain that a New Hollander is physically incapable of civilisation ; a conclusion which has not hitherto been materially invalidated by a more enlarged experience.

From Port Jackson, the author proceeded to Norfolk Island, which he describes as a delightful spot, the whole face of the country being covered with a deep green verdure, and presenting a scene of the most exuberant fertility. It was somewhat unfortunate that a spot so highly favoured by nature should have been used as a convict station subsidiary to Botany Bay ; the more profligate and dangerous of the criminals being sent thither as an additional punishment. At first it was imagined that the flax-plant was a native of the island, an advantage which would have been inestimable had experience verified the report. In other respects, the cultivator of the soil will sustain no disappointment, for without the aid of any manure, it yields two full harvests every year ; one of wheat, which is reaped in October, and a second of maize, which is ready for pulling in April, the season when the former is sown. The aloe grows spontaneously in many parts of the settlement, and some of the smaller plantations are fenced round with sugar-canes. Of trees, the pine is the most abundant, some of them measuring from a hundred to a hundred and eighty feet in height, and from eighteen to twenty feet in circumference. Were their quality equal to their growth, they would prove very valuable for the purposes of shipbuilding ; but the pines of all warm climates are of a nature very different from those

CHAP. XVI.

Norfolk  
Island.Its stupendous  
pines.



CHAP. XVI. of Europe, being brittle and quite incapable of sustaining a heavy pressure.

Disadvan-  
tages of  
Norfolk  
Island.

It is not concealed by the navigator, that Norfolk Island labours under several disadvantages, besides the more obvious ones of a stormy sea and an almost inaccessible coast. The want of a harbour must prove a great impediment to its prosperity ; and as the bottom all around is covered with pointed fragments of sharp coral, it is impossible to secure a ship by any species of mooring. Hence it has repeatedly happened, that vessels from Port Jackson have beat off and on, unable to advance and unwilling to return, upwards of a month, and still as distant as ever from all chance of communication with the shore. This difficulty of access gave rise to the observation of a French captain, that the island was only fit to be inhabited by eagles or angels. It is farther to be regretted that since the surface has been comparatively cleared of wood, a strong wind from the eastward frequently brings a blight, the effect of which is too often proved in the general destruction of the harvest. These circumstances suggested to the governor the expediency of abandoning the colony altogether ; a resolution which was partially realized in the year 1805, but on terms perfectly equitable to the owners of land, who elsewhere found a full compensation both for their stock and their territory.

Mischiefs at  
Uliatea.

From New Holland the captain of the Margaret proceeded to the Society Islands, where the inhabitants received him with apparent kindness, and forthwith laid plans for pilfering and murder. At Uliatea also the crew made a narrow escape from assassination ; the result of a plot formed by the natives in conjunction with several deserters, originally convicts at Sydney. Late one evening, an alarm was given that the vessel was drifting ashore ; and it was soon discovered that both the cables were cut, while a large body of men were ready to take advantage of the disaster which they had used such means to produce. Providentially there was

not a breath of wind, otherwise the ship must have speedily gone to pieces, for she lay with her broadside against a reef of coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints, the depth of the sea being not less than twelve fathoms. The seamen on board, having quarrelled with the inhabitants, were perfectly aware that they could expect no mercy at their hands, and therefore they exerted themselves with the utmost vigour to accomplish a rescue from their perilous situation. At this crisis the author makes a remark, suggested to him by long experience, in regard to the character of English sailors; observing that, however discontented they may be on other accounts, there is in their breasts a generous sentiment, which, in cases of difficulty and danger, retains them to their duty. Thus it not unfrequently happened that symptoms of mutiny were restrained by the appearance of an enemy, when, with one mind, they united to defend their officers and to support the honour of their country. Very different were the feelings of the savages who surrounded the Margaret. When they saw that, by means of an anchor carried out in the long boat, she had been hauled seven or eight fathoms from the reef, they gave vent in the most furious manner to their rage and disappointment. Hitherto they had maintained a profound silence, in the expectation that, when she bulged on the rocks, they might commence their plunder without any resistance on the part of the crew; but now, finding their hopes disappointed, they began a general assault, throwing stones with such force and in such quantities, that it was necessary to have recourse to the guns in order to intimidate them. A discharge from the swivels and muskets produced in return a volley of shot from the natives, who had stationed themselves at different points along the shore. Even the advance of daylight did not put an end to the contest, the assailants, who were in possession of firearms, considering themselves as in every respect equal to the company of a merchantman. They were sufficiently acquainted with the use of guns

Conduct of  
the crew.

Assault by  
the savages

CHAP. XVI. to watch the motions of our countrymen on board, and when the latter were ready to fire, they suddenly skulked behind the rocks and trees, which afforded to them a complete shelter. The stumps and clefts likewise served them for another purpose, which, in the hands of better soldiers, might have been of most fatal effect to their enemy. Resting their muskets on these supports, they took a deliberate aim, and must inevitably have killed all the English, one by one, had they possessed the full knowledge of their weapons; but fortunately, says the supercargo, "their awkwardness was more than a sufficient balance to their other advantages." The issue of the conflict was still doubtful when, towards the close of the second day, the wind shifted gently round and blew from the land, which furnished Captain Buyers with an opportunity of getting away unperceived in the night.\*

Sharp  
conflict with  
fire-arms.

The history of this attack proves that the warriors of the South Sea can no longer be intimidated by the firing of a gun over their heads, or even by an array of musketeers on the deck of a ship. Traders have supplied them with weapons, powder, and shot, while deserters, both American and Europeans, teach them how to render all these advantages available.

Turnbull's  
estimate  
of the  
Polynesians.

We purposely abstain from following Mr Turnbull from one group to another of the South Sea Islands, because the information he supplies, though worthy of entire confidence, has been quite superseded by the details of more recent voyagers. His estimate of the native character is at once correct and candid. In comparing the people of the Sandwich cluster with the several tribes in the Society and Friendly Isles, he justly gives a preference to the former, who, from their ambitious views and active habits, are much more capable of improvement. Alluding to the missionaries in the dominions of Pomare, whom he pronounces to have been a complete hypocrite, he foresaw not the success

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\* A Voyage round the World, &c. p. 180.

which has since attended their labours. From the evident advantage which the royal family derived from their partnership with the teachers, it was manifest that the encouragement afforded to them by the king was wholly political. Those pious persons, indeed, neglected nothing which could render their mission successful, traversing the country every Sabbath in different directions and in small parties; but, though the inhabitants esteemed them as good men, they did not comprehend, and did not profess to believe, the articles of their religion. One day, when the sovereign was present at an exhortation, he sent for Mr Turnbull, to whom, after the departure of the expounders, he put this question "whether it was all true they had preached?" The Englishman replied in the affirmative; asserting that it was strictly true, according to his own belief, and that of all the wiser and better part of his countrymen. "He demanded where Jehovah lived: I pointed to the heavens. He said, he did not believe it." His brother was, if possible, still worse. Edeah, the queen, was looking on with a haughty and disdainful indifference. They repeated it was all "havery" or falsehood; adding that they would not believe unless they could see; "and observed, we could bring down the sun and moon by means of our quadrant, why could we not bring down the Redeemer by a similar operation?"

The misson-  
aries in the  
Society  
Islands.

Viewed in the light of a mercantile speculation, the voyage of the Margaret appears to have been entirely unsuccessful. Her cargo was taken to an overstocked market, and she was finally lost on the shores of Otaheite, where hardly any thing was saved, and whence the crew made a very narrow escape. At length, in March 1804, Mr Turnbull embarked at Port Jackson on board the Calcutta in very ill health, brought on by hardship and fatigue, and in due time obtained sight of his native land, from which he had been absent more than four years.

Termination  
of Turnbull's  
voyage.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Baudin, Freycinet, Duperrey, D'Urville, Bougainville,  
and La Place.*

Objects of French Government in Voyages of Discovery—Appointment of Baudin and Hamelin to the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*—Great Preparations for scientific Researches—Disingenuousness of the Commanders—New Names given to former Discoveries—Base Conduct of De Caen to Captain Flinders—Generous Conduct of Great Britain to the Officers of the French Ships—Captain Freycinet appointed to the *Uranie*—Rio Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius described—He arrives at New Holland—Account of Timor—Examines the Caroline and Marian Islands—Visits the Sandwich Group—Repairs to Port Jackson—Overtaken by a Storm near the Strait of Le Maire—Loses his Ship at the Falkland Islands—Duperrey sails in the *Coquille*—Touches at Chili and Peru—Proceeds to the Society Islands—Description of New Ireland—Arrives at Sydney—Steers for the Bay of Islands—Made valuable Additions to the Knowledge of the Magnetic Principle as applied to Navigation—Expedition under Captains Ross and Crozier to the Antarctic Regions—Remarkable Soundings made by Captain Ross—Dumont d'Urville obtains Command of the *Astrolabe*—Instructed to make search for La Perouse—Notice by Dillon—D'Urville proceeds to Vanikoro, where the Remains of the Wrecks were found—Proceeds to New Zealand—Examines the Northern Coast of New Guinea and the Southern Portion of New Britain—Bougainville the Younger is sent on a similar Expedition in Command of the *Thetis* and *Espérance*—The Object was to show the French Flag in the Indian and Chinese Seas, and to promote the Interests of Commerce—La Place, who succeeds him in these Pursuits, makes interesting Remarks on the European Colonies in the Indian Archipelago—Concluding Remarks.

CHAP. XVII. INTRODUCING to the attention of the European reader the successful labours of his countrymen on the ocean, the editor of a collection of voyages recently published at Paris remarks, that France saw accomplished, in the

latter half of the eighteenth century, the glorious circumnavigations of Bougainville, of La Perouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and Marchand; and that she has in the opening of the nineteenth assumed with becoming dignity her place in the rank of maritime nations. While Napoleon, he adds, was triumphing on the field of Marengo, and subjecting Italy to his arms, an expedition which he had sent into the Pacific, under the command of Captain Baudin, was exploring the coasts of New Holland, that fifth continent, of which the extent equals at least the whole of Europe. Somewhat later, Captain Freycinet, who had taken part in the former enterprise, assumed the direction of another on a much greater scale. After him comes Captain Duperrey, whose voyage produced the incalculable advantage of fixing in a certain manner the position of those thousands of islands which had been passed by Roggewein and many other navigators; all of whom, believing that they were the first who observed them, have in succession given such a variety of names as to render our knowledge of the several groups at once difficult and obscure. To Duperrey succeeded Dumont D'Urville, to whom science is indebted for some valuable details on New Holland and New Guinea, and humanity for the discovery of the wrecks of La Perouse's ships.\*

French voyages in the Pacific.

It is well known that Bonaparte no sooner found himself possessed of supreme authority than he announced his intention of procuring for France ships, colonies, and commerce. These he regarded as the main source of that power, on land and at sea, by which Great Britain defeated his plans for universal dominion; and therefore, without duly estimating the character of the people whom he had undertaken to rule, he resolved to extend the basis of the sovereignty to which the success of his

Bonaparte's desire for colonies.

\* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, &c. Par M. Albert-Montémont, Paris, 1834, tome xviii. pp. 1, 2. We are not insensible to the value of Captain D'Urville's labours, though we claim permission to doubt whether science and humanity were placed by him under any particular obligations.

CHAP. XVII. arms had raised him. In pursuance of these views, a voyage of discovery was projected; and an application for passports being made to the English government, they were, with a degree of liberality not always reciprocated by the military chief, readily granted. Two ships, the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, were accordingly prepared, and placed under the command of M. Baudin, an officer who had been formerly employed in collecting specimens of natural history in Louisiana, and was in all respects well fitted for the duty to which he was appointed. The latter vessel was put under the charge of M. Hamelin, who enjoyed considerable reputation as a seaman; and both sailed from Havre on the 17th October 1800.

Voyage of  
Baudin.

Among the various articles provided for the expedition were several cases of medals, which the commodore was instructed to distribute among the natives of the different islands at which he might touch. It was hoped that a deep impression of the splendour and power of the country whence they came would be thereby made on the minds of the savages of New Holland; who, it seems to have been imagined, could not be ignorant of the exploits of the distinguished hero, whose name and likeness were about to be made familiar to their eyes. In addition to the crews, which amounted to nearly two hundred men, were several individuals selected on account of their eminence in botany, mineralogy, and the kindred branches of natural science.\*

Appliances of  
the voyage.

The commandant prosecuted his voyage without do-

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\* Around the bust of Napoleon were the words:

*Bonaparte, Premier Consul de la Republique Française*

On the obverse of the medal were the figures of the two ships, with the following inscription:

*Expédition de Découverte sous le Commandant Baudin,  
Les Corvettes Géographe et Naturaliste.*

The object of the application made to our government by M. Otto, the resident commissary for French prisoners of war, was "pour mettre le Capitaine Baudin à l'abri de toute attaque hostile, et lui procurer une reception favorable dans les établissemens Britanniques où il pourra être obligé de relacher momentanément.

ing or suffering any thing worthy of remark, till he arrived, 27th May 1801, on the coast of Australia. Immediately to the north of Cape Leuwin, Baudin discovered an inlet, which, after the name of his corvette, he called *Géographe Bay*; a place which was soon found to be less convenient than was expected, owing to its great exposure to the south-westerly winds, the most dangerous in those latitudes. Being separated in a gale, the *Naturaliste* took refuge in *Shark's Bay*, where was found a pewter plate nailed to a tree, which, from the inscription, proved to be not less than a hundred years old. It was the work of those enterprising navigators, the Dutch, who first discovered this country, and whose skill, perseverance, resolution, and hardihood, have never been surpassed.\*

CHAP. XVII.

Proceedings  
on the coast  
of Australia.

There is no doubt that the main object of the voyage was not to discover new lands in unfrequented portions of the globe, but simply to ascertain the real condition of New Holland; to learn how the turbulent colonists were disposed towards the mother-country; to devise what measures the French should adopt in the event of a general peace; to find out some port in the neighbourhood of our settlements, where they might establish themselves under the invincible flag of the republic; and, in a word, to begin on a large scale the new

Real objects  
of the voyage.

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\* The notices on the plate are as follows:

An. 1616,

*The 25th of October, arrived here the ship Endragt, of Amsterdam, Dirk Hatigs, Master. The 27 of October, arrived here the ship Naban—Supercargo, Jamthins; First Lieutenant Pieter Dookes.*

An. 1697,

*The first of February, arrived here the ship Alionek, of Amsterdam. After this, the Commander of the fleet, with the ship Fleming, of Flissingen. After, the ship Assistencie, Jan Van Bremen, Master; and the ship Theodore, Michel Beohn, Master. After this, the Neptune, Gorrit Cabaort, Master, from Amsterdam.*

We have copied these from a "Narrative of the Proceedings of the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, sent on a Voyage of Discovery by the French Government in 1800;" annexed to *Turnbull's Voyage round the World*.



CHAP. XVII. system of colonization, a mercantile navy, and a productive commerce. That such were the intentions of Napoleon is rendered manifest by the instructions given to Baudin. He was directed in the first place to touch at the Isle of France; thence to proceed to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land: visit D'Entrecasteaux's Channel; examine the eastern coast; enter the straits of Bass through that of Banks; complete the Discovery of Hunter's Islands; survey the south-western coast of New Holland; penetrate behind the islands of St Peter and St Francis; and to inspect that part of the continent concealed by these islands, where a strait was supposed to exist by which a communication might be opened with the great Gulf of Carpentaria. Having completed this part of his undertaking he was instructed to proceed to Cape Leuwin; to survey the unknown coasts to the northward; to examine the shores of the land which bears the names of Edels and Endraght; to view minutely the island of Rottenest, and Shark's Bay; and to terminate the labours of the first year at the north-western cape of New Holland. From Timor or Amboyna, where he was supposed to winter, he was ordered to proceed through Endeavour Strait to the eastern point of the great Gulf of Carpentaria; to examine the whole circuit of its coast to the land of Arnheim; to conclude the second campaign at the same north-western cape where the first was completed; and from thence to make the best of his way across the Indian ocean to Europe.\*

The history of this voyage was intrusted to the literary skill of M. Péron, one of the philosophers who accompanied Baudin, and who complains bitterly of the bad arrangements made by that commander in all matters connected with the comfort of the crew as well

Instructions  
given to  
Baudin.

Bad arrange-  
ments of  
Baudin.

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\* Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté L'Empereur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, le Naturaliste, et la Goélette Le Casuarina, pendant les Années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804. Redigé par M. T. Péron, Naturaliste. Paris, 1807.

as the main object of the expedition. He admits that the efforts made by England, in modern times, for the advancement of scientific discovery have been very great; adding, however, that, in the glorious rivalry among nations for the propagation of knowledge, France has been able to dispute with advantage her superiority and her triumphs. Still, to counterbalance the effect which must arise from seeing numbers of enlightened Englishmen placed on the immense theatre of a fifth part of the globe, it was necessary, he maintains, that the government of Paris should fit out an expedition of discovery to the South Seas.

This undertaking was matured under the auspices of the Institute, who, in their report of Péron's professional labours, remark that, in the midst of the regions he traversed, he every where encountered the rivals of his country; in every place they have formed establishments which excite the greatest interest, and of which the other nations of Europe have always received false or at least very imperfect information. He applied himself particularly to comprehend in detail the vast system of colonization in Australia, which is exhibited at the same time on a great continent and over an immense ocean. His labours in this respect, they assert, are worthy, in every point of view, of the attention of the philosopher and the statesman. Never, perhaps, say they, did a subject of greater interest or curiosity present itself to their contemplation. Never, perhaps, was a more striking example afforded of the omnipotence of laws and institutions on the character of man. To transform the most formidable robbers and the most abandoned thieves of England into peaceful citizens and industrious planters; to operate the same revolution among degraded women, to compel them by infallible means to become virtuous wives and exemplary mothers; to bring under subordination and control a nascent population; to preserve it by assiduous care from the contagious immorality of those who are appointed to superintend its interests, and thus to

CHAP. XVII.

Rivalry with  
England.Moral trans-  
formation in  
Australia.

## CHAP. XVII

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lay the groundwork of a race more virtuous than that whence it has sprung—such, they conclude, is the affecting picture which the new English colonies present!

Grand scientific corps of Baudin.

To accomplish a similar object for the honour and benefit of France, Bonaparte, at the very moment he was putting his army of reserve in motion across the Alps, issued orders to hasten the execution of the grand enterprise. In an instant twenty-three persons, nominated by him on the presentation of the Institute, were destined for making scientific researches. Of these learned individuals only three returned to France, the others having fallen the victims of disease or of accident. Never was there witnessed such a display in the philosophical department of a voyage of discovery: never were means so amply prepared for securing success! Astronomers, geographers, mineralogists, botanists, zoologists, draftsmen, and gardeners presented themselves in great numbers, eager to share the glory of the expedition, and to obtain fresh laurels for their native land.

Survey of the west coast of Australia.

We have interposed these remarks with the view of showing that the object contemplated by the first consul was not so much a circumnavigation of the globe as a survey of one of the largest, and, in some respects, the most important of British colonies. Baudin, as already noticed, made Cape Leuwin in May 1801; and at this point he thought proper to deviate so far from his instructions as to survey the western coast of New Holland, instead of proceeding to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land. Sailing along shore, he gave new names to headlands and islands which had been discovered more than a century before; commemorating, so far as this usurpation could accomplish it, the fame of several French personages. The whole of the western coast is described as low, barren, dreary, and covered with sand, offering to the eye very little that is interesting in the animal, mineral, or vegetable creation. The few natives who were seen are described as horribly

ugly and repulsive ; a set of human beings placed on the extreme verge of stupidity and wretchedness, and whose only covering consisted of a kangaroo skin thrown carelessly over the shoulders.

Having reached the north-west cape of New Holland, the commandant resolved to examine the coast which trends towards the north-east, and which was discovered in 1628 by the Dutch navigator De Witt, whose name it bears. It was again visited by Dampier in 1699, and by three vessels from Amsterdam about six years later ; upon the authority of whose observations the ordinary charts in this country have been usually constructed. Baudin, however, to gratify the vanity of his patrons at home, deemed it expedient to assign new appellations to every group of islands and remarkable promontory which met his eye ; and hence the youthful geographers in France may still be in the habit of associating with the sterile borders of Western Australia the names of Berthoud, Champagny, Forestier, and Bonaparte. The navigator, indeed, freely admits that this compliment to the chiefs of the republic was not great ; for among the numerous isles which skirt the coast or diversify the bays, nothing occurs which is in the least degree pleasing to the imagination. The soil is naked ; the burning sky is hardly ever shaded by a cloud ; and the sea is scarcely agitated except by squalls in the night. Man seems to have abandoned these ungenial shores ; nowhere is perceived any vestige of his dwelling or any trace of his presence. The navigator, shuddering at this hideous solitude, beset with dangers, is disposed to turn his back on the ill-fated region ; and when he reflects that these inhospitable islands are in a similar zone with those of the grand archipelago of Asia, on which nature delights to pour its treasures, he feels a difficulty in conceiving how a sterility so complete can possibly be perpetuated by the side of an abundance so affluent. In vain will he seek in the ordinary laws which regulate the productions of the soil the real principle of so extraordinary an opposition.

CHAP. XVII.

Proceedings  
on the north-  
west coast.

Dismal sterility of the country.



## CHAP. XVII.

The southern  
parts of Van  
Diemen's  
Land.

After wintering in the island of Timor, the two ships resumed operations early in 1802, by proceeding to the southern part of Van Diemen's Land. Here they seem to have confined their investigations to the Bay of Storms and the Channel of D'Entrecasteaux; whence they proceeded round the point of the island Maria, and anchored in Oyster Bay. In a violent gale of wind, the *Naturaliste* again separated from her consort; an accident which M. Péron ascribes to the professional ignorance of the senior captain. But all those dangers, he adds, were nothing in comparison of the dreadful scurvy, which carried death and destruction among the crew. Already several of the men had been thrown into the sea; already more than half the ship's company were incapable of any duty; two only of the helmsmen could take their turn at the wheel. The progress of the disease was frightful. Three-fourths of a bottle of putrid water composed the daily allowance; for more than a year they had not known the taste of wine, nor had a single drop of brandy passed their lips. In place of these liquors, so indispensable to the European navigator on distant voyages, were substituted three-sixteenths of a bottle of wretched rum prepared at the isle of France, and which none but the black slaves of that colony are in the habit of using. The biscuit was holed like a sieve by the larvæ of insects. All the salt provisions were rotten in the strictest sense of the word; and so insupportable were both the smell and taste, that the most famished of the crew chose rather to suffer all the agonies of hunger than to eat them; oftentimes indeed, in the presence of the commandant, did they throw their allowance into the sea.\*

Horrific state  
of the ship's  
stores.

From Cape Wilson on the southern shore of New Holland, the *Géographe* stood westward through Bass's Strait; from which promontory to Cape Leuwin, an extent of coast equal to nine hundred leagues, the coun-

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\* Voyage aux Terres Australes, p. 331. Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 50.

try was named "Terre Napoleon." Next follow Cape Richelieu, Bay Talleyrand, Cape Suffrein, Cape Marengo, Cape Dessaix, Cape Volney, Cape Buffon, Cape Rivoli, Cape Jaffa, the peninsula Fleurieu, and Josephine's Gulf, which runs a hundred miles into the interior. These are succeeded by the island Decrès, the peninsula Cambacères, Cape Berthier, and the great gulf of Bonaparte. All those islands scattered along the Terre Napoleon, amounting to more than a hundred and sixty, present, it is said, the same dreary picture as those of the archipelago on the northern side of this continent; being low, arid, and sterile, and producing neither tree nor shrub. Not a human being is known to exist on them; and they are surrounded by a sea exposed to the most tremendous storms.

To those who have read the narratives of former discoverers nothing can be more clear than that the French have claimed the honour of making known a large extent of coast which had been previously visited. In July 1801, the Investigator sloop of war, commanded by Captain Flinders, sailed from England under orders to complete the nautical survey of the shores of New Holland. In December he reached Cape Leuwin, and, stretching along the land of Nuyts, had, by the 17th March following, not only verified all that Vancouver and D'Entrecasteaux accomplished, but, in addition, completed the discovery of the deep inlet within the islands of St Peter and St Francis, which was at one time supposed to communicate with the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is a singular coincidence that, on the very same day, the Géographe entered the eastern mouth of Bass's Strait, near Furneaux's islands, and, forty-eight hours afterwards, came opposite to Western Harbour on the southern coast of Australia; "where, says M. Péron, the labours of the English navigators end, and where our long discoveries of the Land of Napoleon begin." It is true that, on the 19th March, Péron could not know what had been effected by Flinders at a considerable distance westward; but he knew it before

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New nomenclature of Southern Australia.

Voyage of Flinders to that territory.

## CHAP. XVII.

Meeting of  
Flinders and  
Baudin.

Their respec-  
tive limits of  
discovery.

he published his book; he knew it, in fact, a few days after the ship in which he sailed attained this meridian; for on the 9th April, says Captain Flinders, "we encountered, in long.  $139^{\circ} 10'$  east, M. Baudin in the *Géographe*, who was prosecuting his examination of the same coast in the opposite direction." Every information was unreservedly communicated to Captain Baudin; he was told that "the whole of the south coast of Australia, with the exception of ten or fifteen leagues to the west of Cape Otway, had undergone an investigation, which was generally made at five or six miles' distance from the shore, and frequently nearer." The English officer, therefore, claims as his right all the space between the point where the Dutch navigator Nuyts stopped in his course eastward, and the point where he himself met the *Géographe*, including four degrees ten minutes of longitude; while he resigns to the French, as the proper field of their discovery, the space between long.  $139^{\circ} 10'$  east and Cape Northumberland, which is situated in long.  $140^{\circ} 50'$  east, amounting to about forty leagues. To these limits "the claim of original discovery, so far as I am acquainted, is vested in Captain Baudin and the French nation; nor shall I presume to call the headlands contained in this space by other names than such as shall be assigned to them in the French chart."\*

Coupling the assumption made by Péron with the remaining part of Flinders' history, a strong suspicion arises that the whole was the effect of a premeditated design to snatch the merit of discovery from the rightful possessor, for the purpose of setting up a claim, at some future day, to this part of New Holland. It is well known that our countryman was detained several

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\* Captain Flinders' MS. Journal, as quoted in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. iv. p. 53. It is stated in the text that the French comprehend, under the head of *Terre Napoleon*, not less than nine hundred leagues of coast; including all the discoveries of Nuyts, Vancouver, D'Entrecasteaux, Flinders, Bass, and Grant; a claim which is entirely without foundation, and will never be urged by any reasonable government.

years a prisoner in the Isle of France; and he himself entertained the suspicion that his detention was prolonged, "to give time for the previous publication of the voyage of M. Baudin, to prepossess the world that it was to the French nation only the complete discovery and examination of the south coast of Australia was due." The conduct of De Caen, who treated Captain Flinders as an impostor and spy, is worthy of the deepest reprobation. On his arrival in the island, where necessity alone compelled him to touch, the governor behaved with the utmost rudeness; affected to disbelieve that he was the officer described in the passport; ordered his little vessel to be seized as well as his books, charts and papers; and conducted him to a small house in the town, before the door of which a soldier was immediately placed. Ascending a dirty staircase, he and the master of the little schooner in which he had sailed were put into a miserable chamber containing two truckle beds without curtains, a small table, and two rush-bottomed chairs. If they could have slept in this miserable hole, undisturbed by the multitude of bugs and mosquitoes, the entrance of two grenadiers would have prevented their repose; one of whom walked backward and forward between their beds, as a sentinel on his post, without paying the least attention to those who occupied them. In this wretched apartment the English captain was kept a close prisoner nearly four months. It was fortunate that he had found means of conveying to Europe copies of his charts, journals, and other papers; but his captivity did not expire till after the lapse of nearly seven years.\*

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Imprisonment of Flinders in the Isle of France.

Prolongation of his imprisonment.

It is but justice to mention that several French

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\* A Voyage to Terra Australis, undertaken for the Purpose of discovering that vast Country, and prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in his Majesty's Ship Investigator, and subsequently in the armed Vessel Porpoise and Cumberland Schooner. With an Account of the Shipwreck of the Porpoise; Arrival of the Cumberland at the Mauritius, and Imprisonment of the Commander during six Years and a half in that Island. By Matthew Flinders, Commander of the Investigator. London, 1814. Vol. ii. p. 458-470.



CHAP. XVII. officers, including Admiral Linois, applied in his behalf, though without success. Nor were the solicitations of Marquis Wellesley, and Sir Edward Pellew of more avail; nay, when Laborde, the principal physician of the medical staff, gave a certificate that country air and exercise were necessary for the restoration of his health, De Caen contented himself by sending a message to the doctor, desiring him not to interfere with matters which did not fall within the limits of his official superintendence. This brutal conduct, however, was fully approved at Paris; and the motive, already suggested, soon became more apparent. The publication of the French voyage of discovery was in great forwardness, and the Emperor Napoleon, considering it to be a national work, had granted a considerable sum to render it complete. From the *Moniteur* of July 1808, it appeared that French names were given to all Flinders' discoveries, as well as those of Captain Grant, on the southern coast of Australia; it was kept out of sight that he had ever been on that coast; and in speaking of M. Péron's first volume, the newspapers asserted that no voyage ever made by the English nation could be compared with that of the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*. "It may be remembered," says the commander of the *Investigator*, "that after exploring the south coast up to Kangaroo Island, with the two gulfs, I met Captain Baudin, and gave him the first information of those places, and of the advantages they offered him; and it is but an ill return to seek to deprive me of the little honour attending the discovery."

French appropriation of Flinders' discoveries.

Baudin's innocence of that appropriation.

But the captain of the *Géographe* was not in reality responsible for the injustice inflicted on our unfortunate countryman; an exemption which may be extended even to the nominal author of the work in which the fraud was perpetrated. Flinders himself was sufficiently generous to make the same acknowledgment. After relating that, when at a subsequent period he met the French officers at Port Jackson, he had showed one of his charts to Baudin in the presence of M. Péron, he

states that Freycinet, one of the lieutenants, addressed him to this effect: "Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the south coast before us." "How then," asks Captain Flinders, "came M. Péron to advance what is so contrary to truth? Was he a man destitute of all principle? My answer is, that I believe his candour to have been equal to his acknowledged abilities; and that what he wrote was from overruling authority, and smote him to the heart; he did not live to finish the second volume. It is further manifest that, had he lived, he could not have brought it out; for his reference, in the first, to charts which had no existence, placed him in the painful predicament either of acknowledging the deception or of producing documents surreptitiously obtained. Baudin admitted that he constructed no charts, saying that he transmitted to Paris all his bearings and observations, with a regular series of views of the land, and that from them the charts were to be made at some future time."\*

Flinders apology for Peron.

Reception of the French at Port Jackson.

The treatment received by Flinders at the Mauritius forms a striking contrast to the reception bestowed upon the French navigators at Port Jackson. Péron relates that the English treated the captain of the *Naturaliste* from the first moment with that great and polite generosity which the perfection of European civilisation only can produce. The most distinguished houses in the colony were open to his officers; and during their whole stay there, they experienced that delicate and kind hospitality which confers equal honour on him who practises it and on him who is the object of it. "In one word," says he, "the conduct of the English government

\* See Flinders' Voyage. vol. ii. p. 462. Quarterly Review, vol. xii. p. 10, and vol. iv. p. 60. In reference to the first volume of Péron, it is remarked that the "Atlas is of quarto size; it contains not a single chart, nor any sketch or plan of a coast, island, bay, or harbour, though frequent references are made to such in the margin of the printed volume. It has, however, five or six plates, which can be of no use either to science or navigation, and which look like so many strips of coloured riband."

CHAP. XVII. with regard to us was so marked by magnificence and generosity, that we should be wanting in every principle of honour and justice were we not to record the expression of our gratitude."

Hospitality to  
their sick.

On another authority we are assured that Baudin and his followers experienced the most hospitable and marked attention ! their sick were immediately landed, and cheerfully received into the hospital ; every refreshment which the colony could afford was liberally furnished to them ; while such of the officers as chose to avail themselves of an open table were always made welcome, and found a cover provided for them. They had credit to an unlimited extent ; and the scientific gentlemen were allowed the full range of the country to prosecute their researches. He himself observes, that "upon our landing here, the resources of the colony were by no means abundant, and supplies uncertain. The arrival of a hundred and seventy men could not be supposed a very favourable circumstance ; nevertheless we were amply provided for ; and as soon as our wants were known, a retrenchment of the daily rations was adopted, in proportion to the number of inhabitants and garrison of the colony. His Excellency the governor gave the example, and, by this means, equally honourable to humanity and himself, we experienced comforts here which we should elsewhere have obtained with difficulty."\*

Capture and  
release of one  
of their ships.

Upon the arrival of the *Naturaliste* in the Channel, in June 1803, hostilities having recommenced between this country and France, she was captured and sent into Portsmouth by one of our cruisers. On this occasion the government afforded another proof of British generosity. During her short detention, the crew were provided with every suitable refreshment ; and as soon as the Admiralty had satisfied themselves that she was what she represented herself to be, she was suffered to proceed

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\* Narrative of the Proceedings of *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste*, &c. Turnbull's Voyage, p. 482.

home without further interruption, having on board the whole collection of mineral, botanical, and zoological productions, curiosities, views, and drawings, amounting in all to more than twelve hundred packages. CHAP. XVII

If we rely upon the authority of the "Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages," recently published at Paris, we must conclude that Baudin died in the island of Timor, on the 2d September 1803; whereas we are elsewhere informed that he lost his life at the battle of Trafalgar, two years afterwards. At all events, his labours as a discoverer appear to have ceased when he reached the Dutch settlement a second time; and as the result of his researches did not correspond either to the greatness of the preparations which preceded his departure from France, or to the ambitious views of the military chief who employed him, his memory has been treated with little reserve. His contempt for all those precautions indispensable to the health of men on long voyages; his disregard of the special orders of his government on this head; and, above all, the unnecessary privations imposed by him on the sick and the crew at large, repeatedly call forth the severe animadversions of M. Péron. But it is stated in the narrative, already quoted, that the real difficulty of the voyage was much augmented by a general want of discipline which pervaded the whole body of the officers, and which took its origin from the levelling principles at that time predominant in France. The enterprise proved abortive, because there was a total want of concert in the execution. In any other state of things than that which prevailed among the republicans who acknowledged the banner of Napoleon, the strong hand of discipline would have corrected every defect of union between the subalterns and their commander; but M. Baudin found himself at the head only of a democratic club, who opposed his measures on a premeditated plan, and denounced in the strongest terms his ultimate failure, though their own neglect or disobedience was the principal cause. The expedition, in short, produced no result, except,

Cessation of  
Baudin's  
labours.

Abortiveness  
of his enter-  
prise.



CHAP. XVII. perhaps, a tolerably accurate survey of the western coast of New Holland, and of a smaller portion of it in Bass's Strait.\*

Meeting of  
Turnbull  
with the  
French ships.

It may be noticed in passing, that Turnbull came in contact with the French squadron on the southern shores of Australia, and that the English constantly displayed, at the several points where they had landed, the national colours, intimating thereby a previous possession of the country. Baudin, observing this, and guessing its meaning, remarked with much pleasantry that the British were even worse than the Pope, for that his holiness had the moderation to divide the world, whereas the others were grasping at the whole of it; alluding to our colonial possessions in the East as well as in the West, and indicating, in no ambiguous terms, the feeling which rankled in the breast of the first consul, whose commerce and shipping were visited by no dawn of prosperity.

The voyage  
of Freycinet.

Freycinet, whose exertions as a navigator we now proceed to record, shared the command with Baudin in the expedition just described; and having learned from experience that such undertakings are not unfrequently defeated by embracing too many objects, he resolved, when invested with the chief authority, to avoid the encumbrance occasioned by an undue proportion of scientific men on board, who, he had found, were at all times disposed to postpone the interests of discovery to the accomplishment of their own purposes as astronomers, geologists, or students of the lighter branches of

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\* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii. p. 8. "Ici (isle de Timor) se termine réellement le voyage du Capitaine Baudin: ce marin distingué mourut dans cette même isle, après une cruelle maladie, le 2 Septembre 1803, et eut pour remplaçant le Capitaine Milius, qui ramena en Europe les deux corvettes," &c. Though our confidence in the editor (who confers the title of captain on the surgeon Bass, who discovered the strait of that name) is not great, we cannot believe that he could be mistaken in so palpable a matter as the death of so distinguished an officer. We therefore presume that Baudin, the captain of the *Fougeux*, who perished at Trafalgar, must have been a different person. Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 55.

natural history. The instructions put into his hands had respect, in the first place, to the fuller discovery and survey of the western coasts of New Holland. But, at the same time, he was desired to pursue a series of experiments and investigations, with the view of ascertaining the laws which regulate the phenomena of magnetism in the southern hemisphere. By multiplying notices relative to the declination and inclination of the needle, at several places, distant from each other, on the same parallels and meridians, it was hoped that he would be enabled to discover the number and position of the magnetic poles in the earth, on the supposition that the theory of its being one great magnet was the true one. It was also enjoined, as part of his duty, that he should, by means of an invariable pendulum, used at the same points on sea and land, endeavour to render more accurate than they have hitherto been, the opinions of geographers in regard to the figure of our globe.\*

CHAP. XVII.

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Instructions  
given to  
Freycinet.

The Uranie, having on board upwards of a hundred and twenty men, and mounting twenty guns, sailed from Toulon on the 17th day of September 1817, and on the 5th of October arrived at Gibraltar, where General Don is said to have received the party with a smile, which, adds one of the officers, though but a faint one, was deemed so unusual a thing on an Englishman's countenance, as to justify the conclusion that "it may have been the first which for these ten years had played upon the lips of the governor." Proceeding in the usual course, Captain Freycinet reached the coast of Brazil in the beginning of December; of which country he gives a full description, including an account of its discovery and settlement by the Spaniards, about the close of the

His course  
from Toulon  
to Brazil.

\* Voyage autour du Monde, entrepris par ordre du Roi, exécuté sur les Corvettes de S. M. L'Uranie et La Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. Par M. Louis de Freycinet, &c., 2 tomes quarto, Paris, 1825-1829. Besides these two volumes on the History of the Voyage, there are seven others in quarto, on Language, Zoology, Botany, the Pendulum, Magnetism, Meteorology, and Hydrography, together with four huge Atlases

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sixteenth century. But such a voyage could not be achieved without a storm, which, whatever it might have appeared in the eyes of a British sailor, could not, it is insinuated, appal the hearts of resolute Frenchmen. “Whether, touching the clouds or at the bottom of the abyss, they are constantly the same; and they care as little for the thunderbolt as for the sunken rock. But the uproar increases; the cloud hovers over the vessel; wave dashes against wave; lightnings rend the clouds; and from their murky sides burst torrents of wind and hail. The ship is carried away; the rapidity of its motions prevents any attempt to counteract them; and the profoundest darkness would render such an attempt useless. The roaring of the waves, the pealing of the thunder, the howling of the cordage, the crackling of the tackle, drown the voice; none is heard save that of the tempest.”\*

Bombastic  
account of  
courage dur-  
ing a storm.

The Cape of  
Good Hope  
and the  
Mauritius.

Nothing could be less gratifying to a benevolent or virtuous spirit than the condition of society at Rio Janeiro; the majority of the inhabitants being either slaves or recently elevated from a state of bondage. The tribes in the neighbourhood, too, were at that period in the lowest degree of savage life, indulging in the most execrable propensities, and addicted, it is more than insinuated, to the unnatural appetite of cannibalism. At the Cape of Good Hope the scene is changed entirely for the better. Civilisation had already attained a triumph in that settlement; and Dutch industry had every where turned to the most beneficial purposes the gifts of nature, whether in soil or climate. The Mauritius restores the crew in some degree to the manners and language of their own countrymen; an advantage which is likewise enjoyed at the isle of Bourbon, where the Uranie anchored on the 19th July. In the year 1818, the former colony contained about eighty thousand souls, of whom seven thousand were whites.

\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet. By J. Arago, 4to, 1822.

The French tongue, it is asserted, was more generally used than any other; and the Creole females gave it a preference, because it is at once "the idiom of conversation and of gallantry." But independently of the French, which unquestionably forms the basis of the language, the blacks have invented a sort of domestic dialect, which they speak with great sweetness, and employ also as the vehicle of their simple music. CHAP. XVII.

On the 12th September, the captain of the Uranie found himself on the western shore of New Holland, at the place marked on the maps as Endracht's Land, where his people suffered greatly from heat and bad water. Here M. Arago, the draftsman, had an interview with some of the neighbouring savages, whose conduct appeared at once shy and suspicious; but having recourse to his castanets, he set the whole party, old and young, a-dancing, and remained amongst them till the approach of night. He describes them as being of a middling stature, their skin black as ebony, and their eyes lively but small. They have a broad forehead, flat nose, large mouth, thick lips, and white teeth; their breast is tolerably broad, and covered with little incisions; their extremities are slender, their motions quick, their gestures rapid, and their agility is surprising. Some of them were tattooed with red; the women having even their brows stained with that colour. But nothing could reconcile the romantic designer to the horrors of the soil and climate, both of which were more repulsive than the miserable hordes whose lot was cast in them. "The sun sets, and every thing is dead. The millions of flies which devoured us have disappeared; no insect wings through the air; no voice disturbs the silence of this melancholy solitude; a sharp cold benumbs the limbs.—The sun reappears; the air is again peopled; a consuming heat oppresses us; we seek repose and find nothing but fatigue. What a frightful abode!"\*

Endracht's  
Land in  
Australia.

Appalling  
picture of  
the climate.

\* Freycinet himself remarks, that "tous ces sauvages sont les êtres les plus misérables et le plus dégradés de la nature humaine;



## CHAP. XVII.

The Island of  
Timor.

After spending somewhat more than two weeks on that burning coast, M. Freycinet directed his course towards the island of Timor, with the intention of refreshing his men and repairing his ship. As is usual with this officer, he enters into numerous details respecting the history of the country, its productions, and the state of society, which, though not quite superfluous to a French reader at the period he wrote, would be found entirely without interest at the present day in any part of England. It is well known that it belongs to the Sunda group, which were first visited by the Portuguese under Cano, the successor of Magellan, and afterwards occupied by the Dutch, whose East India Company established settlements on several of them, with the view, it is said, of destroying the cloves and nutmeg trees, and thereby of securing to themselves an exclusive commerce in the valuable spices in which that portion of the world abounds.

Its surface.

Timor is the largest of what are called the Lesser Sundas, being three hundred miles long, and about forty-five in breadth. A chain of mountains runs through the middle of it, from one extremity to the other; the summits of which, at certain points, attain such an elevation, that Flinders compares them to the peak of Teneriffe. Along the southern coast, the land fronting the sea is generally low, or very slightly raised; but at a short distance there are hills, which ascend in gentle acclivities toward the central range. On the northern coast, the land is uniformly high at a short distance from the sea, sloping down in many parts towards the beach. Though the greater part of the island consists of valleys separated by alpine heights, there are a few large plains, one of the most extensive of which, not less than

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ils vivent de la manière la plus abjecte, et ont une existence tout-à-fait nomade.— La Baie des Chiens-Marins, ou l'Uranie avait mouillé, offre l'aspect le plus affreux; d'immenses déserts de sable couvrent la côte, sans présenter aucun vestige de végétation. On a peine à croire que des hommes puissent habiter un sol pareil, et cependant, comme on vient de le dire, l'expédition française en avait aperçu."  
— *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xviii. p. 62.

ten miles broad, lies at the bottom of Coupang Bay. CHAP. XVII.  
 The rivers are small, and, as they descend from the high ground with great rapidity, are not navigable beyond the run of the tide, which in no instance exceeds two miles. The soil in many places is fertile, but the greater part of the interior is unknown to Europeans, whose business confines them to the neighbourhood of the ports. In the plain of Bau-bau, where water is abundant, the average crop of rice is said to be upwards of seventy-fold; and the other objects of agriculture, which are also prosecuted with considerable success, are maize, millet, pulse, sweet potatoes, and cotton. In some parts of the island, a species of sago-palm is used for food; sugar-cane is also raised in small quantities; and different kinds of fruit, including oranges, are not uncommon. The domestic animals are horses, buffaloes, sheep, and goats; while sundry varieties of the same species, besides goats, hogs, dogs, cats, and monkeys, are found in a wild state, and freely eaten by the natives. Gold has been detected in several of the rivers, both in particles and lumps; some of the latter weighing not less than two ounces. Native copper is reported to abound in the Philaran Mountains, which are situated near the centre of the north-western part of the island.

Its productions.

The inhabitants are of a very dark colour, with frizzled hair, bearing no small resemblance to the Papuas or people of New Guinea; though in their figure, as well as in the form of the face, they present a stronger likeness to the South Sea islanders than to any of the Malay tribes. Human sacrifices are still made on certain occasions in the remoter districts; the practice of such horrid rites having been entirely suppressed in the vicinity of Coupang by the authority of the Dutch governor. The territory at large is still in the actual possession of a number of petty chiefs, who have long consented to acknowledge a nominal dependence on the European settlers, whether Dutch or Portuguese. The former, it is understood, have asserted a right to the whole of the southern coast; but as there are no harbours, they have

Its inhabitants.

CHAP. XVII. formed no establishments, and seldom exerted the powers inherent in them as conquerors.

Near the western extremity of the island stands Coupang, the principal port, in a fine bay extending about twelve miles across, and receding not less than twenty miles into the interior. During the easterly monsoon, it is a safe harbour, but as it is open to the north-west, ships cannot lie there when the wind blows from that quarter. Fort Concordia, the principal settlement of the Dutch, is situated on the southern side of the bay, and enjoys a considerable trade; the chief articles of which, viewed as exports, are wax, sandal-wood, mineral-oil, and cattle. The imports are coarse cotton cloths, white or blue, large pattern chintzes and handkerchiefs, China silks, China-ware, umbrellas, muskets, gunpowder, iron, coarse British cutlery, and lead. The Portuguese have still three stations on the northern coast, Dille, Bato-Gede, and Manatato. Of these the first mentioned continues to be the most important, having a harbour well defended from the swell of the sea, by an extensive reef of rocks, and enjoying a commerce not inferior to that of Coupang. It is painful to observe, that under the head of exports are classed slaves, who continue to be carried to the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, especially to Celebes.\*

Fort Con-  
cordia.

Contrast of  
Timor to  
Australia.

It is remarked by the historian of his voyage, that Freycinet, arriving at Timor from the sandy plains of New Holland, could not find words to express his admiration of the beautiful verdure which every where presented itself to his eyes; but, he adds, if the captain, had come from the Moluccas proper, or, in other words, from the north-east, his enthusiasm would have been greatly subdued. It is no doubt by a reference to the different points of departure that we must account for the great discrepancy in the opinions entertained by

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\* Voyage autour du Monde, &c., tome i. p. 487-705. Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii. p. 62-69. Penny Cyclopædia, vol. xxiii., Sunda Islands.

navigators relative to the fertility of that island, and the vernal aspect of its shores when approached from the steril regions of Northern Australia. CHAP. XVII.

From Timor, the Uranie proceeded to Rawack, a small island not far from New Guinea, and which forms one of a group that has occasionally attracted the notice of seafaring men, whether employed in the pursuits of trade or discovery. The natives are described as being exceedingly ill favoured in point of looks; and are also little, squat, large headed, woolly haired, nearly black, spindle shanked, with long broad feet. Their countenances are inexpressive, their manners unengaging, their air stupid. Nearly all of them are covered with leprosy, or have been affected by it. Notwithstanding these defects, they climb trees with surprising facility, and are very skilful fishers. Standing on the bow of his canoe, rudely enough fashioned, and furnished only with a sail of cocoa leaves, the savage sees a fish at a distance; upon which, advancing towards it in his little skiff, he darts his bamboo headed with iron, perhaps more than twenty paces, and seldom fails to secure his victim.

The Island of Rawack.

Freycinet devotes two chapters to the Carolines and the Marians, a class of islands which merit a greater degree of attention than they have hitherto obtained. Tinian, one of the latter, is worthy of notice as the place where Anson and his crew found protection; being at the same time remarkable for some singular ruins which were discovered in the interior. It is the opinion of one of the voyagers that it must formerly have been the residence of a great people, extinguished by one of those catastrophes which annihilate empires and generations of men. It is not possible to proceed a league without finding some gigantic remains of old monuments among the brambles; and the whole island seems to be but one ruin. The trees are weak and scanty; but they have to make their way with difficulty through heaps of dry leaves and decayed trunks. Here and there are found old bare bread-fruit trees, the tops of which, exhibiting a few grayish branches,

The Marians Islands.



## CHAP. XVII.

indicate to the traveller the convulsion of which they have been the victims, without denoting its epoch. A few feeble cocoas still raise their withered heads, moaning, it might be said, the sadness of nature, and wishing to die with her. Uniform plains of small elevation; a monotonous coast; a few reefs of rocks; the wrecks of vegetation parched by the sun; and the absence of either road or shelter, seem to announce the very abode of melancholy. Every thing is in decay; and yet Anson painted this country, and, no doubt, with perfect truth, as an Elysium, a scene of natural enchantment. Is there not, then, exclaims M. Arago, any testimony of the convulsion which is still so recent? It is the hand of man, not of Providence, which has inflicted on Tinian the evils so pathetically bewailed. To the visit of the Spaniards, those least indulgent of colonists, may be traced the death and desolation which now deform the shores of the Marians, and of other groups in the Indian archipelago.\*

Decayed  
state of  
Tinian.

The Sand-  
wich Islands

Two months were employed by M. Freycinet in collecting observations and making scientific experiments with the view of accomplishing in some measure the principal object of the expedition. As soon as these were completed he set sail for the Sandwich Islands; and on the 5th of August 1819, reached Owhyhee, where he subsequently came to anchor, in the bay of Karakaooa. Tamehameha, the king, had just died, his palace was reduced to ashes, and nearly all the pigs in the district had been killed to do honour to his obsequies, according to the custom of the country; hence, the time was extremely unfavourable for victualling the corvette. Rio-Rio, who had already

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\* Arago's Voyage round the World, p. 276-283. Freycinet informs us that "ces insulaires vivent d'une manière frugale: le riz, le maïs, le coco, le poisson, le porc ou le cerf composent leur nourriture habituelle. Les hommes sont quelquefois abus d'eau-de-vie de coco. Les convives mangent accroupis et assis sur leur talons. Ils vont presque entièrement nus, car le langouti ou léger manteau jeté sur leurs épaules est bien plus un ornement qu'un vêtement."

ascended the throne and received from the chiefs the usual oath of allegiance, found himself in a condition to treat with the French captain through the medium of Rives, a European, who acted as interpreter. The young monarch even presented himself on board, accepted the usual gifts proffered by the stranger, and immediately issued orders that the crew should be supplied with provisions. In the several volumes descriptive of this voyage, numerous details are supplied relative to the history, manners, pursuits, amusements, and religion of the Sandwich islanders, which, though on the whole both accurate and entertaining, have long been superseded by more recent intelligence now in the hands of every reader.

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Friendliness  
of the young  
Sandwich  
monarch.

About the end of August, the commander of the *Uranie* turned his face once more towards the south, steering for Port Jackson in the British colony of New South Wales. On the 19th October, she came in sight of the Dangerous Islands, discovered by Byron in June 1766, of which the geographical position is lat.  $10^{\circ} 15'$  south, and long.  $169^{\circ} 28'$  west from Greenwich. Two days afterwards, when on the east of the Navigator archipelago, Freycinet perceived an islet, not marked in any chart, to which he gave the appellation of Rose Isle, after the name of his wife, and in commemoration of the long voyage accomplished by her in his company.\*

Discovery of  
the Rose Isle.

The discovery now mentioned is acknowledged to be the only and true one (*la seule et veritable*) which exclusively belongs to the expedition of the *Uranie*. Obtaining a distant glance of the more southerly of the

\* An anecdote is told respecting this lady about the time the expedition sailed. The Minister of Marine, displeased at the captain's refusing to take the botanist with him, resolved to prevent Madame Freycinet from accompanying her husband, and gave an order that no woman should be received on board. When, however, the ship was fairly out at sea, a handsome sailor-boy presented himself to the captain on the quarter-deck. It was Madame Freycinet, who had smuggled herself on board, and remained among the crew three or four days without the knowledge of her husband. Quarterly Review, vol. xxviii. p. 343.

CHAP. XVII. Friendly and Tonga Islands in passing, the adventurers at length, on the 18th November, found themselves safely moored in Port Jackson, where they received the most polite attention from General Macquarie, who was at that period governor of the colony. Having occupied five or six weeks in his scientific labours, Freycinet turned his prow towards home by way of Cape Horn; but encountering frightful weather as he approached the extremity of South America, he attempted to find refuge in the bay of Good Success, in the Strait of Le Maire. Overtaken here by a tremendous tempest, he cut his cable and ran for the Falkland Islands; in attempting to enter one of which his ship struck on a sunken rock and soon became a complete wreck. While forming a plan for the safety of the people under his charge he was gratified by the appearance of an American trader, the master of which engaged to transport the crew of the *Uranie*, her stores and scientific collections, to Rio Janeiro. In the end it was found expedient to purchase this vessel, which the captain formally commissioned under the name of *La Physicienne*; and having embarked all his followers, who had now been about three years absent from Europe, he arrived at Havre on the 13th November 1820.

Homeward  
course of  
Freycinet.

Estimate of  
his enter-  
prise.

It is manifest that, if regarded as a voyage of discovery, the expedition now described must be pronounced altogether fruitless. Indeed, the promoters of it profess not to have had in view the advancement of geographical knowledge, which, they admit, has at all times been much more successfully cultivated by the English than by the navigators of France. Their object, as already indicated, was to perfect the acquaintance of philosophers with the laws of magnetism, both as a principle considered on the broad grounds of physical science, and as the means of rendering the mariner's compass a safer guide than it can yet be esteemed, in all parts of the globe. Freycinet, it should seem, collected a number of facts, which by the Institute at Paris were considered

of so much value as to obtain a place in their records, and also to receive from them a hearty recommendation to the learned in the other countries of Europe. But as Duperrey was intrusted with a similar duty, and added not inconsiderably to the stock of knowledge accumulated by his predecessor in this department of study, it will prove decidedly more convenient to postpone our remarks on the result of their researches until we shall have given an outline of the maritime proceedings of the commander of the *Coquille*, who sailed from Toulon on the 11th day of August 1822.

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Duperrey, who had served in the *Uranie* in quality of lieutenant, possessed many advantages, both as a seaman and as a philosophical observer. The first port at which he touched after leaving his native country, was Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe, whence, after a little delay, he directed his course for the shores of Brazil; following, in short, the path marked out to him by his late captain, Freycinet. On the 16th October, the *Coquille* anchored before the island of Santa Catherina, where she remained two weeks. About the middle of November, she reached Port Louis in the Malouine or Falkland group, having, at the distance of about forty miles from Santa Catherina, passed through a portion of the ocean tinged with a deep red. This phenomenon was occasioned by the diffusion on its surface of an impalpable powder, in which were seen floating little globules of a crimson colour, afterwards ascertained to be the eggs of myriads of animalcules, whose sanguineous tint impressed itself upon the waves. The navigator remarks that these crustaceous tribes show themselves at certain seasons on the coast of Chili and Peru, in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, of New Holland, of the Moluccas, and in particular gulfs, such as those of Arabia and California, and to which, without doubt, they owe their denominations of the Red and Vermillion Seas. But it appears that they are discovered in still greater abundance in that part of the Atlantic which washes the borders of America, between the tro-

Voyage of  
Duperrey.The Red and  
Vermillion  
Seas.



CHAP. XVII. pic of Capricorn and the forty-eighth degree of south latitude, especially towards the mouth of the river Plate, and the shores of the province which bears the name of Magellan.

The Falkland Islands.

A residence of not less than a month in the Falkland Islands enabled Duperrey to explore the interior of the principal ones, and to collect a number of geographical details, which in the eyes of his countrymen continued to possess no small importance as connected with the speculations of M. Bougainville. He readily acknowledges that Europeans owe their acquaintance with the Malouine cluster to Davis, who, in August 1592, was driven into them by stress of weather. Seven years later, the Dutch admiral, Simon de Cords, impelled by a similar accident, sought refuge in one of the bays; and in 1615, Schouten and Le Maire visited this archipelago, though without adding to the stock of information respecting it. John Strong, in 1690, distinguished the settlement by the name of the Falkland Isles. The French admiral just mentioned formed upon them an establishment in 1764, which was soon afterwards surrendered to the Spaniards, who, in their turn, relinquished the possession of them to the British crown.\*

The west coast of South America.

About the middle of December, the Coquille doubled Cape Horn; after which achievement, not accomplished without some hazard, she visited the harbour of Conception in Chili; that of Callao in Peru; and then the port of Payta, which is supposed to have its situation between the terrestrial and magnetic equators. The absence of diplomatic relations between France and the republican governments of South America, occasioned no impediment to the scientific inquiries instituted by the philosophers of the Coquille: on the contrary, both in Chili and Peru, the local authorities met and even

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\* Duperrey remarks that "le manque de bois sur ces isles serait un grand obstacle aux relâches des bâtimens si la tourbe n'y était abondante. L'isle "Ship" en renferme des couches inépuisables, et au besoin cette tourbe peut très bien remplacer le charbon." *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xxviii. p. 126.

anticipated their wishes with the utmost eagerness. CHAP. XVII.  
 After a proper use of their instruments both on ship-board and on land, they pursued their course in a western direction, passed the Dangerous Archipelago, and at length, on the 3d day of May 1823, cast anchor in the bay of Otaheite. On leaving the Society Islands, the expedition successively made the Salvage Isles, Eoa, in the Friendly group, Santa Cruz, Bougainville, Bouka, and finally reached New Ireland, where they interrupted their voyage by mooring their ship in Port Praslin.

The descriptions supplied by Duperrey, as well of the country as of the inhabitants and their manners, agree but too closely with those which may be gathered from the works of our own voyagers. Their skin is black, their hair woolly, and their stature does not exceed five feet two inches. Their arms are usually adorned with human bones in the natural state; hideous trophies which prove that they do not abstain from eating the prisoners whom they have massacred. They do not even give themselves the trouble of skinning the animals, or plucking the feathers from the fowls which they use for food; whatever may be the prey which falls into their hands, it is immediately, and without any preparation, thrown upon the glowing embers, roasted, and eaten. They devour also, without any appearance of disgust, certain large reptiles with which their island abounds. Dogs are esteemed a peculiar dainty; and every thing, in short, which displays muscles, bones, and nerves, finds a place in the list of the articles with which their larder is supplied. In barbarism, cruelty, and neglect of personal cleanliness, they rival the inhabitants of New Holland and the most ferocious of the tribes in the Friendly Islands.

The inhabitants of New Ireland.

After a short stay in that part of the Pacific, the expedition proceeded to Waijoo; and, after touching at Caieli, the officers landed at Amboyna in the Moluccas, where they received from M. Merkus, the governor, the most friendly attention and assistance. On the 27th October, the Coquille got under weigh, and directing her

Amboyna in the Moluccas.

CHAP. XVII. course from north to south, reconnoitred the Volcano Island, passed through the Straits of Ombai, inspected the small archipelago lying westward of Timor, coasted along Tavou and Bonjour, and finally left those seas in her way to Port Jackson. Contrary winds prevented the captain from fulfilling his intention of sailing along the western coast of New Holland, and it was not till the 10th January 1824, that he doubled the southern point of Van Diemen's Land. Sir Thomas Brisbane bestowed upon him a very kind reception at Sydney, and put at his disposal every thing which might contribute to the success of the operations in which the ship's company were engaged.

Reception at  
Sydney.

Duperrey remained at Port Jackson till the 20th March, when, setting sail for New Zealand, he arrived in the Bay of Islands at the beginning of the following month. After completing some repairs, he again crossed the equator, and pursued his investigations in the Caroline Archipelago, which he had not formerly examined with a sufficient degree of minuteness. Being compelled by the monsoon to leave those seas, he directed his course towards the northern extremity of New Guinea; endeavouring, as he went along, to ascertain the true position of a number of small islands which were either very little known, or wrong placed in the common charts. At this stage of his progress, he spent some days in the harbour of Dorei; then passed on to Java through the Moluccas; anchored at Sourabaya on the 29th of August; got under weigh on the 11th of September; and in the beginning of the following month arrived at the Isle of France. In pursuance of the scientific objects with which he was charged, he touched at the Isle of Bourbon, St Helena, and Ascension; and on the 24th March 1825, he cast anchor in the road of Marseilles, after an absence of more than thirty-one months, and a run of about twenty-five thousand leagues.

Duperrey's  
return to  
France.

It is not a little remarkable that during this protracted voyage, in a great variety of climates, not one man died, hardly any person had been sick, and no damage to ship

or rigging was sustained. Duperrey attributes the good state of health which his crew enjoyed both to the excellent quality of the water, preserved in iron tanks, and to the permission they had to use it without restriction. It is remarked by the Commissioners of the Royal Academy of Sciences, that if the uncommon good fortune with which the Coquille performed so long a voyage, without loss of masts, yards, or even injury to the sails, is to be attributed to a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances on which it would be imprudent to place a constant reliance, it must at the same time be acknowledged that such chances are to be met with only by experienced seamen. CHAP. XVII.

Both navigation and geography have reason to acknowledge their obligations to M. Duperrey, as well for the discovery of some islands on either side of the equator as for the more accurate knowledge communicated respecting several others, the existence of which had already been announced. Among the former are three low isles, not formerly recognised in any chart, which now bear the name of the commander of the Coquille. The natives distinguish them by the appellations of Ougai, Mongoul, and Aoura; their position being lat.  $6^{\circ} 39'$  north, and long.  $157^{\circ} 29' 25''$  east. Another islet was perceived by D'Urville, one of the officers, whose name has since attained considerable distinction as a mariner, and to whose honour it is dedicated by the captain. It lies in lat.  $7^{\circ} 5' 18''$  north, and long.  $150^{\circ} 16' 52''$  east; but, though covered with a magnificent vegetation, its extent, it is admitted, is not great. In many cases it is difficult to determine the claim to originality in such surveys, especially where the question turns on longitude, which till the days of Cook was not ascertained with suitable accuracy. His services to navigation and geography.

But a greater value belongs to M. Duperrey's observations on magnetism, to which, indeed, his cares were particularly directed. In this respect, too, more especially, he was the coadjutor of Freycinet, in whose voyage he took a part, and to finish whose labours he His services to magnetism.



CHAP. XVII. undertook the expedition of the *Coquille*. This is therefore the proper time to explain the object which they had in view, when instructed to use the pendulum and magnetic instruments, in the various lands and seas whither they bent their course in either hemisphere of our globe.

The magnetic equator.

It is known to every student of natural philosophy, that there exists on the surface of the earth a curve, along which the magnetic needle lies in a horizontal position. This curve has been denominated the magnetic equator, and still continues to be the subject of investigations which have not yet produced results quite satisfactory either to the scientific inquirer or to the practical navigator. No single observer, whatever may be his zeal and industry, and no series of observations, however exact and long continued, if made at a single place, can add much to our knowledge of the highly intricate laws and relations which characterize terrestrial magnetism. For this purpose, the collection and comparison of observations made in every region of the globe, and extending over long periods of time, are absolutely requisite. In order to master so large a subject, multitude must be brought to contend with mass; combination and consort to predominate over extent and diffusion; and systematic registry and reduction to fix the fugitive phenomena of the passing moment, and to lay them before the eye of reason in that methodical arrangement which brings spontaneously into notice both their agreements and their differences.

The science of terrestrial magnetism.

Regarded as a branch of that great assemblage of facts and theories which relate to the physical constitution of our planet, to the forces which bind together its mass and animate it with activity, the structure of its surface, its adaptation for life, to the history of its past changes, the nature, movement, and infinitely varied affections of the air and ocean, the science of terrestrial magnetism occupies a large and highly interesting place. Its relations lie among those mysterious powers which seem to constitute the most recondite secrets of in-

animate nature; and its phenomena form a singular exception to the character of stability and permanence which prevails in every other department of physics. The magnetic state of our globe is one of swift and ceaseless change. A few years suffice to alter materially, and the lapse of half a century to obliterate and completely remodel, the form and situation of those lines on its surface which geometers supposed to have been drawn, in order to give a general view of the direction and intensity of the magnetic forces at any given epoch. It is this feature, in fact, which constitutes the peculiar difficulty of the subject. Were the magnetic forces at every point of the earth's surface invariable, like the force of gravity, we should long ago have been in possession of complete magnetic charts. The report of every seaman and traveller would have added something permanent to our stock of knowledge; and truth would have emerged, even from inaccurate determinations, by the conflict and mutual destruction of opposite errors. As it is, the case is widely different. The changes are so rapid that it becomes necessary to assume epochs, which ought not to be more than ten years apart, to which every observation should be reduced. But to be able to accomplish this, it is requisite to know the rate of change for each locality; a degree of information we are so far from possessing, that there are vast regions of the globe over which we do not even know in what direction the change is taking place.

CHAP. XVII.

Variation of the magnetic forces.

Charts of the magnetic variation.

The exigencies of navigation have created the necessity of delineating, from time to time, a set of charts expressive of the variation of the compass, or the angle at which the needle declines from the true meridian at every point of the earth's surface. The first chart of this sort was constructed by the celebrated Halley, and was founded on a series of curves drawn through the points of equal declination or variation, as it was then called, so far as these points had been ascertained by travellers whether on sea or land. He directed

CHAP. XVII. his researches with reference to a theory suggested by himself—that there are four points or rather regions of apparent convergence of the magnetic needle, two in each hemisphere, by the action of which we may account for all the changes that are taking place in every part of the earth. He regarded our globe as a great piece of clock-work, sphere within sphere, by which the poles of an internal magnet are carried round in a cycle of determinate but unknown periods. But his chart, owing to the effect of these incessant mutations, soon became obsolete; and hence, to satisfy the wants of the practical seaman, it has been found necessary to reconstruct it, after the lapse of certain intervals, and agreeably to the light of a renewed observation.

Halley's  
theory of  
terrestrial  
magnetism.

In this unsatisfactory state the doctrine on magnetic variation remained till the year 1811, when M. Hansteen, stimulated by the Royal Danish Academy, who announced a prize-essay on the subject, undertook to re-examine it, with the view of determining how far it might be possible to reconcile the results already attained with the supposition of two poles revolving round the pole of the world in indefinite periods; or whether, as Halley had asserted, four such poles were necessary; or, finally, whether the hypothesis of polar points be fully adequate to represent all the phenomena. With indefatigable labour, he traced back the process of investigation to the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and filled up the interval, down to 1800, with a number of charts, so as to present at one view, as far as it could be done, the succession of states or phases through which this element has been passing during two hundred years. The result, apart from all theoretical considerations of poles and axes, is most curious and eminently instructive. The whole system of variation lines, with their intricate convolutions, is seen to be sweeping westward; not, however, in a mass, but each portion in its progress undergoing most singular modifications of form, and

Hansteen's  
determina-  
tions on  
magnetism.

gliding by gradations which it now becomes possible to trace, through all the varieties of oval, cusp, and node, in which the geometry of curves is known to abound. On these principles the scientific observer can show how beautifully this sort of moving panorama of magnetical influences explains, or at least enables us to conceive, the puzzling facts presented by the history of the needle's declination at particular spots: at London, for example, where, within a comparatively short time, it has moved from  $11^{\circ}$  east of the true meridian to  $24^{\circ}$  west of it, and thence begun its return in the opposite direction.

To complete our knowledge on this interesting subject, additional observations were still necessary in regard to three points, namely, the horizontal position of the needle or its declination from the true meridian; its dip or inclination towards the centre of the earth; and, lastly, the intensity of the total magnetic force, or, in other words, the power with which, when withdrawn from its position of equilibrium, it tends to return to it. The discovery that this power is not equal in all parts of the globe, viewed as a fact clearly ascertained by observation, is of a date comparatively recent. At the commencement of the present century it remained unattested by experiment; while such is the diligence with which the subject has since been pursued, that charts are now delineated representing the course of the lines of equal intensity over both hemispheres, at no fewer than six hundred and seventy stations. In regard to the other particulars great improvements have also been made, and their effect has been to give to magnetic determinations, at least on land, the precision of astronomical observation; while at sea the limits of attainable accuracy, in moderate weather, have been much enlarged by the use of an ingenious apparatus which also serves to measure the intensity. Armed with instruments, and in possession of a theory which has proved competent to represent with fidelity the principal features of the phenomena,

CHAP. XVII.

—  
 Explanations  
 afforded by  
 Hansteen's  
 determina-  
 tions.

Charts of the  
 lines of equal  
 intensity.



## CHAP. XVII.

Necessity for  
enlarging  
magnetical  
observations.

it was impossible to remain any longer contented with loose or inaccurate results. It was indispensable that observations should be made on a large scale, and systematically pursued in all parts of the world, at sea and on shore, in the day and during the night. The time, in short, had evidently arrived for a united and powerful effort, on the part not of individuals but of nations, to place on record the actual state of those manifestations, and to render the present epoch a secure point whence future observers might commence their researches, and to which they might also refer as an authority.

Movements  
by the Royal  
Society and  
the British  
Association.

The French voyages, of which we are giving some account, professed to have in view the improvement of magnetical science, more especially as connected with navigation. But the system of simultaneous observation on a large scale was not undertaken by the European states till a few years ago, when the importance of the matter was pressed upon their attention by Humboldt, to whose voyages in the equinoctial regions the studious class in Europe are so greatly indebted. In a letter to the president of the Royal Society of London, he urged the necessity of establishing regular magnetic observatories in Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and between the tropics, not only for marking the momentary perturbations of the needle, but also for recording its periodical and secular movements. This appeal to the learned body in question was not made in vain. The subject was readily taken up by their council, and an application was made to government for a grant of money to enable them to purchase instruments. At a somewhat later period the British Association made a movement in the same direction, adverting to the magnetical observations which had for some time been carried on in Germany as well as in various other parts of Europe, and the important results to which they had already led. They recommended that stations should be established not only in Canada and at the Cape, but also at Ceylon, St Helena, Van Diemen's Land, and the

Mauritius; offering to supply instruments for their use. CHAP. XVII.  
 They farther considered it highly important that the deficiency yet existing in our knowledge of terrestrial magnetism in the southern hemisphere, should be supplied by observations of the magnetic direction and intensity, especially in the high southern latitudes, between the meridians of New Holland and Cape Horn; and they strongly recommended to her Majesty's ministers the equipment of a naval expedition expressly directed to that object.

In consequence of these resolutions, a memorial was addressed to government, embodying the chief arguments for taking up the cause as a national concern, and specifying more particularly the objects proposed to be accomplished, as well as the means of effecting them. The presentation of this memorial was aided by the personal influence and arguments of several noblemen, who considered that great physical theories, with their train of practical consequences, are pre-eminently national objects, whether for glory or utility. Though it may be true that the movements of all representative governments are necessarily slow, it is no less true that British statesmen, so soon as they are satisfied of the importance of an object, take it up with a degree of spirit and liberality which seldom fails to ensure success. Every point suggested was ordered to be carried into full execution, and every observation recommended was provided for in the most ample manner. Ships, buildings, and instruments were ordered; and, what is of greater importance still, able officers were appointed to the several stations, selected at once for their scientific acquirements and their zeal in the particular undertaking.

Memorial to  
the British  
government.

The hearty adoption of this important measure by government soon called into activity the valuable co-operation of the Directors of the East India Company. They likewise resolved to establish in their dependencies no fewer than four observatories, similar to those founded by the cabinet, and devoted to a strictly simultaneous

Co-operation  
of the East  
India Com-  
pany.

CHAP. XVII. course of notation. The stations thus ultimately fixed on were Madras ; Simla, in the Himmaleh range, at the elevation of eight thousand feet ; Singapore, as the farthest point which could be conveniently attained towards the east ; and Aden on the Red Sea. This last is a locality highly important in itself, from its position with respect to the magnetic equator, which passes nearly through it, as well as from its constituting a link in a chain of stations extending from St Helena to Singapore.

Co operation  
of other  
governments.

It is not unworthy of remark that some of the other nations of Europe have engaged in this interesting pursuit with more than their usual heartiness and goodwill. Russia, in her extensive dominions, has founded twelve stations well supplied with suitable apparatus and competent superintendents. The French have one at Algiers ; and the Pasha of Egypt has so far followed the example of the western governments as to engage M. Lambert to conduct magnetical observations at Cairo. The Rajah of Travancore has also, it is said, joined the confederacy of scientific rulers, and procured an observer whose labours are fixed at Trivanderam.

Appointment  
of a British  
expedition.

The great interests of Britain as a maritime power naturally led to the appointment of a naval expedition, the officers of which might collect, in high and unfrequented latitudes, facts tending to illustrate the more irregular movements of the magnetic fluid when exposed to the action of intense cold. Two ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, were fitted out, and placed under the command of Captains Ross and Crozier, both of whom had signalized themselves by a spirit of resolution and perseverance in former voyages in the severest climates. Their field of exertion was exclusively the southern hemisphere, and more especially those regions which are least accessible to the ordinary navigator, and where, from the analogy of the arctic parallels, as well as from the general configuration of the magnetic lines so far as the existing charts can be trusted, there is reason to believe the most interesting inflections of those lines are situated. Among these may be included the southern

magnetic pole and the points of greatest intensity, to the former of which, assuming that only one exists, M. Gauss assigns, as the most probable situation, the latitude of  $66^{\circ}$  and the longitude of  $140^{\circ}$  E. On the correctness of this conclusion, the observations of Captain Ross and his assistants will enable the scientific world to decide; but it must not be forgotten that, owing to the great deficiency of antarctic researches, this theoretical position can only be regarded as a first approximation open to large corrections. We have already alluded to the discovery of an insular group nearly in the latitude now specified, and at the same time so situated in respect of longitude as to afford a station certainly on one side, and possibly also on the other, of the point in question. Should this discovery be verified to the full extent, a base will be afforded, at the extremities of which the convergence of the needle will hardly fail to point out the vicinity of the magnetic pole, should direct access to it be found impracticable. In truth, there is no portion of those seas, hitherto so imperfectly explored, at which magnetic observations will not be found of the greatest interest. Wherever it may be possible to land and observe, especially on the polar ice, the determinations, as they will there be obtained with perfect precision, and free from all local influence; will possess the highest value, especially in those cases where it may have been convenient to erect the magnetometers with which the officers were furnished, and collect observations for the diurnal changes and disturbances.

Although the main object of this enterprise is the collection of such facts as may lead hereafter to the development of the magnetic principle in all parts of the globe, other important ends were not overlooked by the agents of government, to whose care the preparations for it were intrusted. Never, it is believed, did an expedition leave the shores of England so largely provided with apparatus of every description for philosophical investigation, and with instructions embracing so many

CHAP. XVII.

Probable  
position of  
the South  
Magnetic  
Pole.

Various ob-  
jects of the  
British expe-  
dition.



CHAP. XVII. — points of scientific research. These last were supplied by a committee of the Royal Society; and such as relate to the depth, constitution, temperature, and currents of the ocean, are calculated to excite a lively interest among all whose thoughts have ever been turned to the great works of nature. The explanation of the oceanic currents, it is every where admitted, can never be complete until we shall be made acquainted with the elements which affect the density of the water at different depths, and the action of the forces which produce the disturbance of its equilibrium, both in direct weight and lateral pressure. The form and course of the channels, too, which result from the powerful currents near the bottom, and by means whereof the water finds its way from the polar basins to the equatorial seas, may be in some measure ascertained by a regular process of soundings. On this head, it is mentioned that Captain Ross has already arrived at some very remarkable results, having so completely overcome the difficulty which attaches to this operation, as to have sunk his lead to a depth exceeding all former experience. In one instance, he is said to have effected a sounding below the surface of the ocean, exceeding the height of Mont Blanc above it; and that, too, with a facility and certainty which promise to afford a speedy solution of the long-agitated question as to the mean and greatest depth of the sea in both hemispheres. The communications which have been received from him have not yet been so complete, or so satisfactorily connected with the observations made at the other stations in Asia, Africa, and Europe, as to justify any decided conclusion in regard to the chief object of research,—the action, namely, of the magnetic principle taken in connexion with its intensity on various parts of the earth's surface, its periodical declination, and its local dip.\*

Explanation  
of oceanic  
currents.

Vast depth of  
a sounding  
obtained.

\* The reader will find ample materials for forming a judgment on this interesting point of physical science in the "Rapport" prefixed to Duperrey's *Voyage autour du Monde*; Gauss's *Intensitas Vis Magneticæ Terrestris*; Lettre de M. de Humboldt à S. A. R.

The reader will now understand what were the ostensible and perhaps the real purposes contemplated by the French government when they fitted out the expeditions commanded by Freycinet and Duperrey. The *Coquille* crossed the magnetic equator six times. Two of the points, the exact position of which was ascertained, are situated in the Atlantic Ocean, long.  $24^{\circ} 59' 7''$  W., and lat.  $12^{\circ} 27' 11''$  S. ; and long.  $12^{\circ}$  W., and lat.  $9^{\circ} 45'$  S. On these results, it is concluded that the line without inclination, or the point where it coincides with the terrestrial equator, had varied since the year 1780 not less than one degree fifty-one minutes. It is therefore remarked by the committee of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris that, agreeably to the various calculations which they have been able to make, there exists a locomotive power in the magnetic equator. By weighing and comparing the whole of the observations made in the South Sea, they imagine that they may fairly congratulate themselves on the complete certainty to which they have attained in respect to this important question. The journals kept on board the *Uranie* and *Coquille* contain all the elements necessary to the calculations by which they hope to arrive at a final conclusion, which, in their opinion, is one of the most interesting that can be undertaken in reference to the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism.

CHAP. XVII.

Magnetic results obtained by Duperrey.

It was to complete the labours of Duperrey that M. Dumont D'Urville, who had served in the *Coquille* as a lieutenant, received, in December 1825, the command of the *Astrolabe*, a vessel falling under the general denomination of corvette, and corresponding to an English sloop of war. He was directed to explore the principal archipelagos of the great ocean north and south of the equatorial line, and more especially the coasts of New Zealand and those of New Guinea. After pursuing his course in the Atlantic towards the southern hemisphere,

Voyage of D'Urville.

CHAP. XVII.

Instructions  
given to  
D'Urville.

and passing the Cape of Good Hope, his instructions farther guided him to Bass's Strait, Port Jackson, Cook's Straits, the Friendly Isles, the Fijees, New Caledonia, the Louisiade, New Britain, the Caroline group, of which he was more particularly to examine the western shores, thence to steer for the Isle of France, and finally to make his passage for Toulon.\*

Besides the discovery of new lands, the captain was instructed to make search for La Perouse and his unfortunate companions, whose memory was still cherished in France, and whose fate continued to excite a painful curiosity. It has been already mentioned that an American sailor had seen in the hands of the natives of a small island, situated between the Louisiade and New Caledonia, a cross of St Louis and certain medals, which, he concluded, must have been obtained from the wreck of the French ships. But a more recent as well as more certain indication of that catastrophe was afforded by Mr Dillon, the commander of a vessel in the service of the East India Company. In the year 1813, he found in one of the Fijee islands two mariners, a Prussian named Martin Bushart and a lascar, both of whom appear to have been deserters. At their earnest request he transported them to an islet, the celebrity of which has since procured for it a place in modern maps under the designation of Tucopia; and the inhabitants, being of a mild and pacific disposition, received the strangers without manifesting any hostile sentiment.

The island of  
Tucopia.

In the year 1826, Dillon, in the course of a trading voyage in that quarter of the Pacific, again touched at

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\* Though not of much interest, it may not be improper to mention that the "Astrolabe" commanded by D'Urville was no other than the "Coquille," the corvette in which M. Duperrey had accomplished his circumnavigation of the globe. "La Corvette *La Coquille*, dont la solidité venait d'être éprouvée par le voyage de M. Duperrey, qui avait eu M. Dumont D'Urville pour second, fut mise à la disposition de ce dernier, et prit le nom de *L'Astrolabe*, c'est à dire, celui du vaisseau que montait La Pérouse. Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii, p. 208.

Tucopia, and found the two seamen in very comfortable circumstances, apparently not regretting that they had renounced the comforts together with the cares of civilized life. The lascar sold to the armourer of the English ship the handle of a sword made of silver, having a cipher inscribed on it. Upon being informed of this transaction, the captain naturally became curious to learn how such a piece of French manufacture could have been conveyed into an island so little frequented by traders from any kingdom of the west. Martin informed him that this article as well as many others composed of iron were found in the hands of the natives, who, they themselves said, had procured them from an isle at a considerable distance called Manicolo, where two European ships had been wrecked, about forty years prior to that date. It immediately occurred to Mr Dillon that the vessels in question must be the two frigates which had composed the expedition of La Perouse, whose end was still uncertain, notwithstanding the investigations ordered by government and executed by D'Entrecasteaux. The latter officer was indeed on several occasions very near the island of Manicolo, which M. D'Urville has since named Vanikoro, after the native manner of pronouncing the word, and which the other contented himself with calling the Isle de la Recherche, in reference to the name of one of the ships which he commanded; not imagining that this appellation would one day be justified by an English navigator, or that in so insignificant a place was to be found the object of the laborious explorations which he had conducted in both hemispheres of the earth.

Trace of  
La Perouse  
found in  
Tucopia.

At an interview which afterwards took place, the lascar declared to Captain Dillon that six years previously he had gone to Manicolo, where he saw two aged individuals who had obtained a share of the property found on board the wrecks. Knowing the interest which the whole civilized world took in the fortunes of La Perouse, and how desirous the French nation in particular were to obtain information in regard to him, the

That trace  
obtained  
from the  
island of  
Manicolo.



CHAP. XVII. Englishman immediately resolved to proceed to the same island in person, though he already began to be in want of provisions. He engaged Martin Bushart and one of the natives to accompany him thither, promising a remuneration which was esteemed by them quite satisfactory. At the end of two days they came in sight of Manicolo; but the violence of the currents and the danger of the coral reefs which surround it, prevented the ship from approaching it during a whole week. Want of supplies at length compelled him to relinquish the attempt, when he bore away for New Zealand, whither he also carried the Prussian sailor, who was destined to act a conspicuous part in the discovery about to be made by M. D'Urville.

—  
 Bootless visit  
 of Dillon to  
 Manicolo.

Before his departure for Calcutta, Dillon gave an assurance that he would endeavour to interest the agents of the East India Company there in the search for the relics of La Perouse's squadron. In this object he was quite successful, finding a lively sympathy on the part of the local authorities both in the civil department and among those who presided over the pursuits of science. The Asiatic Society, for example, long established in that city, joined with the provincial government in recommending as assistant to the captain a medical gentleman whose qualifications fitted him to act as a naturalist, and even as the historian of the enterprise. They, in like manner, invited the superintendent of the French settlement at Chandernagore to select an agent who might take part in the voyage, as his countrymen were more deeply concerned than the people of any other nation in its success. Agreeably to this suggestion, M. Chaigniau was sent on board Dillon's ship, which, on this occasion, was equipped at the sole expense of the English Company. It is to be regretted that these promising appearances produced no result favourable to the cause of humanity or even of private benevolence. During the passage to Van Diemen's Land there arose between the captain and the doctor so many causes of dissension, that, upon their

Expedition  
 from India to  
 Manicolo.

arrival, the latter raised an action against the chief of the crew for personal grievances, insult, and ill treatment. Dillon was sentenced to three months' imprisonment; but after a brief restraint, in compliance with the award of justice, he was liberated and permitted to prosecute his voyage. CHAP. XVII.

As the occurrences now mentioned took place some time after Dumont D'Urville had left Europe, he was in consequence entirely ignorant of all the facts and suggestions connected with them. But having in the course of his voyage touched at Hobart Town, and received some account of the proceedings which had passed under the auspices of the mercantile commander, he set sail for the Manicolo group on the 5th day of January 1828. On the 10th of February, he reached Tucopia, where Dillon had found the Prussian sailor, whose narrative, as has been already shown, threw great light on the shipwreck of La Perouse. This foreigner, who had recently returned from New Zealand, promised at first to accompany D'Urville to Vanikoro, but afterwards, without assigning any distinct reason, positively declined. The captain of the *Astrolabe* found it impossible to induce any of the natives to serve him on this interesting occasion, owing to their dread of fever, which seems to have raged for some time on board; he was therefore obliged to satisfy himself with the aid of two English seamen who nine months before had secretly withdrawn themselves from one of their national ships.

D'Urville  
hears of the  
trace of  
La Perouse.

On the 19th, the *Astrolabe* attained the island, and began a minute examination of the eastern coast, where was found a small haven, which, though offering shelter, was rendered nearly inaccessible by coral reefs. Not meeting with any success to gratify their hopes or reward their exertions, the crew turned their thoughts to the opposite side of the isle, where, from certain remains of European commodities in possession of the inhabitants, they derived additional confirmation to their belief that their unfortunate countrymen had perished in the neigh-

He arrives at  
Manicolo.

## CHAP. XVII.

The catastrophe of La Perouse ascertained.

bourhood. But the natives, actuated by some reason which could not be conjectured, refused to indicate the place where the catastrophe had actually occurred. At length one of the officers, by presenting a piece of red cloth, induced an individual to conduct a boat's company to the spot at which the lamented navigator had unquestionably closed his career. Having arrived at a certain point, the Frenchmen perceived scattered along the bottom of the sea, at the depth of three or four fathoms, anchors, guns, bullets, bars of iron and lead, particularly an immense number of sheets of the latter metal. The whole of the timber had disappeared, and the smaller articles, whether of copper or iron, were corroded by the rust, and completely disfigured. M. D'Urville occupied his people several days in recovering from the water all the things that could be reached; among which were an anchor weighing eighteen hundred pounds, and a small cannon, both much eaten by rust, and covered with a thick coating of coral. Besides these were a bar of lead, and two brass swivels, in a tolerable state of preservation. The sight of these objects, added to the information supplied by the natives, some of whom remembered the event, left no doubt on the minds of the captain and his officers that the frigates *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* had gone to pieces on the reefs of Vanikoro.

The erection of a monument at the place.

Nothing now remained but to mark the epoch of discovery by some token which might keep in remembrance at once the painful event which cost to France the lives of so many brave sailors, and the fortunate chance which led their countrymen, after the lapse of nearly half a century, to the possession of evidence which has removed all doubt as to the nature of the accident which brought their services to a termination so much to be lamented. M. D'Urville resolved to erect near the anchorage a small monument to the memory of the intrepid navigators whose bones were now mingled with the sand on that fatal shore, and which, at the same time, might commemorate the arrival of the second *Astrolabe* in search of their relics. The cenotaph, which was

placed in a small grove, was consecrated by three dis- CHAP. XVII.  
charges of musketry and a salvo of twenty-one guns.

Forming his opinions on the narrative supplied by the natives, the captain considered it probable that the ships of La Perouse dashed themselves against the shelves of Vanikoro, in a dark night, after a gale of wind. One of them must have struck on the southern part of the coast, and sunk in a short time, after about thirty of the men had escaped to the land: the other frigate seems to have gone ashore to the leeward of the island, and to have remained during a considerable space entire. In this case the whole of the crew are understood to have been saved, and to have constructed a schooner out of the materials of the wreck, which could neither be repaired nor removed from the rocks. This labour occupied seven moons; which period having elapsed, the Frenchmen left Vanikoro, with the exception of two of their number, who died about a couple of years afterwards. But as to the issue of the voyage in the little vessel, her destination, or the fate of those who embarked in her, no intelligence has ever been received, no conjecture has ever been uttered. It is but too probable that the miserable survivors only enjoyed a short reprieve from the fearful destiny which haunted the expedition from the moment it left its original port, and that they were eventually swallowed up by the ocean which had already received the bodies of their companions.

Probable  
manner  
of the  
catastrophe.

The group of Vanikoro, or Manicolo, is said to be composed of four islands, of which two possess a considerable size and elevation, while the two others are very small and low: but, in point of fact, when viewed from a short distance, the whole appear as only one, and are not unfrequently so described. A coral reef, thirty or forty miles in circuit, surrounds them like a girdle at a certain interval from the shore; occasional breaches permitting the passage of canoes from the little harbours to the ocean. The sheet of water between this wall and the land is always in the most perfect tranquillity, even

Description  
of Manicolo-



CHAP. XVII. when the waves outside are in a state of violent agitation. The surface of the islands is in general mountainous, covered with thick forests and a rich vegetation, in consequence of the incessant humidity with which the soil is softened under a climate remarkable for heavy rains and frequent fogs.

Prior notices  
of Manicob.

This cluster, it is understood, was first noticed by Captain Edwards in 1791, who, not observing that there are more than one, gave to it the name of Pitt Island; and, as has been already stated, it is the same which D'Entrecasteaux, in 1793, called "Isle de la Recherche." Dillon was the second navigator who touched the coast, and D'Urville the third; the natives, it is asserted, never having seen European ships before the accident which befell La Perouse. Vanikoro is now included in the archipelago of the New Hebrides; an acquisition which, if any right can be based on the circumstance of prior discovery, might be claimed by the British crown.

Alleged  
admiration  
of Bonaparte  
by the New  
Zealanders.

We shall not follow M. Dumont d'Urville in his minute details on the character, manners, and amusements of the people of New Zealand, nor in his remarks on the climate and productions of their country. They have, he assures his readers, so exalted an idea of courage and military talent, that the name of Bonaparte, which had recently reached their ears, was never pronounced without admiration. They had even proceeded so far in their adoration of the fallen emperor, as to bestow his family appellation on the most gallant of their chiefs; a circumstance the accuracy of which might perhaps be questioned when it is called to mind that more than ten years had elapsed since the period when the hero of the Revolution set an example of flight from a field of battle where his fame and crown were at stake, and where thousands of brave men had proved to him that they thought it more honourable to die than to purchase a brief addition to a despised life by deserting his army in distress.\*

\* "Les Nouveaux-Zélandais ont une si haute idée de la valeur guerrière, que le nom de Bonaparte, arrivé jusqu'à eux par un de

His countrymen claim for D'Urville, and not without reason, the merit of diligent research in the most dangerous sections of the Pacific, and maintain that by his discoveries he filled up many voids in the charts of the Great Ocean. He was the first, they assert, who explored in a satisfactory manner the northern coast of New Guinea, to the extent of more than four hundred leagues, and surveyed, with greater minuteness than even Captain Cook could accomplish, about one-half of the shore of New Zealand. He made himself acquainted with nearly all the Fijee group, comprehending not less than one hundred islands, many of which were at that epoch very imperfectly known; and he threw a distinct light on the southern portion of New Britain, embracing a line of coast somewhat above three hundred miles. With similar diligence and equal success, he examined the Carolines, the Moluccas, and the vast borders of Australia.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF  
D'URVILLE IN  
THE PACIFIC

His contributions to the various branches of natural science are still more highly valued than those to geography. The stores which he and the companions of his voyage brought to France are said to have exceeded the highest expectations of the Institute. M. Cuvier in his report hesitates not to declare, that the different collections of the Astrolabe, manned by those new argonauts of philosophy, are more considerable than the united accumulations of all preceding navigators. The superintendent of the Garden of Plants was quite embarrassed by the vast accessions made to his genera and species; cellars and vaults were filled with new varieties in the interesting department of animal life; and the professor of geology found that his injunctions were not neglected either in America or in any of the less frequented archipelagos of the South Sea.

HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE  
NATURAL  
SCIENCES.

In a word, the objects contemplated by those who originated the expeditions of Freycinet, Duperrey, and D'Urville, had a much more intimate relation to the

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leur chefs venu en Europe, n'est prononcé qu'avec admiration dans l'isle." P. 276.

CHAP. XVII. civil and natural history of countries already discovered, than to the expansion of our knowledge in regard to the proportions of land and water on the surface of the globe, or the extent of the former which still remains unknown. It made no part of their undertaking to winter within the frozen circles, or to ascertain how near to either pole may be found the abode of terrestrial animals possessing warm blood. The captains of the *Uranie*, *Coquille*, and *Astrolabe*, found greater satisfaction in compiling the annals of Brazil, Timor, and New Holland, than in scouring the high latitudes of the antarctic zone. Freycinet, no doubt, brought home a great number of facts illustrative of the physical history of the earth; Duperrey distinguished himself by a minute survey of some portion of New Zealand and the Caroline cluster, as well as by numerous observations connected with magnetism, viewed in its application to maritime travelling; and Dumont d'Urville added to the little knowledge we formerly possessed of New Guinea, on the coast of which, as already noticed, he spent a lengthened period. To the same intrepid seaman we are indebted for some judicious remarks on the languages of Polynesia; a subject to which his attention was directed with no small degree of success.

Estimate of  
the several  
French  
expeditions.

Voyage of  
Bougainville.

Bougainville, usually termed the younger, was intrusted with the command of the *Thetis* and *Espérance*, the former a frigate, the latter a corvette, and proceeded on his voyage in the month of March 1824. In this case discovery was not the main object, nor did he receive any special instructions relative to scientific research. The intention of the government was to show the French flag in the Indian Ocean and Chinese waters, as the means of increasing or protecting their commerce in those distant parts of the world. On the 26th April, the *Thetis* approached the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 5th May, when in lat.  $39^{\circ}$  S. and long.  $37^{\circ} 40'$  E., the magnetic variation was found to have attained its maximum, namely,  $32^{\circ} 12'$  W., but it decreased immediately as she steered to the eastward. Towards the end of

June, the commander found himself in Pondicherry, to the description of which he devotes a whole chapter. He contrasts in lively phrase the monotonous uniformity of the white town with the animated scene presented by the jugglers, the bazaars, and the attractive dances of the Bayadières in the black town. The population of the five French establishments in India, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Carical, Mahé, and Yanaon, he states at four thousand whites and a hundred and thirty-two thousand of Hindoo extraction.

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The French establishments in India.

After some stay at Manilla and Macao, M. Bougainville proceeded to the Isle of Hai-nan, and in January 1825, he anchored in the bay of Touran, on the coast of Cochinchina, where he spent about a month, having been intrusted with a mission to the ruler of the country, occasionally styled emperor, in the discharge of which he was supplied with an opportunity of seeing a little of the manners and usages of the inhabitants, whose character is hardly known to any European people. The *Thetis* next proceeded to Sourabaya, on the northern shore of Java; and in the course of the passage the officers examined the Anambas, a group of islands extending 150 miles from north to south, and as much from east to west, being distant from the Malay peninsula rather more than thirty leagues. Some of the isles rise up in blocks of granite, with white marks similar to those of the *Pedro Branco* in the Strait of Malacca. Their general structure indeed is granitic, with coral reefs in all the sheltered spots: the number is conjectured to be about fifty; the height is moderate; the surface is generally well wooded; and the inhabitants, supposed to be chiefly pirates, amount to 1500 or 2000. The position of twenty-two of the principal points in the cluster was accurately determined; and the whole are confined within the parallels of  $3^{\circ} 27'$  and  $1^{\circ}$  north of the equator, their longitude extending from  $106^{\circ}$  to  $108^{\circ} 21'$  east.

The Anambas Islands.

The ships, proceeding southward, ran through the dangerous Strait of Gaspar, examined the Carimon-Java



CHAP. XVII. Islands, cleared the channel of Madura, and on the 20th March anchored again off Sourabaya, where they remained six weeks, the crews suffering much from sickness. Quitting Java, and steering through the gut of Allass, M. Bougainville surveyed the shores of the island of Lombok, and the roadstead of Tanjour; this last being declared the best on the coast, and far superior to that of Bali, hitherto much more commonly frequented. Keeping their heads still in the same direction, the *Thetis* and *Espérance* rounded successively the south-western point of Australia and the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land, arriving on the 1st July at Port Jackson. Here the commodore remained three months, collecting materials for his fourteenth chapter, which contains a description of the colony of New South Wales, at once accurate and candid. Upon leaving the British settlement, he held a direct course for South America; and on the 23d November, cast anchor on the coast of Chili, having made a passage of six thousand miles across the Great Ocean, without once making land. He remarked that the current had carried the frigate and corvette 163 miles towards the north, and 125 towards the east; and that the variation, or, more properly, the declination of the compass had increased from  $8^{\circ} 30'$  to  $13^{\circ}$ . It began to decrease in long.  $177^{\circ}$  east, and reached its minimum,  $5^{\circ}$ , in long.  $123^{\circ}$  west. From this point it varied slightly between  $7^{\circ}$  and  $8^{\circ}$  as far as long.  $105^{\circ}$  west, when it again lessened to  $5^{\circ}$ . It shortly afterwards increased to  $13^{\circ}$  and even  $16^{\circ}$ , and remained unaltered till the arrival of the expedition at Valparaiso. After a residence of six weeks at the port just named, Bougainville set sail for Rio Janeiro, the harbour of which he entered on the 21st March 1826; and again putting to sea in the beginning of April, he finally anchored at Brest on the 24th June, having been absent two years and four months.

During the whole of this voyage, great attention was paid to meteorology in general, as well as to the more common magnetical observations which have a reference

The island of Lombok.

Current in the Pacific.

to the working of the mariner's needle and the declination of the compass. The indications of the barometer, thermometer, and hydrometer, were registered four times every day. The appendix to the first volume of his work, accordingly, contains a list of a hundred and fifty geographical positions determined by the several officers, with a discussion of the principles on which their conclusions are founded.

CHAP. XVII.

Bougainville's scientific observations.

It is remarkable that the crews employed in this expedition, not less than the men on board the *Astrolabe*, suffered extremely from disease, more especially a malignant species of fever, incident to the climate of the Indian archipelago and the coast of Japan. As the air was understood to be the medium by which the morbid influence was conveyed, change of scene was the natural remedy, and seldom proved ineffectual.\*

The motives whence originated the voyage of La Place, of which we are now to give an outline, were similar to those which gave birth to that of Bougainville, namely, the extension of commerce, and the renewal of political relations with certain kingdoms in the East, who had formerly received the flag of the French people on friendly terms. As soon indeed as the treaty of peace with England was signed in 1814, the government of Paris entertained the project of sending armed ships into the seas of India and of China, with the view of reviving an intercourse, interrupted during more than twenty years, and of marking out to merchantmen a

The voyage of La Place.

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\* *Journal de la Navigation autour du Globe, de la frégate la Thetis et de la corvette Espérance, pendant les années 1824-26. Par M. le Baron de Bougainville, Capitaine de Vaisseau, 2 tomes quarto. Paris, 1837.*

The compiler of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* remarks that "M. de Bougainville rapportait de riches collections d'histoire naturelle, qui ont été déposées au Jardin des Plantes. Il avait vérifié ou déterminé les positions d'un grand nombre de points importants des mers de l'Inde et de la Chine; et ramenant sains et saufs ses équipages, joyeux d'avoir terminé heureusement une aussi belle campagne, il pouvait, à son tour, leur faire l'application de ce vers de Virgile, par lequel se termine le voyage de son père :

'Puppibus et laeti nautae impôsuerunt coronas.'

CHAP. XVII. path on the ocean which they had entirely lost the habit of pursuing. A corvette, named *La Favorite*, carrying twenty-four guns, with a crew of two hundred and fifty men, was placed under the command of Captain *La Place*, who set sail from Toulon on the 30th December 1829.

The Isle of  
Goree.

To make up the full supply of provisions, indispensable to a ship of which the destination comprehended a prolonged stay among tribes many of whom have attained only a slight degree of civilisation, the *Favorite* came to anchor in the Isle of Goree, a French settlement on the coast of Senegal. The historian of the voyage supplies to the reader a great variety of details respecting this colony, the fortunes of which have not been always unclouded. Suffice it to mention that the soil is entirely of volcanic origin, and the whole extent not more than five miles in circuit. It possesses a few mansions of rather a good appearance, inhabited by Europeans; the population in general being composed of negroes and mulattoes, the same people who occupy the villages which skirt the neighbouring shores of Africa. On the 7th March, *M. La Place* arrived at Port Louis in the Isle of France, the view of which, not less beautiful than magnificent, was well fitted to excite the admiration of a crew who were nearly all strangers to the sea and to the aspect of foreign scenery. At the bottom of the bay was discovered the town, the houses and the trees which surround them composing a variegated line at the foot of lofty picturesque mountains, the summits of which are concealed in the clouds. In visiting the environs of the port, the captain discovered among the peasants the complexion and character of those of France, their ancient country. To the delicious climate of the isle the colonists, he relates, add the grace and the easy manners, together with the benevolence and delicacy with which the French know how to embellish every act of hospitality. These cultivators had just recovered a little from the crisis to which they had been exposed by the destruction of their coffee planta-

The Isle of  
France.

tions, to make way for the introduction of the sugar-cane ; the inhabitants of the south having found some compensation for their losses by substituting a variety of grapes which had greatly reduced the price of wines. CHAP. XVII.

La Place remarks that an active rivalry had taken place between the colonists and the English, and that the national-feeling had pronounced itself with great strength against the latter. The natives, he adds, have never ceased to regret the loss of that protection which was extended to them by their former government ; and in particular societies, more especially the theatre, they seize every occasion to manifest their sympathies towards France. Young persons, in particular, eagerly caught every allusion unfavourable to the English nation ; and as on several occasions disturbances were excited by the impetuosity of their feelings, the governor found himself compelled to issue orders for closing that place of public amusement. A few days before the arrival of the Favorite, the actors had embarked for the Isle of Bourbon.

National feeling against the English.

Yielding to the associations connected with the pathetic romance of Paul and Virginia, the commander of the corvette has no difficulty in tracing the lineaments of the scene which the genius of Saint Pierre has rendered so celebrated. He laments that the rage for sugar cultivation, excited by the fatal genius of speculative commerce, has destroyed the long avenues of trees, the leafy branches of which used to protect the youthful lovers from the oppressive rays of the mid-day sun. Instead of the beautiful shrubs which adorned the banks of the rivulet and the lower declivity of the hills, nothing is seen but stiff canes, which supply neither the verdure of spring nor the sweet scents of the maturer year. In short, there is every where the most irresistible and odious proof that the avarice of the English has superseded the pure taste and love of nature which have always distinguished the French.

The romance of Paul and Virginia.

In reference to the capabilities of the Isle of Bourbon, it is observed that part of the provisions required by the



CHAP. XVII. inhabitants must be supplied by the people of Madagascar. No cattle can be produced in the former for want of pasturage ; poultry is scarce ; and the rice is of very inferior quality. The inhabitants, nevertheless, show themselves at once industrious and indefatigable. The rich live like princes in their several establishments ; but it cannot be too much regretted that a restless spirit torments society, springing from the numerous lines of demarcation which it has every where introduced. Generally speaking, the colonists seem less affable than those of the Mauritius ; a remark, however, which does not extend to the ladies, who are in every respect equal to their lively neighbours of Port Louis.

State of  
society in  
the Isle of  
Bourbon.

Passing the Mahé Islands and the Maldives, the Favorite, early in June, attained the island of Ceylon, concerning which the captain indulges in a few remarks, which indicate a very slight acquaintance with the state of society, or with the views of the English government. At Pondicherry he has access to a more ample fund of information, and is disposed to view the current of events under a benigner aspect. Scarcely had he landed when he found himself surrounded by a class of persons called "dubashis," who are described as guides quite indispensable to a stranger who touches at those ports. It is, in fact, absolutely necessary to accept the services of one of the order. He controls all the expenses of the individual who confides himself to his direction, who must neither buy nor sell any thing except in his presence. In order to protect his client from deception, he procures a house for him, and furnishes it with every commodity which his temporary residence may require. He chooses and commands all the domestics ; he never quits his master ; he serves him at table ; he is his guide during the day, and sleeps at the door of his chamber during the night. For the discharge of these various offices he receives a monthly salary, independently of the little advantages he may derive from the purchases he makes, on which he regularly exacts a commission. The European cannot withdraw himself from this gentle

The dubashis  
of Pondi-  
cherry.

thralldom ; and he would have little reason to congratulate himself on his emancipation were he to accomplish it. —

The Indians of Pondicherry are called Talingas, and occupy in it a position similar to that which is held by the natives of Auvergne in the capital of France ; for while these last are carriers of water, the others are bearers of palanquins. Though the town may trace its origin to the commencement of the sixteenth century, the date of the first French expedition to the East Indies, it was not till a period comparatively recent that it acquired any degree of prosperity. It is situated on the border of an immense plain, where the view has no other boundary than a few small hills towards the south-west, and whence are the sources of several springs which prove of the utmost value to the inhabitants, who use the water as the means of beautifying the vicinity and augmenting the produce of their gardens. The territorial possessions of the citizens do not, however, extend more than a mile from the sea, for at this point the English rule commences.

The town of  
Pondicherry.

It is well known that in India religion has prohibited to its votaries the use of any thing in the form of nourishment which has lived : and it is for this reason that Europeans, the eaters of animal food, are so lightly esteemed in many parts of the east. The sight of a boot or a shoe, made of leather, makes the believer in Brama recoil with disgust and horror. It is therefore impossible to find a menial servant except among the pariahs, a class of men despised by the rest of the Hindoos, because they feed on the flesh of the cow.

From Pondicherry M. La Place proceeded to Madras, of which, in his usual manner, he writes with no small degree of minuteness. Viewed from the sea, the town presents nothing which could indicate the magnificence which really belongs to it. Fort St George supplies a very inadequate protection against any attack which might be made on it by an enemy's fleet ; while the ditch and rampart which stretch along the side next the

The town of  
Madras.

## CHAP. XVII.

State of  
society in  
Madras.

land, appear no more than sufficient to check the assault of native troops without heavy ordnance. But a quay, stretching not less than a mile and a half in length, covered with convenient dwellings and large warehouses, gives a very favourable idea of the opulence and commerce of that great city. Still, to the eye of a Frenchman, it appeared dull and uninteresting. The etiquette, which policy as well as the natural disposition of men in power have established among the educated class, was felt by the strangers as a great annoyance. It is, besides, destitute of a theatre, where the idle hours of seamen might be rendered less oppressive than they usually are on a long voyage; the heat was intolerable, the water bad, and prices high; and therefore the captain of the Favorite was not disposed to express any regret when the lofty palace of the governor retired from his view as he steered for Yanaon, a small establishment on the coast of Bengal.

The town of  
Yanaon.

The place now named offers to the eye of the traveller a number of beautiful habitations, carefully white-washed, and surrounded with fine trees. The colony founded there is dependent on Pondicherry, under whose paternal administration it has enjoyed considerable prosperity. The town stands on the point of land formed by the Godavery, where, about nine miles from the sea, it divides itself into two streams, by both of which it maintains a communication with the ocean. Little attracted by the interests which respect manufactures, trade, or political power, M. La Place devotes several pages to the merits and attractions of the female dancers on the shores of the great bay. Their movements, he gravely assures his readers, have no resemblance to those of the "nymphs of the opera at Paris," and then proceeds to unfold their comparative excellencies in terms which can be understood by those only who have had the benefit of that enlightened education which seems to be conferred in the capital of France upon the young aspirants for naval honours.

On the 2d of August, the Favorite, leaving the

anchorage of Yanaon, proceeded towards the Strait of Malacca, and, on the tenth, arrived at Pulo Penang, a flourishing emporium established on the eastern side of its entrance. This island, it is related, was bestowed as a marriage-gift, about the close of last century, on a young Englishman, the master of a trading vessel, who had attracted the regards of a daughter of the sovereign of Queda. The fortunate bridegroom, embarrassed by his immense property, separated from the Malay peninsula by a channel not more than a league in width, transferred his rights to the East India Company, who, after raising suitable fortifications, gave to it the name of Prince of Wales' Island, instead of the one by which it was formerly known.

The relations which subsist between this settlement and the Malays have furnished to the ingenious navigator an opportunity of commenting at considerable length on the character of that people, both in their physical and moral qualities. Ferocious in a high degree, they have reduced their women to the severest slavery and most degraded condition. So far as they can be said to have any religion, they acknowledge the authority of Mohammed ; but while, like the other disciples of that impostor, they are remarkable for their sobriety, they are not less so for robbery and murder. Entering the Chinese waters, the crew of the Favorite soon beheld the island of Pulo Condore ; a spot distinguished for its pestilential climate, for rains which fall during eight months of the year, and for venomous serpents which infest its woods. It is nevertheless inhabited by a few miserable fugitives from Cambodia and Cochin-China.

The next anchorage was found at Manilla in Luçon, the capital of the Philippine Archipelago. The town was understood to contain about ten thousand inhabitants, and about half as many dwell in Cavité, the seaport and principal seat of trade. This last is said to consist of a mass of ill-built houses, separated by narrow dirty streets, and containing a miserable population. The natives, who have allowed themselves to be converted to the christian faith, show great respect to the priests, and



CHAP. XVII. lavish no small share of their wealth on the decoration of the churches ; the architecture of which, it is remarked, by no means corresponds to the magnificence witnessed within. La Place made several excursions into the interior of Luçon, where he collected numerous objects of natural history. He visited the pretty little town of Santa Cruz, which stands near a lake on the verge of a fertile plain, and derives some wealth from the wines produced in the neighbourhood.

Santa Cruz.

The Favorite next proceeded to Macao, where the captain made preparations with the view of continuing his voyage to Canton, and completing certain commercial negotiations into which the French consul had entered with the Chinese government. His description of the river which leads to that mercantile city, of the adjoining country and population, possesses all the interest which arises from the freshness of a first impression and of a lively style. It is divided into two towns equally large, and much crowded with inhabitants. The one is at some distance from the river, and surrounded with walls having a few small gates, the entrance of which is strictly prohibited to all foreigners. This is, properly speaking, the ancient Canton, which appears to contain more than five hundred thousand souls. Here are found the great manufactories and workshops. New Canton stands on the bank of the river, and has no enclosure ; for which reason it is considered by the people as only one of the suburbs of the old town. The shops and warehouses have quite a European look ; a remark which also applies to some of the private houses. At the door of his dwelling the merchant is seen smoking his long pipe, and waiting with the utmost patience the arrival of customers. The appearance of the different streets varies in most cases only according to the several trades which are pursued in them ; but the residences of the chief mandarins attract attention by a display of great luxury. No carriage nor beast of burden is used in the public ways : nor does the barking of dogs or the cry of any other domestic animal reach the ear of a stranger : but, at

Canton.

every turn, there are observed numbers of blind beggars, whose only resource is the benevolence of the charitable. It is well known that many of the lower class live in boats, fitted up as houses, and permanently moored in the river; the effect of which at night is said to be quite magical, owing to the infinite number of lights which twinkle along the surface of the water.

After a short residence at the isle of Hai-nan, M. La Place sailed for the coast of Tonquin, a portion of eastern Asia very little known to European navigators; and his journal contains some interesting remarks as well on the country as the native inhabitants. On his return he visited the little archipelago of the Natunas, and afterwards that of the Anambas, which are described by Duperrey. Steering towards the south, the adventurers soon found themselves within sight of the high lands of Java; and in due time they reached Port Jackson, where they obtained at once the enjoyment of a repose which had become absolutely necessary to them, and a supply of provisions, without which they could not have crossed the wide ocean that lay between them and the land of their birth. In the meanwhile the captain made himself acquainted with all the recent discoveries in Australia, those more especially beyond the Blue Mountains, and on the line of the river named Lachlan, now rendered familiar to the English reader by the valuable work of Sturt. From Sydney he directed his course to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, and thence to Chili, Cape Horn, and Rio Janeiro. On the first of April 1832, he attained the pleasant shores of Madeira; whence he resumed the voyage with his face turned to the Straits of Gibraltar, which he had passed, more than three years before, devoted to the enterprise now successfully accomplished, and full of hopes most of which had been realized.\*

The coast of  
Tonquin.

The river  
Lachlan in  
Australia.

\* Voyage autour du Monde par les mers de l'Inde et de Chine, exécuté sur la Corvette de l'État La Favorite, pendant les années 1830, 1831, et 1832, sous le commandement de M. La Place, Capitaine de Frégate, &c. 4 tomes. Paris, 1833-1835.

At the end of the fourth volume, M. La Place writes as follows :  
\* La finissait la tâche de l'officier de marine, ici se termine celle de

## CHAP. XVII.

Object of the  
recent  
French  
expeditions.

The object of the more recent of these undertakings, sanctioned by the French government, was not, as has been already indicated, to accomplish the discovery of new lands: it was rather to extend and protect commerce in the South Sea, China, in the insular territories belonging to Japan, and throughout the great archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean. In combination with that purpose may no doubt be distinctly traced an ardent desire to promote those branches of natural philosophy which minister to the advancement of navigation, more especially physical astronomy and terrestrial magnetism. Hence it results that the voyages of Freycinet, Duperrey, and La Place, are less interesting to the geographer than they are to the merchant, the manufacturer, the nautical artist, and the scientific pilot.

Justice done  
to Flinders.

In detailing the proceedings of the French marine under the rule of Bonaparte, the attention of the reader was drawn to the nefarious attempt to deprive the English navigators of the honour of discovery on the southern coast of Australia, more especially in the case of Captain Flinders, whose detention at the Mauritius reflected the utmost disgrace both on the emperor and the subordinate agents who were base enough to cooperate with him in his scheme of injustice, falsehood, and tyranny. It is due to the national character to mention, that the earliest opportunity was seized to redress the grievances inflicted upon our countrymen, and to relinquish claims which had no better foundation than the ambitious designs of a military chief. Malte-Brun, a distinguished geographer, published his senti-

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l'historien. Je les ai remplies l'une et l'autre avec le même zèle et le même dévouement. Pendant vingt-huit mois de navigation, j'ai fait tout ce qui a dépendu de moi pour protéger nos marchands et honorer le nom Français dans toutes les parties du monde.— J'en présente sans crainte au public le résultat, persuadé que la franchise de l'homme de mer fera excuser l'inexpérience et le peu de talent de l'écrivain: mon seul but a été d'ouvrir les yeux à mes concitoyens sur l'abaissement du commerce maritime de la France, en même temps que de leur démontrer la nécessité d'encourager et d'augmenter notre marine militaire: Je me croirai, si je l'atteins, assez récompensé de mes fatigues et de mes veilles, et je n'aurai plus rien à désirer."—Tome iv. p. 146.

ments in a public journal, acknowledging at once the rights of the British, and the dishonourable means employed by certain tools of the imperial government in order to deprive them of the legitimate fruits of their labour. He admits that Napoleon and his minister of nautical affairs formed a plan for usurping the rights belonging to prior discovery along the whole coast, extending not less than two hundred and fifty leagues, though it had nearly all been carefully examined by the captains Grant and Flinders. This theft was meant to be achieved by the following means.

CHAP. XVII.

How Flinders was wronged.

In the first place, the expedition commanded by M. Baudin having, several months after the English had commenced their proceedings, made a cursory survey of the same coast, French names were given to all the capes, gulfs, and islands. The imperial family, the Institute of Paris, and the Board of Admiralty figured in this revised nomenclature, and the whole country was denominated Napoleon's Land. To establish these pretensions, the new epithets were inserted in an atlas, constructed by Freycinet; a work which presented on its frontispiece a view of New Holland, illuminated by a ray darting from the star of Napoleon, and bearing for its motto "Fulget et ipse." In the next place, M. Péron, the author of the historical relation of the voyage performed by Baudin, was ordered to refer to the proceedings of Captain Flinders in a manner so extremely ambiguous as to prevent any one from imagining that the real discoveries were due to him. Permission was indeed given to notice the fact that this navigator was actually met with on the coast, but to assert at the same time that he himself acknowledged his inability, owing to cross winds and currents, to penetrate behind the islands of St Francis; a confession, in other words, that, from the causes now stated, he had not had it in his power to approach within three leagues of the land. Accident favoured this unworthy project so far as to throw Flinders into the hands of the French, w<sup>h</sup>o, as already recorded, detained him six years in close con-

The history of Baudin's voyage.



## CHAP. XVII.

Temporary  
triumph of  
Bonaparte's  
plagiarism.

finement, in the hope, it was suspected, that he would thereby be deprived of the means of exposing this fraudulent proceeding, or perhaps sink under the weight of disease and disappointment. At all events, falsehood triumphed for a season. The Land of Napoleon, the Peninsula of Cambacères, the Isles of Décres and Jerome, the Gulf of Bonaparte, and Capes Cuvier, La Place, and many others, appeared to be permanently fixed in the Parisian charts, when Flinders, escaping from the hands of his jailors, made known to Europe the execrable attempt to deprive England of her rights, and himself of the honour which he had earned at the expense of so much exertion. The paltry manœuvres of the imperial cabinet were exposed to the indignation of every civilized people, and above all to that of the French themselves, who wished not that their real glory should be compromised by a usurpation as ridiculous as it was hateful.

Eventual  
explosion of  
the plagiar-  
ism.

Malte-Brun observes that this Bonapartean plagiarism, as he describes it, is distinctly seen in the volumes of Péron, Lesueur, Freycinet, Boullanger, and others; but, he adds, it was not their fault that they were compelled to lend their aid in the perpetration of a dishonesty, which, after the fall of their master, ceased to have any political object. Nay, even when Napoleon was on the throne, this uncompromising geographer announced to his readers part of the truth, which with greater boldness he made known to the world after the entry of the allies into Paris in the year 1814. The public of France and Germany, indignant at the deceit of which they had been made the dupes, did not hesitate a moment in determining for the cause of truth. In the latter country, more especially, new charts of the South Sea were constructed, from which the Terre Napoléon, with all its fanciful dependencies, was forthwith removed.\*

\* The letter of Malte-Brun was inserted in the *Journal de Paris* of the 16th December 1814, and copied into the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xii. p. 267

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Krusenstern, Kotzebue, and Lutke*

Motives of the Russian Court, who send an Ambassador to Japan—Policy of Catherine the Second—Induced by the Vicinity of her Settlements in Kamtschatka to attempt an Intercourse with the Japanese—The same Views inherited by the Emperor Alexander—The Nadeshda and Neva equipped—Krusenstern's Voyage experimental—He arrives at the Marquesas—Character of Natives—Sandwich Islands—Kamtschatka described—Historical Details respecting Japan—Dutch owe their Establishment to William Adams, an Englishman—Base Conduct of the Hollanders—Attempt made by the East India Company—Restrictions laid on the Russians—Fruitless Result of the Embassy—Krusenstern surveys the neighbouring Coasts—Returns to Kamtschatka—Statistical Remarks—Proceeds to Canton—Treatment there—Kotzebue sent on a Voyage of Discovery—Cruises along the Western Coast of America—Enters Behring's Strait—Discovers the Sound which bears his Name—Intercourse with the Inhabitants—Chamisso Island—Singular Iceberg—Remarks on a North-east Passage—Observations on California—Interview with Tamehameha—The Radack Chain of Islands discovered—Reflections on Coral Reefs—Ill Health compels a Return Home—Kotzebue again appointed to pursue Discovery—Account of Brazil—Again visits the Radack Islands—Anchors at New Archangel—Russian Colony there—Missionaries at California—Establishment at Ross—Remarks on Sandwich Islands—Voyage of Bellingshausen—The Expedition under Lutké—He repairs to New Archangel—State of the Aleutian Isles—Islands of Pribyloff and St Matthew—Volcanic Mountains—Proceeds to the Mariannes—Returns to Behring's Strait—Amount of his Discoveries.

THE voyages of discovery now about to be described had their origin in the very natural desire, entertained by the court of St Petersburg, to cultivate with the several states on the eastern shores of Asia more inti-

CHAP. XVIII.

Russian  
voyages.

CHAP. XVIII. mate relations than the sovereigns of China and Japan had theretofore been disposed to recognise. From the days of the second Catherine, it had appeared to the Russian counsellors a matter of the greatest interest to the welfare of her immense dominions that commerce should be extended and navigation improved ; it being obvious that, without these means of enlarging their power, they could not hope to attain among the nations of Europe the influence to which they now thought themselves entitled to aspire. Her establishments on Kamtschatka, as well as in the islands which stretch between that province and the continent of America, were too favourably situated not to tempt her to embrace every opportunity for concluding a commercial treaty with the Japanese, whose insular situation almost necessarily compelled them to have recourse to the usages of a maritime people. She was fully aware of the restrictions imposed upon the Dutch, and even of the degradation to which their merchants submitted ; but she was willing to believe that the celebrity of her name, and the proximity of her empire, would have a certain share of influence. The retort of the Chinese monarch could not indeed be forgotten, who, when solicited by her ambassador to enter into terms for facilitating a mutual trade, replied that before his mistress bound herself by new treaties, it would become her to fulfil the old ones with greater faith and punctuality. Nor did the success of her negotiations fully repay her for the trouble and condescension to which she submitted ; and hence, her grandson inherited nothing besides the wish of sharing the commerce and becoming better acquainted with the policy of those saucy autocrats, whose dominions touched his own along the confines of Tartary.

The Empress  
Catharine's  
efforts for  
commerce.

Embassy to  
Japan.

In the year 1802, soon after the accession of Alexander, the project of an embassy to Japan was renewed under the most favourable auspices, and with a better prospect of success. It was felt that due precautions had not been used on the former occasion, and that there was even a neglect of propriety in the mode of conduct-

ing the wonted ceremonial, which could not be altogether excused. For example, an impression remained that there had been a defect in the show and parade deemed so essential by the rulers of the east; that the person selected for envoy was of a rank too low and manners too coarse to make a suitable impression; and that the letter addressed to the Japanese emperor, instead of being written by Catherine herself, was from the hand of the governor of Siberia; a want of respect to a sovereign prince which could hardly fail to give umbrage. Influenced by such considerations, the czar resolved to combine with a voyage of trade and discovery a diplomatic mission to his oriental neighbour. Two ships, the *Nadeshda* and *Neva*, were purchased and equipped for the enterprise, and the former put under the personal command of Captain Krusenstern, who was intrusted with the nautical part of the expedition. Being allowed to nominate a colleague, he selected for the charge of the smaller vessel Captain Lisianskoy, who, as well as himself, had served in the British navy. M. de Resanoff was appointed ambassador extraordinary, invested with the order of St Ann, and made a privy councillor. Several other persons of rank were attached to the embassy, besides physicians, astronomers, naturalists, and draftsmen. Some military officers were likewise permitted to render their services, including two sons of Von Kotzebue: and to complete the list, there were five Japanese who, a few years before, had been taken prisoners in the Aleutian Isles. It was arranged that the *Nadeshda* should carry the embassy to Nangasaki, while the *Neva*, separating at the Sandwich Islands, should proceed to the settlement of Kodiack, on the north-western coast of America, whence she was to proceed with a cargo of furs to Canton, and ultimately find her way alone to a port in the Baltic.

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Voyage of  
Krusenstern.

The enterprise conducted by Krusenstern, though more properly a voyage of experiment than of discovery, is nevertheless on several accounts exceedingly important and interesting. It is of no small conse-

Importance  
of that  
voyage.



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quence to have ascertained in what manner the representative of a great western sovereign was received in a country which, during one hundred and fifty years, had seen no European people except a few pliant Dutchmen, whose sole object was commercial gain. It was not only the first time that the Russian flag was destined to be carried round the world, but the first time that a Russian ship was to make its appearance in the southern hemisphere. The vessels too, though built in England, were fitted out and manned in the dominions of the czar. It is true that the commodore, availing himself of his experience on board British men-of-war, had adopted all the measures used in the latter for the comfort of the crews and the preservation of their health. He was also supplied with six of the best chronometers that London could afford, as well as a very valuable apparatus of sextants, theodolites, and other instruments for astronomical, nautical, and philosophical purposes.

Krusen-  
stein's ar-  
rangements.

When the two ships arrived at Cronstadt, the officers and men were gratified by a visit from his imperial majesty, who, to fulfil his duties as the head of the nation, assigned an annual pension of fifteen hundred roubles, for twelve years, to the wife of Krusenstern, in order that his mind might be at ease during his absence with regard to the welfare of his family; a gift not less considerate on the part of Alexander than gratifying to the feelings of the excellent officer, whose services he thus rewarded by anticipation.

He sails from  
Falmouth.

The expedition was planned in 1802 as already stated, but so much time was required for preparation that the ships did not leave Falmouth, where an additional supply of beef was procured, till the 5th October in the following year. At eight o'clock, the lighthouse on the Lizard was distant about twelve miles; at nine, they lost sight of it, the wind blowing fresh, though with little impression on the vessels. The night was as fine as it could possibly be, clear, and not a cloud to be seen; a circumstance which appeared to every one a good omen for the success of their long voyage. At this moment

the captain gave way to reflections much more personal than either modest or profound. He imagined that the eyes of all the civilized part of Europe were fixed upon him ; and, remembering that the success or failure of the undertaking would decide his reputation, he felt that any shadow cast upon his name would extend in some degree to his native country. Those who delight in vilifying Russia, would, he dreaded, triumph over an unfortunate event ; and the first attempt, if unsuccessful, might for a long time preclude any similar effort. He consoled himself, meanwhile, by reflecting that, in accepting the important task committed to him by his sovereign, he had done his duty, more especially as it was every where believed that if he had declined, the intention of carrying the flag of the czar to the remote parts of the earth must have been relinquished. Russia, he appears to have been convinced, could not have supplied another officer of sufficient experience, knowledge, and address ; and therefore all family ties were to be torn asunder, and all schemes of private happiness abandoned, in order that the objects contemplated by the cabinet of St Petersburg might enjoy the chance of reaching a prosperous consummation.\*

CHAP. XVIII.

—  
His solici-  
tude about  
success.

The importance of the countries which the Nadeshda was now about to visit had long before presented itself to the penetrating mind of Peter the Great ; and accordingly, in the year 1716, he directed that a vessel should sail from Ochotsk to Kamtschatka, with the view of establishing a communication between this peninsula and the mainland, and of thereby avoiding the tedious journey along shore. By his orders the Kurile Isles were likewise examined in the year 1720 ; and a short time before his death, in 1725, he issued instructions for the equipment of the expedition to the command of which

Marine  
efforts of  
Peter the  
Great.

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\* Voyage round the World in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, by order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, on board the Ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern of the Imperial Navy. 2 vols 4to, London, 1813, vol. i. p. 38.

CHAP. XVIII. the celebrated Behring was appointed. The question relative to the strait which divides Asia from America had attracted his attention during his residence in Holland; and his best efforts towards the solution of it had even been solicited by the Academy of Sciences at Paris. But it was not till the year 1741, when the Empress Anna occupied the Imperial throne, that the labours of the Russian marine were crowned with the success to which their perseverance in the cause of discovery so justly entitled them. Behring and Tschirikoff at length saw the opposite continent in a high latitude, and marked with some degree of accuracy the limits of the inlet which continues to bear the name of the former. Several attempts were subsequently made with various degrees of success, both by natives and foreigners, among which may be included the voyage of M. Billings in 1785. No material discovery, however, was achieved by any of these adventurers, who simply examined parts of the coast already brought to light, or detected the existence of small islands which had not been grouped by any previous navigator.

Marine success under the Empress Anna.

The Russian Fur Company.

The knowledge of the north-western shores of America communicated by Behring laid the foundation of the trade in furs, and subsequently of the Russian Company, who have since pursued that traffic with considerable vigour. Their chief establishment was at Irkutsk, a town which by its situation facilitates the intercourse between the eastern parts of the empire and the seat of government; but, in consequence of certain irregularities committed by their agents, especially their cruel conduct to the natives in the districts where the game was found, his Imperial Majesty deemed it expedient to look more closely into their concerns, and, with this view, compelled them to remove the centre of their business to St Petersburg. On this subject Krusenstern furnishes his readers with numerous details; having devoted to it his utmost attention, in the prospect of sharing in the perils and advantages of the commerce with the Chinese, the principal purchasers of the skins pro-

cured on the American coast. Indeed, the main object for which the Neva was fitted out, under the eyes of Alexander, had a reference, as has been stated, to the extension and security of the same trade, to which the Russians continue to attach an undue importance.

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As the Nadeshda and her colleague followed the usual route by the coast of Brazil and round Cape Horn, the reader could have no interest in following them along a track so familiar and commonplace. Fine weather and a clear horizon enabled the captain to take very accurate observations in passing Cape St John, the eastern point of Staten Land, and to verify its longitude, which, as he observes, had already been determined by the celebrated Cook with as much precision as most of the cities of Europe, although but a barren rock at the extremity of one of the rudest and most inhospitable islands on the globe. Nothing, indeed, is so surprising in the feats of the great English navigator as the accuracy of his observations. Even the most improved instruments which the advanced state of the arts has placed in the hands of modern seamen have not enabled them to ascertain with greater exactness the position of the various lands, capes, and promontories, which mark the progress of the mariner in the great ocean on either side of the equator.

Krusen-  
stern's course  
around Cape  
Horn.

Early in May Krusenstern anchored in the bay called Anna Maria, in the island of Noukahiva, one of the Marquesas, where he was joined by the Neva, which had separated from him during a gale of wind, soon after passing Tierra del Fuego. The Russian captain sanctions, so far as his authority can be supposed to extend, the absurdity of attaching to that group the name of Washington; a usurpation equally unpardonable and inconvenient. The cluster in question, every one knows, was first discovered by Mendana in 1595, by whom, in honour of the Marquis Mendoza, then governor of Peru, they were denominated the Marquesas. The same islands were visited by Cook in 1774; were seen, but not surveyed, in 1791 by Ingraham, the master of an American trader; and by Marchand, a French officer,

The Mar-  
quesas  
Islands.



CHAP. XVIII. also in 1791. They were examined, in 1792, by Lieutenant Hergest of the *Dædalus* transport, who was afterwards murdered at Woahoo; and observed in 1797 by Captain Wilson, who carried out the missionaries to the South Sea. It is no doubt possible to separate, at least in imagination, the few isles which Ingraham's discovery has assigned to the memory of the great President, from the body of the group which Mendana first made known to Europeans; but it is admitted that the former are so contiguous to the latter as to be visible the one from the other; while the distance between the nearest of the two clusters is less than that between many of the islands in each respectively. It is therefore difficult to perceive the propriety with which one portion of a group should be distinguished by a name different from that which is applied to the whole body.

Separation  
of the  
Marquesas  
into two  
groups.

But notwithstanding these considerations the Russian commodore maintains that the honour of the discovery belongs to the Americans, and consequently justifies their appropriation of the islands in connexion with the fame of their liberator. He admits that it is a great advantage to geography to reduce as much as possible the number of names upon charts, and to bring as many islands as may be under one appellation; but should not, he adds, "an exception be made in favour of that of Washington, which must prove an ornament to any chart! Is it not according to the strictest justice that the first discovery of the Americans should be preserved in the annals of naval history by a designation peculiar to themselves: and is it allowed to strike out of the charts the immortal name of the founder and protector of a great state, by which one of its grateful citizens had dedicated a new group of islands to it, merely to unite this group with another which had been discovered and named two hundred years before?" To this question a suitable reply has been made, though indirectly, and after the interrogative manner: by what right did this citizen change a name which had been conferred two hundred years ago, to gratify the inordinate vanity of himself

Reasonings  
respecting  
the Washing-  
ton group.

and his countrymen at the expense of introducing CHAP. XVIII.  
confusion and perplexity !\*

When approaching the Bay of Anna Maria, Krusenstern perceived a canoe coming off with eight persons in it, one of whom carried a white flag. He proved to be an Englishman named Roberts, to whom allusion has already been made, who had lived nine years in the country, where he asserted he had been put ashore by the crew of a merchant ship because he refused to join in a mutiny. Having married into the royal family of Noukahiva, he thought it proper to dress in all respects like the natives, wearing nothing more than a girdle about his loins. After a brief interval he informed the Russians that a Frenchman had likewise lived some years on the island : adding that he was a dangerous individual ; had several times attempted his life ; and must, on all accounts, be carefully guarded against. The captain saw nothing more in this information as given by Roberts than a proof of that "inborn hatred which exists between the French and English ; who, not contented with disturbing the peace of the civilized world, must needs carry their enmities among tribes at the remotest corners of the earth."

The Island of  
Noukahiva.

But in one sentiment the two foreigners united ; they both represented the character of the natives as being exceedingly bad, though their plausible manners had deceived the captain of the *Nadeshda*, who declared that, had his eyes not been opened by the intelligence thus supplied, he would have left their country under the most favourable impression of their moral propensities. In their intercourse with his people, he relates, they always showed the best possible disposition, and in bartering, an extraordinary degree of honesty ; always delivering their cocoa-nuts before they received the piece of iron that was to be paid for them. At all times they appeared ready to assist in cutting

The character of the  
natives.

\* Krusenstern's *Voyage round the World*, vol. i. p. 138. *Quarterly Review*, vol. vi. p. 367.

CHAP. XVIII. wood and filling water ; and the help they afforded in the performance of these laborious tasks was by no means trifling. Theft, a crime notoriously common to all the islanders of the Pacific, he very seldom witnessed among them ; they always appeared cheerful and happy, and the greatest good humour was depicted in their countenances. In a word, during the ten days he spent there, he was not obliged to fire a single loaded musket. Their peaceable behaviour, he admits, might be attributed to their fear of firearms ; but “ what right have we to ascribe to any bad motive that conduct which demanded our approbation, or to expect such motives among a nation hitherto but little acquainted with Europeans, and therefore, according to the doctrines of some philosophers, still perfectly untainted ? ”

Their peace-  
ableness.

Nevertheless, he was at length compelled by irresistible evidence to acknowledge that they are a cruel, intractable people, and, without even the exception of the female sex, very much addicted to cannibalism ; that the appearance of good humour and contentment with which they had deceived him, was not their true character ; and that nothing but the fear of punishment and the hope of reward deterred them from giving way to their savage passions. He could no longer doubt the barbarous scenes which were said to be acted, especially in the time of war ; the desperate rage with which they fell upon their victims, tearing off their heads, and sipping their blood out of the skull with the most disgusting greediness. Their weapons are invariably adorned with human hair, and human bones are used as ornaments in almost all their household furniture ; a circumstance which taken by itself would justify the worst suspicions in regard to their habits when pressed for food or stimulated by the feeling of revenge. Nay, it was asserted by Roberts, and not denied by the other foreigner, that, in seasons of famine, the men butcher their wives and children, and after baking or stewing their flesh, devour it with

Their  
cruelty

the utmost avidity. "Even the tender looking female, whose eyes beam nothing but beauty, will join, if permitted, in this horrid repast."\* CHAP. XVIII.

But it appears that the Noukahivans are not less treacherous than cruel. Some years prior to the time of Krusenstern's visit, an American vessel had put into the port of Anna Maria, and the captain, who was a quaker, suffered his people to go on shore unarmed. No sooner did the natives observe their defenceless condition than they assembled, in order to attack and drag them into the mountains; nor would they have failed to succeed in their horrible intentions, had not the Englishman, by representing to the king the fatal consequences of such treachery to the interests of his dominions, induced him so far to interpose as to rescue the strangers from the hands of the cannibals who obviously intended to murder them. An incident occurred, too, which left no doubt on the mind of Krusenstern himself, that the kindness he uniformly bestowed upon them, so far from producing in their minds an overflow of benevolence and gratitude, had not in any degree abated their appetite for plunder and bloodshed. A report had spread among them that one of the ships, in leaving the harbour, was run aground; and in less than two hours a great number of the islanders were assembled on the beach, armed with clubs, axes, and spears. Their purpose, it was nowhere doubted, was to murder the crew and seize all the property on board; a suspicion which was confirmed by the Frenchman, who hastened to apprise the Russians of the fate prepared for them, adding that the whole valley was in an uproar, and breathing the most hostile feelings. Such demonstrations led the visitors to the conclusion that no trace of good qualities was to be found among them, and that they undoubtedly belonged to the very worst of mankind.

Their  
treachery.

Their  
appetite for  
blood and  
plunder.

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\* "All the skulls which we purchased of them had a hole perforated through one end of them for the purpose of drinking blood."  
—Vol i. p. 180



## CHAP. XVIII.

French  
colony in the  
Marquesas.

The character of the Marquesans has recently acquired a greater interest than it formerly possessed in the eyes of Europeans, owing to the occupation of the principal island by a colony of French, under the auspices and protection of the Parisian government. The countrymen of La Perouse have not hitherto been fortunate in their schemes of colonization; and the field chosen in this instance does not assuredly hold out the hope of much prosperity, whether mercantile or territorial. They have already had some experience of the fierce and vindictive natures whom they have undertaken to rule. Force is the only law to which the natives of the Mendoza group will submit; and to the military skill of their conquerors they will oppose the usual weapons of savage life, guile, stratagem, and the furious outbreaks of uncontrollable revenge. Hence, it is manifest that the perpetuity of French rule must be founded on the extinction of the tribes who gained the good opinion of Cook, and were honoured with the enthusiastic eulogies of Forster. But they will not yield without a struggle, nor die without avenging the cause which must perish with them. Their usual mode of warfare is to watch constantly for their enemy, whom they butcher in secret; and he is the greatest hero amongst them who shows the most skill in these arts, who can lie longest on his belly with the least motion, who can breathe the most softly, run the most swiftly, and spring with the greatest agility from rock to rock.

The Sand-  
wich Islands.

Being disappointed in procuring a supply of provisions at Noukahiva, the inhabitants of which could not part with more than a few hogs, he resolved to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, instead of steering a direct course for Kamtschatka. But Owhyhee did not in this respect answer his expectations; and the scarcity of food seemed the more surprising as the coast appeared extremely well cultivated. The whole shore was covered with cocoa-trees; while the number of houses, plantations, and canoes, seemed to indicate a great population. At the east end the land rises gradually from the sea to

the foot of the mountain Mowna Roa, which, according to a measurement made on board, was pronounced to be nearly two thousand feet higher than the Peak of Teneriffe. It was accurately described by the early Spanish navigators, who really were the first discoverers of the Sandwich Islands, as a table ; for the summit, when quite free from snow, forms a perfect flat, saving an almost imperceptible height on the eastern side.

In the eyes of the Russians, the inhabitants could not bear a comparison with those of Noukahiva, being shorter, less elegantly formed, and much darker in colour. But, though inferior in a physical point of view, the natives of Owhyhee, in respect of mental power and acquirements, had a decided advantage. A constant intercourse with Europeans, especially with Englishmen, of whom there were several in the island, must have contributed not a little to this effect, and may perhaps account for the activity, the quick eye, and cheerful manner by which most of them are distinguished. The construction of their canoes, too, manifests an acquaintance with the arts still unknown in the Marquesas, and they manage them with a degree of skill of which the fishermen of the latter group, to whom the sea does not appear a natural element, have no conception. A great change had taken place in the commercial notions of the people during the previous ten or twelve years. In 1789, Tianna, the chief of Atooi, whom Meares carried with him to China, never inquired, during his stay at Canton, the price of any wares, otherwise than by asking, "how much iron do you give for this?" In 1803, the natives of Owhyhee seemed almost to despise that metal, scarcely deigning to look even upon the most useful tools or ingenious instruments. Nothing would satisfy them that did not minister to their vanity, more especially a piece of showy dress or a gaudy ornament.

About the middle of July, the Nadeshda turned her head towards the east, with the view of making the coast of Kamtschatka, where the captain hoped to be more successful in obtaining supplies. Count Romanzoff, he

CHAP. XVIII.

The natives  
of Hawaii.Change in  
their com-  
mercial  
notions.

CHAP. XVIII.

Supposed  
golden  
island.

relates, had given him particular instructions, before his departure from Russia, to look out for an island, the existence of which was known to have occupied the attention of the Dutch and Spaniards, though resting upon very ancient, perhaps fabulous, reports. The latter people, who had heard that an isle, very rich in gold and silver, had been discovered in a meridian to the eastward of Japan, sent a ship from Acapulco in 1610, with orders to take possession of it. The Hollanders, who were equally allured by the supposed wealth of that distant spot, despatched two vessels thither, under the command of Matthias Kwast, with instructions equivalent to those issued by the authorities of Madrid. In both cases the failure was equally great; no trace being ever found of the island, the immense riches of which were expected to reward all their exertions. In 1787, La Perouse renewed the attempt, and with a similar result. He was, indeed, the only navigator, in modern times, who resumed this pursuit of the seventeenth century; Cook, Clerke, Dixon, Vancouver, and all others who had engaged in discovery between the shores of Asia and America, having studiously neglected it. After these remarks, it must be superfluous to mention, that Krusenstern did not add to the fame of his voyage by throwing any new light on this oriental Peru, whence the Russian minister anticipated a vast accession to the imperial treasury.

Kamts-  
chatka.

The stay at the harbour of St Peter and St Paul was not attended with any remarkable incident. The weather was constantly thick and rainy, with winds blowing from every point of the compass; a condition of the atmosphere which could not contribute to the promotion of health among the crew. Accordingly, as soon as he had obtained some live-stock and a moderate allowance of vegetables, including several large barrels of wild garlic, the captain set sail for Japan, whither the ambassador now became impatient to be conveyed. In the course of this run, diversified only by various kinds of bad weather, he once more employed himself in searching

for islands, embodied in certain charts, which he had again the best reason for believing had no other existence than that assigned to them by ignorant cosmographers. Referring to the visits of our countrymen in those seas, he remarks, that "it might almost be believed that the English government had purposely cast a veil over the voyages of Colnett and Broughton on the coast of Japan, were it not that the liberality which they have shown in publishing every voyage that has been undertaken during the last half century, a period so brilliant in the history of discovery, completely controverts this suspicion." He laments particularly that the account of the second of these enterprises, which was entirely one of discovery, had not appeared, because the companion of Vancouver could not fail to have rendered his work very interesting to geography and navigation; and it was not to be supposed that, with the loss of his ship, his journals and charts were all destroyed.

CHAP. XVIII.  
—  
Voyages of  
Colnett and  
Broughton.

The strictures now quoted were afterwards discovered by the captain of the *Nadeshda* to be quite groundless, for the journals to which he alludes were really published during his absence, though containing very little which could be pronounced important either to the sailor or the statesman. Colnett did not print his papers, because, it may be presumed, he had nothing new or interesting to communicate. All he says in regard to the islands northward of Fatsisio, which he had accidentally observed in some old charts, is, that he had reason to doubt their existence; but, as it continued thick weather, it was his business, he imagined, "to avoid rather than to seek for their situation." It is indeed well known that the Dutch and Spaniards were in the practice of laying down in their maps islands, rocks, and shoals on very slender evidence, and sometimes on mere conjecture; and with respect to the latter people it may be added that, even when they proceeded on the basis of fact, they made such egregious mistakes in calculating longitude as to bewilder all their successors in both divisions of the

The islands  
north of  
Fatsisio.



CHAP. XVIII. Pacific. Of this species of inaccuracy the position of the Sandwich group is a remarkable instance; it being notorious that the most renowned of their navigators placed these islands several hundred miles too much towards the east.

History of  
Japan.

Passing over certain nautical details which can have no interest except in the eyes of professional men, we proceed to a brief historical outline of Japan, so far as that singular country is known to Europeans. The Dutch, it is alleged, know more than they have deemed it expedient to communicate; a reserve, says Krusenstern, "at variance with the true spirit of a philosophical age, and quite unworthy of a republican government." It is to Marco Polo we are indebted for the earliest knowledge of the Japanese empire. The Zipangu mentioned in his extraordinary travels was so entirely new, that the account he gives of it was considered as altogether fabulous; but its existence could not be long doubted nor its position mistaken, the name, *Jepun-quo*, being in reality its Chinese appellation, signifying the "kingdom of the rising sun." It was not visited by Europeans, however, till the year 1542, when Fernando Mendez Pinto a native of Portugal, having, with two of his countrymen, embarked in a foreign vessel on a voyage to the Loo Choo Islands, was driven by a storm on the coast of Japan. Here they were all treated with great humanity, and permitted to trade; and Pinto, whose condition had been made known at the court of the King of Bungo, was invited by his majesty to repair thither. Information in regard to other countries was no doubt the object which this petty sovereign had in view; but he derived from the visit of the stranger a benefit which he did not expect, a speedy relief from a severe fit of gout, accomplished by means of a drug used among the Chinese.

Fernando  
Mendez  
Pinto.

This favourable reception induced Xavier and a number of Portuguese Jesuits to proceed to Japan from Goa and other of their establishments in India; and

these men, who had the talent of accommodating the christian religion to the principles as well as the practices of those whom they undertook to convert, succeeded in their benevolent efforts beyond all expectation. They baptized kings, viceroys, and magistrates; and in the great cities of Miaco and Jeddo they induced thousands to enlist under the banner of the cross. There was a similarity in the functions of the spiritual head in the former to those of the Pope at Rome; a resemblance between the holy Mother in the east and the Virgin Mary in the west; the priests in both religions were subjected to the rules of celibacy; images were used by both, as well as the burning of incense and the tinkling of bells; even the tonsure practised by the Roman Catholics had been anticipated by the bonzes of Jeddo; and hence the main difficulties were removed to an apparent agreement in belief not less than in the usages of piety.

CHAP. XVIII.  
—  
Xavier and the Portuguese Jesuits.

It is remarkable that the Dutch owed their first knowledge of Japan to an accident, and their establishment in the country to the services of an Englishman. Four ships were fitted out in the Texel in the year 1598, for a voyage round Cape Horn to the East Indies, three of which were wrecked upon the coast of America, and the fourth, of which the pilot was William Adams, found its way to the Japanese shores. Here the crew had the misfortune to meet with some Portuguese Jesuits, who endeavoured to persuade the natives to hang them as pirates; a catastrophe which was prevented by the interposition of the emperor. Having heard of the arrival of the foreigners, he had the curiosity to send for Adams, who, being an ingenious man, soon ingratiated himself with the monarch, explained to him the different kingdoms of the world, delineated charts, instructed him in the principles of geometry, and at length built a few small vessels. In short, his imperial highness contracted so great a liking to the pilot that he could not be prevailed upon to grant him permission to leave his dominions. His

The pilot Adams.

CHAP. XVIII. generosity and gratitude, however, so far manifested themselves in favour of his teacher that, for his sake, he allowed the Dutchmen to proceed to Batavia, and to return thence for the purposes of trade. The Spaniards and Portuguese meanwhile endeavoured to excite suspicion against them, and to throw numerous obstacles in their way ; but the influence of Adams had already become so powerful that every difficulty was removed, and a license granted to them for establishing a factory on the island of Firando.

The Dutch  
factory on  
Firando.

Jealousies of  
the Spanish  
and the  
Dutch.

The latter event now mentioned took place in 1611 ; but two years previously the governor of the Philippines was on his passage to New Spain wrecked on the coast of Japan, whence he was forwarded to Acapulco in one of the ships constructed by the English seaman. In acknowledgment of this kindness to their people in such circumstances, the Spanish government sent an embassy to the emperor, who, already in some degree accustomed to intercourse with Europeans, received them graciously, and also gave them permission to engage in commerce at the principal port. It was in defence of this privilege, then valued very highly, that the subjects of Philip endeavoured to prevent any encroachment on the part of the Hollanders, whom they disliked not less for political reasons than for the active rivalry which they had begun to manifest as navigators and merchants. Nor did the generosity displayed by these last entitle them to any confidence or respect on the part of other trading nations : on the contrary, their sentiments were far from being liberal towards their competitors, and little calculated to exalt the reputation of western nations in the eyes of the orientals, who are known to be equally suspicious and proud.

It is believed that many letters were written by Adams to his friends in England, which were intercepted by the Dutch : actuated, there can be no doubt, by the contemptible jealousy of which they as well as the Spaniards and Portuguese had already given so many

proofs. One of his epistles fortunately fell into the hands of his countrymen at Bantam, who in consequence of it despatched in the year 1613 the Clove, commanded by Sir John Saris, with the view of establishing a commercial intercourse with Japan. On his arrival at Firando he was well received, and Adams shortly made his appearance to conduct him to court, where a license was without difficulty obtained for the East India Company's ships to repair to any of the ports of Japan, and to buy, sell, and barter free from all duties. Permission was even given to establish a factory, and to engage in commerce with all classes of the people without restriction or impediment. Such signal favours could not fail to bring upon our countrymen the hatred of the Dutch, who, being greatly superior in point of numbers, proceeded to open violence and even personal outrage against them. Notwithstanding this ungenerous treatment from their rivals, the English resolutely maintained their ground, and would probably, through the good offices of the pilot, have ultimately prevailed. But they soon found it expedient to relinquish the attempt to form a permanent establishment; and warned, perhaps, by friends who were aware of the approaching convulsion, they resolved to withdraw in a body from the dominions of the emperor, whose power, it is probable, would have proved unequal to secure their protection. A violent persecution of the Christians almost immediately ensued, which, after an ineffectual resistance, ended in the total extirpation of the gospel in every province of Japan.

CHAP. XVIII.

Introduction  
of the  
English.Persecution  
of the Chris-  
tians.

This melancholy reaction on the part of a people who at first manifested no opposition to the truths of Christianity, was ascribed by the Dutch to the imprudent conduct of the Portuguese missionaries, whose success so inflated their minds that they forgot the moderation and humility which had gained for them the esteem of the natives. They became, say their antagonists, proud, insolent, and dissolute; continually intriguing at court



CHAP. XVIII. meddling in state affairs, and making the guidance of consciences much less their care than the direction of councils. On the other hand, the Portuguese complained of the treacherous conduct of their rivals, who not only propagated all manner of slanders to their discredit, but fabricated accounts of plots, the supposed object of which was to dethrone the emperor and subvert the government; adding that they were base enough, after the persecution had begun, to abjure their religion, and to submit to the abominable test established by the Japanese, which required them to trample on the cross as well as on the image of the Virgin. Thunberg, a creditable historian, denies that in his time they were ever called upon to perform this disgraceful ceremony, though he admits that it is observed two or three days every year at Nangasaki, by the inhabitants themselves, in order to impress on the minds of the rising generation an abhorrence of the christian faith, and a detestation of the missionaries, by whom it was introduced into their country.

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Mutual recreations of the Europeans.

Expulsion of the Portuguese.

The subjects of Portugal, lay as well as clerical, were expelled from Japan in the year 1639; and no farther attempts to recover their ground were made by the English till 1673, when the East India Company sent one ship to Nangasaki, the captain of which bore a letter from his Britannic Majesty to the emperor. The governor having gone on board with some Dutch interpreters, put a number of questions, including one obviously suggested by his attendants, namely, what sort of Christians the English were, and more especially, whether King Charles was not married to a Portuguese princess. The result of this examination was an order that the strangers should in the mean time confine themselves to their vessel; and, after the interval of a month, the imperial determination was communicated on board with due solemnity, to the effect that he could not permit any intercourse with his dominions to a people whose sovereign had married a daughter of the catholic king.

In this manner ended all communication with the Ja-

panese on the part of the British till 1803, the year that  
 Krusenstern appeared on their coast, when a ship was  
 sent from Calcutta on a mercantile speculation. She  
 was refused admittance, and the captain peremptorily  
 ordered to leave the country in the course of twenty-  
 four hours. Colnett, indeed, in 1791, had skirted the  
 western shores with the view of entering some of the  
 harbours, for the purpose of opening a trade with the  
 natives ; but he was every where repulsed by the guard-  
 boats, which completely blocked up all access, and mani-  
 fested a fixed resolution to oppose his nearer approach.  
 To prove that their sentiments were not positively hos-  
 tile or unkind, they readily supplied him with wood  
 and water, which they carried on board free of expense.  
 They would accept no return ; they would admit no in-  
 tercourse ; indicating by words and signs of the least  
 ambiguous nature that Europeans could not be allowed  
 even to seek shelter in their havens. To all his entrea-  
 ties they shut their eyes and their ears, by which he  
 readily understood that “ their orders were to be deaf  
 and blind to all I should urge.”

Colnett's  
 visit to the  
 western  
 shores.

Early in the present century, Captain Pellew, in the  
 Phæton frigate, entered the harbour of Nangasaki under  
 Dutch colours. A boat, containing an officer and two  
 natives of Holland, put off to meet the English barge,  
 which was steering towards the shore ; and, upon their  
 coming in contact, the Japanese made some show of op-  
 position, when the English drew their cutlasses, and the  
 others, the Dutchmen excepted, leaped overboard. But  
 notwithstanding this inauspicious meeting, the natives,  
 the following morning, sent on board an ample supply  
 of goats, vegetables, wood, and water, for which they  
 refused to take any payment. All they required was  
 that the ship should instantly depart and leave the  
 inhabitants unmolested ; their government permitting  
 no discretionary power as to intercourse with foreigners,  
 unless, it should seem, they were protected by the flag  
 of the King of Holland.

Pellew's visit  
 to Nangas-  
 aki.

From this historical outline of the connexion, re-

CHAP. XVIII. religious and commercial, between the people of Europe and those of Japan, it appears that the exclusion of foreigners formed no part of their original constitution. There is, on the contrary, the best ground for inferring, that all the precautionary and exclusive measures adopted by their rulers in later times were suggested by the conduct of those strangers who gained an early admittance into their country ; and more especially that they arose from the jealousy raised against the Portuguese Jesuits by the Dutch traders, who, it has been said, for the sake of a pitiful monopoly, have consented to sacrifice their religion, their liberty, and every honourable feeling and manly principle.

Causes of the Japanese exclusiveness.

Returning to the voyage of Krusenstern, it may be remarked that he was fully aware of all the insulting restrictions now mentioned ; yet as he had an ambassador of high rank on board, charged with despatches, and bearing presents and assurances of friendship from the sovereign of a powerful empire, he was willing to persuade himself that he would be received with civility, and probably with more distinction than it is thought necessary to show to simple traders. At all events, he had not any doubt as to his being allowed to proceed to Jeddo, a journey which would enable him to communicate some more authentic information than had yet been afforded respecting the extraordinary people who inhabit it. But all his expectations were doomed to encounter the most mortifying disappointment. The ambassador, his suite, the captain, officers, and crew, were kept close prisoners on board the *Nadeshda* two whole months, and shut up during double that period in the corner of a small island projecting into the bay of Nangasaki. It is not, therefore, without reason that the Russian navigator remarks in his peculiarly simple manner, " the reader must not expect any satisfactory account of Japan from me, although we remained above six months." Immediately after he had come to anchor, the authorities on shore took possession of all the powder and firearms, including the fowling-pieces of the officers ; strictly forbidding

Bad reception of the Russians.

any of them to land, or even to row about the harbour within a short distance of the ship. Nor would a violation of this injunction have been found easily practicable, for she was surrounded by a circle of thirty-two guard-boats through which no one was allowed to pass. When two Dutch vessels about to depart were preparing to salute, a message was sent to Krusenstern not to return it, as the honour was not in any degree meant for the Russians but exclusively for the emperor.

After a negotiation of six weeks, permission was granted to take an occasional walk on the beach opposite to their frigate. The space set apart for this purpose was a hundred yards long by forty in breadth, shut in towards the land by a high fence of bamboos, and guarded at each end by a watch-house. All intercourse with the Dutch was interdicted in the most positive manner; and when the two merchantmen sailed for Batavia, no letters were allowed to be sent, with the single exception of one from the ambassador to the czar his master, and even in this he was desired to confine his communications strictly to the occurrences of the voyage. This official note was first translated into the language of Holland; a copy of it was then made with such accuracy, that every line ended with the same letter as the autograph; this was deposited with the governor, and the original, after being sealed in his presence, was carried on board by two of his secretaries.

Close restrictions on their liberty.

It seems to be a rule, carefully observed by the Japanese, never to omit an opportunity of insulting a European, and of showing how little he is esteemed in the eyes even of the lowest agent who serves their emperor. Krusenstern mentions that, soon after his arrival at Nangasaki, he received a visit from several magistrates, or banjos, who, without attending to the pleasure or convenience of their host, walked at once into his cabin and seated themselves on the carpet. Their servants placed a lanthorn at the feet of each individual, with a little box containing their smoking

Insolence of the Japanese.



CHAP. XVIII. apparatus, and a vessel with coals to light their pipes. — The Opperhoofd or director of the Dutch factory was also brought along with them ; but it was upwards of an hour before he was permitted to join their society in the ship. He had scarcely entered the cabin with his suite, consisting of his secretary, the two captains, and Baron Pabst, when they were all obliged to remain several minutes in an inclined posture, which they were called upon to assume by a most insolent order from the interpreter. Nor was this submissive and degrading attention on their part answered even by a nod. The compliments, as they are called, of the Dutch approach very nearly to the reverence practised by the natives towards their superiors, which consist in throwing the body flat on the ground, touching the earth with the head, and wriggling backwards and forwards as they happen to be addressed. The Russian commander remarks, that the gentlemen of the factory would have found great difficulty in throwing themselves on the floor, owing to their clothes and the want of pliability in their bodies ; but, in order to come as near as possible to the native prostrations, they were compelled to bend their persons till they attained the figure of a right angle, and continue in this position with their arms extended several minutes ; after which, upon a signal given, they were allowed to resume their natural posture. In concluding his narrative, he not unnaturally observes, that it is impossible to find words capable of expressing how shameful and barbarous such conduct appears ; and how much it is to be regretted that an enlightened European nation, owing its political existence to the love of freedom, and which has acquired celebrity by great actions, should so far debase itself from a desire of gain, as to attend with submission and devotion to the hateful injunctions of a set of slaves. It is shocking beyond description to see brave men for several minutes in the most abject position before a banjos, who frequently belongs to the lowest of the

Visit of  
Japanese to  
Krusenstern.

Base servility  
of the Dutch.

people, and who does not return, even in the slightest manner, the mark of respect which is paid to him.\* CHAP. XVIII.

No such freedoms were attempted with the Russians, whose feelings as well as political views would have led them to resist the pitiful degradation to which the subjects of William of Nassau found it convenient to submit. It is stated above that the powder and firearms generally were removed from the *Nadeshda*, and even the fowling-pieces belonging to the officers; but the latter were permitted to retain their swords, and the soldiers their muskets and bayonets. Again, when at length the ambassador was allowed to land, his guard went ashore with him, armed in the usual manner. This favour, indeed, was not granted to him without obvious reluctance, and the interpreters endeavoured during several days to prevail on him to forego this privilege of his official rank; representing that it was not only against the laws of the country, and that such a case had never before occurred, but that it would shock the people to see soldiers of another nation displaying their military weapons, as if in contempt or defiance of the imperial authority. The matter in fact assumed such a degree of importance in the estimation of the governor, that a whole month was spent in negotiating before M. Resanoff could obtain leave to set his foot on the land, in the character of minister from the court of St Petersburg. It was believed that a courier was sent to Jeddo or Miaco to receive instructions for the guidance of the local ruler.

When it was finally resolved that the ambassador should debark, the Prince of Fisen sent his own boat for this purpose, a vessel exceeding in size and magnificence every thing of the kind that Krusenstern had yet seen. It was a hundred and twenty feet long; the walls and ceilings of the numerous cabins were varnished in the handsomest manner; and the stairs,

Non-servility  
of the Russi-  
ans.

Debarkation  
of the Russi-  
an ambass-  
ador.

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\* Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, English Translation, vol. i p. 257-262.

CHAP. XVIII. formed of red wood, were polished so highly as to have the appearance of lacker. The decks were covered with mats and the most costly carpets; the curtains were of the richest tissue; and the whole barge was hung with double rows of silk of different colours. As M. Resnoff stepped on board, the Russian standard was hoisted and waved together with the flag of the prince. The imperial fortresses were ornamented with new ensigns and other warlike decorations, and manned by the Japanese troops in their best uniform. An innumerable fleet of boats, surrounding the vessel, accompanied the ambassador to the city; and so far the ceremony was worthy of the representative of a great monarch. But no sooner had he entered the dwelling prepared for him than the doors were locked on both sides, and, at sunset, the keys were sent to the governor.

Public reception of the ambassador.

The residence here mentioned was a considerable building, and seems to have borne the name of Megasaki; but, says Captain Krusenstern, "the seven towers of Constantinople are hardly so well guarded." The house was situated upon a neck of land so near the sea, that on the south and east sides the water at high tide came close under the windows. A tall bamboo fence surrounded the whole edifice, not only towards the land but even in the face of the waves. A large gate with double locks formed the entrance from the water-side. An officer, whose station was near the ship, had the keys of the outer ones, and another, who lived near the house, had those of the inside. Twelve officers and their men relieved each other daily in this duty; and at short intervals on the way to the town were gates, which, in a similar manner, were constantly locked and guarded, the soldiers never quitting them for a moment. They always counted the number of persons who came ashore, and the boat was never allowed to return without carrying forth precisely the same number. If any officer of the ship wished to pass the night in Megasaki, one of the inmates was obliged to go back in his stead; and, in like manner, when any one belonging to the ambas-

Close watch on his residence.

sador's suite was desirous of sleeping on board, some sailor was selected to fill his place ashore. The appointed number of individuals residing there was neither to be increased nor diminished; but in this respect no regard was paid to office or quality, all classes being placed on the same footing.

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Much trifling diplomacy was employed to amuse and deceive M. Resanoff, who still hoped to be permitted to proceed to Jeddo, and to have the honour of a personal audience. On the 12th March, he was made acquainted with the determination of the court that he should not be received at the imperial residence, but that a plenipotentiary would be sent to Nangasaki, to accept the presents sent to his master by the czar, as also to discuss the several points which were understood to be the subject of negotiation between the two monarchs. It was intimated, at the same time, that the Russians would not be allowed to purchase the smallest article in Japan; it being the pleasure of the emperor to supply the ship with every thing which should be deemed necessary, including eight weeks' provisions, free from all charge or trouble.

Preliminary  
diplomacy.

At the end of the month just named, the Japanese envoy arrived and entered upon the preliminary discussions as to the time and manner in which the two imperial representatives should meet. The negotiations on this head were conducted with considerable warmth on both sides, and it was not till the 3d of April that the ceremonies of the first audience were adjusted. In substance it was mutually conceded that each was to observe the forms of his own country, and that M. Resanoff should pay his respects to the plenipotentiary, according to the European fashion, and not after the manner of the natives, nor even the modified style adopted by the Dutch. He consented, indeed, to appear without his sword or shoes; but perhaps he was not prepared for the indignity of being refused a chair, or any other seat fitted to our mode of reclining.

The forms of  
audience.



CHAP. XVIII. He found himself under the necessity of sitting in front of the governor and envoy on the floor, with his feet bent under him ; an attitude which was to him at once painful and inconvenient. In returning to his residence he was allowed the use of a sedan chair, the officers who attended him being obliged to proceed on foot.

Negocia-  
tions.

Two audiences followed, which terminated the intercourse between these negotiators, one of whom seemed not to have any thing to ask, while the other had obviously received instructions to yield nothing and make no grant. A few insignificant questions led to as many unmeaning replies. The plenipotentiary, at the second meeting, put into the hands of the stranger the documents with which he had been intrusted at Jeddo ; containing, among other things, an order that no Russian ship should ever come again to Japan, and a notice that the presents and even the letter from the emperor were peremptorily refused. It was requested that should any Japanese thereafter be cast upon the shores of the European monarch's territory, they should be delivered into the hands of the Dutch at Batavia, who would use means to have them sent to Nangasaki. The ambassador was strictly forbidden to present any gifts while in the country, to make any purchases, to pay any visits, or to admit into his presence the Dutch factor, should he express a desire to have an interview. On the other hand, it was announced that the repairs of the ship and the supply of food and necessaries for the crew were charged to the imperial treasury. The latter included two thousand bags of salt, and a hundred sacks of rice, besides two thousand pieces of silk as a donation to the officers. The reasons assigned for rejecting the presents were, that the Emperor of Japan would be obliged to make a return to the Emperor of Russia, and for this purpose send an ambassador to Petersburg ; a step which could not be taken without

Rejection of  
presents.

violating the laws of the country, it being contrary CHAP. XVIII.  
to the immemorial usage of the several provinces for  
any one to leave his native land.

This, says Krusenstern, "was the result of an Result of the  
embassy.  
embassy which had raised such great expectations.  
We gained no new advantages, but even lost those  
we had possessed, namely, the written permission  
which Laxmann had procured for us to visit Nangasaki.  
All communication is now at an end between Japan  
and Russia, unless some great change should take  
place in the ministry of Jeddo, or indeed in the  
government itself, and this is perhaps not to be ex-  
pected, although the interpreters flattered the ambassa-  
dors with assurances that this refusal had created a  
great sensation throughout Japan, but particularly in  
the cities of Miaco and Nangasaki."\*

It appears from the narrative that the presents  
were actually landed and received by the provincial  
governors, among which were some mirrors of a re-  
markable size. When the captain asked the interpreter  
in what manner he proposed to convey them to Jeddo,  
the other replied that, like every other gift to his  
Imperial Majesty, they must be carried by men. The  
Russians affirmed that this would be impossible, as  
each of them would require at least sixty bearers, to  
be relieved at every half mile; upon which the learned  
functionary, looking stedfastly in his face, asked him  
Boastings of  
the Japanese  
very coolly whether he thought any thing was im-  
possible to the Emperor of Japan? In confirmation  
of this lofty view of imperial omnipotence, he mentioned  
that, in the previous year, the ruler of China sent a  
present of a live elephant, which was carried all the  
way from Nangasaki to Jeddo. Nay, as a further  
proof that when an order emanates from the throne  
all conceivable obstacles must give way, it was stated  
that a Chinese junk was wrecked in the Bay of Owang,  
on the eastern coast. It is expressly forbidden that

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\* Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 285.

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foreign vessels shall enter any port save the one into which the Russians themselves were admitted; and if driven by accident or stress of weather into another, it is imperatively ordered that they shall be conveyed thither. The junk had lost her masts and rudder, and was otherwise much damaged; but, notwithstanding, it was necessary that she should be dragged round to Nangasaki. The owners wished to break her up and sell the cargo on the spot, a proposal which was not acceded to; the operation of removal therefore began, and after one hundred boats and six hundred men had been employed fourteen months in towing the wreck, it was brought into harbour full of water.\*

Story of a  
wrecked  
junk.

With regard to the trade carried on between China and Japan, little information could be obtained either from the natives or the Dutch, the latter of whom were not disposed to communicate even the few details with which they were acquainted. It appears that twelve ships were permitted to visit Nangasaki annually from Ningpo (the Simpo of the Japanese), five of which arrive in June and sail in October; the seven others come in December and depart in March or April. Their cargoes consist chiefly of sugar, ivory, tin-plates, lead, silk stuffs, and tea. The exports from Japan are copper, camphor, lackered wares, umbrellas, but particularly the dye-fish, which is used as a medicine in China, and certain large muscles which, when properly preserved, are esteemed a great delicacy. Although, from the number of junks employed, it might seem that the trade is considerable, it is nevertheless believed that two ships of five hundred tons would contain all the goods conveyed by the twelve. A vessel is unloaded in the course of twelve hours; but it is done in the most careless manner, the boxes and bags being thrown out without any regard to their contents or the wishes of the owners. The main cause of this unpardonable negligence arises from the circumstance that the Chinese themselves are

Trade be-  
tween Japan  
and China.

\* Krusenstern's Voyage, vol. i. p. 274.

not allowed to be present, the day after their arrival the captain and his whole crew being carried to the factory, and their junk placed in the hands of local agents, who are invested with a discretionary power in the management of the property. As soon as the ship is emptied, they take the opportunity of the first high tide at new or full moon to drag it ashore, where it remains quite dry till within a short time of their departure. It is remarkable that all intercourse between this country and the neighbouring shores of Corea has entirely ceased ; a fact which was previously known to the Russians, but not explained by either party.\*

Non-intercourse between Japan and Corea.

It was not without great satisfaction that Krusenstern and all his people left Japan, its singular inhabitants, and impracticable government. Proceeding by the eastern coast, he passed within sight of an island which he supposed to be that of Oki, and on opening the Strait of Sangaar, which separates Nippon from Jesso, the weather was sufficiently favourable to enable him to determine by observation the latitude and longitude of the two promontories which mark the western termination of that channel. Holding his course to the northward he examined the coast of Jesso, and discovered that the Pic de Langle and Cape Guibert of La Prouse are not on the mainland as laid down by that navigator, but on two different islands, between which and the north-western shore he entered into the strait which bears the name of the Frenchman, and anchored in a bay on which he bestowed the appellation of Romanzoff.

A bay in the north of Jesso.

The Nadeshda no sooner came to anchor than several of the natives leaped on board. Their first salutation

\* Krusenstern, vol. i. p. 276. For some of the historical facts mentioned in the foregoing pages, the reader will find authorities in Charlevoix's *Histoire de Japon*, Paris, 1754; Entick's *Naval History*, p. 890; Burney's *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*, vol. xxi. p. 186-198; and Harris's *Collection*, vol. i. p. 256. In Entick, page 395, is to be found the letter from the Emperor of Japan to the King of England, and the treaty of commerce concluded by Captain Saris with the Japanese government in the name of the East India Company.



CHAP. XVIII. was to drop on their knees, lay both hands on the head, then drawing them down the face and breast, make a profound inclination of the whole body. The Russians presented them with biscuit and brandy, but they showed no desire whatever for the strong water. One of them brought as a gift a boat-load of excellent herrings, which served the whole ship's company for a meal. The fish proved most excellent, finer indeed than the captain had ever seen; and as a hundred could be got for a single brass button, their mercantile value was not rated too high for an advantageous purchase.

Appearance  
of the coun-  
try.

Krusenstern was greatly disappointed in the appearance of the country, which was dreary and miserable in the extreme. All beyond the limits of the beach the surface showed nothing better than pebbles, bog, snow, or deep clay, on which it was impossible to proceed a single step. Not a leaf was to be seen on any of the trees, nor the least symptom of verdure, except what proceeded from a few wild leeks and some scattered beds of samphire; yet it was now the middle of May, and the northern point of Jesso is nearly in the same parallel with Venice, Lyons, and Milan. The captain remarks that, on his arrival at Kamtschatka about three weeks afterwards he found vegetation much more advanced; and he adds, that in none of the western provinces of Russia, not even at Archangel itself, which is eighteen degrees more to the northward, could so raw a season be found in the same month.

Alarm of the  
Inhabitants.

One morning some Japanese went on board with an officer at their head, all of whom appeared extremely alarmed at the arrival of the Russians, and requested most earnestly that they would set sail. The leader seemed to be most deeply penetrated with apprehension; stating that as soon as the authorities at Matsmai, to whom he was bound to send a report, should hear of their being on the coast, a large fleet would be sent to punish the intruders, who, if they persisted in remaining, could not expect any mercy. They assured him that, as soon as the fog should dissipate, they would cer-

tainly take their leave; and meantime he was induced to communicate to them whatever geographical knowledge he had acquired, either from sailing along the coast or from conversation with strangers. He confirmed to them the existence of the island of Karafuto, which indeed they distinctly saw when the weather began to clear up, separated from their present position by a channel about eighteen miles wide.\*

Passing the Strait of La Perouse the navigators arrived in Aniwa Bay, a deep inlet in the southern extremity of Sagalién, called Tchoka by the discoverer now named. There is reason to believe that this country, the Karafuto mentioned by the Japanese officer, is not an island as he imagined, but a large peninsula connected with Eastern Tartary, deriving its designation from the river Amour of the Russians, called by the natives Sagalien Oula, as stated by Du Halde, who adds that it forms a long narrow channel which may properly be called the Gulf of Tartary. Captain Broughton navigated this strait to the northward on the western side of Sagalien till he had only two fathoms water, while the passage to the northward appeared to be closed by low land; his latitude at this period being 52° north. La Perouse, who did not proceed so far by half a degree, and who had still a depth of at least six fathoms, held the opinion that the channel might be passed, and therefore that Tchoka is an island. Allusion has already been made to an old chart made by some Portuguese missionaries, in which Sagalien is laid down as a peninsula, attached to Eastern Tartary by a narrow isthmus near the spot where the Oula empties itself into the Sea of Ochotsk. Captain Krusenstern rounded the northern extremity of Sagalien on the eastern side till he could proceed no farther for the strength of the current, obviously the stream of the Amour; and he concludes, with Broughton and the missionaries, that it is not an island, but a peninsula. It will probably be found

\* Krusenstern, vol. ii. p. 49.

CHAP. XVIII. hereafter to be separated by a shallow strait, resembling that of Manaar, which divides the island of Ceylon from the continent of India, or by a bank of sand, like the one which forms an isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay at the Cape of Good Hope.\*

The Japanese trade at Aniwa.

The Japanese have pushed their establishments even as far north as the Gulf of Aniwa, where many of their vessels were seen taking in cargoes of dried fish: and Krusenstern has adopted the opinion that some European nation of active habits would do well to fix a settlement there. There is abundance of furs, the skins of wolves, dogs, and foxes, as well as salted fish, which will always find a market in Corea and China. Even Kamtschatka and Siberia might be supplied from such a station with those European commodities which the inhabitants are obliged to procure through other channels at great expense and with much inconvenience. Whales, which the Japanese know not how to catch, are so numerous in the bay that it requires great precaution, in steering a boat, to avoid the hazard of being overset by them. Broughton says, there are horses, dogs, deer of several kinds, foxes, and rabbits; he describes the valleys as very beautiful, with clear rivers running through them; and adds, that almost all the shrubs indigenous in England are found growing in a healthy condition. Russia, it is admitted, labours under the disadvantage of an infrequent communication by sea, even with her own territories on the north-eastern borders of Asia; but England or America, which have greater facilities for colonization, might discover in Sagalien the means of extending their trade and employing their shipping.

The Japanese discipline at Aniwa.

It is a remark of the Russian commander, that the Japanese discipline exists even here, the farthest boundary of their possessions, in all its force. The superintendent could not be induced to accept a trifling present which the ambassador offered him, and even refused to take a single glass of sakky, their favourite beverage.

The purpose of his residence in that remote part is to watch over the trade carried on by some merchants of his country with the Ainos, which appears to be very inconsiderable. The people now alluded to are described as extremely mild and inoffensive, contented and happy, though without the possession of any thing which in the more civilized countries of Europe is deemed essential to comfort. They are somewhat diminutive in stature, of a dark complexion, with bushy beards and lank hair, much resembling the natives of Kamtschatka, but displaying features more regular and less prominent. The women are rather plain naturally, and not much improved by having their hands and faces deeply tattooed, and their lips stained with blue paint; defects, however, which the Russians considered to be in no small degree compensated by their modest behaviour. Every where the greatest good-nature and a strong desire to please lighted up their expressive countenances, and both sexes evinced a peculiar simplicity of manners and singleness of heart. In a word, the captain declares that they are the best people with whom he became acquainted in the course of his long voyage. Their dress consists chiefly of the skins of dogs and seals. Some individuals at Sagalien wore furs, and others a robe of yellow stuff made from the bark of a tree, bordered with blue cloth. Their huts resemble the shape of a cone, formed of bark and covered with mats, erected apparently only for the fishing season; their permanent dwellings being situated at a distance in the interior.

Having spent the remainder of the season in examining the neighbouring coast, where he was finally obstructed by large fields of ice, the captain proceeded to Kamtschatka, making a narrow escape from shipwreck among the Kurile Islands. His details regarding the harbour of St Peter and St Paul must prove interesting to the practical seaman, though they can hardly be rendered entertaining to any other class of men. At this period, M. Resanoff and his attendants left the Nadeshda

CHAP. XVIII.

The Ainos.

Kamtschatka.



CHAP. XVIII. and proceeded overland to St Petersburg; soon after which Krusenstern resumed his survey of the islands on the coast of Tartary, in the course of which he doubled the northern extremity of Sagalien, which he found to consist of a continuation of sandy downs. The impression on his mind became every day stronger that the country in question is really a peninsula and not an island; that it is a portion of the Tartarian dominions, and might be claimed by the khan; but, at the same time, that no ship in ordinary circumstances could make her way so near the land as to accomplish an inspection of the numerous creeks and bays from the mouth of the river Amour to the Russian boundary.

The north of  
Sagalien.

The settle-  
ment of St.  
Peter and St.  
Paul.

During his last stay at Kantschatka, the commander collected much valuable information with respect to the statistics of that remote colony. The first view of the town, he remarks, is calculated to raise in the mind of a person newly arrived, and ignorant of the history of the establishment, the idea that it had been founded a few years before and recently abandoned. Nothing is visible that could at all persuade any one of its being inhabited by a civilized people. Awatska Bay and the three adjoining ones are entirely deserted; and the beautiful harbour of St Peter and St Paul itself is not enlivened by a single boat. Instead of this the shores are strewed with stinking fish, among which a number of half-starved dogs are seen wallowing and contending for possession. Two baydares belonging to the port and hauled ashore, might be held as an additional proof that the colony was of very recent origin, did not the visiter perceive at the same moment the wreck of a three-masted ship, which bears evident marks of having been in its present condition during some years. It would be in vain to look about upon landing for one well-built house, for a road, or even a path along which a person might walk in safety to the town; there is no garden, no meadow, no plantation of any kind indicative of the smallest cultivation; the only things to be perceived are a few huts, most of which are in an advanced stage of decay.

Instead of bridges over the few small brooks which flow from the neighbouring mountains into the valley where the town stands, are merely planks laid across them, and these must be passed with the greatest care. Five or six cows feeding in the vicinity of the houses, and innumerable dogs lying about in holes which they dig as resting-places and as a shelter against flies, are the only objects at St Peter and St Paul. As the greater part of the inhabitants are from Sagalien, and are absent during the whole day, a stranger may walk about several hours without meeting a single individual; and in the pale emaciated countenances of those whom he might chance to perceive, it would be difficult to recognise the descendants of the heroic Von Rimnik and of Trebbia.

CHAP. XVIII.  
The desolation of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Such is the miserable condition of this settlement, undoubtedly the most important place in Kamtschatka; and yet it is nearly a century and a half since Russia obtained possession of it. The great distance from the capital of the empire is usually assigned as the principal reason for the neglect with which its resources are treated, and for the many unfavourable impressions associated with its very name. But it is obvious that other causes must contribute to produce the belief, generally entertained, of its being a country in which cold, hunger, and every other species of misery are concentrated, and which seems condemned to be for ever deprived of all those enjoyments, moral and physical, on which mankind have agreed to place the highest value. It is admitted that the climate in the neighbourhood of the chief town is somewhat unfavourable, being exposed to fogs and frequent rain. Those, however, who have resided several years in the interior concur in the opinion, that the weather in the north is infinitely superior to what prevails generally in the more southern parts; while the soil is, with few exceptions, very fruitful. There every sort of corn is cultivated, and many kinds of vegetables; the length of the winter proving no obstacle to the growth of the more common descriptions of farm-produce. The real bar to prosperity is an indo-

The climate of Kamtschatka.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Summer in  
Kamts-  
chatka.

lence which knows no bounds, and the immoderate use of spirits, which renders too many quite incapable of exertion. If the possessor of a garden—and it is open to every one to cultivate as much land as he pleases—were to begin to dig his ground in May, he might, says Krusenstern, furnish his table throughout the season not only with salads, radishes, and cucumbers, but also with cabbage, and pease and beans in perfection. No one, however, commences his labours till July, when there is no longer time to bring any thing to maturity. “I passed all the summer months in Kamtschatka during the two years of my absence; that is, the whole of June and part of July, and the whole of August and September, and can affirm with confidence that, in these four months, there are as many pleasant cheerful days as in any other place under the same latitude. The month of June was as beautiful as it can possibly be in the most favoured climate; and yet they consider this month as too early to till the ground, although the snow has at that time quite disappeared from the mountains, and the earth is thoroughly thawed.”

The clergy of  
Kamts-  
chatka.

The Kamtschadales, it is related, have embraced the christian religion; but the priests, whose condition is much neglected, do little honour to their profession. Want compels them to engage in trade, which they prosecute too much in the spirit of laymen, postponing their spiritual duties to the love of gain, or perhaps to the necessity of securing the means of life. The resident clergyman in St Peter and St Paul was a scandal to his order: in the interior they are said to be no better; and it cannot therefore be surprising that they are regarded by the people without either respect or affection.\*

As the Neva meanwhile had been employed on the north-western shores of America in procuring furs for the Chinese market, it became necessary that the expedition, in order to accomplish one of the objects

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\* Krusenstern, vol. ii. p. 255.

enjoined by the imperial government, should proceed to Canton to dispose of the cargo. On their arrival at the city now named, which took place about the end of the year 1805, the captains announced to the authorities the intention of their visit. Permission was immediately granted, and they had nearly finished their business, when all at once proceedings were stopped, and they were told that they must wait patiently for the emperor's orders from Pe-king. The season for sailing in those seas being now near a close, the committee of the English factory remonstrated with the principal merchants, representing to them the disgrace and impropriety of their conduct in laying an embargo on the trade of a friendly nation without having the slightest cause of complaint against any person on board. This reasonable appeal had the desired effect; the cargoes were completed, and the Russians lost no time in quitting the river.

CHAP. XVIII.

Embargo on the Russians at Canton.

But the tyranny and caprice of the government did not stop here; for hardly had the ships passed the Bocca Tigris when an imperial mandate arrived enjoining that they should be instantly stopped. This document stated that the Hoppo Yen had informed the court of the arrival of two Russian vessels, with two foreign merchants, named Krusenstern and Lisianskoy, having in their possession a certain amount of specie and furs; that the said Hoppo, with the approbation of the Viceroy Ho, and the Sub-vice-roy Sun, had allowed the Hong merchants to trade with them on fair and honest terms. This mode of proceeding was strongly condemned as at once negligent and informal; and it was added that the Hoppo was very culpable, and that Ho and Sun were deserving of the highest censure for their concurrence; more especially because the name of Russia had never before reached the court, unless it were to be considered as the foreign mode of pronouncing Go-lo-sé, a country the existence of which was not altogether unknown. Hoppo and the viceroy were therefore commanded to inquire whether

Imperial mandate respecting them.



CHAP. XVIII. these dealers really came from the nation of Go-lo-sé, and if so, to ask how they, who had hitherto traded by way of Kiachta in Tartary, had now been able to find their passage to Canton. They were also instructed to ascertain whether the strangers had visited any other kingdoms in their passage thither, from whom they might have received information how to reach the shores of the celestial empire. Finally, these functionaries were desired to learn whether the cargoes belonged to the captains or to the sovereign whose subjects they were, and to transmit by express the whole intelligence thereby obtained to the supreme tribunal at Pe-king. If the ships should have departed before these injunctions arrived, the evil was to be held irreparable; but to prevent any similar encroachment, it was directed that no foreign vessel belonging to any other nation besides those who had been in the habit of frequenting the port, should on any account be permitted to anchor until the orders of the court were received and duly promulgated.

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Requirements of the mandate.

The Russian ambassador's indignation.

Such a reception from their neighbours in China and Japan was little fitted to encourage, on the part of the Russians, any attempt to renew an intercourse whether commercial or diplomatic. Indeed the ambassador, Resanoff, was so deeply offended by the insults inflicted on him at Nangasaki, that, on his return to St Petersburg, he projected a military expedition against the establishments of the latter country in the Bay of Aniwa and on the northern shore of Jesso. It would have been at once more wise and merciful to lead a colony of industrious cultivators, artisans, and shipowners into those remote parts of the world; where a reasonable prospect might be entertained of acquiring wealth by peaceable means, and at the same time of improving the condition of a gentle race of men who are held in a degrading subjection by the Japanese government.

About three years after the appearance of Krusenstern's volumes, a similar work appeared under the name

of Lisianskoy, whose ship parted from the Nadeshda at the Sandwich Islands, and proceeded to Kodiak and other of the Russian settlements on the coast of North America. Being employed chiefly in the collection of furs for the Chinese market, and in the small commerce with the natives incident to that pursuit, he had no opportunity of adding to our knowledge of the globe, or throwing any new light on the shores, bays, creeks, and islands which had been so carefully examined by Cook. He shares largely, however, in the merit due to his superior officer, to whom science is indebted for many valuable observations on astronomy and meteorology, in so far as these branches of physical research are connected with the progress of navigation in all parts of the great ocean. The geography, too, of the north-eastern regions of Asia has been much extended and defined, more particularly the Gulf of Tartary, the sea of Ochotsk, and the Kurile archipelago.\*

Kotzebue, whose labours in the cause of discovery we are now about to notice, sailed with Krusenstern in the Nadeshda, and was indeed recommended by him as a suitable person to take the command of the Rurick, a ship fitted out at the expense of Count Romanzoff, the chancellor of the empire. The main object of this enterprise, no doubt, was the determination of the geographical problem as to the existence of a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific along the northern verge of America. A design was for a moment entertained of sailing across the polar basin; but success in this attempt being considered next to impossible, it was finally resolved to advance into Behring's Straits, and endeavour to penetrate through the ice from west to east. The count, indeed, meant to attempt a passage, at the same time, from east to west, in a larger vessel,

CHAP. XVIII.  
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Voyage of  
Lisianskoy.

Appointment  
of Kotzebue  
to explore  
the Polar  
Seas.

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\* A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803-4-5-6, performed by order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva, by Urey Lisianskoy, Captain in the Russian Navy, and Knight of the Orders of St George and Vladimir. London, 1814.

CHAP. XVIII. which he hoped to procure from the United States, and with this view had already opened a correspondence with certain individuals in that republic. Difficulties soon arose which were not at first anticipated; and these, joined to the knowledge that the English were about to fit out an expedition for the same purpose, dissuaded him from persevering in this subordinate part of his plan. With regard to the scheme of attempting to find a channel from the Sea of Kamtschatka to the Atlantic Ocean, it was no doubt recollected that the endeavours of Cook and Clerke in Behring's Strait had left but little hope of penetrating farther to the north than the latitude they had attained; but there were parts of the American coast, both north and south of that channel, which those celebrated navigators could not explore; a circumstance which at least left a little hope that some inlet might be found connected perhaps with a large river falling into the Frozen Sea, on whose stream it might prove easier to reach the Atlantic than by the arduous course round Icy Cape.

Difficulties in Kotzebue's design.

Preparations for Kotzebue's voyage.

The preparations for the voyage were confided to the zeal and experience of Krusenstern, who, as on a former occasion, repaired to London, where the articles indispensable in such a voyage are procured better and cheaper than any where else.\* It was not till the begin-

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\* "A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, for the purpose of exploring a North-East Passage, undertaken in the Years 1815-1818, &c. Under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue," 3 vols, London, 1821; vol. i. p. 18. "The ship was likewise provided with a life or safety boat, which the English Admiralty had ordered to be built for the Rurick at my request. During my stay in England I had visited the harbour of Plymouth, and there seen a life-boat, the invention of Mr Fincham, a master shipbuilder. The judicious contrivance, and the small size of this boat, which was provided with air-chests, made me anxious to have such a one for Lieutenant Kotzebue. On my return to London, therefore, I made an application in writing to the Admiralty, and received on the same day an answer from the secretary Mr Barrow, who enjoys a most honourable reputation both as a traveller and a writer, stating that the heads of the Admiralty had immediately issued an order to build one for Count Romanzoff's expedition, according to the di-

ning of October 1815 that the Rurick left the shores of England, proceeding on her course towards Teneriffe, whence she sailed to Brazil, doubled Cape Horn, touched at the port of Conception in Chili, and, in June the following year, arrived at Kamtschatka. No incidents occurred during that long run, which in an abridged form would afford either instruction or amusement to the reader. Having left the Russian settlement, Kotzebue steered for the American coast; on his approach to which he found himself in the group of islands that bear the name of St Lawrence. The first aspect was by no means inviting; high mountains covered with snow, and a rocky beach enveloped in fog. He observed people and tents on shore, and imagining that they had never been visited by Europeans, he resolved to gratify the curiosity of the naturalists whom he had on board, as well as to secure to himself the honour of a discovery. Two boats were accordingly dropped into the water, which were manned with sailors bearing the usual weapons of attack or defence. At a small distance from the land, they met a baydare or canoe rowed by ten natives, who approached them without fear, bawling as loud as they could raise their voices, holding fox-skins in the air, and beckoning in a manner at once eager and ludicrous. But they also, suspicious of their visitors, had arms concealed in the bottom of their small skiff, though their fears soon gave place to confidence. Proofs were not long absent that the Rurick was not the only European ship which the islanders had seen, for, besides manifesting a disposition to barter, they asked a present of tobacco. In many respects they resemble the inhabitants of Norton Sound as described by Captain Cook: they are of a middle stature, robust make, and healthy appearance; their clothing, which is very simple in its fashion, consists of skins, and their dwellings are filthy in the highest degree.

CHAP. XVIII.  
The Islands  
of St. Lawrence.

The inhabitants  
of these  
islands.

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mensions given by me. This was done, and when the Rurick put into Plymouth on her voyage, the boat was delivered to Kotzebue without any payment whatever being asked for it."



## CHAP. XVIII

This spot of land is called Tschibocki by the inhabitants, who give to the American coast, towards the east, the name of Kililack. The former is sufficiently steril and repulsive. Not a single tree, not even a small bush, adorns the gray rocks; only short grass sprouts up here and there among the moss, and a few stunted plants rise through the surface of the ground. The botanists, notwithstanding, succeeded in discovering some interesting flowers, unknown to the scientific collectors in more genial climates.

A savage  
religious  
ceremony.

Near the northern point of the St Lawrence Islands several baydares were seen approaching the ship, each of them containing not fewer than ten men. When they had advanced within a few yards they left off rowing, and then with doleful voices commenced a mournful song. At the same time, one of them arose, holding up a small black dog, and after speaking some words in a very impressive manner, drew a knife with which he inflicted a mortal wound on the animal, and forthwith threw it into the sea. The meaning of this sacrifice appears not to have been comprehended by the navigators, though from the solemnity of the act, and the silence which prevailed during the performance of it, there can be no doubt that it partook of a religious nature. Its importance in the eyes of the simple savages became more manifest from the fact, that it was not until the ceremony was duly concluded any of them would venture on board.

The island of  
Ratmanoff.

In a region of the world where the whole coast is fringed with insular groups, the discovery of an unknown creek or islet can excite no surprise, and ought not to be made the ground of undue triumph. After passing Cape Prince of Wales, Kotzebue perceived a small island, which he called Ratmanoff, in compliment to an officer who had sailed with him under Krusenstern. He remarks, "it is very surprising that neither Cook nor Clerke should have seen it, as both their courses led them close by it; and it has occurred to me that it may have since risen from the sea." To the

northward of the cape just designed, is a long tract of low ground covered with luxuriant verdure, and presenting the appearance of a considerable population. On landing, the seamen found the houses in the exclusive possession of dogs, the people having fled. These dwellings were greatly superior to any hitherto seen, being constructed of more durable materials, and divided into a number of apartments by means of wooden partitions. The floors, raised three feet from the ground, were likewise formed of timber, which is understood to be supplied by the north-eastern current sweeping past the mouths of the rivers on the American coast, where trees grow to a large size. It soon became apparent that the shore on which they had debarked was not a part of the continent, but an island seven miles long, and about one mile across in the widest part. Beyond it was an inlet running deeply into the mainland; on entering which, two boats were observed of the same description as those used by the natives of the Aleutian group. The aspect of the crews was exceedingly disgusting; their persons were filthy; their countenances had an expression of fierceness; and no inducements could prevail upon them to land. They hit their heads with both their hands and then fell down, as if dead, probably to give their visitors to understand that their lives were not safe in the vicinity of such strangers. It should seem that they were not acquainted with firearms, because they did not keep out of the reach of shot, though a number of muskets were standing near.\*

CHAP. XVIII.

The island of Saritschiff.

The bay of Schilsmareff.

\* Voyage of Discovery, &c., vol. i. p. 203. Kotzebue gives a minute description of the houses mentioned in the text. "We now examined the interior of their dwellings, and found them cleanly and convenient. We entered first into an apartment ten feet long, seven broad, and seven high; the walls and the top were covered with wood. To the left hand, in a pit which extended all along the room, lay pieces of black blubber about a foot square, and beside these lay sieves with long handles. Several utensils, and other very neat work of the inhabitants, lay scattered about in their dwellings. I particularly remarked two very neat-made sledges of morse and whale bones, which likewise shows that they are used to be drawn by dogs." Vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

CHAP. XVIII. The island and the bay behind it are known respectively by the names of Saritscheff and Schismareff; each being intended to preserve the memory of a nautical friend. In his attempts to survey the latter, Kotzebue encountered so many obstructions, owing to currents and sandbanks, that, relinquishing a complete examination till the following year, he resolved to proceed into Behring's Strait, of which the navigation is not open more than a short period every season. On the 1st of August, he perceived that the coast took a direction very much to the east, the land continuing low. At eleven he found himself at the entrance of a broad inlet; the shore towards the east gradually vanished, and high mountains rose in the north. Here the wind suddenly abating, he was obliged to cast anchor; the nearest land lay to the south-east at the distance of four miles, the current running strong into the entrance.

Kotzebue's  
Sound.

The commander of the *Rurick* was now on the point of making a discovery which will secure to his name a certain degree of distinction in the annals of naval enterprise. He appreciated the importance of his position, and the value of the fame which seemed within his reach; declaring that he could not describe the strange sensation which he experienced at the idea that he perhaps stood near the opening of the long-sought passage into the Atlantic, and that "fate had chosen him to be the discoverer." He felt his heart oppressed, and, at the same time, an impatience which would not let him rest, and was still increased by the perfect calm. He ordered two boats to be got ready, and, accompanied by the naturalists, set out at two o'clock with the intention of ascending some eminence, and thence marking the direction of the shore. From the summit of a hill in the neighbourhood he could nowhere perceive land in the strait; and it was obvious that the high mountains towards the north either formed islands, or constituted a separate coast; for that the two could not be connected together was quite manifest even from the great difference between the low beach near which he stood,

Excitement  
respecting  
the Sound.

and the remarkably high land on which his eyes were fixed. He now commanded a very extensive view into the country, which stretched out into a large plain, interrupted occasionally by marshes, small lakes, and a river which, flowing with numerous windings, fell into the bay at a short distance from his station. As far as vision could extend, every thing was green; here and there were flowers in blossom, and no snow could be seen but on the tops of the remotest mountains; and yet at the depth of only half a foot under this verdant carpet was found a solid bed of ice.

It was his intention to continue his survey of the coast in the boats; but a number of baydares approaching from the east induced him to pause. Five of them soon touched the shore near which he stood, landing eight or ten men, each armed with lances and bows. At the head of every canoe was a fox-skin on a high pole, with which they beckoned to the Russians, uttering at the same moment the loudest cries. He ordered his crew to prepare themselves for defence, and meanwhile advanced, in company with the naturalists, to meet the savages, who, on seeing them approach, sat down like Turks forming a circle on the ground, an attitude by which, it was understood, they meant to make known their friendly intentions. Two chiefs, it was observed, had seated themselves apart from the rest. The Europeans entered the circle well armed, perceiving that the natives had left most of their weapons in the baydares, though they had long knives concealed in their sleeves. Distrust, curiosity, and astonishment, were painted in their countenances; they spoke incessantly, but not a word was understood by the other party. To give them a proof of his amicable sentiments, the lieutenant distributed some tobacco, assigning to the chiefs a double portion; and they were all evidently delighted with this valuable present. With the low cunning peculiar to an uncivilized state of society, those who received first secretly changed their places in the ring in the hope of obtaining a second allotment. "Lu

CHAP. XVIII.

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The seaboard  
of the Sound.Interview  
with the  
natives.



CHAP. XVIII. was," says the historian of the voyage, "a curious sight to see this savage horde sitting in a circle, smoking out of white stone pipes with wooden tubes."

Traffic of the natives with Tschukotzkoi.

Tobacco, it may be noticed in passing, is supplied to the tribes of north-western America by the Tschukotzkoi, who inhabit the opposite shores of Asia, and who traffic with them in the exchange of European goods for skins and other fruits of their industry. Kotzebue farther bestowed upon the two leading persons who sat apart, a gift of knives and scissors. The latter implement, with which they seemed to be altogether unacquainted, afforded particular pleasure, especially when they found it would be extremely useful for cutting their hair; an operation to which it was immediately applied all round the circle. A friendly feeling manifested itself on both sides, mixed, indeed, with the caution on the one hand and the suspicion on the other which are inseparable from the first meeting of two classes of men standing at such a distance in point of social improvement. These hyperborean Americans are described as being of a middle size, robust make, and healthy appearance: their motions are lively, and they seemed much inclined to sportiveness; but their countenances, though not expressive of stupidity, are very plain, being characterized by small eyes and very high cheek-bones. They have holes on each side of the mouth, in which they wear rings ornamented with blue glass beads, which give them a most frightful appearance. Their hair, which hangs down at full length behind, is cut quite short on the crown of the head. Their dress, which, as already mentioned, is made of skins, follows the same fashion as that used in Kamtschatka: besides which they wear pantaloons, and small boots composed of coarse leather manufactured from the hide of the seal.\*

Their ornaments and costume.

It should seem, from various indications, that this isolated people had made more than the usual progress

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\* Kotzebue's Voyage, vol. i. p. 210.

in the knowledge of some mechanical arts. On the shore was observed a round tower built of stone, about twenty feet in height and six in diameter; but as it was not minutely examined, no conclusion could be drawn as to its origin or purpose. Their arms consist of lances, bows, arrows, and a knife two feet long, always carried in a sheath. Their lances, which are of iron, are well wrought, and probably of European manufacture. They had various articles of domestic workmanship which they were ready to exchange for tobacco, looking-glasses, and other trifling commodities; but they would not sell their skins, especially those of the black fox, except for goods of more permanent value.

CHAP. XVIII.  
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Their  
weapons.

Kotzebue still entertained the hope of finding a passage through the inlet into which he had entered. He was nearly in the latitude of 67°; a man from the mast-head could perceive nothing but sea to the eastward, and in such circumstances it is not surprising that his "expectations were at the highest pitch." Animated by this prospect he spent thirteen days in surveying the shores of the bay; but the only passage out of it was on the south-eastern side, apparently communicating with Norton Sound, and a channel on the western side, opening, it is probable, into the recess he had lately visited, and which bears the name of Schismareff. He therefore resolved to intermit his researches till the following year, when he hoped to make important discoveries; satisfied that, though a north-eastern passage could not be anticipated with certainty, he should be able to penetrate much farther to the east, as the land had very deep indentures.

In the course of his investigations he came upon an island, which he called Chamisso, in compliment to the naturalist who usually accompanied him. From a high point in it the party commanded an extensive view, and ascertained that the land on which they stood was divided from the continent by a strait five miles broad in the narrowest part. Snow was nowhere to be seen; the mountains were covered with moss, and the shore

The island of  
Chamisso.

CHAP. XVIII. was clothed with a luxuriant verdure. "I readily confess," says he, "that I seldom felt happier than on this spot; to which the idea of being the first European that ever put his foot on it may have greatly contributed." To the inlet, indeed, he gave the name of the Bay of Good Hope, having little doubt that his most brilliant prospects as a navigator would in due time be fully realized by accomplishing a voyage through some one of the arms which stretch out from it.

A remarkable iceberg.

On a promontory which extends into the sea from the south-eastern shore a party who had landed made a singular discovery. They had climbed about a great deal during their stay without finding out that they were on a real iceberg. The doctor, who had extended his excursions, noticed that part of the bank was broken down, and saw to his astonishment that the interior of the mountain consisted of pure ice. At this news they all went, provided with shovels and crows, to examine the phenomenon more closely, and soon arrived at a place where the hill rises almost perpendicularly out of the water to the height of more than a hundred feet. There they perceived masses of the purest ice more than thirty yards thick, which are under a cover of moss and grass, and could not, they imagined, have been produced but by some terrible convulsion of nature. This part, which by some accident had fallen in, and was thereby exposed to the sun and air, melted away, and a good deal of moisture flowed into the gulf. They considered as an indisputable proof of what they saw being real ice that a large quantity of mammoths' teeth and bones was exposed to view by the melting, and among which the lieutenant himself found a very fine tooth. There was, at the same time, a strong smell like that of burnt horn, for which he could not account; but which he might have referred to the fire he kindled for the purpose of making tea, for the effluvium that reached his nostrils was evidently the effect of heat acting on animal matter. He states that the covering of the hill, on which the most luxuriant grass springs to a certain height, is only half

Fossils on it.

a foot thick, and consists of a mixture of clay, sand, and earth; below which, as the ice gradually melts, the green cover sinks in proportion, but continues to grow; "and thus," he concludes, "it may be foreseen that in a long series of years the mountain will vanish, and a green valley be found in its stead."

Chamisso, the naturalist of the expedition, considers this formation to be similar to the ground-ice covered with vegetation at the mouth of the Lena, out of which the mammoth, the skeleton of which is now at St Petersburg, was thawed. It is more probable that it is a common iceberg, produced from the source whence all such accumulations derive their existence. A stream of water falling from a precipice is converted, at the approach of winter, into a sheet of ice on the beach. Next season a new layer is added, which, from the operation of the same cause, receives a successive increase, and at length the mass attains such a weight that, separating from the land to which it has attached itself, it falls into the waves, and is carried forth into the ocean by the reflux of the tides. All our northern navigators affirm that stones, moss, and earth have been observed on the icebergs which are seen floating in Baffin's Bay and Davis' Straits. There is, indeed, a difficulty in regard to the teeth of the huge animals whose relics have been detected in other parts of the arctic ocean; and questions might be agitated respecting them, which, however closely connected with geological hypotheses, have no relation to a voyage of discovery accomplished by a plain seaman.

Probable  
origin of the  
iceberg.

Leaving Kotzebue's Sound the *Rurick* shaped her course for the Asiatic shore, for reasons which, though satisfactory to her commander, are not quite intelligible to the reader of his volumes. "According to my instructions," says he, "I was to have looked for a safe anchoring-place in Norton Sound, and from thence to proceed next year farther to examine the coast; but, as fortune directed me to a hitherto unknown sound, which affords the safest anchoring-places, and where an

Departure  
from Kotze-  
bue's Sound.



CHAP. XVIII. expedition by land must be far more interesting than in — Norton Sound, I consider a voyage thither as quite unnecessary." He therefore resolved to spend some time on the Asiatic coast, in order to become acquainted with its inhabitants, and to compare them with the Americans; a determination the wisdom of which has been questioned, both because it led him to throw away time which might have been better employed in pursuing the main object of his expedition, and more especially because the Russian territory which he went to visit was already sufficiently known to all the maritime states of Europe.

The supposed north-east passage.

With reference to the practicability of a north-east passage his observations tended to invest with the authority of facts certain opinions which, till that period, seemed to rest merely on the basis of conjecture. One of the arguments in favour of undertaking a voyage along the northern shores of America derived its chief plausibility from the inference that, as a constant current descends into Hudson's Bay on the eastern side of the continent, an equal flow of water must enter Behring's Straits from the Pacific on the western side. Every circumstance recorded by navigators appeared to countenance this conclusion; such as the floating of the driftwood towards the north, the retiring of the ice in the same direction, and, in particular, the temperature of the water. Kotzebue and his friend Chamisso concur in affirming that it is to this current, which moves incessantly, the inhabitants of Saritscheff's Island are indebted for the supply of wood so necessary to their comfort, consisting, in some instances, of the trunks of large trees. The naturalist remarks that, on the breaking up of the ice in the sea of Kamtschatka, the bergs and icy fields "do not drift as in the Atlantic to the south, nor do they drive to the Aleutian Islands, but into the strait to the north." When near the Asiatic side of the channel, he found it running with a velocity of not less than three miles an hour; and they all confidently assert, that even with a fresh north wind, it

The eastward arctic current.

continued to run equally strong from the south. Nay, the lieutenant maintains that the direction of the current was always north-east in Behring's Straits, and records that, on one occasion, in the course of twenty-four hours, it carried the ship fifty miles from the land to which her head was turned. He therefore almost necessarily arrived at the conclusion already mentioned and in which he had been anticipated by other writers, on theoretical as well as practical grounds. The constant flow of the current into the strait "proves that the water meets with no opposition, and consequently, a passage must exist, though perhaps not adapted to navigation." Such speculations, since the days of Ross, Parry, and Beechey, have lost much of their interest; it being no longer doubtful that the vast influx between East Cape and the opposite headland takes its course round America, and returns into the ocean through Davis' Strait.

Erroneous  
inference of  
Kotzebue.

Some light has also been thrown by the voyage of the *Rurick* on a subject which has from time to time occupied the attention of philosophers; namely, the great difference of temperature between the eastern and western sides of continents or large islands. For example, it was found that while all was verdure at Cape Prince of Wales in America, the corresponding point in Asia was covered with "eternal ice." Kotzebue incidentally remarks when at East Cape, that "ice and snow have maintained their rule here since last year, and in this state we find the whole coast; while in America even the summits of the mountains are free from snow: there, the navigator sees the coast covered with a green carpet, while here, black mossy rocks frown upon him, with snow and icicles." In fact, a few hours' sailing directly to the westward from the eastern verge of the strait sank the thermometer from 59° to 43° of Fahrenheit. Various reasons have been suggested to account for this meteorological phenomenon. Humboldt has taken a philosophical view of the subject, which, in particular situations, may be considered as explaining the cause,

Differences  
of climate in  
the same  
latitudes.

CHAP. XVIII. at least to a certain extent ; but it is manifest that his theory will not account for this extraordinary difference between two continents separated only by a strait of thirteen leagues in width. It is extremely difficult to comprehend why the warmth of the Great Pacific, which tempers the rigorous cold of the Frozen Ocean on the American side, should refuse to mitigate the severity of the weather on the Asiatic side, more especially, as it appears, from repeated observations made during this expedition, that the current from the south was equally strong on both sides of the channel.

Chamisso's theory respecting these differences.

Chamisso ventures so far upon a hypothetical elucidation as to ask whether the theory which explains the sea and land breezes on the coasts, alternating by day and by night, the local summer and winter monsoons, as also the general trade-winds, might not suffice in most cases to explain the partial differences of climate under the same latitude ? He farther develops his views by remarking that, when we extend our eyes over the globe, it appears to us that the twofold current of the atmosphere from the equator to the poles, in its upper regions, and from the poles to the equator in the lower, must bring over Europe from the interior of Africa, which is scorched by the sun, a current of air far more heated, in proportion, than over any other country in the world. He considers the continent lying to the south and south-west of Europe, between the line and the northern tropic, as a furnace which heats the air that passes over it and determines its climate ; and in general, he thinks that continents lying between the equator and the tropics must give to the more eastern parts of the world, towards the pole, a warmer climate than other parts enjoy, though under the influence of seas similarly placed.

Objections to his theory.

But this system of meteorology will not account for the fact that the eastern coast of America is colder than the western, though it might afford a reason for the more familiar phenomenon, that the shores of Europe washed by the Atlantic, above the fiftieth degree of latitude, are

warmer than those on the opposite side though bathed by the same ocean. He admits that our observations are still too few and imperfectly defined to support any theory which must rest on an extensive induction ; adding that he only wished to point out the thought which struck them, as passing travellers, in the north of the great ocean, at the sight of the wintry Aleutian Islands in the latitude of Hamburg, and the coasts of Behring's Straits under the latitude of Drontheim in Norway.\*

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The descriptions of the scenery, manners, and usages of Oonalaska, given by the lieutenant and his associates, present nothing either new or interesting. The inhabitants are generally supposed to belong to that extraordinary race of men commonly known by the name of Esquimaux, and who, commencing at the Kolyma, and probably much farther westward in Asia, have settled on the seacoast and islands of that continent, down to the Gulf of Anadyr, Behring's Straits, the Aleutian group, the western shores of America from the promontory of Alaska, the borders of the Polar Sea, Hudson's Bay, Baffin's Bay, Old Greenland, and Labrador. Every where, indeed, along this vast extent of country, where the gigantic mammalia of the waters abound, and from which their food, raiment, dwellings, and utensils are derived, may their small establishments be traced. Miserable as their condition appears to be, they are contented with it, and always cheerful ; living in small independent hordes, and, it should seem, on terms of perfect equality. Civil and obliging to strangers, they are courteous to one another, and amidst their putrid fish and oil, carefully observe the decencies of domestic life. Woman here is not degraded from her rank in society by that curse which polygamy has entailed on the whole sex, whether in savage or more civilized life. Of this common feature of Asiatic manners they have happily divested themselves ; but, what is not a

Oonalaska.

The Esquimaux.

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\* Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition, Kotzebue's Voyage, vol. iii. p. 278.



## CHAP. XVIII.

The language  
of the  
Esquimaux.

little remarkable, they have preserved a language of singular complication in its mechanism, which, with some little variety in the dialect, is spoken from the north-eastern point of Asia to the northern extremity of Old Greenland. An Esquimaux interpreter, from the banks of Chesterfield Inlet, understood the vocabularies composed by the missionaries of Labrador; and the surgeon of the *Rurick* was fully convinced of the identity of the same tongue with that of the Aleutian Islands. A question naturally suggests itself to the philosophical inquirer, as to how this community has been maintained through a succession of ages, between tribes so very widely separated, without any written character, and with little or no intercourse, when, among nations in a much higher state of civilisation, the languages are frequently so different as not to be generally understood. It is probable that this circumstance, so unusual in the history of the human race, may be explained by a reference to the fewness of the wants felt in savage life, and to the limited number of objects by which they are surrounded.\*

California.

From the arctic circle the *Rurick* was steered to California, where the commander had some intercourse with the Spanish and other European residents at the several presidios. But his observations add nothing to those of *La Perouse* and *Vancouver*. The same lazy routine, the same self-indulgence, and the same tyranny towards the natives, continued to distinguish the missionaries along the whole coast of Chili, where they have long occupied the best parts of the country without improving them. *Kotzebue* was not a little surprised to hear from the governor that there were many Russian prisoners in California. A ship belonging to the American Company, a trading association formed at *St Petersburg*, had touched on the coast for commercial purposes; and as all such intercourse is prohibited by the Spanish law, a part of the crew who, not suspecting any evil, had ventured on shore,

\* *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 272. *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 357.

were seized by the soldiers and dragged to a place of confinement. By the express orders of the Viceroy of Mexico, the governor was not allowed to deliver them up to Kuskof, the agent of the company, but consented to resign them to the lieutenant, should he find it convenient to receive them on board. The smallness of his vessel compelled him to limit the number to three, in addition to whom he accommodated Mr Elliot de Castro, a resident who was desirous of a passage to the Sandwich Islands. CHAP. XVIII

On arriving at the dominions of Tamehameha the Russian discovered that there prevailed among the people a strong prejudice against his countrymen. The cause of this unfavourable impression was traced to a visit, made about five months previously, by two of the American Company's ships, when a dispute took place between the natives and some of the men who had been allowed to land for refreshments. Imagining that they had suffered injustice at the hands of the Owhyheans, the strangers at their departure threatened to return with a large force, including a powerful man-of-war, which would enable them to inflict a suitable chastisement upon the uncivil islanders. The king himself, it soon became manifest, had likewise dreaded this hostile invasion, and with the view of opposing such formidable enemies, had given orders to station soldiers all along the coast. The troops in the vicinity of the port, amounting to about four hundred, were armed with muskets, and otherwise well appointed. His majesty, who yielded to the apprehensions of his people for his safety, did not deem it proper to go on board the Rurick, though respectfully invited; but as a proof of his friendly intentions he entertained the officers on shore, having first delivered into their hands one of his principal chiefs in the character of hostage. The Sand-  
wich Islands.

Through an interpreter Tamehameha thus addressed his visiter: "I learn that you are the commander of a ship-of war, and are engaged in a voyage The king's  
speech to  
Kotzebue.

CHAP. XVIII. similar to those of Cook and Vancouver, and consequently do not enter into trade: it is therefore my intention not to carry on any with you, but to provide you gratis with every thing my islands produce. This affair is now settled, and no farther mention need be made of it. I shall now beg you to inform me whether it is with the consent of your emperor that his subjects begin to disturb me in my old age? Since Tamehameha has been king of these islands, no European has had cause to complain of having suffered injustice here. I have made my islands an asylum for all nations, and honestly supplied with provisions every ship that desired them. Some time ago there came from the American settlement of Sitka some Russians, a nation with whom I never had any intercourse before: they were kindly received, and supplied with every thing necessary; but they have ill-rewarded me, for they behaved in a hostile manner to my subjects in the island of Woahoo, and threatened us with ships-of-war which were to conquer these islands; but this shall not happen as long as Tamehameha lives!"

The king's  
good feeling  
to Euro-  
peans.

Kotzebue assured the monarch, whose conversation was equally intelligent and polite, that the bad conduct of his countrymen must not be ascribed to the will of the emperor, who never commanded his subjects to do an unjust act, but to the vast extent of his dominions, which prevented him from being immediately informed of what was done amiss, and from punishing the guilty. Delighted with this assurance, his majesty ordered the glasses to be filled to the health of his brother the czar. In all respects, indeed, he acquitted himself as a most agreeable and obliging host, conversing with a vivacity surprising at his age, and putting questions respecting Russia which indicated no small degree of knowledge in regard to European politics.

Hospitality  
and vivacity.

We now proceed to give an account of Kotzebue's greatest discovery, viewed at least in the light supplied by his patron Krusenstern, who, influenced by a natural partiality towards his pupil, claims for him a degree of

merit which, so far from being exclusively his own, must, it is believed, be shared with older navigators. Intending to spend part of the winter among the insular groups near the northern tropic, both with the view of finding refreshment for his men and of enlarging his nautical map, he left the dominions of Tamehameha with his face turned towards the south-west. On the 1st of January 1817, when in lat.  $10^{\circ} 10' N.$  and long.  $189^{\circ} 54' W.$ , he perceived a low islet, well covered with wood, emerging above the horizon. The natives, who were elegantly shaped, with high foreheads and aquiline noses, hovered round the ship, manifesting an earnest desire to enter into friendly relations with the foreigners. In other particulars, besides figure and complexion, they seemed superior to most of the tribes scattered over the surface of the South Sea. Their hair, which was neatly tied up, presented ornaments composed of flowers and coloured shells; and instead of huge ear-rings, the usual deformity of savages, they displayed cylinders of green leaves gracefully suspended from either side of the face. As no single islands in this part of the ocean were known to the lieutenant, he not unreasonably concluded that the little settlement with which he had just become acquainted must be a new discovery.

A superior  
tribe of  
Polynesians.

Soon afterwards he fell in with a chain of islands, or rather a succession of clusters, each consisting of a circular reef of coral rocks, out of which, at irregular distances, rose a number of flat islets richly stored with the bread-fruit, the pandanus, and cocoa-nut trees. These also are claimed for the commander of the *Rurick* by his former chief, though there is great reason to doubt whether they are not the same which were seen by Captain Marshall in 1788, and by the *Nautilus* in 1799, and bearing on the charts the name of the vessel just specified, as well as those of Chatham and Calvert. But whatever may be his rights as a discoverer, he is certainly entitled to the honour of having defined their true position, and of having also collected some valuable facts illustrative of the origin of such formations. It is

The Kadlack  
Islands.



CHAP. XVIII. well known that throughout a large portion of the Pacific there are numerous groups which rise out of the water like fairy rings in a meadow ; the upper surface of which is composed of calcareous fragments of a great variety of shapes, the production of marine animals, and usually described as coral rocks. Chamisso, allowing himself to be guided by the fact that these islets are not found in all situations, and that when they do occur they usually appear in rows, and are united in clusters as if resting on a common basis, arrived at the conclusion, that the minute creatures to whose labours they are ascribed must found their buildings on shoals, or, more correctly speaking, on the tops of mountains lying under water.

Theory of  
the coral  
islands.

The extreme depth at which these insects can carry on their toils has not yet been ascertained, though it was found that, in Baffin's Bay, similar animals existed at the depth of a thousand fathoms, and in a temperature below the freezing point. On the one side, as they increase they continue to approach the surface of the sea ; on the other side, they extend the boundary of their work. The larger species, which form blocks several fathoms in thickness, seem to prefer the more violent surf on the external edge of the reef, and as soon as it reaches such a height that it is dry at low water, they leave off building. At this stage various shells, fragments of coral, and the exuvixæ of the sea-hedgehog, are cemented, by the heat of the sun acting on the calcareous sand, into one solid mass, which, augmented by the continual accession of new materials, gradually increases in thickness, till at length it becomes so high that it is covered only at some seasons of the year by the spring tides which periodically occur. In the next place, the solar heat so penetrates the mass of stone when it is dry that it splits in many places, and breaks off in flakes ; which again are raised upon one another by the waves whenever the surface of the ocean is unusually elevated. The powerful surf, of which the action never ceases, throws large blocks of coral, frequently a fathom in length and three

The rising of  
their mineral  
matter.

or four feet thick, upon the summit of the reef; and, in a little time, the comminuted shells and calcareous sand remains undisturbed, offering to the seeds of trees and plants cast upon them a soil upon which they rapidly grow to overshadow its white dazzling surface. Entire trunks of trees, which are carried by the rivers of other islands, and even distant continents, find here at length a resting-place after their long wanderings, conveying with them various small animals, such as lizards and insects, as the first inhabitants of the newly formed islet. But before the trees have risen up into a wood, the sea-birds have found themselves a place where they may lay their young; other winged creatures, driven thither by storms, take refuge among the bushes; and at a much later period, when the work has long been completed, man also appears, builds his hut on the primitive soil, and calls himself the proprietor of a possession which sprung from the working of unconscious animalcules.

Their first inhabitants.

It is deserving of notice, however, that the reef, though circular, is not so complete as to enclose the whole of the interior, into which the sea must have a free admittance at the flow of the tide. Nay, the exterior wall consists of a number of elevated points, which themselves may be viewed as little islands, amounting, in some cases, to as many as sixty, and having the land between them quite dry at the time of ebb. In those latitudes, where a constant monsoon prevails, and where the waves beat only on one side of the reef, it is easy to understand why this section of the outer parapet should be found to have derived its chief materials from blocks of coral and fragments of shell, and be seen to rise first above the level of the waves. It is only with regard to the nature and formation of this class of islands that any certain knowledge has been attained; for as to those more gigantic groups in that ocean which washes the shores of India and China, from the charts given of them it may be inferred that every side is equally advanced in formation.

Their windward side.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Their inner  
shores.

The coral islands, though they owe their existence to the operation of the same series of causes, do not in all respects strictly resemble one another; and it is extremely probable that their varying extent, as well as the degree of dissimilitude which appears among them, are owing to the size and form of the submarine mountains on which they are respectively founded. In all cases the inner shores of the isles, those, namely, which surround the salt water lakes in the interior, consist of fine sand washed up by the tide; presenting thus both a soil and shelter to the smaller plants which could not endure the dash of the outer wave or the constant action of the wind. Among the peculiarities of these insular dwellings, no dew falls, no tempest rages, and the course of the wind seldom undergoes any change.

Their great  
age.

The lieutenant, more contemplative than Davis, Baffin, or Cook, cannot refrain from uttering reflections which, however just in themselves, would have perhaps assumed a more suitable air had they proceeded from the pen of one of his philosophers. "The spot on which I stood filled me with astonishment, and I adored in silent admiration the omnipotence of God, who had given even to these minute animals the power to construct such a work!" His thoughts were confounded when he considered the immense series of ages that must elapse before such an island can rise from the fathomless abyss of the ocean and become visible on the surface. At a future period, says he, they will assume another shape; all the islands will join, and form a circular slip of earth with a pond or lake in the centre; and this form will again change, as these animals continue building, till they reach the surface, and then the water will altogether vanish, and only one great island be visible. It is a strange feeling to walk about upon a recent formation where all below is actively at work. And to what corner of the earth can we penetrate, where human beings are not already to be found? In the remotest regions of the north, amidst mountains of ice, under

the burning sun of the equator, nay, even in the middle of the ocean, or islands which have been formed by animals, they are met with."\* CHAP. XVIII.

On the seventh day of February Kotzebue sailed from the "beloved Otdia," one of the Radack chain, after having spent a happy period among the "un corrupted children of nature." His intention was to return to the western shore of North America, with the view of re suming the survey which had been interrupted the pre vious year; and on the thirteenth of April he had reached the latitude of 44° 30', and longitude 181° 8', when an occurrence took place which compelled him to alter his plan, and in fact to relinquish the undertaking. The weather had already become bad; there were violent storms with hail and snow; and on the night of the twelfth a hurricane arose which tore up the sea in masses such as no one had ever before seen. "Nobody," says the commander, "who has not witnessed such a scene can form an adequate idea of it. It seemed as if a direful revolution was at that moment destroying the whole fabric of nature. At four o'clock in the morning I was just looking at the height of a foaming wave, when it suddenly took its direction to the Rurick, and in the same moment threw me down senseless. The violent pain which I felt on recovering was heightened by the melancholy sight of my ship, whose fate seemed inevitable, if the hurricane should rage another hour, for not a corner of it had escaped the ravages of the furious billow." But, besides breaking the leg of one of the sailors and throwing a subaltern officer into the sea, the "gigantic wave" dashed the lieutenant himself on a sharp corner, whereby his breast was so seriously in jured that he was obliged to remain in bed several days.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the Rurick reached Oonalaska on the 24th in safety, though the commander thinks it proper to say, "I would advise nobody to visit this ocean so early in the year, for the storms are fright-

Departure  
from the  
Radack  
Islands.

Accident  
from a  
hurricane.



CHAP. XVIII. ful." After obtaining supplies and repairs, as well as an addition of fifteen natives to his crew, he proceeded to the northward, and on the 10th July came in sight of St Lawrence Island. Here he found that the ice had just left the shores of this dreary settlement; and concluding that the sea would not be navigable till near the end of the month, his hope of ultimate success became very faint. The accident sustained during the gale seems to have depressed his spirits while it weakened his body; and observing as he advanced that firm ice extended as far as the eye could reach, covering the whole surface of the deep, he resolved to lay aside all farther attempt at discovery and return to a more temperate climate. "My melancholy situation, which had daily grown worse since we left Oonalaska, received here the last blow. The cold air so affected my lungs that I lost my breath, and at last spasms in the chest, faintings, and spitting of blood ensued. I now for the first time perceived that my situation was worse than I could hitherto believe; and the physician seriously declared to me that I could not remain near the ice. It cost me a long and severe contest; more than once I resolved to brave death, and accomplish my undertaking; but when I reflected that we had a difficult voyage to our own country still before us, and perhaps the preservation of the Rurick, and the lives of my companions depended on mine, I then felt that I must suppress my ambition. The only thing which supported me in this contest was the assurance of having strictly fulfilled my duty. I signified to my crew in writing that my ill health obliged me to return to Oonalaska. The moment I signed the paper was the most painful in my life, for with this stroke of the pen I gave up the ardent and long-cherished wish of my heart."\*

St. Lawrence  
Island.

Kotzebue's  
relinquish-  
ment of his  
undertaking.

The reasons assigned by Kotzebue for relinquishing a voyage which, in regard to its main object, was entirely

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\* Kotzebue's Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177.

unsuccessful, would not perhaps have been esteemed satisfactory on board an English ship, so long as another officer survived qualified to assume the command. Nor has his conduct passed unimpeached by those who take an interest in northern discovery, on the ground of his losing so much of the former season, when so fair an opportunity presented itself for passing Icy Cape and penetrating towards the strait which checked the progress of Captain Parry. Yielding to the pressure of disease and perhaps the wishes of his people, the Russian commander finally proceeded to the Radack chain, whence he made his way to St Helena, and finally to the Baltic. At five in the morning on the 3d June, he came in sight of the Azores, took his course for the English Channel, and on the 16th cast anchor at Portsmouth. He went to London, where he had the honour of being introduced to the Prince Regent and the Archduke Nicolai Pawlowitch. When in the British metropolis he thought it his duty to leave with the inventor several boxes of patent meat, as a proof how well it had kept, and "to whom all navigators indisputably owe their gratitude." Leaving England on the 30th, he sailed for Copenhagen; and on the 23d July, "with an indescribable emotion, saw Revel again, which I had quitted three years before, full of pleasing expectation, though not without some fear. Fortune favoured my voyage; and my joy at the sight of my beloved native city expressed itself in an ejaculation of thanksgiving to heaven."\*

CHAP. XVIII.

His return to Europe.

The favour for which he here expresses his thanksgiving, farther than that it implied preservation among many dangers, must be considered somewhat ambiguous. It is true that he discovered, or rather partially explored, the Sound which bears his name, and also that he has made navigators much better acquainted than they formerly were with the interesting series of islets which he visited on his first return from the Aleutian archipelago; but, nevertheless, comparing what he actually

Estimate of his voyage.

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\* Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, vol. ii. pp. 286, 287.

CHAP. XVIII. accomplished with what he undertook, it cannot be said that he gained any triumph over the stern nature which presides in the arctic regions, or brought to light any mysteries theretofore concealed.

Second  
voyage of  
Kotzebue.

It is well known that after the lapse of a few years he was appointed by the Emperor Alexander to the command of a ship named the *Predpriatie*, or *Enterprise*. She had been at first destined for a voyage purely scientific, but circumstances occurred which rendered it necessary to change the object of the expedition; and Kotzebue was accordingly ordered to receive at Cronstadt a cargo of various commodities for Kamtschatka, and to proceed from the latter place to the north-western coast of America, in order to protect the Russian Company established there from the smugglers who in great numbers frequented those shores. On that station he was commanded to remain one year, when, being relieved by another officer, he was to return to the Baltic; but the course both outwards and back to Europe was left entirely to his own discretion.

Teneriffe.

On the 28th July 1823, the *Enterprise*, which may be described as a small frigate carrying twenty-six guns, left the roads of Cronstadt. In due time she reached Teneriffe, where her commander was destined to encounter an unexpected disappointment. Struck with the beauty of the scenery, he was already planning parties to visit the neighbourhood of the town and climb the Peak, when, just as he was preparing to anchor, a ball from the fortress plunged into the water not far from his ship. At the same time he perceived that all was bustle on the walls; the cannons were pointed, the matches lighted, and plenty of Spanish shot was ready for his reception. His government being at peace with the court of Madrid, such conduct appeared quite unintelligible; but as he had no desire for battle, he contented himself with retiring beyond the reach of the guns, in the hope that some explanation would be rendered. After waiting a considerable time in vain, and perceiving the continuance of warlike preparations on

the ramparts, he was compelled to renounce all hope of seeing the country and of enjoying the magnificent view which rewards the toil of ascending the mountain. "Whatever might be their motive," he justly observes, "it was an inconsiderate action on the part of the garrison to insult the Russian flag; and even if they mistook us for enemies, it was silly to be afraid of a single ship, considering that the renowned Nelson with an English fleet had found the fortifications impregnable." CHAP. XVIII.

The account of Brazil is lively and entertaining. On the 19th November, the celebration of a national festival attracted the captain to Rio Janeiro, where the royal family and official dignitaries had previously assembled. It was the anniversary of the coronation of their majesties the emperor and empress, as well as of the institution of the Order of the Southern Cross. Scarcely had the day dawned when the thunder of cannon from the batteries and ships recalled the remembrance of those happy events which had taken place only the preceding year. The streets were filled with people; soldiers in their dress-regimentals hastened to their various places of rendezvous; and the negroes, released from labour, formed a part of the cheerful throng. At eleven, the sovereigns, in a magnificent carriage drawn by eight horses, and escorted by a troop of guards in handsome uniforms, arrived at the principal church. At some distance from the door the two great personages alighted, and entered the sacred edifice in procession, surrounded by the knights of the Austral Cross. Being met by the bishop and the whole of the clergy, they were conducted with great pomp to a throne at the right side of the altar, which the emperor ascended, while his consort took her place in a pew on the left. After the service, performed by a good choir to excellent music, the prelate came forward and delivered a very long discourse descriptive of the pious virtues of Don Pedro, whom he was pleased to compare to Peter the Great of Russia.

Rio de Janeiro.

The emperor and empress at church.

It is customary in the capital of Brazil to pay visits in the theatre, which are indeed more highly prized than



CHAP. XVIII. those made at their houses. The pit presented a very singular appearance, owing to the assemblage of various complexions, including every shade from black to white, although the darker tints had greatly the predominance. Nor was the distinction of manners among the different portions of the audience less striking. No theatre in Europe could boast of more decorum and politeness than prevails there in the boxes; but the noisy and coarse vulgarity of the pit would not be tolerated in a more refined nation. During the performance the emperor gave audience in his box to many of his subjects, the interview always beginning with the homage of kissing hands on the bended knee.

The theatre  
at Rio de  
Janeiro.

The voyage round Cape Horn, the residence at Chili, the examination of Pitcairn Island, the sojourn at Otaheite, and the survey of the Dangerous Archipelago and Navigators' Islands, present nothing worthy of notice. On the 28th April 1824, Kotzebue once more reached the Radack chain after an absence of eight years. He now seems to have learned that the sovereign of all these islets was named Lamari; that the chiefs of the particular groups are subordinate to him; and that these in their turn exercise authority over the leaders of the several families or tribes. The inhabitants were regarded by him as among the best of nature's children, and excelling in gentleness all the other natives of the South Sea, the Otaheitans not excepted. It is not surprising therefore that he expected a happy meeting with his former friends; and it was one, he assures his readers, "on which the heavens themselves appeared to smile." It was an uncommonly fine day, and a favourable breeze carried the Enterprise quickly towards land. From the deck he soon descried, on the island of Otdia, the airy groves of palms which enclose the residence of Rarick, under whose shades he had so often reposed. He knew his tried friends too well not to know what was passing in their minds; for though he had promised to visit them, they could not fail to observe that the frigate which now approached was not rigged like the

The Radack  
Islands again.

two-masted brig which he formerly commanded. UN-CHAP. XVIII.  
 certain how they might be treated by the strangers who were now steering towards their bay, the women and children fled into the interior, and all the canoes were put in motion to convey their goods to some place of safety. The most courageous of the men advanced armed with spears, displaying their valour while the danger was yet remote. But they soon recognised their former acquaintance, who by his voice and gestures encouraged them to approach: they burst into the wildest accents of joy; numbers hurried to the strand, while others rushed into the water to embrace him. Four islanders lifted him from the boat, and carried him ashore; mats were procured for the officers to sit on, and the females brought baskets of flowers to decorate them with garlands. The captain had the satisfaction to find that his endeavours for the welfare of this simple people had not altogether failed of success. The animals and plants with which he had enriched their islands were reported to be in a thriving state; the former had propagated, the latter were healthy and flourishing. Swine and goats already formed part of their provisions at their periodical festivals; and the time appeared to be fast approaching when it would be no longer necessary to destroy the third or fourth child of every marriage, in order to prevent the hazard of famine. The vine alone had failed; it had been allowed to wither away, but not till, from the extreme fruitfulness of the soil, its tendrils had reached the tops of the highest trees.

Reception by  
the natives.

From Radack and the adjoining groups, Kotzebue proceeded to the American coast, and finally assumed the station to which he was appointed at New Archangel, an island in Norfolk Sound, called by the natives Sitchachan. The recess just mentioned, closely associated with the researches and discoveries of the most celebrated of our navigators, is still known in the Russian charts as Sitka Bay, and is the principal establishment of the American Company, who formed their settlement there in the year 1804. The island, which

Norfolk  
Sound.

CHAP. XVIII. is separated from the mainland by a narrow inlet of the sea, extends over three degrees and a half of latitude. In point of fact, it consists of three portions, divided by channels so very small and intricate as readily to escape notice, and hence the conclusion generally received that New Archangel consists of one portion of unbroken land. The harbour, it is asserted, is so well defended by nature as to need no assistance from art.

Russian  
America.

The founding  
of Sitka.

The history of Russian occupation is darkened by some of those painful recollections which attach to most of the European colonies among a barbarous people. A person named Baronof long superintended the Company's concerns, who, being of a bold enterprising character, was considered well suited to the task of contending with a fierce people. He seemed to take pleasure in the occupation; and although the conquest of the Sitkacns was not so easy as that of the more timid Aleutians and Kodiacks, he finally succeeded in accomplishing it. Being supplied with firearms by the traders of the United States, they maintained an obstinate struggle against the invaders; but after various turns of fortune, the military chief obtained a decisive victory, which seemed to place the greater part of their territory at his command. Proceeding with his settlement, he built some dwelling-houses, erected military defences, and used all practicable means for gaining the affections of the natives, or for rendering their hostility unavailing. It soon appeared that the savages, though so far subdued as to be unable to keep the field, had not relinquished all hope of revenge, and even of recovering their lost inheritance. One night, accordingly, when the garrison left by the governor believed themselves to be in perfect safety, a large body of them seized the intrenchments, entered without encountering any serious opposition, and murdered, with the utmost ferocity, every individual whom they found within the rampart. Only a few Aleutians escaped, who owed their lives to the circumstance that

they were at sea engaged in fishing, and who fled to Kodiack, carrying with them the intelligence that the Russian settlement was annihilated. CHAP. XVIII.

This catastrophe occurred at the period when Krusenstern was cruising in those parts, and who, the reader will remember, sent the *Neva*, one of his ships, to the American coast, to make a purchase of furs for the Chinese market. Baronof seized the opportunity in order to recover his colony, and inflict due punishment on the leaders of the revolt. No sooner did the natives hear of his return at the head of a force which they could not effectually resist, than they gave way to their fears, refrained from opposing his landing, and retired in great haste to their fortification, consisting of a species of palisade formed of strong beams so closely set as only to allow a sufficient opening for firing their muskets, with which they were amply supplied. This wooden fortress, containing about three hundred fighting men with their families, held out several days, and would have maintained a longer resistance, had not the heavy guns of the *Neva* effected a breach which rendered the place quite untenable. The besieged surrendered at discretion, and gave the sons of their chiefs as hostages for their continued submission. But confidence was not thereby fully established on either side. The vanquished, still thirsting for revenge, omitted no opportunity to gratify it, particularly by secret attacks and stratagems; and this manner of warfare they carried to such an extent, that the Russians, unless well armed and in considerable numbers, could not venture beyond the shelter of their fortress without the most imminent danger of being assassinated. With the view of securing the repose of the colonists, Baronof, from this period, continued to reside in Archangel, and the fur-trade for a time proved extremely advantageous to the Company. The various hunters, however, allowed their avarice to defeat its own object: the sea-otter, pursued on all hands, soon became very scarce; and after a brief space.

Contest with  
the natives.

Continued  
struggle with  
the natives.



CHAP. XVIII. accordingly, the numbers obtained barely sufficed to cover the expenses of maintaining such a force as was necessary to protect the settlers against the wiles of the savages. It was, therefore, resolved to abandon the establishment at New Archangel, and to make Kodiack the centre of Russian commerce on the north-western shores of America.

The climate  
of Sitka.

The climate of Sitka is not so severe as might be apprehended from its high latitude. The cold, which even in the middle of winter is not excessive, does not last long; but it is added that there is not perhaps a spot in the world where so much rain falls. The forests, consisting principally of fir and beech, are at once lofty and thick; some of the trees being a hundred and sixty feet in height, and from six to seven in diameter. From these noble trunks the natives form their large canoes, which, in some instances, carry twenty-five or thirty men. Wild and unfruitful as the country appears, the soil is rich, so that its indigenous plants, of which indeed there is no great variety, attain a very large growth. The sea near the coast abounds in fish, and even in the larger mammalia, whales, seals, and other species. It is remarkable that the beautiful white-headed eagle, and several varieties of humming-birds, the natives of warm climates, should have migrated so far north, and habituated themselves to a sky so different from the one to which their tribes are accustomed. But the native birds are few.

California.

On his renewed visit to California, the captain of the *Enterprise* did not find any improvement at the Spanish presidios, either in the condition of the poor converts or in the policy of those who undertake to rule them. In the spirit of *La Perouse*, he declares that the christian Indians are not more happily circumstanced than negro slaves. They pass their lives in prayer and in toiling for the monks, without having any property of their own. Thrice a-day they are compelled to attend church, to hear a mass in the Latin language; the rest of their time is spent in cultivating the fields and gardens with

clumsy implements ; and in the evening they are locked up in crowded barracks, which, unboarded and without windows, resemble stalls for cattle rather than habitations for human beings.\*

In this way were the missionaries and the military who depended upon them living quietly enough in California when the other Spanish colonies threw off their allegiance to the mother country. The insurrection having spread as far as Mexico, they were invited by the new governments, under advantageous conditions, to make common cause with them ; but they remained true to their king. Nor was their fidelity shaken by the total neglect of the cabinet of Madrid, who, for many years, appeared to have forgotten their very existence, and had not even troubled themselves to make the ordinary remittances for the pay of the soldiers or the support of the teachers. Still their loyalty continued firm, and so implicit was their obedience, that they hesitated not to comply with the command which enjoined them to close their ports against all foreign vessels ; and as the republicans were considered aliens, and no ships arrived from Spain, the missionaries, not less than the several garrisons, began to feel the want of many comforts to which they had been long accustomed. Even the instruments of agriculture and of other kinds of labour were no longer to be had ; and thus the very source of all their acquisitions was threatened with extinction. The growing discontent at length appeared in the form of a mutiny, which was indeed speedily suppressed by the horsemen, who had hitherto identified their own interests with those of the ecclesiastics. But, elated by victory over the natives, these warriors soon disregarded all the wishes of the ghostly fathers, whose helplessness was now apparent, and declared themselves the rulers of the province which the royal

CHAP. XVIII.

Loyalty to Spain.

Effects of that loyalty

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\* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26. By Otto von Kotzebue, Post Captain in the Russian Imperial Navy, vol. ii. p. 84.

CHAP. XVIII. government had so long abandoned to its fate. Republics sprang up in various parts of California; and one of the first effects of this revolution appeared in the opening of their ports to all mercantile nations in both hemispheres of the globe.\*

Russian  
settlement  
at Ross.

It was one of the duties confided to Otto von Kotzebue to establish in the neighbourhood of California a station for the Russian American Company. The spot selected by him, or indicated by his employers, was about eighty miles north of St Francisco; and having obtained from the governor a military escort and a body of guides, he commenced his journey thither, accompanied by some of his officers, two seamen, and a few dragoons. The expedition, indeed, appears to have been accomplished partly by land and partly by water; but the narrative is so indistinctly expressed, that it is not easy to determine when the author is on board and when he follows in the train of his soldiers. After some days spent in toil and speculation, he perceived from the summit of a high hill the fortress of Ross, a small castle built for the defence of the settlement. It is placed on the seashore in latitude  $38^{\circ} 33'$  north, and was erected in the year 1812 with the consent of the natives, who even furnished materials for the completion of the buildings. The garrison in 1825 consisted of a hundred and thirty men, of whom only a small number were Russians, the main body being drawn from the Aleutian Islands. It is hardly necessary to mention that the purpose contemplated by the Company was the extension of their trade in furs, the sea-otter being more frequently caught along the Californian coast than in any other quarter; and the Spaniards, who did not hunt that animal, willingly took a small compensation for consenting to acquiesce in the views of the Petersburg merchants.

Design of  
settlement.

At first the members of the several missions lived on the best terms with the settlers, and even provided them

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\* Kotzebue's *New Voyage*, vol. ii. p. 96.

with horses, oxen, and sheep ; but they no sooner remarked that, notwithstanding the inferiority of soil and climate, the new establishment was rapidly surpassing all theirs in prosperity and influence, than envy and apprehension took possession of their minds. They then required that the emporium at Ross as well as its stronghold should be abandoned ; asserting that their rights of dominion extended northward to the verge of the Icy Sea, and threatening to support their claims by force of arms. A little determination on the part of the governor prevented the threatened rupture from involving the country in actual war. But, in order that the traders might not stretch their claims to the northern shore of the Bay of St Francisco, the Spaniards immediately founded the presidios of St Gabriel and St Salona. Kotzebue remarks that “it is a great pity we were not beforehand with them : the advantages of possessing this beautiful bay are incalculable, especially as we have no harbour but the bad one of Bodega or Port Romanzow.” The climate at Ross is mild, and it is blest with an abundance of the finest wood for building. The sea provides it with the most delicious fish, the land with an inexhaustible quantity of the best kinds of game ; and notwithstanding the want of a good haven, the northern settlements might easily find in this a plentiful magazine for the supply of all their wants.

Jealousy of  
the Spanish  
colonists.

The account contained in these volumes of the present state of society in the Sandwich Islands, bears so much the aspect of caricature, that the reader must feel both his belief and his taste somewhat rudely assailed. In regard to the ambitious views of certain missionaries, the author’s opinions are not singular, though his prejudices on the subject of religion are too strong to justify a complete acquiescence in his conclusions. One meddles, it is said, in all the affairs of government, and makes Kakumanna, and even sometimes Karemaku, the instrument of his will ; pays particular attention to commercial concerns, in which he appears to take great interest ; and seems to have quite forgotten his original

State of  
society in the  
Sandwich  
Islands.



CHAP. XVIII. situation and the object of his residence in the islands, finding the avocations of a ruler more to his taste than those of a preacher. This would be excusable, if his talents were of a nature to contribute to the instruction and happiness of the people. But the fact, says the captain, is widely different; and one cannot see without deep regret the spiritual and temporal weal of a generous people committed to the guidance of an unenlightened enthusiast, whose ill-directed zeal and foolish designs are inimical to their true interests. It is not denied that education, so far at least as it comprehends reading and writing, is making some progress, and that the great principles of Christianity are sedulously taught, in season and out of season. When the Russian commander was introduced to Nomahanna, the widow of the great Tamehameha, he found that the very stairs were occupied, from the bottom to the door of the queen's apartments, by children, adults, and even old people, who, under her majesty's own superintendence, were reading from spelling-books, and writing on slates. The governor himself had a spelling-book in one hand, and in the other an ornamented little instrument made of bone, which he used for pointing to the letters. Some of the more elderly persons appeared to have joined the assembly rather for the sake of example than from a desire to learn, as they were studying, with an affectation of extreme diligence, books held upside down. The sovereign, there is reason to fear, enforces attention to letters in a manner which savours not a little of absolute despotism. An old man of seventy, who rented a piece of land belonging to her, had always paid his taxes with regularity; but hoping the distance at which he lived and his very advanced age would secure to him a dispensation from attending school and chapel, he was very frequently absent. For this neglect the queen expelled him from his house and little farm. In order to pacify her, or apologize for his misconduct, he solicited admittance to her presence, when he implored compassion for his destitute condition, and, above

Advance-  
ment of  
education.

Rigorous en-  
forcement of  
education.

all, represented to her the impossibility of learning to read at his time of life. His most pathetic entreaties and reasonings were altogether in vain. She replied with an angry gesture, "if you will not learn to read, you may go and drown yourself."\*

After leaving the Sandwich Islands, the lively captain, who found amusement himself, and wishes to communicate it to his readers, sailed towards the Pescadores, in the neighbourhood of which he ascertained the position of some shoals or incipient groups, not generally known to navigators. He subsequently steered for the Ladrones and Philippines, of which he gives a rather meagre account; and finally set sail in a south-western direction, in order to double the Cape of Good Hope, touch at St Helena, and restore himself a second time to his native land, which he joyfully reached on the 10th July 1826. "If," says he, in conclusion, "my readers have by this time become sufficiently acquainted with me to interest themselves in my affairs, they will not learn with indifference that my most gracious sovereign the emperor has honoured me by the most condescending testimonials of his satisfaction; and that, after our long separation, I had the gratification to find my wife and children well and happy."

It may be held sufficient to allude to the voyage of Bellingshausen, performed in the three years succeeding 1819, because, though the zeal of that officer was worthy of much praise, his track deviated very little from the line usually followed in the South Sea, and was not productive of any remarkable results. His labours were spent chiefly in the waters between the coast of Australia and the antarctic circle, where he encountered many difficulties, and was exposed to many dangers. The only discovery to which he lays claim is in the neighbourhood of the islands to which Bougainville annexed the epithet Dangerous, and is confined to a small group distinguished in his chart as the Archipelago of Alexander, the emperor of Russia. The

\* A New Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 261.

CHAP. XVIII. inhabitants are described by him as the most savage and ferocious he had ever seen; they refused to have any communication with him; and in order to deter his people from landing they set fire to their forests. So little were they accustomed to Europeans or their means of assault, that, when the Russians discharged a few muskets in the air, with the view of intimidating them, they procured water in order to extinguish the flames with which they seemed to imagine it was meant to destroy their persons or property.

Results of  
Bellingshausen's  
voyage.

Bellingshausen freely confesses that he did not succeed in discovering any continent in the polar sea,—that celebrated “Terra Australis” which had so fruitlessly engaged the attention of philosophers at home, and exhausted the skill of the most patient navigators, amidst fogs, floating ice, and incessant tempests. He assures his countrymen that he actually touched the confines of eternal frost, beyond which no one will ever be permitted to pass. That his voyage was not entirely useless he endeavours to prove by reminding them that he had extended the sphere of geographical knowledge by the addition of thirty new islands; and, besides many important observations in several branches of science, he had enriched the museums by presenting to them some of the rarest productions in the three kingdoms of nature.\*

Voyage of  
Lutké.

Lutké, who succeeded the commander now named, spent in like manner three years at sea, and with a degree of success somewhat equivalent. In September 1826, the corvettes *Seniavine* and *Moller* left Cronstadt, the latter having been placed under the direction of Captain *Stanioukovitch*; but as his movements do not fall under the description of a circumnavigation of the

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\* *Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, &c.*, tome *xxi.* p. 431. “Un précis du voyage de découvertes du gouvernement Russe, en 1819, 1820, et 1821, par le Capitaine Bellingshausen, dans l’océan Pacifique et les mers Australes, fut rédigé par M. le professeur Simonof, dans une série de lettres adressées au Baron de Zach, et il fut recueilli par le *Journal des Voyages* qui se publiait alors.”

globe, we shall confine our notice to the proceedings of the former, which was really fitted out for the purposes of discovery. —

After touching at Teneriffe and Rio Janeiro, rounding Cape Horn, and calling at Conception and Valparaiso, Lutké crossed the equator in long. 128° west of Greenwich, proceeding in a northerly course. On the 23d June 1827, he came in sight of Mount Edgecumbe, an extinct volcano, rising nearly three thousand feet above the sea, which, it is well known, marks the entrance into Norfolk Sound, now denominated Sitka Bay by the Russians. Next morning he anchored at New Archangel, the residence of the governor, as already mentioned, whose jurisdiction extends over all the colonies in that quarter, including the Aleutian and Kurile Islands. The population of these settlements was estimated by the chief officer of the *Seniavine* at eight thousand seven hundred; more than a half belonging to the two groups which stud the ocean between Kamtschatka and the American shore. In the course of thirty years the inhabitants in both had diminished considerably, owing either to the tyrannical conduct of the fur traders, or to a compulsory migration to the bays and creeks of the eastern continent. At the date of Lutké's visit, the colony founded by Baronof, as narrated by Kotzebue, did not contain more than eight hundred persons, including those from the several islands in the vicinity. The creoles, offspring of a Russian father and Aleutian mother, were found, a few years later, to amount to about a thousand, and are said to be a well-formed active race of men. Ship-building is evidently in a prosperous condition; and an active trade in provisions is carried on with Ochotsk, California, and the Sandwich Islands.\*

Mount  
Edgecumbe.

Condition of  
Sitka.

\* Voyage autour du Monde, exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas Premier, sur la Corvette Le *Seniavine*, dans les Ans 1826, 1827, 1828, et 1829. Par Frederic Lutké, Capitaine de Vaisseau, Aide-de-camp de S. M. l'Empereur, Commandant de l'Expédition. Tome i. p. 109.



CHAP. XVIII. The captain considers at some length the reasons which weighed with the governor when he formed the resolution to leave the Bay of Sitka and transfer the settlement to Kodiack or Cook's River. The hostility of the natives, called Kaloches, was perhaps the principal motive, for he had despaired either of conquering their animosity or of gaining their good will ; but such obstacles, Lutké observes, have been met with in the commencement of all such undertakings, and gradually overcome by suitable management. The resentment of the savages will not prove eternal ; and even in the year 1827, a brief space after Baronof seemed ready to yield to despair, a chief required from the colonists at New Archangel the means of educating his people, and instructing them in the christian religion. Whatever foundation the navigator may have had for the conclusions he enforces, there is no doubt that he inquired more carefully into the temper and condition of the Kaloches than any former commander who had served on the same station.

The improvement of the Aleutians.

In the beginning of August he sailed for Oonalaska ; and at Iloaloak he found a very intelligent clergyman, the Rev. John Veniaminoff, who had resided there many years. This zealous pastor had translated into the Aleutian language the catechism of the Greek Church, which was printed at St Petersburg, and by perseverance in his evangelical labours had converted many of the natives, all of whom, indeed, avow an open profession of Christianity. In other respects, too, since the days when they were first made known to the civilized world by the great Cook, they have made a rapid advance in the arts and conveniences of improved life. Some of their children go regularly to school ; a privilege, however, which seems to be still confined to one sex. Perhaps the enlargement of mind produced by education is considered unnecessary to girls, whose prospects are not permitted to rise above domestic drudgery, and those severer toils incident to a state of existence so little in

advance of the rudest in which society has ever been found to exist. CHAP. XVIII.

Directing her course to the north-west, the Seniavine reached the islands of Pribyloff and St Matthew. A lovely morning, on the first day of September, disclosed a magnificent panorama of all the land by which she was surrounded. To the eastward, at the distance of sixty-five miles, was seen Oonimak with its enormous volcanoes; one of them, Chicheldinsk, the form of which is that of a regular cone, appeared entirely isolated, while a whitish smoke rose from its summit, which was ascertained to be more than eight thousand feet above the level of the waves. The crater of Makouchinsk, on Oonalaska, the flattened top of which has only some sharp peaks at its western end, does not offer so striking an aspect as the other. Smoke rose from a lofty table-land covered with snow, the elevation of which could not be less than five thousand feet. This group, including St George and St Paul, was discovered in 1786 by a pilot whose name was Pribyloff, which still attaches to the islands. St Matthew was so designed by Lieutenant Sindt in 1766, and afterwards called Gore Island by Captain Cook in the year 1778, who accurately determined its position. To no one besides the geologist and the other lovers of natural science, do these groups present any features in the slightest degree interesting, for the huge masses of granite, micaceous schist, and quartz, receive no covering from any species of timber. Every where the most distant traces of volcanic action can be pointed out; and the internal fires to which those dreary abodes owe their existence, continue to manifest their power in the most terrific form, shaking the whole archipelago and casting the glare of their sulphureous flames over the surface of the wild ocean by which they are surrounded.

The islands  
of Pribyloff  
and St  
Matthew.

Geology of  
the islands.

The approach of autumn warned Lutké that he must no longer keep the sea in so high a latitude, where darkness combines with fierce winds to render navigation at once dangerous and unavailing. He accordingly

CHAP. XVIII. proceeded to the coast of Asia, and, in the principal harbour of Kamtschatka, made preparations for a voyage to the Spanish settlements in the great Indian archipelago. On the first day of November, he left the port of St Peter and St Paul with the view of visiting the Caroline group; and in his course thither, he passed over the position assigned in the American charts to the island of Colunas, spending a whole day in the parallel of lat.  $28^{\circ} 9'$  north in search of it, but altogether in vain. With an equal want of success did he seek for Dexter Island and St Bartholomew; a result which ought to excite no surprise, considering how small an error in point of longitude, the element least easily determined, must vitiate the calculation of the acutest seamen.

The island of  
Colunas.

Before the circumnavigation of Duperrey in the Coquille, the great Caroline range was very imperfectly known to the mariners even of the most enlightened countries of Europe. Spreading over six degrees of latitude, or more than four hundred miles, it extends through thirty degrees of longitude, being not less than six hundred leagues. The French captain ran through the whole of it from Pulo Anna on the west to Ualan on the east; in the course of which survey he made himself acquainted with several small islands theretofore unclassified, and supplied many new facts regarding those already known. But, notwithstanding his great diligence, he left unexplored an ample field for the captain of the Seniavine; who, following a more regular plan, visited separately every group, and every island composing it, thereby obtaining a complete acquaintance with their geographical position. He also added to our stock of information relative to the customs and manners of the inhabitants; a short vocabulary of their language; and also an account of the structure and natural history of the principal members of the archipelago, derived from the observations of the several learned men who accompanied the expedition.

The Caroline  
Islands.

Ualan, already mentioned, is twenty-four miles in circumference; a valley stretching from east to west

between two ranges of mountains divides the island into two unequal parts. On the northern section rises Morne Buache, more than eighteen hundred feet above the sea ; and to the southward is seen Mount Crozer, of which the elevation is somewhat greater. With the exception of the peaks belonging to these hills, the whole land, from the seashore to the bottom of the ancient craters, is covered with wood, including various climbing plants ; and streams of water are seen flowing in all directions. The inhabitants, who, notwithstanding the moisture of their climate, appear to enjoy good health, possess fine figures, and are hospitable to strangers, while they are gentle and forbearing towards one another. The colour of the skin in either sex is chestnut ; both anoint their body with oil, and indulge their taste in the most fantastic modes of tattooing ; the females bore the lobes of their ears, inserting in the apertures large bouquets of flowers or odoriferous herbs ; but in other respects their habits are far removed from that cleanliness and taste which such a usage might seem to indicate.

CHAP. XVIII.  
The island of Ualan.

Not understanding their language, the captain could not attain to a full comprehension of their religious notions. It was imagined that they venerate a deity named Sitel-mazuenziap, who is supposed to be a deified chieftain, with two wives and four children ; but neither temples, morais, nor idols are erected to do honour to his exploits or to propitiate his power. In one corner of every dwelling is placed a wand, from four to five feet long, as a sort of household god, to whom offerings are made ; and occasionally ceremonies were observed which were considered to bear some affinity to the belief in supernatural beings, and to express an acknowledgment that the course of human affairs is regulated or disturbed by their interposition.\*

Religion of the natives.

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\* Nowhere is there to be found a more minute, and, it may be added, a more accurate account of the aborigines of any country than is given by Lutké of the people of Ualan. "L'île d'Ualan peut servir de très-bonne relâche, et principalement aux bâtimens baleiniers qui font la vêche dans ses parages, et aux navires allant



CHAP. XVIII. In the beginning of January 1828, the *Seniavine* crossed the magnetic equator in lat.  $4^{\circ} 7' N.$  and long.  $162^{\circ} 57' E.$  Some days were spent in searching for islands marked in the charts of Arrowsmith and Krusenstern, but without success; another proof of the difficulty of ascertaining recent discoveries from a reference to their geographical position in the works of even the most accurate navigators. To compensate for this disappointment a triumph awaited Lutké and his officers. At daylight on the 14th, much to their surprise, they discovered a large island close a-head; which, although of considerable elevation, and lying very near the tracks of Thompson, Duperrey, and several other voyagers, had never been noticed. It is now known as the chain which bears the name of the *Seniavine*; consisting of three groups, and extending about twenty-four miles from north to south, and not less than thirty miles from east to west. On the largest island is a mountain rising nearly three thousand feet above the sea, and visible at the distance of sixty-five miles.

The *Seniavine* Islands.

The island of *Pouynipete*.

The natives differ from those of *Ualan*, and approach more nearly to the *Papuas*; they are a small race of men, but fierce and resolute in action. *Pouynipete*, the largest island in the group, is nearly circular, and about fifty miles in circuit, being surrounded at the distance of two miles by a coral reef, within which there are numerous small islets. It is every where covered with verdure; and though the houses along the coast are not many, it was inferred from the great fleet of canoes which crowded round the ship that the population could not be less than two thousand. The industry of Lutké was

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a la Chine par la route de l'est. Un porte tranquille, un beau climat, un bon peuple, une abondance d'eau fraîche et de fruits, qui ne contribuent pas moins qu'une nourriture animale à restaurer les forces d'un équipage après une longue navigation, lui donnent cet avantage." —Tome i. p. 398.

In a note prefixed to the first volume it is stated that "un nouveau calcul, avec des éléments corrigés, a donné pour la hauteur du *Morne Buache* deux mille dix-neuf pieds, et pour celle du *Morne de Crozer* dix-huit cent quatre-vingt-quatorze pieds, mesure Anglaise."

farther rewarded by the re-discovery of several small islands, the existence of which seems rather to have been conjectured than fully ascertained. It was at length found necessary that the *Seniavine* should repair to *Guahan* in the *Marianne Archipelago* to refit, and lay in a supply of provisions and water. Returning to the *Carolines*, the captain resumed his investigations with his wonted zeal and discrimination. He examined the group of *Swede Islands*, called *Namourak*; and afterwards extended his visit to some of the *Pelew cluster* first described by *Wilson*. In April, he made sail for *Kamtschatka*, with the intention of renewing his researches in the sea of *Behring*, and of extending, if possible, the knowledge of his countrymen respecting the several bays which lead from it into the depths of the American continent.

The *Namourak* and *Pelew Islands*.

After a short stay at *St Peter* and *St Paul*, the corvette steered along the coast towards the north-east, fixing, with great precision, the position of the various capes and headlands. "On the morning of the 28th June," says the historian of the voyage, "we saw at once the volcanoes of *Avatchinsky*, *Koriatsky*, *Joupanoff*, and *Kronotsky*; the two former at eighty-two miles, the latter at sixty-eight miles' distance. *Kronotsky*, like *Villioutchinsky*, has the form of a regular cone, but seems rather less steep than the other. On its left is a flat-topped hill, and close to it a sharp peak, probably the same that were shaken at the time of the passage of the mountain *Chevalutsk* from its former to its present position. The altitude of *Kronotsky*, carefully taken, made the elevation of the extinct volcano ten thousand six hundred and ten feet above the level of the sea, or nearly the height of *Etna*. We saw it at the distance of ninety-four miles, and on our return at a hundred and twenty miles, very distinctly. Beyond *Cape Kronotsky* mountains began to show themselves towards the north, among which it was not difficult to recognise the gigantic volcano of *Kamtschatskoi*. At the distance of a hundred and four miles, it subtended

Mount *Kronotsky*.

CHAP. XVIII. an angle of  $50\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ . The measurement was very exactly made, and the result was that its height is 16,512 feet; its form being that of a cone slightly truncated."

The island of  
Karaghin-  
sky.

In July, he examined the island of Karaghinsky, which, as well as the adjoining coast, had not been previously seen by any navigator except Sindt. Behring perceived only one point of it through a fog; and hence it is hardly necessary to remark that the outline given in the maps has no resemblance to nature. This island, which was inhabited in the middle of last century by upwards of a hundred Koriacks, is now quite abandoned to the sea-fowl and mammalia which frequent its coasts. At Cape Ilpinsky, in the parallel of sixty degrees, is the lowest and narrowest part of the isthmus, being about seventy miles broad, which forms the northern limit of the peninsula of Kamtschatka; and here the mountains lose themselves in small hills. From this point the Seniavine steered for Behring's Strait, and anchored in the Bay of St Lawrence, only thirty miles southward of East Cape, and in latitude  $65^{\circ} 36'$ , the highest point attained by this expedition. The account of the Tschukutzkoi is interesting, bearing upon it a freshness and an air of individuality in the delineations which secure the attention of the reader. After once more visiting Luçon and the archipelago of the Carolines, the commodore began his homeward voyage by the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena, where he met his colleague, the commander of the Moller. On the 6th September 1829, after an absence of three years and five days, he cast anchor in the roads of Cronstadt, where, receiving the honour of a visit from the emperor, he forthwith struck his flag.

The home-  
ward course  
of Lutké.

These voyages, it must be apparent, are chiefly valuable for the light they have thrown on the islands which line the Russian shores on either side of the ocean that divides the northern portions of Asia and America. Viewed in reference to geography, the main results accomplished by Lutké are the determination of the chief headlands on the eastern coast of Kamtschatka, of the country of the Koriaks and Tschuktschis, from the Bay

of Avatcha to the north-eastern promontory of the Asiatic continent ; including the islets of St Matthew, Pribyloff, and some others in Behring's Sea. The discoveries in the Carolines, being more undefined, are less capable of appreciation. The Moller is said to have examined the chain of islands and reefs which extend northward from the Sandwich group,—a portion of the northern Pacific which has not been frequented either by the merchantman or the scientific navigator. Natural history acknowledges considerable benefactions at the hands of the learned persons who embarked in the *Seniavine*. Rich collections in botany, zoology, and mineralogy, brought from the various lands visited by that corvette, now adorn the museums of St Petersburg and Cronstadt. Nor were those experiments neglected of which the object is to determine the conformation and density of the earth in the several zones ; the laws which regulate magnetic phenomena ; and even the local influences which affect the barometer and thermometer.\*

Scientific  
results of  
Lutké's  
voyage.

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\* Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 386. In reference to St Helena, where he found Bonaparte's bed-room occupied by horses, he says: "Mettant à profit le temps de l'absence de la Corvette le Moller, je fis ici une série d'expériences sur le pendule, d'après l'invitation pressante et avec la coopération de M. Johnson, directeur de l'observatoire qu'on fondait alors aux frais de la Compagnie des Indes."



## CHAPTER XIX.

*Hall, Ruschenberger, and Fitzroy.*

Lord Amherst's Embassy to China—Alceste and Lyra, commanded by Captains Maxwell and Hall—Remarks on China—Visit Islands on the Coast of Corea—Manners of the Natives—Language—Aversion to Intercourse—Friendly Disposition—Ships proceed to Loo-Choo—Benevolent Character of the Inhabitants—Description of the Country—Visit from Prince Shang Pung Fwee—Religion of Loo-Choo.—Manufactures—Diseases—Ruschenberger sails in the Prussian Ship Peacock to Muscat and Siam—He arrives at Zanzibar—Account of the Country, its Commerce, and Inhabitants—Character of the Sultan—Commercial Treaty—Peacock proceeds to India and Siam—The Prince Momfanoi—Bankok the Capital of Siam—The Palace—Occupations of the Prince—His Intelligence and Curiosity—Prussians admitted to an Audience—Delineation of the Sovereign and his Attendants—Commercial Arrangements—Departure for China—Arrival at Sandwich Islands—Remarks of Ruschenberger on the State of Society—Gradual Diminution of Inhabitants—Captains King and Stokes sent to survey the Western Shores of South America in the Adventure and Beagle—Enter the Straits of Magellan—Death of Captain Stokes, and Appointment of Fitzroy to the Beagle—Progress of Discovery—Four Natives brought to England—Presented at Court—Beagle recommissioned—Natives return home—Beneficial Changes in South America effected by English—Transactions at Otaheite—Keeling Islands, New Zealand, and Australia—Beagle arrives in England—Scientific Observations.

CHAP. XIX. It may appear to some readers not a little doubtful whether Captain Hall ought to be considered in the light of a circumnavigator, because in no single voyage did he draw a girdle round the earth. But the ap-

—  
Hall, a circumnavigator.

parent objection will entirely vanish when it is called to mind that, at successive periods, he doubled the two great Capes, the southern point of America and of Africa; that he examined minutely both shores of the former continent; and that he has produced the best account yet in possession of the English reader, of the little-known borders of Corea, as well as of the interesting group of islands which bear the name of Loo-Choo. The French, accordingly, viewing his labours in connexion with the results now stated, have without hesitation classed him among those who have sailed round the globe, charged with the duty of making known its various features, inhabitants, and more interesting productions. CHAP. XIX.

In the year 1816, the British government sent to China an embassy, at the head of which was Lord Amherst, who on the 9th February left England on board the *Alceste*, a frigate commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, accompanied by an Indiaman which served as a store-ship, and by a small brig, the *Lyra*, committed to the charge of Captain Basil Hall. As the voyage itself contains little beyond the usual incidents without which the great ocean cannot be crossed, it will suffice to contemplate our countrymen as already landed near the mouth of the Pei-ho river in the Yellow Sea, which, as they stopped at Java, they did not reach till the middle of August. As the officers of the two men-of-war made no part of the political body who were destined for Pe-king, they soon made preparations for a cruise of discovery towards the east and north.

But before he accompanies them in their geographical researches, the reader will not be displeased to peruse a few remarks, illustrative of the manners of the singular people they were to leave, at least for a certain time. It is related by them that, in every village in China, however small, there was invariably a school, where both reading and writing were taught to boys: at none were any girls observed. Upon enter-

Lord Amherst's embassy to China.

The manners of the Chinese.

## CHAP. XIX.

ing one, the master begged them to sit down. Every thing was remarkably neat and clean, and the room well ventilated; but the day being very hot, one of the children observing a lieutenant cooling himself with his hat, left his seat and presented him with his fan. Most of the women, it was observed, had unnaturally small feet, the well-known barbarism of the country; and prepared as the English visitors were to expect this remarkable deformity, the actual sight of it caused a deep feeling of disgust. They learned from an intelligent native that the age of four was the usual time for commencing the horrid ceremony of binding up the children's limbs; and he showed the manner in which it is done. The toes are forcibly bent under the sole of the foot, in which position they are confined by a silk band three inches broad, and two or three yards long. The same person added that he himself had four daughters, all of whom suffered so much on these occasions that he could not bear to hear their cries; and being unable to relieve them, still less to prevent the infliction of this vile mutilation, he was obliged to banish himself from home more than a month, when the season for thus tormenting one of his children was understood to have arrived. He bitterly lamented that they were not allowed to depart from any of the established customs of the empire. But nevertheless, at a distance from Canton, there does not appear that jealousy and apprehension of strangers which, near the great seat of trade, presents an almost insuperable bar to all intercourse with seafaring men. For example, the captain landed his instruments, measured a base, and surveyed the harbour, without encountering any opposition on the part of the natives, who suspected him neither of hostile intentions nor of superstitious practices. Some of the observations were made under the very walls of a mud fort, the defences of which consisted of two old matchlocks fixed as wall pieces, and six warriors armed with bows and arrows; while the commander, a Tartar mandarin,

Smallness of  
the women's  
feet.

Jealousy of  
strangers.

sat on the rampart, with his gilt button shining above his cap, equally delighted and surprised at the sight of the quicksilver in the artificial horizon. CHAP. XIX.

On the first day of September the coast of Corea was seen towards the east, which proved to be three high islands, differing not a little in appearance from the Chinese shores which the expedition had just left. The inhabitants met in a body the crew of a boat who had ventured to land ; forming, it is said, an odd assemblage, being of a deep copper colour, and of a forbidding and rather savage aspect. Some individuals, who seemed to be superior to the rest, were distinguished by a hat, the brim of which was nearly three feet in diameter, and the crown, which was about nine inches high, and scarcely large enough to admit the top of the head, was shaped like a sugar-loaf partially truncated. Their dress consisted of loose wide trousers, made of a coarse cloth composed of grass, and on their feet were neat straw sandals.

Islands on  
the coast of  
Corea.

It was manifest that their chief desire was to get rid of their visitors as speedily as possible ; and this they expressed in a manner too obvious to be mistaken. One man made known the general wish by holding up a piece of paper like a sail, and blowing upon it in the direction of the wind ; at the same time pointing to the ships, thereby denoting that the breeze was fair and convenient for leaving the island. Bullocks and poultry were seen ; but the owners would not exchange them for money, or for any thing indeed which our countrymen had to offer. They refused dollars even as a present, though they appeared to set some value on a wine-glass ; the material being at once new and in their eyes more beautiful than any metal. One of them, indeed, who had accepted a tumbler, soon returned and insisted upon giving it back. It was remarked that these people had all a proud carriage, with an air of composure and indifference about them, which implied a total absence of curiosity, as also, perhaps, a certain consciousness of superiority, which could gain nothing from an inter-

The people's  
aversion to  
traffic.



CHAP. XIX. — course with foreigners. The group thus discovered bears the name of Sir James Hall, but it remains nearly as much unknown as it was when first approached by the *Lyra* and *Alceste*.\*

Other islands  
on the coast  
of Corea.

Other islands were soon descried, which, however, appear to have been considered more interesting in a geological point of view than as the habitation of human beings. In this case the natives showed not the same reluctance to an interchange of good offices that was manifested by their neighbours in the archipelago just described. On approaching the shore, the captains observed a great bustle among the people on the beach, as well as in the boats at anchor near the village. Jumping into their small vessels, these last pulled off with the greatest expedition to meet the strangers, displaying numerous flags and streamers. One canoe was distinguished by a large blue umbrella, which being regarded by our leaders as an emblem of rank, they resolved to approach it, with the intention of paying their respects to the chiefs who might happen to be on board. On advancing closer they saw a fine patriarchal figure seated under the umbrella; a full white beard covered his breast and reached below his middle; while his robe or mantle, which was of blue silk and of immense size, flowed about him in a very magnificent manner. A sword was suspended from his waist by a small belt, and he held in his hand a slender black rod tipped with silver, about a foot and a half long, with a leather thong tied at one end, and a piece of black crape fastened to the other.

An aged  
chief.

While the English officers were endeavouring to make themselves understood, the native boats began to form a circle round them; upon which, apprehending treachery, they prepared their arms and pushed off to a little distance. Perceiving this, the old gentleman looked about very innocently to discover the cause of their alarm;

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\* Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island, &c., by Captain Basil Hall, 4to, London, 1818, p. 7.

and, at length, being made aware by signs of the suspi- CHAP. XIX.  
 cion entertained by his new friends, he commanded all  
 the little fleet to go to the other side. He then expressed  
 a desire to go on board the *Lyra*, which lay nearer to the  
 shore than the frigate; and when his boat was within  
 ten yards of the brig, his people let go their anchor, and,  
 throwing a rope to the sailors, drew alongside in a very  
 seaman-like style. The chief was followed by a great  
 number of his attendants; some of whom climbed up  
 the rigging; others got on the poop; and a line of them  
 was formed along the hammock netting from one end of  
 the vessel to the other.

Visit from  
the chief.

As the evening was fine, it was deemed most suitable  
 to entertain the venerable man upon deck, and chairs  
 were accordingly provided; but he made signs that he  
 could not sit on such a seat, nor would he consent to  
 use his mat, which had been brought on board by one  
 of his servants. He seemed embarrassed and displeased,  
 owing, it was afterwards supposed, to the publicity of  
 the conference, though the one party did not compre-  
 hend a single word which was used by the other. Hav-  
 ing at length placed himself on the mat, according to the  
 manner of his country, he proceeded to give utterance  
 to a speech with great gravity and composure, without  
 appearing to be sensible that no part of it could be un-  
 derstood by those to whom it was addressed. When  
 his discourse was concluded he paused for a reply,  
 which was made with equal gravity and effect in the  
 English tongue. He now discovered, not without mani-  
 fest symptoms of impatience and disappointment, that  
 his harangue had been pronounced to no purpose; and  
 calling for his secretary, he immediately began to dic-  
 tate a letter, in the hope that he should thereby reach  
 the intellect of the foreigners. The scribe sat down  
 before him with due formality, and having rubbed his  
 cake of ink upon a stone, drawn forth his pen, and ar-  
 ranged a long roll of paper upon his knee, began the  
 writing. The task being at length completed, partly  
 from the directions of the chief, and partly from his own

Vain efforts  
at communi-  
cation.

CHAP. XIX. ideas, as well as from the occasional suggestions of the other officials who stood by, the written part was then torn off from the scroll, and delivered by the aged ruler to the captain, in the utmost confidence of its being fully comprehended. His mortification and disappointment were extreme on perceiving that he had again overrated their acquirements.

The lan-  
guages of  
Eastern Asia.

The expectation of being understood through the medium of writing will not appear quite unreasonable when it is called to mind that, though in the eastern part of Asia the spoken languages are various, the signs by means of which thought and feeling are conveyed present only a very small difference. Thus, a native of China is unintelligible to a Corean or Japanese while he is speaking, but they mutually understand one another when their ideas are expressed in writing. The distinction may be thus explained. In Europe the workings of the mind are denoted by certain sounds, which are different in every kingdom; the natives of France being strangers to the tongues used in England and Germany, while the inhabitants of the latter countries are equally unacquainted with the dialects which are used southward of the Rhine or beyond the Pyrenees. These various enunciations are committed to paper by means of the alphabetical signs, which are only symbols of sound, and consequently a piece of composition, whether printed or written, is unintelligible to every one who is ignorant of the spoken language in which it happens to be expressed. The Chinese and their neighbours, on the contrary, have no alphabet,—no symbols of mere sound; and as their ideas are committed to writing at once without any reference to vocal language, their characters may therefore be called symbols of thought or even of reasoning. Now, as the same characters are used in all those regions to make known the same ideas, it is clear that their writings will be perfectly intelligible to one another, though their vernacular speech may be quite incomprehensible.

The hiero-  
glyphics of  
the Chinese.

As a ready illustration of this symbolical language,

• Captain Hall refers to the Roman numerals as used throughout all Europe. There is nothing in the figures 1, 2, 3, by which their pronunciation can be ascertained when presented to the eye; yet they communicate meaning independently of sound, and are perfectly intelligible to all the nations between the Ural Mountains and the Atlantic, and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, though the names by which they are distinguished in each convey no import to any of the others. The knowledge of writing is supposed to be very generally diffused over all the countries using what is called the Chinese character; and as it is probable that none but the lowest vulgar are ignorant of it, the surprise of the Corean chief upon finding that the English could not read his paper is by no means unnatural. Such a case, it may be presumed, had never occurred before; and the effect which so novel an incident produced was at once amusing and instructive. At first he seemed to doubt the possibility that they could be so unlearned, and showed some symptoms of displeasure, as if an attempt were made to deceive him,—an impression, however, which did not long continue; for, perceiving that there was no affectation of ignorance, he gave way to astonishment, and looked at those around him with a feeling of surprise little complimentary to his visitors.\*

Knowledge  
of Chinese  
writing.

That reluctance to have intercourse with foreigners which marks the character of the Chinese, seems to have extended itself to the Coreans; for, though the old man

Corean  
aversion to  
strangers.

\* The chief made a second attempt, when formally presented to Captain M. Maxwell on board the *Alceste*. This gallant officer, upon receiving the billet from the secretary, called for paper, and wrote upon it in English "I do not understand one word that you say." The Corean, on receiving it, "examined the characters with great attention, and then made signs that it was wholly unintelligible, alternately looking at the paper and at Captain Maxwell with an inquiring air."

The paper dictated by the old man was afterwards translated at Canton by Mr Morrison, and was found to contain the following questions. "Persons—of what land—of what nation? On account of what business do ye come hither? In the ship are there any literary men who thoroughly understand, and can explain what is written?"



CHAP. XIX. appeared quite happy on board the strange ships, he would not consent to the landing even of the principal officers. He resisted every proposal made by them for this purpose; and, finding the ordinary signs of disapprobation of no avail, he held his head down, and drew his hand across his throat, as if his life would be exacted as the penalty of acquiescence. Not imagining that such a result would follow their stepping ashore, a small party who accompanied him to the land debarked, and prepared themselves for a walk into the interior. The venerable patriarch now began to cry violently, and turning towards the village walked away, leaning his head on the shoulder of one of his people. As he went along, he not only sobbed and wept, but even at intervals bellowed aloud.

Landing of a small party from the English ships.

Endeavouring to pacify him, they sat down on the beach, making signs that he should return; upon which he not only complied with their request, but waited very patiently while they remonstrated on the unreasonableness of his conduct and his unaccountable behaviour to them in their peculiar circumstances. In reply to their pantomime, which he did not altogether fail to comprehend, he made a long speech, in the course of which the beheading sign was frequently repeated. It was remarked that he invariably held his hands towards his throat after he had gone through this motion, and appeared to wash his hands in his blood, probably in imitation of some ceremony used at executions. Whatever may have been its meaning, it seems very probable that some general instructions were in force along the whole of this coast by which the treatment of strangers was regulated. The promptitude with which the two ships were met at a place where, perhaps, no such vessels were ever seen before, and the pertinacity with which the landing of even a small body of men was opposed, seem to imply an extraordinary degree of vigilance and jealousy on the part of the government.

Pertinacious repulsion of them.

It was now resolved to prosecute the voyage to the southward; but just before the *Alceste* weighed anchor

the captain received a final visit from the aged chief, whose appearance is said to have been quite altered. His sprightliness and curiosity were all gone, and his easy unceremonious manner was exchanged for a cold stately civility. He would not accept any presents, but appeared much relieved by the unexpected kindness with which he was received ; and before he went away, it was manifest that the apprehension under which he came on board had gradually given place to his wonted spirits. When looking over the books in the cabin, his attention was attracted by the appearance of a bible, which was immediately offered to him. He refused it, though so undecidedly that it was thought proper to repeat the benevolence ; and being shown to him just as he was pushing off in his boat, he accepted the valuable boon with every appearance of gratitude, and took his leave in a very friendly manner. A painful uncertainty continues to hang over his fate ; for it is almost impossible to resist the belief that, by holding intercourse with Europeans and permitting them to land, he had exposed himself to a fearful responsibility.

Second visit  
from the  
aged chief.

Proceeding to the southward along the coast of Corea, the navigators threaded their way, upwards of a hundred miles, amongst islands, which lie in immense clusters in every direction. They vary in size from a few furlongs in length to five or six miles. From the mast-head other groups were perceived, lying one behind another to the east and south, as far as the eye could reach. Frequently above a hundred of them were in sight from the deck at one moment, many of which appeared beautifully diversified with wood, and well cultivated in the valleys. But no aid could be derived from the charts put into the hands of pilots in those seas ; none of the places at which the discoverers touched being within sixty miles of their true position. Only a few islands are noticed in any map, whereas the coast, for nearly seventy leagues, is completely studded with them, to the distance of fifteen or twenty miles from the mainland. A second attempt to establish an acquaintance

Vast archipelago of  
Corea.

CHAP. XIX. with the natives proved equally unsuccessful with the former; for, though no hostile spirit was at any time manifested by them, there every where appeared either an undefined jealousy or a deep apprehension of future evil. No wish was so strong or less unequivocally expressed as that of seeing the masters of two such ships steering their course to a distance from this peaceful strand. On the 10th September, accordingly, deterred by the difficulty they had experienced in communicating with the inhabitants, they got under weigh, and stood to the southward. By sunset they were clear of all the islands, and could just distinguish that of Quel-paert in the south-eastern quarter.

The great  
Loo-Choo.

After sailing two days in the direction now mentioned, they found themselves on the coast of the Great Lieou Kieou, usually pronounced Loo-Choo. When seeking for a harbour some of the natives in canoes pointed out the proper channel, indicating a point of land to the northward, and waving with their hands to go round it. Meantime a few went off to the Lyra, one of whom handed to the sailors a jar of water, and another a basket of boiled potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. They were indeed in all respects the most friendly people that had been met with in those seas. Their manners were gentle and respectful; they uncovered their heads when in the presence of the officers, bowed whenever they spoke to them, and when they received some rum from the gentlemen, they did not taste it until they had made an obeisance to every person on deck. Another canoe went near the Alceste; and a rope being thrown to the persons on board, they tied a fish to it and paddled away. "All this," says the narrator, "promised well, and was particularly grateful after the cold repulsive manners of the Coreans."\*

The people's  
jealousy.

But there soon appeared symptoms of the same spirit which had so much thwarted the intentions of the

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\* Account of a Voyage of Discovery, &c., p. 62

discoverers in the Yellow Sea. There was manifested among all ranks a firm determination to prevent the foreigners from landing. An individual who seemed to possess some authority presented himself on board the *Alceste*, and forthwith requested that the captain would explain to him the reason of his coming to Lieou Kieou, and of his desire to enter their port. The interpreter was instructed to acquaint him that the ships, which had been a long time on the ocean, having suffered from bad weather, were greatly in want of repairs, which could not be effected except in a secure harbour. No doubt, indeed, any longer remained that, whether the islanders in the Chinese waters were independent or acknowledged the authority of the emperor, they had adopted the exclusive policy of Pe-king, and were solicitous to avoid all intercourse with the inhabitants of distant lands. Of their own sovereign or governor they always spoke in a very mysterious manner, as if it were not lawful to mention his name or refer to his authority. The chiefs alluded to him under the title of the "Great Man," without whose concurrence they could not do or promise any thing. Captain Maxwell was very curious to know who this great man might be, but they evaded all his inquiries. When he asked them where the king resided, and intimated his intention of waiting upon him, they expressed the strongest objection to such a course, declaring besides that it was quite impossible, as his majesty lived at the distance of a thousand miles. They did not seem aware of their inconsistency, when they undertook immediately afterwards to get an answer from court about pilots for the ships, in the course of a few hours. Perhaps the interpreter did not fully understand either party.

Their  
government.

The people of Loo-Choo are much in advance of the Coreans in respect of sentiment and decorum, as well as in all the other attributes of civilisation. For example, the chiefs, during the conference, preserved a gravity suited to an important question of state policy, and,

Their  
decorum.



## CHAP. XIX.

though surrounded by objects at once new and striking, displayed not the slightest degree of curiosity. But no sooner was business over, and they were at liberty to walk about the ship, than they looked at every thing with the greatest attention, taking particular notice of the globes, books, and mirrors. Their manners were remarkably gentle and unassuming. They are intelligent and even inquisitive ; but encouragement is necessary to induce them to come forward, being obviously restrained by the fear of being deemed intrusive. In regard to dress, too, they display a taste which is at once simple and graceful ; it consists of a loose flowing robe, with very wide sleeves, tied round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of wrought silk, a yellow cylindrical cap, and a neat straw sandal over a short cotton boot or stocking. They all carry fans, which they stick in their girdles when not in use, and each person has a short tobacco pipe in a small bag, hanging also at the belt. The demeanour even of the lowest classes was genteel and becoming ; their curiosity is great, but it never carries them beyond the bounds of good-breeding ; their language also is even musical and in most cases easy to pronounce. Their hair, which is of a glossy black, is shaved from the crown of the head ; the bare place being concealed by the locks on either side, which are gathered into a close knot over it. Their beards and mustaches, which are allowed to grow, are kept very neat and smooth. In stature the men are rather low, but are well formed, and have an easy graceful carriage which suits well with their flowing dress. Their colour cannot be pronounced either fixed or uniform, some being very dark and others nearly white, but, generally, it is of a tint resembling dark copper. This, it is said, is fully compensated by the sweetness and intelligence of their countenances, the placid expression of their fine eyes, and the beautiful regularity of their white teeth. "In deportment," adds Captain Hall, "they are modest, polite, timid, and

Their  
costume.

Their  
personal  
appearance.

respectful, and, in short, appear to be a most interesting and amiable people."\* CHAP. XIX.

While negotiations were pending, one of the chiefs received a visit from Captain Maxwell and a few of his officers, which terminated to the complete satisfaction of both parties.

After the lapse of a certain period it was resolved to make search for a harbour to which a reference was frequently made by the people of Napakiang, the town near which the two ships had hitherto been moored. The *Lyra* was accordingly despatched on the 1st of October at daybreak to examine the coast ten or twelve leagues to the northward; a measure which did not fail to create much anxiety among the inhabitants, who, though apprehensive as to the effects of landing near their capital, had become so much attached to the English that they were unwilling to see them depart. Amongst the various arguments used to dissuade the seamen from going to the other end of the island, they asserted that it was in the possession of savages, from whom they might justly dread an unkind reception.

Notwithstanding these indications of regret or disapprobation the captain persevered, and his labours were rewarded by the discovery of a remarkable recess, to which was given the name of Port Melville. It was entered by a somewhat intricate channel of about a quarter of a mile in length, and at one place not two hundred yards wide; after passing which, the *Lyra* found herself in a circular basin of half a mile across, with deep water, and completely sheltered from all winds. On the western shore was seen a beautiful village almost hidden amongst trees, with a high range of hills behind it, richly wooded and stretching towards the south. The eastern shore was low and laid out in salt fields, with a few huts at various distances. At first sight, this basin did not appear to have any other

\* Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island, p. 71.

CHAP. XIX. outlet besides the one by which it had been entered ; but  
 — in rowing to its upper or southern side, Captain Hall  
 found that it was joined by means of a narrow pas-  
 Inner sages with another harbour still larger and if possible  
 lagoons. more beautiful than the first, for here the land is high  
 on both sides, and richly wooded from top to bottom.  
 Proceeding onwards through this second recess, which  
 had all the appearance of an inland lake, he came to  
 another outlet not more than a hundred yards in width,  
 formed by cliffs rising abruptly out of the water to  
 the height of a hundred feet. Both sides being covered  
 with trees, which almost met overhead, the space  
 below was rendered cool and pleasant, and the water,  
 screened from every breeze, was as smooth as glass.

He rowed along for some time by various windings  
 through this fairy scene, in total uncertainty of what  
 the next turn was to present ; and at last, after ad-  
 vancing about three miles, it opened into an extensive  
 lake studded with numerous small islands. The depth  
 of water varied from four to six fathoms ; it being  
 deepest at the narrowest parts. Ships might ride in  
 any part of this extraordinary harbour in perfect safety  
 during the most violent tempests ; and the shores are  
 so various that repairs of every kind might be con-  
 veniently accomplished. At some places natural wharfs  
 are formed by the rocks, with ten fathoms water close  
 to them ; and many of the cliffs are hollowed into  
 caves which could easily be converted into storehouses.

The natives. After an excursion ashore, the crew of the *Lyra*  
 found their boats surrounded by a party of the natives,  
 who proved smaller in stature than the inhabitants of  
 Napakiang, and were apparently less curious and intelli-  
 gent. They watched very attentively while a musket  
 was loaded ; and when it was fired they all fell down  
 as if they had been shot, but instantly rose again, and  
 looking at each other, indulged in a timorous laugh.  
 On proceeding to the village first mentioned, it was  
 found the most finished of any that had been seen  
 on the whole island. The streets were regular and

cleanly swept; each house had a neat cane wall as well as a screen before the door; while plantain and other trees were growing so thickly inside the fence that they completely shaded the dwelling. Near the beach were several houses in which a number of persons were seated writing: they offered to the strangers cake and tea, and permitted them to walk every where without the slightest restraint. In front of the village and parallel with the strand is a splendid avenue, thirty feet broad, formed by two rows of large trees, the branches of which join overhead, and effectually protect the loungers from the sun. At different distances are placed wooden benches and stone seats for repose or conversation.

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A village.

Upon his return to Napakiang the captain of the *Lyra* found that during his absence a young man belonging to the *Alceste* had died. When the natives were made aware of this event, they requested permission to prepare a grave in a thicket near the temple, a spot already devoted to sepulture, and used as a private cemetery. Next day the funeral took place with all the formalities usual on such occasions, the commander walking last, with the officers and crew before him. The instinctive politeness of the Napakiangese was never more strikingly displayed than on this occasion; for perceiving that those who were of highest rank walked in the rear, they considered that their station must of course be in front, and they accordingly placed themselves at the head of the procession, and preserved throughout the ceremony the most profound silence. They were all dressed in white robes, which was understood to be their usual mourning. Next day, they requested leave to erect a stone over the grave; and when it was completed they performed their own funeral service over it, by sacrificing a large hog and burning a quantity of spirits.

A funeral.

One of the most interesting persons who visited the English ships was Mádéra, a chief of a high order but who, for the sake of acquiring some knowledge of



CHAP. XIX. foreign arts and manners, chose to appear in disguise. From the earnest way in which he inquired into every subject, it was imagined that he must have been directed by the government to inform himself on these topics; "and certainly," says the captain of the *Lyra*, "a fitter person could not have been selected, for he adapted himself so readily to all ranks that he became at once a favourite, and every person took pleasure in obliging him. He is always cheerful, and often lively and playful, but his good sense prevents his ever going beyond the line of strict propriety. When required by etiquette to be grave, no one is so immovably serious as Mádéra, and when mirth rules the hour, he is the gayest of the gay; such indeed is his taste on these occasions that he not only catches the outward tone of his company, but really appears to think and feel as they do."\*

A great chief.

The Prince Royal.

A slight accident which had befallen Captain Maxwell was made the occasion or pretext for a visit on the part of the prince, the heir-apparent to the throne. On the 23d October, accordingly, a deputation of the chiefs went on board the *Alceste* to give notice that his royal highness meant to present himself in the afternoon, with the view of inquiring into the state of the commanding officer's health. The boat in which he arrived was a flat-bottomed barge, covered with an awning of dark blue with white stars on it, the whole having much the appearance of a hearse. It was preceded by two other boats bearing flags with an inscription upon them, having in the bow an officer of justice carrying a lakered bamboo, and in the stern a man beating a gong. One of the chiefs stepped on board with the prince's card, which was of red paper, forty-eight inches long and eleven broad, describing his office and purpose in the following terms: "Loo-Choo nation, Extender of Law, Great Person, Ko Heang, bows his head, and pays

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\* An Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the Great Loo-Choo, p. 157.

respect ;"—the common visiting expression among the higher class of Chinese. CHAP. XIX.

After the usual formalities, the heir of the little sovereignty on whose shores our countrymen had anchored, acknowledged that his curiosity had been excited by the wonderful accounts conveyed to him respecting the ships. His attention was first attracted by a terrestrial globe which stood near him, and which he examined with great care, begging to have shown to him England, Loo-Choo, Quang-tung or China, and Nippon or Japan. On his expressing a wish to look at the different parts of the frigate, he was conducted all round the decks ; observing every thing with attention, but without giving utterance to any feeling of surprise or wonder. He was delighted with the working of the fire-engine, and amazed at seeing the water projected to so great a height. Having heard that there was an African on board, he begged that he might be sent for ; and when the black man was brought in, he looked exceedingly surprised, being probably in doubt whether the colour was natural, as one of his people was sent to rub the face of the negro to ascertain whether it was not painted. His examination of the frigate.

The prince, whose name was Shang Pung Fwee, bore the title of Pochin Tay Foo, and stood at the head of the highest of the nine orders of nobility in the islands. He was treated with the greatest respect ; no other chief would sit down in his presence or address him without kneeling ; and the people at large fell prostrate whenever he passed, whether in a house or in the fields. His manners were genteel, though somewhat haughty ; but towards the close of his visit, when his reserve had in some degree worn off, he was occasionally observed to smile, with a shrewd expression in his eyes, as if he was observing things more narrowly than was at first suspected. In reply to a question respecting other foreigners who might have visited his dominions, he stated that a vessel had been there about twenty years ago, but that she had left without holding any communication with the court. This is supposed, with great probability, to His personal manners.

CHAP. XIX. have been the schooner in which Captain Broughton touched at Napakiang in July 1797, after he had been wrecked in his Majesty's ship Providence, on the island of Typinsan. He knew of no other stranger who had stopped at Loo-Choo. On being asked in regard to his acquaintance with other countries, he candidly declared that he was entirely ignorant of the English, the French, and indeed of all European nations, and that his geographical knowledge was confined to the Chinese, Coreans, and Japanese.\*

Extent of his  
geographical  
knowledge.

When the commodore made known his desire to see the king, that he might thank him in the name of the English government for the liberal manner in which the crews had been supplied with every kind of refreshment, the prince informed him that it was contrary to the customs and laws of Loo-Choo for any foreigner to see the monarch, unless sent by his own sovereign, and charged with complimentary presents. This reply seemed to preclude all hope of opening a communication with the court, an object which had been earnestly desired by both captains. But, after a pause, his highness unexpectedly resumed the subject by saying that a letter would be written to the King of England, if his friend Maxwell would undertake to deliver it. The latter replied that nothing could give him greater satisfaction than to have the honour of discharging such a duty; upon which the prince and the chiefs arose, and fell on their knees round the naval officers, showing by their countenances that by this arrangement they had been relieved from a very perplexing embarrassment. It soon appeared, however, that there was a mutual misunderstanding; for when the proposed letter was again mentioned, Shang Pung Fwee intimated that it was to be written by the minister, and not by the king. As this altered the case materially, the commodore most

Proposed  
letter to the  
king of  
England.

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\* An Account of a Voyage of Discovery, &c., p. 183. A reference is made to Broughton's Voyage, book ii. chap. ii., for a very interesting account of the natives of Typinsan, who appear to resemble the people of the Great Loo-Choo.

respectfully informed him that such a document as he described could not be received, as it would be an indignity to his Britannic Majesty to offer him an epistle from the hand of another monarch's secretary. The prince at once seemed sensible of the propriety of this objection; and calling the chiefs around him, entered into a long discussion, at the close of which he declared himself incompetent to decide upon so important a matter, but said that he would consult with the king, whose pleasure should be communicated in a few days. CHAP. XIX.

After an exchange of civilities, the navigators made preparations for their departure; on which occasion the warmth of heart and simplicity of manners peculiar to the natives of the Loo-Choo cluster manifested themselves in a very affecting manner. "On going into the cabin," says Captain Hall, "I found the chiefs very disconsolate, and apparently trying to conceal emotions different, in all probability, from any they had before experienced. Ookooma wished to say something, but was too much affected to speak, and before they reached their boat, they were all in tears. Madera cried bitterly as he shook hands with his numerous friends, who were loading him with presents. The chiefs, as well as the people in the numerous canoes which had assembled round the ships, stood up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs till we were beyond the reefs, and could see them no longer." The friend-  
liness of the  
people of  
Loo-Choo.

The religion of Loo-Choo appears to be that of Fo, said to have been introduced by the bonzes more than a thousand years ago. Nothing precise on this interesting subject could be learned from the natives themselves, who, like the Chinese, are understood to have resigned all such concerns to the priests. They professed not to know the forms and observances used in the temple. With the exception of the funeral service performed on the demise of the sailor, our countrymen witnessed not any usage which could claim the slightest affinity to a pious sentiment, or a future state. A number of carved stones, indeed, called kawroo, were found at many places, Their  
religion.



CHAP. XIX. particularly in the groves on the hill. The kawroo is two feet in length and one in breadth, and is excavated a little on the upper surface on which the offering is laid. On the sides of this stone are carved a variety of characters, denoting the rank of the person who made the offering, the object of his petition, together with the date. One of these inscriptions gives an account of a man about to sail for China in the reign of Kien Long; he implores the divine protection during the voyage. Another, dated in the first year of the late Kia King, is an invocation to the Deity for success in a literary undertaking. Two narrow strips of paper found on a pillar in the temple proved to be invocations; the one to the supreme god, and the other to the evil spirit.

Their  
women.

In respect to polygamy, the people of Loo-Choo do not imitate their neighbours in China, but rather condemn the practice as at once inconvenient and unnatural. But it appears, nevertheless, that the women are not so well treated as might have been expected from the mild character of the men and their apparent generosity. It is said they are even restricted from using fans; and that when they are met out of doors by the men they take no notice of one another, whatever may be the degree of relationship or intimacy subsisting between them. Of the literature of Napakiang no satisfactory account could be obtained: the inhabitants admitted that they had few books in their own language, the greater number on the island being Chinese. Young men of rank are accordingly sent to Pe-king or some other large city to be educated. They appear to have no money current among them, and so ignorant did they appear of the value of metallic coins, that they set no value on the dollars and guineas offered to them by the gentlemen of the expedition.

Their peace-  
fulness.

No arms of any kind were seen, and the natives declared that they had none. It was obvious that the use of muskets and cannon was quite new to them: they even denied having any knowledge of war either by experience or tradition. Our countrymen never saw

any punishment inflicted during their residence. In giving orders the chiefs were mild though firm, and the people always obeyed with cheerfulness. There seemed to be great respect and confidence on the one hand, and much consideration and kind feeling on the other; in all which particulars they are decidedly superior to the Chinese. It is not unworthy of remark, as contrasting with the conduct of most islanders in the Pacific, that during the whole time the English ships were in the harbour there did not occur a single instance of theft. All classes were permitted to go on board indiscriminately, and even to enter the cabins and storehouses unattended. On one occasion when the *Alceste* was under repair, goods of every kind were lying about, as well as the tools belonging to the carpenter and armourer; and in the observatory, the instruments, books, and pencils were merely placed under cover; yet there was not one article taken away, though many hundreds of people were admitted daily, and allowed to examine whatever they pleased.

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Their honesty.

The mode of agriculture practised by the Loo-Chooans is obviously adopted from the Chinese, and is equally minute and careful, particularly in the process of irrigation. Of their manufactures it is difficult to speak with certainty. By their own account, the silks they wear are imported from China; but the cotton cloths are made at home, and the printed patterns are described as rather elegant and tasteful. The art of fixing colours, as well as of compounding them, requires such a knowledge of chemistry and so much mechanical skill that, if the workmen be natives, the reader must anticipate the inference as to the necessity of their possessing higher acquisitions than any which met the eyes of the British officers during their brief stay. The natives, it is evident, acted throughout on a system of concealment and evasion, and knew more than they chose to communicate.

Their manufactures.

Concerning the population of the Great Loo-Choo nothing certain could be learned. The people themselves pleaded ignorance, and as no precise data were within

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State of the  
population.

reach of Captain Hall, he could only compare the estimates that were made, which, as they did not approach to an agreement, cannot claim any particular notice. From the southern point of the island to the distance of five or six miles northward of Napakiang, the country is highly cultivated and thickly studded with houses. All around Port Melville, too, there are populous villages; but the northern and eastern portions, which are not improved by the agriculturist, are thinly inhabited. Nothing like poverty or distress of any kind was seen; on the contrary, every person seemed happy and contented. Except the small-pox, of which a few individuals bore the marks, no indication of disease was perceived; and it was considered worthy of record in the journals of the officers, that no deformed subject met their eyes, on board, in the fields, or even in the precincts of the temple, the place whither such unfortunates usually resort.

Regretting that our limits will not permit us to accompany the same author in his other voyage round Cape Horn, when raised to the command of his Majesty's ship Conway, nor to condense the valuable information contained in his notes, we pass on to the narrative of Dr Ruschenberger, who sailed from New York in the month of April 1835, in the capacity of surgeon to the Peacock, a war-vessel belonging to the United States.

Expedition  
of Roberts to  
Muscat and  
Siam.

The object of this expedition was to complete commercial treaties with the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. It appears that Mr Roberts, a mercantile gentleman of New Hampshire, had in the course of his professional pursuits, visited many countries eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered in those regions several openings for the American trade; provided that the inconveniences of arbitrary exaction and the irregularities of oriental intercourse could be obviated by a formal negotiation with the ruling powers. His views being made known to the government, it was determined that he should be sent to visit the east in the capacity of special agent, for the purpose of obtain-

ing farther information, and of establishing commercial relations with such Asiatic sovereigns as might be found disposed to lend a willing ear to his representations. Accordingly, in the year 1832, he set sail in the Peacock, the small frigate already mentioned, and succeeded so far as to induce his Siamese majesty and the supreme lord of Muscat to enter into terms for a regular exchange of commodities. These contracts having been approved by the president and senate of the United States, Mr Roberts was appointed ambassador to exchange the ratifications; and with this view the same ship was again put in commission, to carry him once more to the eastern shores of Africa and the Indian continent.

After passing the Cape, the Peacock entered the Mozambique channel; and at the northern extremity of Madagascar, the crew obtained a hasty glance of the Comoro Islands, which are said to be four in number. It is asserted by the surgeon that the largest is about ninety miles in circumference, its surface being broken into gently swelling hills and valleys. It contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, originally from the African continent, who speak Arabic and profess the Mohammedan religion. This description is far from being accurate, for the island Anjazija, commonly called Comoro, is a volcanic mountain of great height, visible, it is said, at the distance of forty leagues, and the fires of which are still active. The natives are indeed remarkable for their strict attention to the rites of their faith, being rather intolerant towards other creeds, and, on this ground chiefly, little disposed to encourage the visits of foreigners, more especially Christians, of whose zeal and power they are by no means ignorant.

On the first day of September, the Peacock arrived at the eastern side of Zanzibar, and anchored near the town the following morning. This island, about forty-five miles long and from twelve to fifteen broad, presents a low undulating surface, rarely attaining an elevation of five hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is clothed with a rich verdure, shaded by groves in which



CHAP. XIX. the stateliest forms of the African forest are mingled, in endless variety of shape and hue, with the fruit-trees of India ; while along the seashore, and often appearing to rise directly from the surf, the cocoa-nut-palm forms a graceful fringe. Ruschenberger not unnaturally remarks that “after gazing on the blue skies and blue seas for fifty days, such a sight carries with it an exhilarating and delightful influence which one must experience to understand.”\*

The coral islands of Eastern Africa.

The whole eastern coast of Africa, from Cape Delgado to the equator, is girt with chains of islands or reefs of coral, many of them close to the mainland, to which they are in progress of annexation ; a work which will be completed at no distant day, as great beds of the same substance are found inland many miles from the beach. The doctor favours his readers with a learned dissertation on the wondrous fabrics reared by the zoophytes, or animalculæ, to which the attention of the navigator in the equatorial seas is so frequently attracted. But his observations possess not the slightest degree of novelty, nor do they throw any new light on that marvellous process to which the globe owes so much of its present form, and whence it is constantly deriving materials for islands and continents yet to be developed.

The town of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar is watered by several little streams, on the largest of which, called the Panidogo, stands the town, containing not less than twelve thousand inhabitants. When the English, towards the close of the sixteenth century, first visited this settlement on their way to the East Indies, they experienced a most inhospitable reception ; and continuing to touch there for many years afterwards, they suffered much—occasionally the loss of life itself—from the jealousy of the Portuguese and the suspicious fears of the natives. At a later period, the charter of the East India Company threw

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World during the Years 1835, 36, and 37; including a Narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M. D., Surgeon to the Expedition, vol. i. p. 24.

impediments in the way of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Eastern Africa; and consequently our trade with Zanzibar is of very recent origin, dating only from the expiration of their monopoly. The present sultan of Muscat has taken great pains to improve this island, which he will probably make the place of his permanent residence and the capital of his dominions. It is conveniently situated opposite to those African coasts over which he claims a paramount sovereignty, and from which, indeed, he derives the greater part of his revenue. The inhabitants, too, are perfectly disposed to acknowledge his title, while in the neighbourhood of the other capital his authority is not received without reluctance. Nor has he been able, by any extent of munificence or display of abilities, to induce the Arab tribes of Oman to forget that he is a usurper, and that the family of their ancient chiefs is not yet extinct.

During the last half century the commerce of Zanzibar has increased chiefly, it is presumed, at the expense of the Portuguese settlements at Mozambique and on the river Zambezi, where their treatment of the natives has been not less inconsiderate than cruel. The cultivation of the island, too, has kept pace with its external trade. The sultan, desirous to turn its natural advantages to account, made extensive plantations of sugar-cane, bringing experienced persons from the Mauritius to superintend its growth and extract its produce. This attempt was not finally successful, for the sugar was found more expensive than that of the West Indies, and hardly equal in quality. The culture of indigo and coffee was vigorously undertaken about the same time, the former under very favourable auspices; and the clove and nutmeg are said to be prominent objects at present. These delicate spices continue to thrive so well that, according to Dr Ruschenberger, "almost every body on the island is now clearing away the cocoa-nut to make way for them." The officers of the Peacock rode a few miles from the

CHAP. XIX. town to visit a clove plantation belonging to the sultan, of which is given the following description. The house stands in the centre of a yard about a hundred and twenty feet square; its walls are of coral, not less than seven feet high, and enclose several out-buildings for slaves; near the mansion was a small garden, in which the rose-bush and nutmeg-tree were flourishing together. As far as the eye could reach over a beautiful undulating land, nothing was to be seen but clove-trees of different ages, varying in height from five to twenty feet. The form of the tree is conical; the branches grow at nearly right angles with the trunk, and they begin to shoot a few inches from the ground. The plantation contains nearly four thousand, and each tree yields on an average six pounds of cloves in the year. They are carefully picked by hand, and then dried in the shade; numbers of slaves were seen standing on ladders gathering the fruit, while others were at work clearing the ground of dead leaves. The whole is in the finest order, presenting a picture of industry and of admirable beauty and neatness. But the result, even in 1835, was still doubtful; and it has been found that the more precious spices are incapable of bearing removal from the region in which they are indigenous, and that in the western hemisphere at least, though they grow freely, they lose their aromatic power.

A clove  
plantation.

American  
trade with  
Zanzibar

The surgeon of the Peacock hazards a statement which, whether perfectly accurate or not, merits due attention on the part of British manufacturers. In reference to Zanzibar, viewed as a great commercial depôt, he relates that his countrymen obtain in it gum, copal, ivory, and hides, for which they give cottons and specie; adding, that "the American cotton manufactures have taken precedence of the English, not only at this place and in many parts of the east, but on the Pacific coast of America. The English endeavour to imitate our fabric by stamping their own with American marks, and by other means assimilating it; but the

people say that the strength and wear of the American goods are so superior that, lest they be deceived, they will no longer even purchase from Englishmen.”\*

The embassy did not find the sultan at Zanzibar, he having, previously to their arrival, taken his departure for his Arabian capital, and left as governor of the island a prince only sixteen years of age. They therefore proceeded to Muscat, and on the 8th September crossed the equator in the fairest weather, which, by lulling them into security, had nearly proved fatal to the ship and all on board. On the 20th, the sea was noticed to be remarkably green, though no bottom was found at a hundred fathoms; and as it was concluded from a meridian observation that they were still sixty miles from the Arabian shore, they continued their course, and took no precautions, notwithstanding those admonitory indications. In the evening a land-bird flew on deck, and a few hours afterwards two others, together with some sea-weed, were met with;

Run from Zanzibar to Arabia.

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, &c, vol. i. p. 65. Speaking of the competition with British commerce in India, Lieutenant Burnes in his interesting Travels into Bokhara says, “the most formidable rivals are the Americans, who have only lately entered on this trade. At present they land most of their cargoes on the east coast of Africa, from which they find their way to Muscat and Persia. Hitherto they have only sent white goods, and with them they have spread an opinion, which was repeated to me by the Armenian merchants of Ispahan, that their cloths are superior to the British, because the cotton is produced in their own country, and not injured from pressing. It is said to wear and wash well; and if this cloth were introduced more extensively, the merchants assure me that it would have a good sale; very little of it has been hitherto imported.”

The number of foreign vessels which visited Zanzibar, from 16th September 1832 to 26th May 1834, amounted in all to forty-one sail, viz.

Nation.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
American,.....	32 .....	5497
English,.....	7.....	1403
French,.....	1.....	340
Spanish,.....	1.....	319
	—	
Total,.....	41 .....	7559



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still no danger was apprehended, till about two in the morning "all hands were roused from sleep by a horrid noise, caused by the ship's bottom grinding, and tearing, and leaping on a bed of coral rocks."

Accident in  
the gulf of  
Mazeira.

When day broke a low sandy desert was discovered about a league to the eastward, being part of the island of Mazeira, between which and the continent the Peacock had run aground. The utmost efforts were made to save the vessel; the water-casks were started, and some of the guns thrown into the sea; and a raft was constructed on board of which were placed the top-rigging and provisions. While these measures were in progress a large canoe approached to reconnoitre the apparent wreck; and the Arabs on board, flourishing their swords over their heads in a menacing manner, refused to admit any friendly intercourse. Soon afterwards four others of larger dimensions, and filled with armed men, made their appearance. They anchored near the frigate, waiting with impatience the moment she should go to pieces, undeterred by the firing of musketry and even of great guns.

Heroic trip  
in a boat.

Meantime, as all efforts to save her seemed unavailing, it was resolved to send a boat with a picked crew of six men to Muscat; whither also Mr Roberts, bearing the treaty, determined to proceed in the face of all the perils which presented themselves both afloat and on land. They were chased during a part of the first day by a pirate, but night favoured their escape, and after an anxious voyage of eighty hours, they reached their destination. The ship, too, after being three days on the rocks, was so much lightened that she began to rise from the body of the reef, and at length beat out of the gulf of Mazeira into deep water. As soon as the sultan was informed of the accident, he ordered a sloop-of-war to be equipped, to convey to the Peacock water and provisions; the governor of a neighbouring town was commanded to march at the head of three hundred armed men, to protect the people from piratical depredations; and couriers were

despatched to the chiefs of the Bedouins along the coast to warn them that he would make them answerable with their heads for the lives and property of the strangers. CHAP. XIX.

Sayid Said, the ruler of Muscat, is a very remarkable personage, whose reign will always shine conspicuous in the history of his country, as connected with its first efforts towards civilisation. His dominions, with some partial interruptions, extend about three thousand miles along both the coasts of the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and Eastern Africa. But as, except in Oman, he lays claim to no territory a league distant from the sea-beach, his empire is essentially maritime; and he measures its importance by its trade, and not by its population or resources for war. He collects his revenue on all the shores which acknowledge his sway, and thereby maintains a fleet consisting, according to Ruschenberger, of no fewer than seventy-five vessels. He has one eighty-four gun ship, one sixty-four, and six or eight frigates, all built of teak, after English models, and maintained in excellent order. As there is no danger of any reaction arising from his innovations, which have been very judiciously introduced, the discipline of his navy and the regularity of his troops can hardly fail to promote refinement among his people, and a due respect for order. He owes his political existence to the effectual succour he received from the government of Bombay, when he first engaged in the perilous struggle for supremacy; and from the same quarter he has derived much of the practical knowledge and wise counsels which have subsequently directed his career. Sayid has in his service a number of Arabs who, having been educated in India, are well acquainted with the English language, and in general attainments far superior to the rest of their countrymen. In the library of one of these officials the Americans found the novels of Cooper and of Sir Walter Scott; and, in a word, taking into view all his means, it is not improbable that the Sultan of Muscat

Dominion of  
the Sultan of  
Muscat.

Origin of his  
power

CHAP. XIX. will, in the end, effect more, in proportion to his political importance, towards the improvement of the Mohammedan world than even the Ottoman emperor or the Pasha of Egypt, and with but few deviations from a pacific course. It is hoped that British influence will be still farther exerted for the promotion of such good ends, and that our commanders in the east will induce the docile ruler of Muscat to establish in his dominions some system of social polity, calculated to confirm the civil rights of his subjects, and to give the chance of stability to his numerous plans for their advancement in secular knowledge.\*

The town of  
Muscat.

Muscat has few recommendations to a stranger from the shores of Europe, or to a traveller from the northern section of America. It seems to be one of the hottest places in the world; for, situated at the base of a range of naked cliffs which reflect the rays of the sun, and screened from the sea-breeze by high promontories in front, it glows like an oven. The dark side of the rugged granite, says the surgeon of the embassy, is unrelieved by a single spot of green; all is barren, and offers a thousand surfaces and points which, by giving intensity to the solar heat, render the town almost uninhabitable. On one occasion the thermometer stood at midnight so high as  $104^{\circ}$ ; and the wind was like a flame of fire. On the fore-castle of a ship the heat was so intense that the tube of the instrument, graduated only to  $122^{\circ}$ , was completely filled by the expansion of the mercury. The more opulent of the native merchants spend only part of the day in the town; and, when the hours of business are over, they retire to their villas at Matrah, a place built on the shores of an open bay, separated from the recess in which Muscat stands by an isthmus two miles broad. The united population is understood to amount to nearly forty thousand. The bold character of the rocky heights surrounding the capital; the forts, with red flags, crowning all the com-

The habit of  
its merchants.

\* Narrative of a voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 103. Edinburgh Review, vol. lxxviii. pp. 57, 58.

manding positions; the white houses contrasted with the sun-burnt precipices behind them; and two or three buildings of Portuguese origin and an imposing appearance, all combine to make a lively and agreeable impression on the mind of a stranger not yet acquainted with its overwhelming climate.

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The landing-place was thronged with Arabs to witness the novel sight of twenty American officers in full health and high spirits, contrasting strangely with their own tawny meagre looks. With Commodore Kennedy at their head, they passed through narrow crowded streets towards the palace, where they were received by the sultan and two of his sons. He shook them each by the hand and motioned them to a seat. The divan, which, overlooking the sea, has the advantage of being airy, is about fifteen feet wide and thirty long. It was furnished with fine Persian rugs and Chinese chairs; and in this hall his highness usually administers justice and receives foreign ministers, as well as all other persons of authority or station. The sultan wore a high turban of cotton, finely checked, blue and white, and a black cloth mantle, with large straight sleeves, bound round the neck with a slender silk cord of red and white, which terminated in tassels. Beneath the mantle were a white tunic and girdle. In his hand he carried a large sabre in a black scabbard mounted in gold; and the only ornament which he wore was a large ruby, set in silver, on the little finger of the left hand. His feet and legs were bare, he having left his sandals at the threshold. This costume set off his fine figure and manly countenance. Compared with the Arabs generally, his head and indeed his whole person are remarkably large. He is about fifty years of age, and his manners are polished and graceful.\*

Landing of  
the American  
officersPerson of the  
Sultan.

\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 109. After remarking that Muscat is now the capital of Amân or Omân, a name which Moore has rendered familiar to most English readers, he adds, "but I doubt whether a visit to this place would not have stifled the inspiration of the poet, and deprived the world of the splendid tale of Lalla Rookh;"—a mistake pardonable, perhaps, in an author who does not pursue literature as a profession.



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Feast to the  
strangers.

The American envoy and his attendants were soon afterwards invited to a feast by his highness, who, when he had seen them seated at table, retired, according to his usual practice, leaving his guests to the unrestrained enjoyment of the good things which were set before them. To the governor of Muscat were deputed the duties of host, whose civility was amply supported by the substantial materials placed on the board, two sheep roasted whole, stuffed with prunes, dates, and cashoo-nuts; to which were added, fowls dressed in the same manner, with curries, cakes, and fruits of various kinds. But the authority of the Koran prohibited the use of wine, which yielded its place to sherbet, lemonade, and a preparation of new milk.\*

Liberal ne-  
gociation.

In discharging the duty on which he was commissioned, Mr Roberts did not neglect the interests of his government nor the wishes of the mercantile community. The sultan, when exchanging the ratifications of the treaty, asked from what date it was understood to take effect; in reply to which question, the other suggested that it ought to be considered as having come into operation on the day it was confirmed by the president and senate of the United States. To this proposal, which carried back the provisions of the compact more than twelve months, his highness assented without difficulty; "a concession," says Dr Ruschenberger, which "put some hundreds of dollars into the pockets of the American merchants, by whom the trade is chiefly carried on, and filled the measure of the sultan's liberality." It is no doubt unusual to consider a treaty

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 129. At the close of the banquet, "Captain Calfaun and a slave took the handkerchief of each guest and poured upon it a plentiful supply of attar of roses. They were followed by a slave bearing a golden *arrosoir*, in the shape of a Florence flask, having a long neck and perforated extremity, like that of a watering pot, with which he dashed a quantity of rose-water, where the attar had been poured. This done the sultan entered, and remarked that we had partaken so sparingly of the feast, that he thought it would be well to send the remains on board ship."

binding until after the exchange of its ratification by the governments between which it is negotiated; but in this case, the advantage gained by the traders was at the expense of those individuals who farmed the revenues of Zanzibar, and not of the sovereign, whose income would sustain no diminution. The document in question, which is given at full length by the author of the narrative, provides in substance that the commerce of the United States shall be freed from arbitrary exactions; and, by placing it on an equal footing with that of the most favoured nations, imposes only a duty at the rate of five per cent. on imports and exports, while others, not equally privileged, continue to pay one-half more.

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Commercial  
treaty.

The "sketches," as the author is pleased to call his observations on Muscat, its population, and manners, are amusing, and, to such readers as are not acquainted with the state of society in the east, must prove also instructive. It is a principal feature in the character of the Arabs to obey, with an inflexible regularity, the precepts of their religion; nothing prevents them from praying at the appointed hour. An officer who went on board the Peacock did not once omit his devotions at noon and at four o'clock. He never hesitated, though engaged in business, to signify that the appointed hour had arrived; and spreading out his turban on the quarter-deck, he turned his face towards Mecca, and went through his genuflexions and prayers with the same formality that he would have observed in the holy temple of the prophet. Education, our author adds, is not much attended to in the sultan's dominions; children, generally, are only taught to read and write, and recite passages from the Koran. The wealthy send their sons to Bombay, and occasionally to Persia, for instruction. Physicians study their profession in the latter country, but they are not considered by the Arabs themselves trustworthy as surgeons. In this portion of the East, the Persian language is what French is in Europe, a court speech which all the educated use. As yet, that

State of edu-  
cation.

CHAP. XIX. engine of knowledge, the press, has not been introduced into Muscat; an omission which is much to be regretted, because under the government of so rational a monarch as Sayid Said bin Sultan, it would prove an inestimable blessing to his subjects.

Bombay and  
Ceylon.

It is unnecessary to accompany the expedition to the British colonies in India, because, though the observations contained in the Narrative are both intelligent and entertaining, they do not present any thing either new or striking. Bombay and Ceylon appeared in the eyes of the doctor as settlements of great importance; and of the latter he remarks that, "whether considered in respect to its natural sources of wealth, its climate, or flourishing condition, it is the brightest spot in the colonial possessions of the British crown." In general he regards "the dominion of the British in India in the light of a political mission, sent with the benevolent purpose of disseminating true knowledge, and of teaching how men may enjoy most freedom at the least cost of feeling and treasure. To this it will come in the end; and then may England be as proud of this child as she now ought to be of the United States, the most precocious of her offspring." The means for accomplishing this great consummation is in his estimation a free and well-conducted press, "which will pour forth its fertilizing streams of knowledge upon the fallow mind of the vast multitude, and they will acquire that love of free agency which God has planted in the human heart, and soon rally round a flag that promises to lead them to independence of the foreign yoke which now represses their best energies."

Java.

The "sketches" in Hindostan, if not very profound, are at least minute, familiar, and well calculated to give information on those smaller matters which are usually omitted by the regular historian and political economist. His delineations in Java, though perhaps not less accurate, are by no means calculated to please the rulers of that fine island, "the stubborn, blind, brutal, Batavian Dutch," as he chooses to describe them. On

the 25th March 1836, the American ships arrived at the mouth of the Meinam, or river of Siam; and the smaller of the two was immediately sent with a letter to the Prahklang, or prime minister, acquainting him that the envoy had returned with the treaty, and requesting that suitable boats might be forwarded to convey the embassy to the capital. About eight miles from the entrance of the stream, there is a bar that prevents the progress of large vessels, on which account they are obliged to anchor more than three leagues from the shore, which, being very low, is not visible from the deck of a frigate. This was no agreeable situation in which to be detained, particularly with a sickly crew and in want of fresh provisions; but haste is incompatible with the etiquette of the Siamese court, and the greater the delay in receiving the representative of a foreign power, the higher is the honour conferred on his country. Some of the officers attempted to ascend the river in one of their boats, but soon learned that, if they persisted in their design, they might bring upon themselves the chastisement of the bamboo, or perhaps the loss of their heads. In answer to their complaints on the ground of delay, the captain of the port reminded them that "different nations have different customs. In the presence of your king, whom you call president, you stand and take off your hat; in the presence of the king of Siam, you sit down and take off your shoes." They accordingly resolved to remain no longer among a people who seemed to take pleasure in thwarting the wishes of their visitors, and after sharing the hospitality of a governor on the river-side, they returned on board.

The river of Siam.

Meantime the Peacock had been honoured with a visit by Prince Momfanoi, the heir-apparent, who was esteemed one of the most promising characters in the East. He was dressed in a jacket of pink damasked crape, closely fitting the body, a sarong of dark silk, knotted in front, the ends hanging down nearly to the ground, and over it was tied a light sash, upon which

The heir-apparent of Siam.



CHAP. XIX. two jewelled rings of large size were strung. This costume left the head, arms, and legs bare. He had an active determined look ; his stature was not more than five feet five inches, but his limbs were stout and well proportioned. His complexion was olive, almost as dark as that of the majority of negroes met with in the northern and middle sections of the United States. His hair was coarse and black, and excepting a tuft, trimmed and standing up like bristles on the top of the head, is cut very close. In short, the general character of his features is that of the Mongol race. "The form of the eye," says the doctor, in language bordering on the professional, "is paraboloid, the upper lid extending in a thin fold over the lower one at the side of the nose, which is rather flat ; the lips are full, the chin retreating, and, with the exception of a few hairs on the upper lip, he has no beard."

The Prince's person.

His knowledge.

Momfanoi, who speaks English well, has a good collection of books in our language, and is said to be fond of study. While on board he displayed considerable knowledge, and was very inquisitive about nautical affairs. It appeared indeed very soon that he had a talent for shipbuilding, and had actually worked with adze and chisel at his favourite occupation. He had succeeded in constructing a bark of about two hundred tons burden, after an English model, and was then engaged, with the aid of three British seamen, in finishing it in a very handsome style. But his genius is not limited to the mechanical arts, and the faculty of imitation ; on the contrary, he appears to be at once bold and circumspect, to unite much good sense and observation with an enterprising spirit, and to be in every respect capable of effecting a most beneficial revolution in the East.

Ruschenberger, impatient of restraint, determined to go to Bangkok in spite of all formalities, and accordingly set off with a friend. But as his attempt produced no practical result, the reader will derive more information from accompanying the junk or boat of ceremony, which

on the 5th April arrived to carry the envoy and his attendants up the river. It had in the middle a platform raised above the deck, furnished with chairs, and covered with a canvass awning. The rigging was of rattan; the crew, who appeared to have been for the most part of Portuguese descent, were gaudily attired in a costume partaking equally of the East and West. The vessel was hardly large enough to accommodate the ambassador's attendants in addition to a crew of thirty-two individuals. They had no light but such as was afforded by a paper lantern and two or three torches; the rain fell in torrents; and when they found themselves opposed by the ebb tide, the Americans insisted upon going ashore notwithstanding the violation of etiquette which was thereby committed. The Meinam in its whole course from Bangkok to the sea is about half a mile wide, with a constant depth of four or five fathoms. It winds through an alluvial country, perfectly flat, and covered in some places with a thick jungle; in front of which, on the very margin of the stream, are seen numerous fishermen's huts built on stakes, and with paper figures of strange device suspended near them, to keep off evil spirits.

It was night when the junk reached its destination; and next morning the embassy awoke, as one of their number expresses it, "strangers in a strange land," and sallied forth at an early hour to gratify their curiosity in regard to a country of which many odd things had reached their ears. They found the whole entirely new; they saw nothing which bore any resemblance to a christian land. Like Venice, the city seemed to have arisen from the waters; half the population was afloat; every thing indeed was peculiar; and though not a moment was lost, they were perfectly aware that they left the capital of Siam without seeing more than a very small part of its singular form, manners, and economy. Bangkok is built at a point where the Meinam is about half-a-mile broad, and perhaps twenty miles in a direct line from the sea. It is irregular in its plan, and is every

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The city of  
Bankok.

where intersected by canals. The streets are narrow and dirty, the paved walk in the middle being scarcely wide enough for two persons to walk abreast. For this a rather singular reason is urged, namely, that there are not two of precisely the same rank in the kingdom ; and etiquette does not permit persons of different degrees to advance side by side. Many of the houses are large, but the greater portion are miserable bamboo huts without any appearance of comfort. Trees are numerous in every part of the metropolis ; and the frequent temples, with the gilt spires and glazed tile roofs sparkling in the sun, give to it a picturesque appearance and an air of unbounded wealth.

But the most populous and busy quarter of the town is the floating portion. On each side of the river are moored rafts of bamboos, on which are constructed houses or sheds with open verandas in front wherein various goods are exposed for sale. Rows of Chinese junks, some of them of several hundred tons, extend two miles along the middle of the stream retailing their cargoes. Many families live wholly in their little gondolas, called sampans. Bankok, in short, exhibits at the same time a little of the architecture of India, the industry of China, and the maritime or aquatic habits of the Malays. The floating town is quite characteristic of the latter people, many large cities inhabited by them being constructed altogether on the water, either resting on stakes driven into the banks, or on rafts fastened to the shore. Of the population of the capital, which, according to Dr Ruschenberger, amounts to 401,300, not fewer than 361,000 are Chinese, while the Siamese proper do not exceed 8000. The greater part of the former nation are from Chaou Chow, the eastern section of the Canton province, the majority of them being agriculturists, and rather rude in speech and manners. The artisans and sailors come from Ka and Fokien, while the pedlars and fishermen are emigrants from Hainan, a district celebrated for its minute industry.

The popula-  
tion of the  
city.

The American officers paid a visit to the prince on

board his bark, the equipment of which continued to afford him constant occupation. He ushered them into his cabin, where he offered them tea and cigars. He called the vessel the Royal Adelaide, and with his own hand had painted the name, in English characters, on a rack for small arms at the after-hatch. His taste for painting was displayed in several places; a large chest in the cabin was marked, T. MOMFANOI, and he showed several of his drawings. CHAP. XIX.

Upon going ashore he conducted them towards the palace, and leading them into his own house, he said, "Gentlemen, you are welcome—I am glad to see you." The interior is lofty, though but of one story, and is divided into three apartments by two screens, which do not reach the ceiling. The centre room was furnished in the Anglo-Asiatic style, and as neatly as any dwelling in India. On a table near a sofa were violins, flutes, and a flageolet, upon which instruments his highness performs; while the adjoining apartment was fitted up as a study, furnished with a small collection of English books, a fine barometer, and other apparatus. A small closet communicating with it was arranged as a private museum, in which were some fine specimens of natural history, including quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, all preserved and set up by himself. He exhibited also some of his live pets, among which were a large baboon, half-a-dozen beautiful deer, a pair of black bears from Borneo, with a white stripe over the fore part of each shoulder; these were tame and playful; and a large cassowary from New Holland, so tame as to eat from one's hand, was running about at liberty. In the mean time he had ordered three or four alligators to be brought from beneath the stable, with their jaws so secured that they might be examined with safety. In the adjoining area were field-pieces and guns of various kinds and calibre, ships' spars, and other warlike munitions neatly arranged under a shed. He had numerous questions to ask about every thing he exhibited, and was never satisfied till he

The heir-  
apparent's  
palace.

His menage-  
rie.



CHAP. XIX. felt sure that he clearly understood the answers which were given to him.

His respect  
for civiliza-  
tion.

The taste for shipbuilding is a fortunate propensity in the heir-apparent of such a country as Siam, where the finest timber abounds, and which is easily floated down from the upper forests on the current of the river. The respect for civilisation, too, he so strongly manifests, will hereafter, it is probable, display its benign energies on a grander scale in an attempt to remodel the frame of society, and in giving a beneficial direction to the industry of the people. Sunk in sloth and all the vices engendered by oppression and bad government, the inhabitants have hitherto made but small progress in the arts which elevate and adorn the intercourse of mankind. The Chinese, indeed, are constantly flowing into the country, carrying with them regular habits, parsimony in their style of living, and a considerable knowledge of agriculture, as well as mechanical skill. Nothing, therefore, seems wanting, except the strong and clear head of an intelligent ruler, to raise the valley of the Meinam into political importance among the nations of Eastern Asia.\*

The Ameri-  
can mission  
in Siam.

Ruschenberger does not give a flattering account of the operations of the mission established by his countrymen in the vicinity of Bangkok. He doubts the soundness of the policy on which they act, but willingly accords to them admiration for their devotedness to the high cause which excites and cheers them in their philanthropic labours. Deprived of friends, of congenial society, of many comforts, and all the luxuries of life, they

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 34-36. The author received a very unfavourable impression of the Siamese character, who, "like all Asiatics of low latitudes, are disposed to indolence and to the indulgence of the animal propensities. They are mean, rapacious, and cruel; and never betray any of that high-toned generosity of feeling which raises our admiration or demands our respect. They are suspicious, vacillating, and procrastinating, and destitute of those principles of honour which give stability to society in the christian world."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

are seen toiling in a cause "the success of which appears to be almost hopeless, at least the most sanguine now living cannot expect to see it." The doctor urges the cause of missions not on the ground of religion, for viewed in that light alone he does not perceive their "intrinsic necessity," but simply on the footing of mercantile and political expediency. Of their beneficial effect with reference to the accession of dollars, he holds a strong belief, and would therefore bestow on them a direct encouragement in Asia, Polynesia, and indeed in all the pagan world. By the introduction of the christian religion, he maintains, commerce will be benefited. Merchants, upon a candid examination of the subject, will find their interest in doing all they can in behalf of those pious individuals who sacrifice the honours of this world in earning a glorious crown in the next, by attempting to put misbelievers in the path to sound morals, true religion, and rational liberty. To what extent the American trade in the East would be augmented by the conversion to christianity of Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan, it is impossible to conjecture. When the half-naked millions of Asia shall attain christianity, and with it all the new wants which the necessary change in their condition will produce, the soil of America, rich and vast as it is, will, he thinks, scarcely be adequate to supply them. A new and extensive mart must be opened for manufactures of the United States of all kinds, and even literary men will find an increased demand for their labours. Hundreds of ships will spread their sails to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, destined for the shores of Asia and the isles scattered in the Southern Ocean, and "commerce will pour her wealth, gathered in the lap of the Old World, into the lap of the New."

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Ruschenberger's views of missions.

It is impossible to regard the conversion of the nations in a light more secular and selfish; implying an interest not for the spiritual welfare of the ignorant heathen, but for the workshops and counting-houses of the States. The object of the voyage was, indeed, the advancement

Grossness of these views.

CHAP. XIX. of trade, a legitimate purpose, no doubt, and worthy of all the care lavished upon it; it was not, however, incumbent on the chief medical officer of the expedition to represent the faith of the republic as holding a place quite subordinate to its commercial prosperity.

The king of Siam.

The embassy were at length admitted to an audience of his "magnificent majesty," the King of Siam, the details of which are described in language which partakes largely of the burlesque. Mr Roberts and his companions, entering the hall and passing round a screen, found themselves in the presence of the monarch and of the royal court of Thai, the vernacular name of the country. The sovereign, a fat man of about fifty, sat like the god Buddha cross-legged upon his throne, enveloped in a rich mantle of gold tissue, chewing betel, and squirting saliva into a golden urn. Numerous attendants prepared this pungent masticatory, and with large fans circulated the air about his person, as he reposed in all the pomp and circumstance of regal state. The treaty to which their interview had reference, and of which the ratifications were soon afterwards exchanged, is inserted in his second volume by Ruschenberger, but presents nothing worthy of abridgment or that would prove in any degree interesting to the general reader. It secured not any particular preference to American ships or cargoes; it simply fixed the mode of levying duties at Bangkok, and reduced to express stipulations certain principles of international law, which, in the intercourse of civilized states, are acknowledged to be valid without the aid of treaties.

The Americans at Canton.

The envoy, after visiting Cochin-China, proceeded with very unhealthy crews to Macao, where he and Lieutenant Campbell, the commander of the *Enterprise*, breathed their last. The Americans felt to its full extent the influence of that jealousy which the authorities at Canton have always entertained towards strangers who wish to engage in traffic at that celebrated emporium. The unexpected arrival of the two ships in the roads did not fail to cause a great stir among the mandarins.

The vessels were examined again and again ; the guns were counted, and the number of the men repeatedly reckoned. Numerous despatches were written concerning them, and at last a letter arrived from the Hong merchants, begging that the cruisers might not loiter there, "lest they should cause business."

On the morning of the seventh day of September 1836, the Peacock and Enterprise arrived in sight of Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands. In the course of their residence at this interesting group, the officers collected a number of facts that contribute to throw some light on the rising civilisation of the inhabitants, which the surgeon maintains has been considerably overrated. The friends of the missionaries, it is alleged, have drawn pictures much too flattering of the prosperity and prospects of the dominions of the barbarian king. Ruschenberger asserts that the account given by the Rev. Mr Stewart, in the little volume entitled his "Residence," is a work of imagination rather than a faithful description. The pious teachers, he adds, are now sensibly feeling the injurious effects of the overpraise which he has bestowed upon them ; and it must be acknowledged, that the suspicions even of the most partial reader were awakened by his narrative respecting fashionable drives, Windsor uniforms, and other proofs of advancement in the luxuries of social life.

The missions  
in the Sand-  
wich Islands.

It is not unknown to those who take an interest in the progress of the gospel among the heathen, that several Roman Catholics arrived a few years ago at the Island of Oahu, with the intention of establishing a mission for the propagation of their peculiar tenets. The chiefs observed that their form of worship differed from those of the Christians already settled there, and applied to these last to know which of the two rival sects taught the true religion. They were, as a matter of course, assured that the Calvinists held the sounder faith and practised the purer adoration ; "upon which," said the rulers of the land, "these new comers must go away, because we do not want two religions, and are

Arrival of  
Roman  
Catholics  
at Oahu.



CHAP. XIX.

Expulsion of  
the Roman  
Catholics.

satisfied with our old teachers." They were at the same time reminded of the sanguinary character of the papists; that they had attempted to exterminate the protestants by famine, the bayonet, and the pains of fire; and that, if they were allowed to remain, the intruders would probably have recourse to similar means for accomplishing their purposes. Under the excitement thus produced, the Romanists were imperatively ordered to leave the island. They replied that they were ready to go, but possessed not the means of departure. Under these circumstances the others fitted out a vessel, put the unwelcome priests on board, with directions that they should be landed at the nearest friendly port on the coast of California. Their treatment during the voyage was such as to preclude every cause of complaint; but some of their converts meanwhile were cast into prison, because, when ordered to cease from observing the rites of the popish communion, they refused to obey. Proceeding on a nice distinction, the American teachers declared that the recusants were punished not for adhering to their religious opinions, but for insubordination and disrespect to the authority of the native chiefs.

It is to be feared that in the Sandwich cluster, as in all other countries inhabited by savages, the progress of civilisation will be accompanied by the gradual disappearance of the aborigines, and that, at no distant period, the bold race of men who received Captain Cook as a supernatural being, will not be represented by any descendants. At present the population diminishes with a rapidity and steadiness which seem to threaten its total extinction.

Hostilities  
in South  
America.

The Peacock arrived on the coast of Chili at an important crisis, when the breaking out of a war between that republic and Peru endangered the commerce of neutral states. At the request of the American merchants, therefore, her voyage homeward was delayed till the cruisers destined for that coast should make their appearance; and accordingly the year 1837 was nearly

spent before she cast anchor on the shore of Virginia, CHAP. XIX.  
having been absent about thirty months.

It is now time to draw the attention of the reader to the circumnavigation accomplished by Captain Fitzroy in a succession of years prior to 1836. The revolutions which liberated South America from the yoke of Spain, and the consequent increase of British trade with Chili and the other republics bordering on the Pacific Ocean, are understood to have supplied some of the motives which induced the Lords of the Admiralty, in 1825, to order that an accurate survey should be made of the southern coasts of that continent. For this service were equipped the *Adventure* of 330 tons burden, and the *Beagle* of 235 tons, rigged as a bark and mounting six guns. The command of the former, implying the superintendence of the expedition, was committed to Captain King, already distinguished by his survey of New Holland, while the charge of the latter vessel was intrusted to Captain Pringle Stokes.

The voyage  
of Fitzroy.

On the 22d May 1826, the two ships sailed from Plymouth; and on the 19th November following they left their anchorage at Monte Video, steering southwards to commence their arduous labours. About the end of December they entered the Straits of Magellan and stopped at Port Famine, which, possessing many local advantages, was selected as their headquarters while in those seas. They had already touched at Cape Possession, both of which places are closely connected with the several attempts made by the Spaniards to colonize the borders of the Magellanic inlet, actuated by the hope of securing all the advantages which could be derived from the discovery of that passage into the great ocean which stretches towards the west. Of these efforts the one conducted by Sarmiento in 1579, at the command of the Viceroy of Peru, is perhaps the most memorable on account of the results to which it led. Two years afterwards he sailed from Spain with a fleet of twenty-three vessels; but tempest

The Straits of  
Magellan.

CHAP. XIX. — and disaffection so diminished their number, that when he entered the Straits, no more than six remained, having on board only five hundred men. With these he began to build a town in the vicinity of Cape Possession, whence he afterwards removed with a small colony to a spot about forty leagues further south along the shore, where, induced by the advantages of wood, water, and a good harbour, he laid the foundations of San Felipe, destroyed in 1587 by the celebrated Cavendish. The Spanish settlers soon fell victims to hunger, disease, and perhaps the violence of the natives; only one being found alive by the English navigator now mentioned, who assigned to the ill-fated haven the name of Port Famine by which it is still known.

Port Famine.

Thirty years after the lamentable attempt now described, an opulent Dutch merchant, Isaac le Maire, fitted out two brigantines for the express purpose of sailing through the open sea round the southern termination of the new world. His views were realized; and the extreme Cape, lashed by the waves of a stormy ocean, took the name of the village of Horn, on the Zuyder Zee. This discovery roused the jealousy of the court of Spain, who instantly despatched a small squadron to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego. To this achievement succeeded a long period of inaction; and it was not till 1774, when Falkner published his account of Patagonia, setting forth the advantages which might be derived from the possession of the country, that the government of Madrid again shook off its lethargy, and sent Don Antonio de Cordova to inspect once more the celebrated Straits of Magellan.

Port Galleot.

When the *Beagle*, carrying on the survey westward, was in Port Galleot, one of the officers ascended the neighbouring mountain De la Cruz, and found on its summit the remains of a glass bottle, a Spanish coin, and a roll of papers, which proved to be the materials left by Don Antonio, together with a copy of a document previously deposited there by M. de Bougainville. Cordova's account of the climate is very uninviting.

Speaking of the summer months, he remarks, "Seldom was the sky clear, and short were the intervals in which we experienced the sun's warmth; no day passed without some rain falling, and the most usual state of the weather was that of constant rain." The reports of Wallis and Carteret were not more cheering. The former concludes his disheartening description in these words: "Thus we quitted a dreary and inhospitable region, where we were in almost continual danger of shipwreck for nearly four months; a region where in the midst of summer the weather was cold, gloomy, and tempestuous, where the prospects had more the appearance of chaos than of nature, and where for the most part the valleys were without herbage, and the hills without wood."\*

Rigours of  
the climate.

Captain Stokes soon felt the depressing influence of the ungenial sky which canopies the wild seas and barbarous shores of the remote country wherein he was appointed to discharge his professional labours. He ran along the western coast of Patagonia, and though constantly thwarted in his operations by boisterous weather, he succeeded in making a correct outline of the intricate channel. In Port Santa Barbara, he found embedded in the sand a beam of a large ship, which he concluded to be a remnant of the *Wager*, one of Lord Anson's fleet, the loss of which, and subsequent sufferings of the crew, are well known to every reader of maritime discovery. Being himself opposed by the same warring elements, this memorial of their fatal power was little calculated to sustain his spirits, which had already begun to droop. Surrounded by dangers, and rendered doubly anxious by his zealous desire to execute the task intrusted to him, his mind at length sank under the load of care. He grew listless and dejected, and in a few days after his return to Port Fa-

Port Santa  
Barbara.

\* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships *Adventure* and *Beagle* between the Years 1826 and 1836, describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the *Beagle's* Circumnavigation of the Globe, vol. i. p. 10.



CHAP. XIX. mine put an end to his life. At the time when this melancholy event took place, the crews were suffering severely from scurvy, a disease brought on by the gloom and severity of the climate, and which could not be checked by the usual means, fresh meat and a vegetable diet. Dreading the evils that might arise from its farther progress, Captain King determined to proceed to Rio Janeiro, where Mr Fitzroy was appointed to the command of the *Beagle*.

Lakes Otway and Skyring. The period already passed was not altogether spent in vain. Two great lakes were discovered, named Otway and Skyring, in compliment to the young officers who aided the labours of the commander, and which are situated on the northern side of the strait, in the angle made by its bend towards the south. They looked like "unfinished short-cuts" between the opposite seas. The first is about forty miles long from south-west to north-east, and twenty in width. The second is connected with it by a navigable canal about a mile broad, and stretches westward beyond the reach of the human eye. Unfavourable weather prevented the complete examination of their shores; but from an eminence it was seen that low land and a chain of lagoons intervene between the Strait of Magellan and the eastern end of Otway Water. Skyring Lake, it was subsequently discovered, is separated from the ocean, at its western extremity, by a barrier of mountains and glaciers hardly five miles broad. These inland seas border on the limits of the two distinct climates of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. On their north-eastern side were clear skies and grassy plains; in the opposite direction, they were encompassed by snowy peaks and gloomy forests.

Theft of a boat.

While the *Beagle* was employed in surveying the remoter coasts of Tierra del Fuego, an incident occurred which was afterwards attended with interesting consequences. The master was sent in a whale-boat to examine the channels farther towards the east; and the natives, who it appears had secretly watched his motions, carried off his small vessel while the men were

asleep on the shore. Having at the same time lost nearly all his provisions, and being in constant dread of an attack from his wily enemy, he resolved to make known to the captain, with as little delay as possible, the precarious condition of the party. For this purpose, there was prepared a diminutive canoe made of twigs, and in the shape of a basket; lined inside with clay and covered outside with bark. In this frail vehicle two men embarked, and after paddling with the greatest exertion a day and a night, they succeeded in reaching the gun-brig. Measures were immediately adopted to rescue the crew of the stolen boat, and to pursue the thieves; but the chase, though continued several days, was fruitless, owing to the broken nature of the coast and the superior local knowledge of the fugitives. At length some of the savages were seized, and made to understand that they would be detained as prisoners until the boat should be restored. Those on shore, however, showed no disposition to ransom their friends at so high a rate; and nearly all the captives contrived to escape by leaping overboard and swimming to the beach. Thus, the only hostages conveyed to the *Beagle* were a little girl, eight years old, who, from the adventure of the canoe just described, was named "Fuegia Basket," and a lad of nineteen called "Boat Memory." To these were subsequently added a young man taken on board near the promontory of York Minster, from which he was named, and a boy who, in allusion to the price paid for him, was called *Jemmy Button*.

CHAP. XIX.

Pursuit of  
the thieves.

These four individuals arrived safely in England when the *Adventure* and *Beagle* returned from the survey towards the close of the year 1830. Without delay they were placed in the Royal Hospital at Plymouth, there to await the first onset of European diseases; but notwithstanding the friendly care which watched over them all, *Boat Memory* died of the small-pox. The others having passed safely through this ordeal, were placed by Captain Fitzroy at *Walthamstow*, near London, in order that they might receive some education.

Conveyance  
of young  
Fuegians to  
England.

CHAP. XIX. In the following summer, the king expressed a desire to see the Fuegians, and they were accordingly taken to St James's Palace. His majesty asked a great deal about their country as well as themselves, and also in regard to the main object of the expedition in which the two ships had been engaged during the four years they had been at sea. Queen Adelaide also honoured the strangers by her presence, and by acts of true kindness which they fully appreciated and never forgot. She left the room in which they were for a minute, and returned with one of her own bonnets, which she put upon the girl's head. Her majesty then put one of her rings upon Fuegia's finger, and gave her a sum of money to buy an outfit of clothes when she should leave England to return to her own country.

The Fuegians  
at St. James's  
Palace.

Their return  
to their na-  
tive land.

The circumnavigation of the globe by the *Beagle*, which was recommissioned under Captain Fitzroy, properly begins in December 1831, when he again left the shores of Britain. On his arrival at the southern point of America, the three natives soon manifested the effects of civilisation on their minds, and the contempt with which it had inspired them for their own hordes. York Minster laughed heartily at the first he saw, calling them large monkeys; and Jemmy Button declared that they were not at all like his people, who were very good and very clean. Fuegia was shocked and ashamed; she hid herself and would not look at them a second time. "It was," says the captain, "interesting to observe the change which three years only had made in their ideas, and to notice how completely they had forgotten the appearance and habits of their former associates; for it turned out that Jemmy's own tribe was as inferior in every way as the worst of those whom he and York called monkeys—fools—and not men." It was found that the former had even forgotten his native language.\*

With the view of extending amongst the aborigines

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\* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships *Adventure* and *Beagle*, vol. ii, p. 203.

the knowledge of letters, and preparing them for the introduction of the gospel, a missionary named Matthews embarked in the *Beagle*; who, notwithstanding the savage manners of the people, their propensity to theft, and the small value they set on human life, was willing to remain at the small settlement of Woolya. But he was no sooner left alone, though for a very brief interval, than he apprehended that in his case robbery would pave the way for murder; that his property, in short, presented a temptation too strong to be resisted. He told the captain that he did not think himself safe among such a set of utter savages as he found them to be, notwithstanding Jemmy's assurances to the contrary. No violence indeed had been committed upon him beyond holding down his head by force, as if in contempt of his strength; but he had been harshly threatened by several men, and from the signs used by them he felt convinced they would take his life. They contrived that he should have no peace by day and very little rest at night. Some of their number constantly seized an opportunity to run off with a tool or article of clothing, and those whose demands he opposed alarmed him with fearful threatenings. More than one man left the wigwam in a rage, and returned immediately with a large stone in his hand, making signs that he would kill him if he did not comply with his wish. Fortunately for Matthews, the most valuable of his things were hidden under ground in a cave unsuspected by the natives, and the large tools were placed in a small loft under the roof of his hut. York and Fuegia, it is added, fared very well; they lost nothing, but Jemmy was miserably plundered even by his own family. A garden on which the seamen had bestowed much pains, and furnished with European seeds and plants, was trampled down by the savages, though Button had done all in his power to prevent this damage, by explaining the object of the culture bestowed upon the spot of ground by their benevolent visitors. "When questioned about it, he looked very sorrowful, and with

CHAP. XIX.

A missionary  
at Woolya.Extreme sa-  
vageness of  
the natives.



CHAP. XIX. a slow shake of the head said, 'My people very bad—  
great fool—know nothing at all—very great fool.'"

—  
Withdrawal  
of the mis-  
sionary.

The missionary, with undisguised satisfaction, conveyed himself and his remaining property on board the *Beagle*, waiting till a more auspicious period should arrive for conveying into those dark regions the blessing of religious knowledge.

After the lapse of a year Woolya was revisited by Captain Fitzroy, on which occasion the dwellings were found deserted, and apprehensions were felt for the safety of their owners. These fears were indeed soon dispelled by the appearance of Jemmy Button in a canoe, no longer combed and well clothed, but naked like his savage companions, with only a small skin round his loins, his hair long and matted, and his whole appearance most miserable. It was gratifying, however, to observe that he had lost only the outward ornaments of his person, and still preserved the more estimable gifts which respected the mind. His knowledge of the English language, his decent manners, and his grateful sense of past benefits, had suffered no diminution. He had prepared a fine otter-skin for Captain Fitzroy, and other presents for his friends in England: he was in good health, and contented with his lot. The desertion of Woolya was occasioned by the appearance of some of the hostile tribes from the north-east; and an islet at a little distance, now named Button Island in the charts, offered the fugitives a safe retreat. York had long meditated a return into his own country farther west, and for that purpose he had laboured incessantly at the construction of a large canoe. This being completed, he persuaded Jemmy to accompany him with all his clothes and other property. They proceeded westward along the *Beagle* channel till they came to Minster's tribe, when Jemmy falling asleep in his canoe, the others stripped him of all he possessed and disappeared. It is not quite certain that this act of dishonesty was premeditated by York, or even committed by his hands; but it must not be forgotten

Conduct of  
the educated  
Fuegians.

that he was of mature age when brought to this country, and it could not be expected that his savage dispositions would be altogether changed by his short residence among civilized men. It is pleasant to find that Fuegia continued to the last to be well clothed and cleanly; a proof that she was not disposed to relapse into barbarous habits, and also that the naked wretches by whom she was every where encompassed had too much respect for her to use compulsion. CHAP. XIX.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the seed sown, however scanty in amount and unfavourable the soil into which it was cast, will not altogether fail to produce its proper fruits. Even in reference to Jemmy, it was generally remarked that, before the Beagle left the shores of South America, his family were become considerably more humanized than those of the aborigines who had been seen in the same desolate tract of earth; that they put confidence in the English seamen; were pleased to see them return; that they were ready to do what they understood to be for their interest; and, in short, that their confidence was gained, and the first step to civilisation undoubtedly made. An individual with such limited means as he possessed could not, in so short a time, have possibly gone farther. "I cannot," says the captain, "help still hoping that some benefit, however slight, may result from the intercourse of these people, Jemmy, York, and Fuegia, with other natives of Tierra del Fuego. Perhaps a shipwrecked seaman may hereafter receive help and kind treatment from Jemmy Button's children; prompted, as they can hardly fail to be, by the traditions they will have heard of men of other lands, and by an idea, however faint, of their duty to God as well as their neighbour." That Jemmy felt sincere gratitude is proved, not only by his present of the otter-skin, but also by his asking Captain Fitzroy to carry a bow and quiver filled with arrows to the schoolmaster of Walthamstow, with whom he had lived; by his having made two spear-heads expressly for Mr Darwin; and by the unfeigned pleasure with which he

Probability of  
their doing  
good.

Gratitude of  
one of them.

CHAP. XIX. hailed the return of his English friends to the deserted village of Woolya.\*

Comparative  
temperature  
in South  
America.

It appears from the scientific labours of the naturalist that the laws in regard to temperature which regulate the distribution of heat in the high northern latitudes of the two great continents, do not produce the same results towards the Arctic Ocean. The western side of South America presents, indeed, the strongest possible contrast with the eastern, but in this case the manifestation of the general principal is completely reversed. The dry plains of Patagonia enjoy clear skies throughout the year, and in summer are exceedingly hot ; but beyond the mountains which bound them on the west the scene is totally changed. The narrow strip of western coast is broken by numerous inlets, which penetrate quite through the Cordillera, here attaining a height of seven thousand feet. The ramifications of these inlets terminate in immense glaciers, one of which was found to have an extent of twenty-one miles in length. Beneath the perpetual snows, and between the promontories of consolidated ice, grow impenetrable forests. Constant rains, pouring down from skies ever loaded with clouds, have covered the islands and sides of the hills with a dense mass of vegetation, which towards the south resembles that of Tierra del Fuego ; but as the navigator approaches Chiloe, he sees woods incomparably more beautiful, and the dusky beech giving way to plants of a tropical character. At Valdivia, where the climate undergoes remarkable modifications, the trees present a still brighter hue. The apple, introduced from Europe, has here attached itself to the soil, and spread over the elevated plains towards the sources of the Rio Negro. Beyond Valdivia, the forests on the coast become gradually thinner ; but on the sides of the Cordillera, woods of the noble Araucanian pine, yielding to the natives a valuable article of food, extend as far north as the volcano of Antuco. Through northern Chili, trees disappear from

The climate  
of Valdivia.

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\* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 326, 327.

both sides of the Andes ; a few scattered trees on the eastern slopes alone give intimation of the approaching change. But in Peru the order of things is the reverse of that which obtains in the latitude of Patagonia. On the western side of the mountain-chain is the desert, whereas on the east are boundless and impenetrable forests. No rain falls on the coast of Peru, while in the valley of Maynas, on the other side, it never ceases, and one place in it is said to be visited by a thunder-storm every day in the year. CHAP. XIX.

It is pleasing to observe, from the narrative of Captain Fitzroy, that many beneficial changes are going forward on both sides of the South American continent, produced by the capital and energy of Englishmen. They improve the farms in Uruguay ; they cultivate gardens in the pampas, and on the hills of Tandil, southwards of Buenos Ayres ; and they carry on nearly all the coasting trade. Pursuing the fishery, they despise the storms which rage in the Strait of Magellan, and penetrate the narrow-channels of Tierra del Fuego. In Chili, they have turned into good metal the copper ores which the native miners had always regarded as dross. On the great table-land of Curo Paseo, in Peru, they have made a vast increase to the comforts of the people by discovering coal and teaching its various uses. Two remarkable instances of the bold spirit characteristic of Britons are recorded by one of the historians of this interesting survey. Not far from Arica, on the coast of Peru, is an agreeable valley of great extent, but condemned to barrenness and solitude by want of water ; to remedy which evil, a company of English merchants settled there have undertaken to conduct into it a never-failing spring from one of the highest points of the Cordillera. They have cut through a ridge exceeding fourteen thousand feet in height, and diverted across it a current originating in the glaciers. Though this magnificent work was not yet completed, there was no reason to doubt of its success.

English im-  
provements  
in South  
America.

Irrigation  
of a great  
arid valley.

The other instance of enlightened enterprise is per-



CHAP. XIX. haps still more extraordinary. The great lake of Titicaca, in the Bolivian Andes, had never been navigated except in small canoes, though encircled by a productive soil and considerable population. Situated within the mountains, more than eleven thousand feet above the ocean, and at a great distance from any forest, the construction of a substantial vessel on its shores could hardly have been imagined. An Englishman, nevertheless, who had once been a carpenter in one of our dock-yards, set all difficulties at defiance. He shaped the timbers in a wood seven leagues in the interior; put them together on the border of the inland sea; and at length launched on its waters a handsome schooner, which he now navigates, to the great admiration of the inhabitants, who had never expected to witness such a triumph of perseverance, courage, and ingenuity.

Navigation  
of the lake  
Titicaca.

Tahitian  
piracy on an  
English ship.

Leaving the American coast, the *Beagle* sailed westward, with the view of visiting some of the principal groups in the Pacific, and more especially the Society Islands. A short time previously an act of piracy had been committed on an English ship, the *Truro*, in a part of the dominions of Queen Pomare, the sovereign of Otaheite. She had agreed to pay a sum of money as an indemnification for the loss thereby inflicted on the English, amounting to 2853 dollars. Captain Fitzroy, at an interview with her majesty and several of the chiefs, asked whether her engagement had been fulfilled. Taati, who appears to have held the place of prime-minister, replied, that neither the money nor an equivalent had been given. Upon being interrogated whether any unforeseen accident had prevented the queen from acting up to her intentions, and whether she still meant to fulfil her promise, the leading men replied, that they did not understand distinctly how and to whom payment was to be made; declaring, at the same time, that it was their wish to discharge the debt, and even to remove all doubt as to the manner of fulfilling their obligation. The captain then reminded Pomare of the solemn nature of her agreement; of the loss of char-

acter which she and her government would sustain ; and of the means which England might eventually adopt to recover the property so nefariously taken away from British subjects. CHAP. XIX.

These words seemed to produce a suitable effect. Much argumentative discussion occupied the more respectable natives as well as the chiefs, while the queen sat in silence. They soon decided to pay the debt at once. Thirty-six tons of pearl-oyster shells, belonging to her majesty, and then lying at Papiete, were to form part of the equivalent ; the remainder was to be collected among her friends. Taati stepped forth into the midst of the assembly and harangued the audience in a forcible though humorous manner, in order to induce them to subscribe. The captain requested that the innocent inhabitants of Otaheite might not be made to suffer for the misconduct of the bad people in the Low Islands, who had committed the crime ; assuring the chiefs that a document signed by the queen and themselves would be more satisfactory to him than immediate payment, if effected by distressing those of her subjects who were in no way to blame. The minister replied, " The honour of the queen is our honour. We will share her difficulties. Her friends prefer assisting her in paying off this debt to leaving her conduct exposed to censure. We have determined to unite in her cause, and will endeavour to pay all before the departure of the man-of-war."

Indemnification by the Tahitians.

It appears that the master and mate of the *Truro* had been murdered ; that the assassins were tried and condemned by the laws of Otaheite ; and that Pomare had exercised the royal prerogative in granting them a pardon. The captain reminded her, that though as sovereign she had the right to grant forgiveness, the propriety of such conduct on her part was very doubtful, and that it would not tend to diminish the effect of a report injurious to her character, which she was aware had been very generally circulated. At this moment one of her attendants observed, that they also had cause of complaint against the English, and that no attention

Treatment of the pirates.

## CHAP. XIX.

Money account between Tahiti and Britain.

had been paid to it, though formally communicated to the proper authorities. He then added, in a temperate though feeling manner, "Does it not appear hard to require our queen to pay so large a sum as 2853 dollars out of her small income, while that which is due to her, only 390 dollars, a mere trifle to Great Britain, has not obtained even an acknowledgment from the English government?"\*

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\* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. p. 535 The letter alluded to by the Otaheitan secretary is as follows, and is in every point of view a curious document.

"Our friend, the King of Great Britain, and all persons in office under your government, may you all be saved by the true God!

"The following is the petition of Pomare, of the governors, and of the chiefs of Otaheite. A whale-ship belonging to London has been at Otaheite: Venilia is the name of the ship; Miner is the name of the captain. This ship has disturbed the peace of the government of Queen Pomare the First. We consider this ship a disturber of the peace, because the captain has turned on shore thirteen of his men against the will of the governor of this place and other persons in office. The governor of this district made known the law clearly. The captain of the ship objected to the law, and said he would not regard the law. We then became more resolute: the governor said to the chiefs, 'friends, chiefs of the land, we must have a meeting.' The chiefs assembled on the twenty-second day of December 1831. The governor ordered a man to go for the captain of the ship. When he had arrived on shore, the governor appointed a man to be speaker for him. The speaker said to the captain of the ship, 'friend, here are your men, take them and put them on board of your ship; it is not agreeable to us that they should remain upon our land.' The captain said, 'I will not by any means receive them again, no not on any account whatever! I will not on any account again receive these bad men, these mutineers.'"

It was at length agreed, through the good offices of Captain Hill, an English officer who was present, that Miner should pay to the native government three hundred and ninety dollars, as a fine or compensation. But the contract was not fulfilled, and therefore the chiefs informed the master of the Venilia that they would write to the British government, entreating that the business might be investigated, and assistance afforded to them. The document accordingly proceeds:—

"This is the substance of what we have to say—We entreat you, the British government, to help us in our troubles. Punish this Captain Miner, and command the owners of the Venilia to pay us three hundred and ninety dollars for thirteen of their men they left on our land; and also to send the wages of a native man who was employed to supply the whole crew with bread-fruit while at anchor

The queen has had other evils to combat, not confined to countries in the first stage of civilisation. Some time ago a few Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in her dominions from the Sandwich Islands, but, at the suggestion of Mr Pritchard, they were compelled to withdraw. In consequence of this rather violent measure, the French consul represented the conduct of her majesty in such a light to the captain of a man-of-war who soon afterwards anchored on the coast, that a large sum of money was demanded in satisfaction of the insult, and Pomare, having no means of resistance, was obliged to pay the amount. Such measures cannot fail to impede the progress of christianity, because the natives, simple as they are, must needs perceive that the religion which teaches peace to others does not establish harmony among those who profess it with the greatest zeal. The Protestant leaders in Otaheite were apprehensive that the doctrines of the Roman church would obtain a

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here.—We wish to live in peace, and behave well to the British flag, which we consider our real friend and special protection. We also wish that you would put in office a man like Captain Hill, and send him to Otaheite as a representative of the King of Great Britain, that he may assist us. If this should not be agreeable to you, we pray you to give authority to the Reverend George Pritchard, the missionary at this station.

“This is the conclusion of what we have to say. Peace be with you. May you be in a flourishing condition, and may the reign of the beloved King of Great Britain be long. Written at Otaheite on the sixth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

On behalf of POMARE the Queen.

(Signed by) ARAAPA, Chief Secretary.

ARUPACA, District Governor.

TEPAU, District Governor.

TCHORO, one of the seven Supreme Judges.

MARE, a District Judge.

*Addition.*—“We much wish that a British ship-of-war would come frequently to Otaheite, to take to their own lands these bad foreigners who trouble us. It is useless for us to depend upon the consul at the Sandwich Islands. We have long known that we can obtain no assistance from him. We wish to do our duty to you Britons. You are powerful and rich; but we are like weak children.”—The British government, who seem not to have replied to this letter, afterwards appointed Mr Pritchard to act as consul for the Society and Friendly Islands.



## CHAP. XIX.

greater influence, and agree better with the disposition of the people than the stricter discipline in which they had been hitherto held. It is at all events quite manifest, that unless preventive measures are taken by the governments in Europe, religious strife and internal warfare may again be caused in the Society Islands, even by those whose aim is the improvement and highest welfare of the inhabitants. A remarkable bitterness of feeling already prevails, which is not likely to be diminished by the current of recent events.

Moral improvement of the Society Islands.

Various facts are mentioned by Captain Fitzroy, which afford the most pleasing evidence that the light of divine truth has not been communicated altogether in vain to the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. At Otaheite, for example, the whole people have solemnly resolved to abstain from drinking intoxicating liquors and so sincere are they in this resolution, that a short time since, when they heard of a small vessel lying in their harbour which had on board a cask of rum, which the master intended to sell to some of the residents, they thought it their duty to destroy the dangerous fluid. Mr Pritchard had preserved a bottle of brandy for medical purposes, a fact which came to the knowledge of several of his catechumens, and excited some discussion as to the propriety of any distinction in persons or objects. To satisfy their scruples, he poured out the spirits on the ground before their eyes. "Among the natives of Otaheite," says the captain, "let us not overlook the sons and daughters of the earlier missionaries. Those whom we had the pleasure of seeing did credit to the country of their parents, to Otaheite, and to those excellent persons who must have taken such pains with their education."

Homeward course of Fitzroy.

After visiting the Keeling Islands, New Zealand, and Australia, respecting which stations of incipient civilisation the "Narrative" contains much interesting information, the commander of the *Beagle* turned his face towards Europe, where he arrived in October 1836, after an absence of four years and nine months. In this long voyage, rather exceeding that of Vancouver,

fatal disease was unknown. Between the months of February 1832, when the ship was commissioned, and November 1836, when she was paid off, no serious illness, contracted while on service, happened on board; neither did any casualty occur involving the loss of life. "The freedom from illness must be attributed," says Captain Fitzroy, "under Providence, to active employment, good clothing, and wholesome food, in healthy though sometimes disagreeable climates; and our immunity from accident during exposure to a variety of risks, especially in boats, I attribute, referring to visible causes, to the care, attention, and vigilance of the excellent officers whose able assistance was not valued by me more than their sincere friendship."\*

Causes of  
the crews'  
healthiness.

Chronometrical observations were made a chief object of the circumnavigation accomplished by the *Beagle*, on board of which were no fewer than twenty-two time-pieces; and care was taken to rate them frequently, where change of climate seemed to render that precaution necessary. The series of distances thus measured in time round the globe, amounted altogether to twenty-four hours and thirty-three seconds, instead of twenty-four hours exactly. This error, the captain suggests, may be attributable to magnetism, or electricity, or some other latent cause operating on the instruments, carried in one direction round the earth. But so slight a discrepancy must appear quite explicable without the aid of any mysterious agency. The distances which are added together and make the sum total, are themselves only averages or mean amounts, and therefore mere approximations. The error of thirty-three seconds, or little more than half a minute, is very small indeed, compared to the several errors incident to the details; and it is, in fact, a great triumph to science to be able to state that, in a voyage of five years, the circuit of the globe, measured by the chronometers, differed from the truth by an amount so extremely minute.

Results of  
chronometri-  
cal observa-  
tions.

\* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. p. 639.

## CHAPTER XX.

*Meyen, Wilson, and Belcher.*

Meyen, as Surgeon of the Princess Louisa, sails to South America—Ascends several Heights in the Andes—The Grand Pampa described—Volcanic Phenomena—Agitation of the Sea—Visits Sandwich Islands—John Adams, the Governor of Oahu—Proceeds to China—Feast at the House of Mowqua—Wilson sails to New Holland as Surgeon of the Governor Ready—His Remarks on Port Raffles—Object of Settlement—Scenery on Swan River—King George's Sound and Neighbourhood—Inhabitants of Murray's Island differ from other Natives of New Holland—Captain Beechy and Mr. Kellett proceed in the Sulphur and Starling to the Western Coast of South America—The former is relieved by Captain Sir Edward Belcher—Details of a minute Survey of the Pacific Shore of that great Continent—Sir Edward makes an Excursion into the Mountains—Sails to Sandwich Islands—Discussion with the Native Government—Mr. Bingham rebuked—Death of the King's Aunt—Funeral—Opinions respecting the Missions in the South Sea—Comparative view of the state of Society in the Sandwich Islands—Minute examination of the Columbia River—Fort George or Astosia—Fort Vancouver—Settlement on the Willamette—Dispute between British and Americans respecting Oregon—Wreck of Japanese Junks on the coast of Oahu and America—Experiment at Bow Island for ascertaining the basis of Coral Islands—State of Society in Tahiti—Bad conduct of the Queen's Husband—High results of Missionary labour at Rarotonga—The Feejee Islands—Amboyna and the Minor Moluccas—The Chinese War—Account of the Sechelles Islands.

CHAP. XX.  
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 The voyage  
 of Meyen.

THE volumes of Dr. Meyen, surgeon of a Prussian merchant-ship, are chiefly valuable for the scientific information they contain, especially in regard to the varied surface of South America, which he examined with the

eye of a naturalist. The vessel in which he embarked, named the Princess Louisa, touched at Rio Janeiro, Valparaiso, Copiapo, Arica, Yslay, and Callao; afterwards sailed to the Sandwich Islands, thence to Canton and Manilla, and finally returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. His journeys among the mountains are extremely interesting. From Santiago he travelled southward to San Fernando, the capital of the province of Conchagua, from whence he visited the Andes, and ascended Monte Imposibile. The plain ascends suddenly to a considerable elevation, at which it continues, without any perceptible change, to the very foot of the Cordillera. The mountains then rise with great steepness, forming in some places walls of sienite upwards of a thousand feet in height and almost perpendicular. On their summits occur plains of small extent; the lower portions of them, where the declivity is not too steep, being covered with forest trees, and the higher parts with shrubs. Only the middle of the chain of the Andes consists of bare rocky masses, which rise nearly to the snow line. In the month of February, indeed, one of the hottest months in that latitude, the Monte Imposibile was covered with snow.

CHAP. XX.

The Andes  
at Monte  
Imposibile.

Meyen attempted to ascend the volcano of Arequipa, but could not attain its summit, being seized with the sorocko. The party were tormented with a burning thirst which no drink could quench; a slice of watermelon or garlic was the only thing they could relish, but still they continued to ascend. They were already near the little ridge which extends south-west from the summit of the mountain, when their strength failed them, and they were overpowered by the disease. The nervous feverishness under which they had suffered from the first had been gradually becoming worse and worse; their breathing became more and more oppressed; fainting, sickness, giddiness, and bleeding at the nose came on; and in this condition they lay a considerable time, till the symptoms became milder from repose, and they were able to descend slowly.

The volcano  
of Arequipa.



## CHAP. XX.

The Grand  
Pampa.

The Grand Pampa, which separates what may be termed the subordinate mountains of the Cordilleras from the principal range, and runs along the coast, is an elevated sand-waste, showing no sign of rocks nor of any description of life, animal or vegetable. But uniform as this desert might appear, he visited few regions on the whole journey which in his eyes proved more interesting. When he had reached the table-land, which may be about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the immense chain of the Andes was seen towards the east with the highest points veiled in clouds. As the morning advanced the summits were successively illumined by the rising sun, and their eternal snows reflected a ruddy light, whilst he and his party rode forward in the deepest gloom. As the sun mounted higher in the sky, the western ridge of the Great Pampa was bathed in his beams; clouds of misty vapour appeared, resembling a sea, and out of these rose lofty ranges of mountains with precipitous ascents. The phenomenon was so peculiar that they thought they saw the ocean brought nearer to them, and on it a reflection of the Cordillera chain. But in proportion as the sun ascended above the elevated horizon, those strata of vapour rose with it; the bases of the heights came forth, their summits vanished, and at length burst forth unbroken chains of vast height, stretching all along the coast, and bounding the Great Pampa to the west.

The sands of  
its surface.

Still more remarkable is the surface of the waste already mentioned. Every where the sand is collected in regular heaps having the shape of a sickle, standing at different distances from each other, and uniformly ranged with their concave sides to the south-west. The circumference of these heaps varies from twenty to seventy paces, and their height from seven to fifteen feet. Thousands of such hillocks cover the plain as far as the eye can reach; and what is most singular, no little pile, or commencement of an accumulation, is any where to be seen. There is no doubt that a prevailing wind, constantly blowing in one direction, has caused this singular

appearance; and the gathering of new heaps ceases so soon as all the loose sand has been blown together. CHAP. XX.  
 "Can the climate have changed? Does the wind which caused these formations blow no longer?"\*

The nature of the country, consisting of materials which may be clearly traced to a volcanic origin, gives rise to other phenomena of which the navigator ought not to remain ignorant. For example, it is known that on the coast of northern Chili, as well as along the shores of Peru, an undulating movement of the sea frequently takes place, the cause of which has not been fully discovered. Dr Meyen states that when lying in the harbour of Copiapo, during the night and in the most entire calm, the ship rocked so violently as to render the sensation produced by it quite intolerable. At other places, even south of Arica, when the wind was perfectly still, he has seen waves thirty or forty feet high. It is known that on the western coast of South America the ebb and flood are very trifling, and at a short distance from the land quite imperceptible, so that, even at the full moon, the 'rolling of the sea,' as it is called in those countries, cannot be ascribed to the tide. It has, indeed, been attributed to the influence of the lunar orb, and it has even been maintained that this agitation occurs only when the moon is full. But, in opposition to this theory, the author asserts that the greatest rolling he ever witnessed took place during the last quarter; from which, says he, it may be asserted that the "moon is not the cause of it." He is rather disposed to maintain that the great flow of cold water which sets in from the south-west, and touches the Peruvian coast in the breadth of Arequipa, is the source whence this motion of the sea takes its rise.

The valley of  
the Peruvian  
Sea.

Meyen's  
opinion of  
the cause of,  
it.

Having steered for the Sandwich Islands, the crew of the Princess Louisa received a visit from the governor

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\* In the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. vi. p. 376, it is mentioned that L. Pottinger "found a very similar kind of sand-hills, covering a considerable portion of the great desert of Beloochistan."

## CHAP. XX.

The governor  
of Oahu.

of Oahu, who, it is generally known, had assumed the name of John Adams. The giant size and unshapely figure of this man astonished the Prussians exceedingly. His body was so large and so unmanageable that he could not remain standing for a moment, but was obliged to sit down or lean against something. Not being able to climb up the side of the ship, he was drawn up by means of a rope fastened round his waist; and when at last he had set foot on deck, he looked round with the greatest indifference, and hardly opened his mouth to address any one. "The huge marked face, with its dark red coarse skin and thick protruding lips, gave the man a hideous aspect." The doctor, whose notions of the Sandwich group had been derived from the volumes of the early voyagers, appears to have sustained some degree of disappointment; for he heard "no tidings either of the canoes or the swimming nymphs that in former days revelled so joyfully around foreign ships." There was no longer any talk of buying for nails or bits of iron, nor of exchanges for old articles of dress: money, Spanish silver coin, was the only thing for which the inhabitants would consent to deal.

The Prus-  
sians at Can-  
ton.

The expedition left Honoruru on the 22d July 1831, and arrived on the coast of China about the middle of the following January. The attention received by the Prussians left no ground for complaint. A few days before their departure from Canton they found at their residence a visiting card from Mowqua, and an invitation to dinner along with it. About half-past six in the evening they presented themselves at his house; servants with large lanterns preceded them, and quantities of cotton were provided to fortify the drums of their ears against the stunning effect of the Chinese music. As the guests entered they were saluted by the host and his son, and amidst a profusion of compliments, conducted quite up to the chairs in the reception room. The attire of the merchant and his family was splendid in an extraordinary degree; and young Mowqua, in particular, wore over all his silk coats and vests a cloak of

the costliest furs. They kept their velvet caps with knobs constantly upon their heads, and the magnificent tufts gave them a dignified mien. The furniture was also very costly, amongst which was observed a large mirror of English manufacture; but as the master of the establishment desired not to attract attention to his use of European articles, he had caused the plate to be fixed in an ordinary and very clumsy native frame.

During the six hours that the entertainment continued, "many hundreds of dishes were served up," an opera was performed, and a full band added thundering music to assist the digestion of the company. But in China, as in all other rich commercial countries, squalid poverty walks hand in hand with luxury and ostentation. The people at large, in the populous city of Canton, eat almost every thing which comes to hand. In the streets and especially the large square in front of the factories, a number of birds are daily exposed for sale, including hawks, owls, eagles, and storks, as well as some others which in the European section of the globe have not obtained any reputation for flavour. To a native of London or Berlin, nothing could have a more ludicrous effect than to see a rustic entering either town, carrying across his shoulders two cages which, instead of winged animals, contained only dogs and cats. A small thin sort of spaniel appeared to be most in request: these sit quite downcast in their temporary dwellings when brought to market, whilst the cats, as if conscious of their fate, make a dreadful squalling. The flesh of these last, when they are well fed, is much esteemed, and they are often seen on the tables of the rich. Rats are also exposed to the eye of the hungry mechanic, hung in rows like pigs in our country, quite clean, and presenting, it is said, rather an inviting aspect.

The citizens  
of Canton.

The eating of  
dogs, cats,  
and rats.

Considering the profession of the author, the reader of his volumes has not, perhaps, a right to expect any addition to our knowledge of hydrography, the discovery of new lands, the exploration of remote bays, or the determination of geographical positions. It is chiefly



## CHAP. XX.

Meyen's re-  
searches in  
the Andes

in the department of natural history that the voyage of the Princess Louisa has conferred any obligation upon the curious and the philosophical in the enlightened parts of Europe. His researches in the Andes, performed with resolution and perseverance, constitute the most fascinating part of his book ; because, while they present many new facts, they are nowhere clouded or rendered suspicious by an undue bias towards a favourite theory as to the character of the geological phenomena, which, in those elevated regions, manifest themselves with all the tokens of recent power belonging to the elements whence they derive their immediate origin. Dr Meyen completed his circumnavigation by returning to Europe in a western course from the Philippines, touching at the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena.

Wilson's cir-  
cumnaviga-  
tion.

The next narrative of a voyage round the world is also from the pen of a medical gentleman, the surgeon of a transport, named the Governor Ready. This vessel, bound to New South Wales, with a detachment of male convicts on board, of which he had a professional charge, was wrecked on her return in Torres Straits, whence the crew with some difficulty reached the island of Timor, after sailing in their boats a distance of more than thirteen hundred miles. There he met the colonial brig Amity, attached to the settlement of Port Raffles on the northern coast of Australia ; and embarking in her, he successively visited that establishment and the infant colonies of Swan River and King George's Sound. Having completed a coasting voyage round the upper and western shores of New Holland, he proceeded to Van Diemen's Land, whence he returned to Great Britain by the southern point of Africa and St Helena. The real interest of his pages is confined to the Australian provinces, where he partook of several adventures, and collected some valuable knowledge both as to the character of the residents and the prospects of the British dominions in that part of the world.

In reference to Port Raffles, he remarks, that the appearance of the land in the neighbourhood has been

compared by some to the coast of Orissa in Bengal, and by others to Demerara. The coast is exceedingly low, as it invariably is in that part of Australia, and in this respect it bears a resemblance to both the countries now mentioned ; but as there is neither underwood nor jungle, there exists nothing of that pestilential evaporation, which on the shores of Asia and America has been found most destructive to human life. Though little above the level of the sea, the territory is decidedly healthy ; while Timor, not much nearer the equator, although in many places exceedingly lofty, is justly dreaded as the grave of Europeans. The soil in the vicinity, he admits, cannot be called good, though there are many fertile patches ; but the price of labour is still so high, that neither for agriculture nor pastoral purposes could it be cultivated with any advantage. He does not, however, justify the resolution of government to abandon it ; nay, he maintains, “ it is deeply to be deplored that these shores should have been thus deserted after so much expense had been incurred, after all the difficulties attending a new settlement had been overcome, and pleasing prospects of future prosperity had opened into view.”

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The coast  
around Port  
Raffles.

The principal object in forming a settlement on the northern coast of New Holland was to establish a commercial intercourse with the various islands in the Indian archipelago, and which, it was imagined, might be accomplished by means of the Malays who annually frequent those shores in considerable numbers, for the purpose of procuring trepang. Nor is it only to such intercourse with the Chinese and Malayan traders that it would owe its importance ; there being many other circumstances which would greatly add to the advantage of a colony on Torres Straits. Ships proceeding to India from the eastern coast would find it extremely convenient for repairs, as well as a place of refuge from the storms which occasionally rage in those seas. Regarded, indeed, in every point of view, there cannot be any doubt that, both in its mercantile and political

The settle-  
ment on the  
north coast  
of Australia.

## CHAP. XX.

relations, it would, in the hands of Europeans, soon acquire a degree of consequence more than equal to all the expense attending its protection in the early stages of its existence.\*

The scenery  
of the Swan  
River valley.

The scenery on the Swan River, on which is built the small town of Perth, is described as being singularly agreeable. To the southward, it is said, the view is exceedingly picturesque, even rivalling that of the far-famed lake of Killarney. This spot is intended for suburban villas; and if the eye of the traveller, long accustomed to the monotony of the "melancholy main," did not deceive him, it seems well adapted for such a purpose. The banks of the river, too, above the settlement, present a most verdant and fertile aspect; and it was found that the alluvial soil extended from two to twelve hundred yards towards the interior. It does not appear, however, that the land, generally speaking, is productive, or likely to suit the purposes of the agriculturist. Like the whole eastern portion of Australia, it is much better adapted to the less complicated occupations of the shepherd, who, between the shore and the Darling Range, will find at once good pasture for his flocks and a safe retreat for them during bad weather. There is little prospect that trade will ever be promoted by means of water conveyance. The Swan is navigable only for very small vessels near its junction with the ocean; while the Conning and the Helena, which fall into it, are subject to similar impediments, owing to want of water during the greater part of the year, and a multitude of islets which embarrass its course. The length of the principal stream in a direct line is about thirty miles, though, when the windings are included, it may be said to run at least double that distance. But

The capaci-  
ties of the  
Swan River  
stream.

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, comprehending an Account of the Wreck of the Ship "Governor Ready" in Torres Straits; a Description of the British Settlements on the Coasts of New Holland, more particularly Raffles Bay, Melville Island, Swan River, and King George's Sound, &c. By T. B. Wilson, M.D., Surgeon, R.N.—P. 174.

even in the most favourable light the facilities of this river must be pronounced overrated when it is maintained that "vessels of large burden are enabled to sail seventy miles from its entrance." CHAP. XX.

King George's Sound was likewise visited by Dr Wilson, who also with some friends, made an excursion into the neighbouring wilds, which they found to possess considerable capabilities. At one place they encamped on the northern side of a beautiful valley, extending east and west as far as the eye could reach, and bounded on either side by a succession of gently undulating hills, ornamented by trees of gigantic form scattered over their surface. After travelling nearly seventy miles in a direction towards the north and west, they still found themselves in a country well adapted either for pastoral or agricultural purposes; and no doubt was entertained that soil of similar qualities extended to a great distance in the same line of march. As to the condition of the inhabitants, no alteration appears to have taken place since the days of Vancouver. Their dwellings are still the same; bearing an exact resemblance to a bee-hive cut vertically into two parts. In one of their encampments, which seem to be periodically deserted, a love-token was found by a native servant, consisting of a lock of hair interwoven with some net-work. This, he stated, must have been hidden by some young woman; adding, that it was the business of the enamoured swain to find it out, when he would be rewarded for his assiduity by the favour of his mistress. If this explanation be correct, it proves that the aborigines of this district, if not more civilized, are at all events more romantic in their courtship than their brethren in the vicinity of Port Jackson. These last steal by ambush on the objects of their affection, beat them senseless with a club, and then drag them off by the hair of the head in triumph to their own party.

King  
George's  
sound.

Savage  
courtship.

It is remarked by the author that the inhabitants of Murray's Island, though very near the northern coast



## CHAP. XX.

The natives  
of Murray's  
Island.

of Australia, are totally distinct from the natives of that continent, to whom in every respect they are far superior. They have been usually esteemed treacherous, daring, and deceitful; but he declares, that though he found them to be, like all other savages, very prone to thieving, they were not otherwise ill disposed. In conducting their traffic they manifested great caution and even some degree of suspicion, which, he remarks, shows that they must have been cheated in former dealings with Europeans.

This voyage, as already stated, owes its chief interest to the information collected by the officers of the different ships in which Dr Wilson served, relative to the rising colonies on the various shores and inlets of Australia. In the other parts of the world which he visited during his circumnavigation he had no opportunity of adding any thing new to the minute details supplied by professional navigators.

Surveying  
voyage of  
Belcher.

The survey which was successfully completed by Sir Edward Belcher, commenced in 1835 under the auspices of Captain Beechey, whose researches when in command of the *Blossom* are known to every one who takes any interest in maritime discovery. In the month of September, the *Sulphur*, a sloop-of-war, was commissioned by the latter of these distinguished officers, who, accompanied by the *Starling*, a smaller vessel under the direction of Lieutenant Kellett, left England in December, and in the course of the following season, having rounded Cape Horn, began the examination of the western shores of South America, at the point where the labours of the *Adventure* and *Beagle* terminated. At Valparaiso the health of the commodore became so bad that he felt himself compelled to relinquish his appointment and return home. Mr Kellett here succeeded him in the temporary command of the expedition, but, in February 1837, was relieved at Panama by Captain Belcher, who had crossed the Isthmus of Darien for that purpose. After some delay in that quarter, occasioned by the necessity of completing certain arrangements, the

two ships proceeded towards the north, touching at Realejo and Libertad in Central America. In June they reached San Blas, whence they sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where they came to anchor in the course of the ensuing month. CHAP. XX.

Port Etches in King William's Sound was the next destination of the little squadron; Point Riou and Port Mulgrave being chosen as the stations whence, considered as bases of trigonometrical calculation, might be determined the position of Mount St Elias, and the question of longitude settled between the varying results derived from the observations of Cook and Vancouver. The Sulphur then proceeded to Sitka or New Archangel in Norfolk Sound, where the officers received very courteous treatment from the Russian governor. She next visited Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound, and thence steered for San Francisco, where the examination of the river Sacramento, one hundred and fifty-six miles from her anchorage, occupied the surveying party, in open boats, thirty-one days. After this toilsome undertaking, Sir Edward successively repaired to Monterey, San Blas, Acapulco, and Libertad, on his way to Realejo; at which last place, for the recovery of his health, he made a journey into the principal mountains in the neighbourhood, and thereby obtained a view of the scene of his future investigations in the Gulf of Papagayo, and was at the same time enabled to define the principal features of the Lake of Managua to the point where it falls into that of Nicaragua. After inspecting the gulf just named and Port Culebra, he left Central America, touched at Cocos Islands, and in June 1838 reached Callao, where he remained some time for the purpose of refitting his ship and completing his stores. He next examined, the coast between Cerro Azul and Callao, to the extent of about sixty miles; when, calling at Payta and Guayaquil, he returned to Panama in October. King  
William's  
sound.

The succeeding four months were spent in the survey of the Gulfs of Fonseca and Nicoya, Puebla Nueva, and Baija Honda; after which Sir Edward moved north- Central  
America.

CHAP. XX. wards, and repeated the cruise of 1837. He remained at  
 — the Columbia river till September. Bodega, the Russian  
 California. position near Francisco, was then surveyed, and after-  
 wards Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Juan, San Diego,  
 San Quentin, the Gulf of Magdalena, and Cape San  
 Lucas. He then returned to San Blas and Mazatlan,  
 where he found orders awaiting him directing his return  
 homewards by the Cape of Good Hope. Having shipped  
 supplies for fourteen months from a transport which  
 had been sent to meet him, he commenced his voyage in  
 a westerly course, touching at the islands of Socorro and  
 Clarion, and fixing their position. He reached the Mar-  
 quesas the same month, and, after a short visit to Port  
 Anna Maria, moved on to Bow Island, where the opera-  
 tion was performed of boring for the volcanic foundation  
 on which these coral groups are supposed to stand. The  
 Sulphur now bore away for Otaheite, Rarotonga, Fijees,  
 New Hebrides, New Ireland, Britannia Island, New  
 Guinea, coasting that island to Arimoa and as far as  
 Jobie, where she remained to rate and survey. Thence  
 she proceeded to Amsterdam, Pigeon Island, Bouro,  
 Amboyna, Macassar, Great Solombo, Pulo Kumpal on  
 the Borneo shore, and reached Singapore in the month  
 of October 1839. Here the captain found instructions  
 directing him to sail instantly to China, where he took  
 an active part in the operations which were about to be  
 carried on against that empire. Near the close of 1841  
 he proceeded on his homeward voyage, touching in his  
 progress at Malacca, Penang, Acheen, Sumatra, Ceylon,  
 Sechelles, Madagascar, the Cape, St Helena, Ascension,  
 and at length on the 19th July 1842 he cast anchor at  
 Spithead, after an absence of more than six years.

Cruise in the  
 Pacific.

The minute details incident to a survey including the bearings of every point, the depth of water in each inlet, the course and strength of the currents, the soundings on the various banks and bars, and the character or aspect of the barbarians who frequent the neighbouring shores, present so little which can prove interesting to readers not professional, that it would be inexpedient to

follow the path of the Sulphur from Valparaiso to King William's Sound. In the sketch already given of his successive cruises it is mentioned that in the summer of 1837 Captain Belcher repaired to the Sandwich Islands, where, he informs his countrymen, he was solicited by the British consul to interpose his authority in a question raised against the native government, who had compelled a vessel called the *Clementine*, sailing under our flag, to enter the port of Honoruru, and receive on board as prisoners two French missionaries brought by her from California. The authorities at first had endeavoured to carry their object by bribing the master and owner; and finding this measure ineffectual, they next attempted force, when the consul advised that the colours should be struck and the brigantine abandoned.

This is apparently the case mentioned by Dr Ruschenberger, who also denounced the severities inflicted upon the priests at the instance of an American teacher, who, it is said, though he obviously controlled the governor, was hated by the civilized community, and in bad odour with the chiefs as well as the great body of the natives. The captain, after some solicitation, procured an interview at the house of Kuanoa, who received him with the honours due to his rank, and was prepared to hear his complaint in the presence of the whole missionary establishment. But he soon discovered that remonstrance was useless; that the influence of the preachers was predominant; and that the ruler of the island, in fact, was not a free agent. He therefore took leave to acquaint them that he must resort to stronger arguments, and instantly ordered the vessel to be recaptured, and the British colours to be again displayed on board of her. Mr Bingham, the leading missionary, then ventured to intimate that "blood would flow from this act;" upon which, says Sir Edward, "I most distinctly assured him that, having now ascertained his character, I should visit the threat on his own head, and that his life should answer for the first drop of British blood which his agency should cause to flow." It has been alleged that this



CHAP. XX. — determined conduct greatly alarmed the wife of Kuanoa, who imagined that the menace had some reference to her, as the patroness of the protestant mission. The captain acknowledges that he did accompany the threat with his "clenched fist," but adds, it was totally false that any action of his towards Kinau could be so construed, as he felt too deeply for her situation to aggravate her fears. Meantime he landed the popish friars, and sent a message to the king who was then at Maui.

Relanding of  
the Popish  
priests.

At this critical moment the French frigate *La Venus* made her appearance, being employed in those seas in scientific pursuits similar to those of the British expedition. The captain, Du Petit Thouars, requested that he might be allowed to act in conjunction, and on his landing, a fresh interview was requested and obtained; but finding the local government determined on maintaining their acts, in defiance of the combined remonstrances now made, they resolved to await the arrival of *Tamehameha*.

His majesty, contrary to the expectation of many, who considered him also as completely under the control of the teachers, was soon seen entering the bay, in a bark purchased from the Americans, and which mounted a few guns for the purpose of saluting. He consented to a meeting on the following day, but would not yield to their request that the missionaries should be excluded. When assembled, Mr Bingham took a seat whence he could command the eye of the king; but it is remarked in the narrative, "the sharp glances of some of the officers of both ships were too powerful for him, and something very much allied to menace from one of the lieutenants of the *Venus* damped his ardour to such a degree, that he spent the remainder of the time with his head between his hands, nearly resting upon his knees." The result of the conference was so far favourable as to obtain permission for the two priests to remain unmolested until a convenient opportunity should occur for their reaching some civilized part of the globe; and an assurance was added, that the Clemen-

The king  
protects the  
priests.

tine should not be injured or the crew annoyed. Before signing the documents, the king requested a private interview in the evening, when Sir Edward remained with him from seven till ten, discussing quietly the line of conduct he ought to pursue, and suggesting what polished nations expected of him. He expressed himself very much indebted for this visit of kindness, and observed, "If I had one who would advise with me as you do, occasionally, I should not get into so many difficulties."\*

During the following season the English captain repeated his visit, when he found that Kinau, the king's aunt and friend of the missionaries, had recently died. The body was still lying in state, and all the chiefs of the neighbouring islands were summoned to escort the funeral, which was to take place in a few days. Being invited to attend, Sir Edward with the consul and officers of the Sulphur proceeded to the residence of the deceased princess, where they witnessed a degree of pomp not to be expected in a country so recently elevated above the condition of barbarism. The coffin, covered with crimson cloth and gilt ornaments, was placed on a bedstead, the curtains of which were black silk trimmed with white lace. The body of a carriage having been removed from the wheels, the frame of the bed was adapted to it, and formed a very handsome car. The troops and militia, amounting to four hundred, were all well clothed in white uniforms. Their evolutions are described as "admirable." The king's body-guard, amounting to twenty officers in scarlet jackets, some few with epaulettes, tinsel, and crape, marched with their swords reversed on each side of the bier; the troops with arms reversed preceded. His majesty as principal mourner, with the deceased's husband and the other chiefs, followed the car, the residents, consuls, and offi-

Funeral of  
the king's  
aunt.

The king's  
body guard.

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\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, during the years 1836-1842; including Details of the Naval Operations in China from December 1840 to 1841. By Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N., vol. i. p. 57-59.

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cers, bringing up the rear. The concourse of females, supposed to have come from all the islands, the greater part well dressed in black silk, was astonishing.

The funeral procession.

The moment the procession advanced, the natives not included in it, but who lined the roads, which had been previously strewed with rushes and covered with mats, commenced the wail or lament; and the sound of so many voices in the most melancholy notes, tended not a little to augment the solemnity of the scene. On the car reaching the church, a thatched house about two hundred feet in length by sixty wide, the troops marched through, and the coffin was placed in front of the pulpit. The funeral service in the native language was performed by Mr Bingham, who added a discourse which continued two hours. The procession then moved on to the royal vault, where the body was deposited; the military fired three volleys in very good style; and thanks being returned by the minister to the foreigners who had attended, they all retired.

Opinions respecting the Polynesian missions.

Ever since the commencement of missionary operations in the South Sea, there has existed among seafaring men a great variety of opinion as to the effects of the knowledge and principles thereby communicated to the natives. Kotzebue, it is well known, derided the whole system of European learning and faith, viewed as an acquisition by the uncultivated minds of savages. Beechey, separating with great discrimination the good from the evil, readily admitted the improvement which he remarked both in the Sandwich and Society Islands, but could not shut his eyes to the manifold inconveniences which, in the first instance, had resulted from the unrestricted intercourse of the simple inhabitants with the depraved adventurers who landed on their shores. Fitzroy saw much more to approve than condemn; admiring the zeal which warmed the breasts of the christian labourers, and extolling the decent manners which adorned their lives.

Captain Belcher, on the contrary, who repeatedly visited the dominions of Tamehameha, between the

years 1826 and the date of his last voyage, received impressions so extremely unfavourable to the purity of the motives which actuated the principal teachers at Oahu and Owhyhee, that he can hardly find words sufficiently strong to express his suspicions and resentment. He accuses them of ambition, arrogance, and, above all, of an undisguised attempt to invest themselves with political supremacy. According to his view, they act the part of dictators to the rulers, and of tyrants to the mass of the people; depriving the former of power, and the latter of nearly all the innocent enjoyments in which they were wont to indulge. Eighteen years ago they considered it a paramount duty to prevent the culture of the sugar-cane, coffee, and cotton. It will hardly be credited, he remarks, that one of them took an active part in destroying a considerable plantation; that the land was subsequently given for educational or religious purposes; and that the same individual is now cultivating the proscribed cane on the same ground! Another, with his own hand, destroyed some thousands of coffee-trees which were flourishing. He regrets that for the credit of the gospel in those seas, members of the Church Missionary Society have not been sent to show them the mildness of true christian rule, instead of the tyranny of fanatics, who have already brought the protestant creed into contempt, and will probably in the end be expelled. Their violent conduct towards the two French brethren has recoiled upon themselves, for the Roman Catholic religion is now tolerated in spite of them. The port of Honoruru, which, in the year 1827, received eight sail of whale ships as well as numerous traders, is at present nearly deserted. Intoxication is common, cleanliness is neglected, and disease continues to diminish the number of the people. Without reposing implicit confidence in the statistics supplied by either party, it is nowhere denied that, since the days of Cook and Vancouver, there has been a vast decrease in the population.

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Belcher's  
accusation of  
the mission-  
aries.

The condition  
of Honoruru.

It cannot, however, have escaped the observation of the reader that, comparing the condition of society at



CHAP. XX. the present time with the ignorance and superstition which prevailed when the Sandwich Islands were first visited by the great English navigator, a vast progress has been made in the arts of civilized life, as well as in the more valuable attainment of religious knowledge. The funeral obsequies of Kinau mark in a very striking manner the advance which has taken place. Vice, it is true, is not yet entirely discountenanced even by the higher ranks, and the king himself occasionally presents to the public eye a grievous stumbling-block in the grossest intemperance. But it is to prevent such evils, or to punish them, that the missionaries have imposed checks on the importation of intoxicating liquors, which, though beneficial in more refined countries, cannot be used without danger by a people who have just emerged from the savage state.

Vast Improvement of the Sandwich Islands.

The Columbia river.

In the Hydrographic Instructions issued to the commanding officer by the Admiralty, it is remarked, "political circumstances have invested the Columbia river with so much importance, that it will be well to devote some time to its bar and channels of approach, as well as to its inner anchorages and shores." In compliance with this order Captain Belcher directed his course towards that part of America in July 1839; and was surprised to find that the shoals at the entrance of this stream had so materially changed their features within the two preceding years as to occasion considerable danger to the Sulphur and Starling, the latter of which received some damage. He soon reached Fort George, celebrated in romance under the name of "Astoria," which since the Hudson's Bay Company removed their chief establishment to Fort Vancouver has sunk down into comparative insignificance. A small house for the clerk, two or three sheds for the Canadians, and a pine stick with a red ensign, are now its only distinctions. Not a gun or warlike appearance of any kind remains; being more like the commencement of a rude village than the ruins of a fortified station. The natural scenery is similar to that of all the northern coast, being wooded

to the water's edge, and differing little except in the varieties of pine. CHAP. XX.

On the ninth of August he reached Fort Vancouver, which is situated in lat.  $45^{\circ} 35' 53''$  N. and long.  $122^{\circ} 20' 10''$  W., and, in a direct line, eighty-two miles from the mouth of the Columbia. The name might seem to indicate that it is a place of strength, whereas it is nothing more than the mercantile post of the Hudson's Bay Company. It stands near the northern bank of the river, and consists of an enclosure three hundred yards square, surrounded by a palisade eighteen feet high, composed of roughly split pine logs. The houses of the residents as well as the stores of the company are within this enclosure, forming two squares. The gates are constantly open during the day, and no guard is mounted; the vicinity of the native tribes creating no alarm, either for goods or personal safety. In front indeed of the building occupied by the head of the establishment are two long twenty-four pounders and two ship carronades; and it is added, that, when turned out, every man is found with a well-tryed rifle and a couteau de chasse or other efficient means of defence. Still, the security which is enjoyed is a pleasing proof of the complete discipline to which the neighbouring Indians have been reduced, and of the contentment which characterizes their demeanour.

Fort Van-  
couver

Some years ago the company came to the determination of forming settlements on the rich lands situated on the Wallamette and other rivers, and providing for their retired servants by allotting them farms and supplying them with cattle. That on the current just named soon became so important as to require the services of a missionary; but instead of selecting a British subject to afford them spiritual aid, the colonists applied to the Americans for one, a course pregnant with evil consequences, particularly with reference to the political discussions which ensued. No sooner had this teacher and his friends located themselves, which act they deemed equivalent to taking possession of the country, than

Settlement  
on the Wil-  
lamette.

CHAP. XX. they invited others from the States to join them, and then called on their government for protection.

Commence-  
ment of the  
Oregon dis-  
pute.

This position has, it is asserted, not only become a source of dispute which has again roused the Americans, but from the fact of its containing many old servants of the company, unaccustomed to restraint, and whose first appeal is their rifle, is very likely to cause some more serious trouble. They are already making vociferous claims to the right of soil; and when the Sulphur left the Columbia, a large body of republicans were entering its plains to establish a permanent settlement. On the Catlamet, another important river, they have two missionaries, one protestant, the other Roman catholic; but as the land here unquestionably belongs to the governors of Hudson's Bay, and is on the northern side, there is not at present any immediate fear of intrusion.

Complication  
of the dis-  
pute.

The whole of the territory near the Columbia has by means of British capital and enterprise attained such a degree of importance, that the government of Washington, or at least the rulers of the western states, have become extremely desirous to secure it for their people; and having their eyes open to what has been virtually lost by an injudicious attempt of the Astorian Company, to obtain by negotiation a value for that which in a few hours would have been our property by actual occupation, they attempt to disavow the legality of the transfer. "This," says Sir Edward, "renders the matter still worse, as, had the capture taken place, they might with some plea of propriety have looked for its restoration at the peace. But if *bona fide* purchasers are, at this late date, to be marred in their speculation, the ultimate consequences of which they doubtless anticipated, then must we bid farewell to good faith in mercantile transactions; for in no other light than that of a plain transfer of private property can it honestly be contemplated."\*

These matters must be finally settled by the inter-

\* Narrative of a Voyage round the World &c., vol. i. p. 298.

position of the supreme governments, for among the settlers, whether British or American, there is neither power nor temper suited to the adjustment of such weighty concerns.

An incident worthy of special notice is mentioned by the author of this Voyage, which seems to throw some light on the origin of the Sandwich islanders. A Japanese junk had been wrecked on the American coast near the mouth of the Columbia, part of the cargo of which still remained in the hands of the natives. In 1833, a similar event took place on the coast of Oahu, when every thing was lost but the crew and a few trifling articles. The men remained at Honoruru eighteen months, when they were forwarded to Kamtschatka, whence they hoped eventually to work their way by stealth into their own country, approaching by the line of the most northern islands of the group. When the people of Otaheite saw the junk, and learned from what part of the world it had come, they said it was plain now whence they themselves originated. They had before concluded that they had not come from either of the great continents on the north or east; but, seeing on this occasion a people much resembling themselves in person and in many of their habits—a people, too, who came to those islands without designing to come—they said, “it is plain we came from Asia,” meaning the insular kingdoms on the extremity of the Asiatic coast. The ultimate fate of the few individuals who survived the loss of their vessel is still unknown; but in the case of those whose lives were saved near Queen Charlotte’s Sound, and who were sent from England to Japan, it is recorded that their countrymen refused to receive them; so much do they suspect and abominate all intercourse with foreigners.

Wreck of  
Japanese  
junks.

Fate of the  
wrecked  
Japanese.

In the public instructions already mentioned, the hydrographer of the admiralty remarks, “it has been suggested by some geologists that the coral insect, instead of raising its superstructure directly from the bottom of the sea, works only on the summit of sub-



## CHAP. XX.

Supposed  
basis of coral  
islands.

marine mountains which have been projected upwards by volcanic action. They account, therefore, for the basin-like form so generally observed in coral islands, by supposing that they insist on the circular lip of extinct volcanic craters. In order by a satisfactory experiment to bring this question to a direct issue, their lordships have ordered you to be supplied with a complete set of the boring apparatus used by miners; leaving it to your own judgment to select any coral island which may be well adapted to the purpose, and which will lead you as little as possible from the line of your survey. They wish you to fix upon a convenient spot of the island where the operation cannot be disturbed by the surf, and there to bore perpendicularly so as to perforate the whole thickness of the coral, and to enter the tool sufficiently deep in the rock on which it is based, to furnish specimens for future analysis."

Experimen-  
tal borings at  
Bow Island

The experiment thus enjoined was made at Bow Island, but not with the success which could have been desired, though every exertion was made by officers and crew. The material through which the auger had to pass was a fine coralline sand, which yielded with difficulty, owing to the lateral pressure, though the stratum itself was still very soft. The smallest piece of coral became a great obstruction, and the attempt to crush it created much delay, because the softness of the surrounding substance rendered the action of the instruments unavailing. At length, by dint of perseverance, and the adoption of some ingenious contrivances, forty-five feet of pipe were entered; but, at this point, the pressure becoming too great for the joints, the solder gave way, and the auger was no longer useful. Against these disadvantages the party contrived to struggle about a week, when having again reached the depth of forty-five feet, the sudden falling in from beneath so effectually locked the tools, that no direct force on the levers could move them. They did not, however, altogether relinquish the undertaking, till, after a continued effort of thirty-five days, they found that, in order to

accomplish the object contemplated by the admiralty, it would be necessary to employ a professional borer with all his smithy resources. The captain, indeed, did not expect that any thing harder than sand would be found at a greater depth than twenty feet ; but it ought to be observed that Bow Island, not being of basaltic or volcanic origin, does not perhaps belong to the class of formations where the experiment would have been most satisfactorily tried, and the result considered most decisive.

Leaving Bow Island, without having been able to throw any light on the process by which the coral animal performs its mysterious work in the recesses of the great deep, the commander of the Sulphur steered westward, and at length found himself at Otaheite. His opinions on the state of society in that little kingdom, so full of interest to all who have traced the progress of discovery in the Pacific, are of more than usual importance ; because having been there in 1826 as an officer in the Blossom, he was qualified to compare the present with the past, and thereby to measure the progress of civilisation under the successor of Pomare the Second. As an old acquaintance he expected to have met a cordial reception from her majesty, but he subsequently learned that she had been so much harassed by threats of vengeance from various nations as to dread the approach of every stranger. No sooner, however, did she learn that he had not come to make any demand for satisfaction, after the manner of the French and Americans, than her coldness passed away, and full permission was given to refit the ships and even to obtain supplies.

The island had been thrown into no small confusion by the conduct of her husband, a native of Huaheine, a youth who appears to be equally destitute of principle and gratitude. Mistaking his position, he considered himself above the law ; and accordingly, when charged with a serious offence, he refused to appear in court or to acknowledge the authority of the judges. As the

CHAP. XX.

State of  
society in  
Tahiti.

Offensive  
conduct of  
the king  
consort.

CHAP. XX.

interests of a British subject were involved in the decision of a particular case, Sir Edward did not refuse to give his advice when solicited at a public meeting of the chiefs. In reply to their complaint that their statutes were frequently disregarded by foreigners, he reminded them of the duty, especially incumbent upon them as counsellors of the queen, of preventing their laws from being brought into contempt by being tampered with by one of their own body. At length the royal spouse submitted, having been informed that the queen would not screen him from any sentence which might be pronounced on the ground of contumacy and contempt; and on this occasion Captain Belcher expressed himself satisfied that he had at length seen his error and submitted to the laws of his country. He added, that he merely wished the judges to point out to him, in the presence of her majesty, the chiefs, and people, the absence of all right on his part to interfere with the government, being merely the king-consort, and not even entitled to the power which belongs to the head of a tribe. The hint was immediately seized by two of the leaders, who stepped forward, and in the most energetic language told him his faults, and finally exhorted him to stay more at home and attend to the interests of his wife and family.

But the young prince of Huaheine, though submissive in the presence of the council, could not long suppress his vindictive feelings. After the lapse of a few days, the British consul appeared on board the Sulphur, stating that he was the bearer of a message from the queen, intreating that the captain would delay his departure till after the May meeting, as the king in a fit of intoxication had assaulted her in a most brutal manner on the high road, and even attempted to kill her with a stone. Being resisted by her female retinue, as well as by two young men who happened to be passing, he seized her by the hair, and gave full vent to the ferocious passions which had impelled him to the act. She fled to the house of a cooper, where she was con-

The king-  
consort's  
submission.

His brutal  
assault on  
the queen.

cealed. Upon inquiry it was ascertained that he had fallen from his horse, overcome by drink, and that she had rushed to him with all the ardour of affection to avert the danger with which he was threatened. On his return to the house he destroyed all the presents she had received, as well as her dresses and ornaments, and even attempted to set fire to her humble palace. The consul took her under his protection, and Sir Edward declared his willingness to remain a few days, provided she would assure him of her determination to rid herself of so dangerous and detestable a character. But her fears and resentment soon passed away: next morning it was made known that she had forgiven him, at the same time returning her warmest thanks to the English captain for his attention to her interests. Pomare, though only twenty-eight, bears the appearance of age, and is very corpulent. She does not possess one single trace of the pretty little girl whom the navigator recollected as Aimatta in the year 1826.

CHAP. XX.

The queen's  
forgiveness.

In regard to the Otaheitans in general, it is the decided opinion of Captain Belcher that, with the introduction of dress, the peculiar religious feeling he noticed fourteen years previously has entirely vanished. They were then simple in the extreme; they are now comparatively civilized. The introduction of foreigners has broken down the barrier which restrained them, and would have perpetuated their natural features.

At Rarotonga, where there is less trade, the condition of society presents much more agreeable features, and while civilisation advances morality is not forgotten. The house of Mr Buzacott, the principal missionary, surpasses in point of neatness and comfort every similar residence in the South Sea. The roads, enclosures, church, school, and cottages are an age in advance of Otaheite. Great care has been taken to teach the people useful arts; and they now manufacture tables, chairs, and sofas with cane bottoms, fit for any of the middling classes in England. A pair of their arm-chairs was procured to grace even the cabin of the Sulphur. The

Raroton



## CHAP. XX.

The church  
and school of  
Rarotonga.

timber of the tamenu, of which they are made, may vie with Honduras mahogany in beauty, and is far superior in lasting qualities. The church is an extensive wood and plaster building, capable of containing about one thousand persons; it occupies one side of the road, and the native school stands opposite to it. In the latter is a printing-press, where was also shown a manuscript copy of the New Testament, clearly and intelligibly written, the work of one of the pupils. A covered building, or extensive shed, near the landing-place, is used as a market. There was found an old chief, neatly dressed in European costume,—cotton shirt, white trousers, and white frock-coat,—superintending purchases for the captains of the three American whalers. Eighteen years ago the island was in a state of absolute barbarism, and all the people heathens!

High results  
of missionary  
labours.

The effects of missionary exertion, wisely directed, are nowhere more conspicuous. "It is pleasing," says the author of the Narrative, "to witness the influence which Mr Buzacott has acquired; not the servile fear of the Sandwich Islanders, but an honest warm-hearted attachment. He is a pattern for missionaries: such men by their labours improve all around them. They manifest their superiority by their ability to instruct others, and they leave behind them lasting monuments of their usefulness in the increased civilisation and happiness of the people. To prevent any inroad upon their repose and prosperity, he warned them against the introduction of foreign settlers, who have done much injury both at Otaheite and Oahu. A very judicious code of port regulations is printed, a copy of which is furnished to every vessel on arrival; and such as do not comply are excluded from all communication. Deserters find no refuge. Spirits are prohibited; and order at night is ensured by preventing all strangers from remaining on shore after dark.

The fatal diseases which have from time to time prevailed in this island, and, on one occasion, nearly depopulated it, give rise to some observations not unde-

serving of notice on the part of medical practitioners. The distemper which now principally prevails is first indicated by a swelling in the glands of the throat, which subsequently expands into an ulcer discharging a thin serous matter. Formerly it was considered quite incurable, and the patient of course was almost instantly abandoned to his fate; but recently, as it has been found to yield to judicious treatment, it no longer retains its malignant character. It has usually been asserted, without much inquiry, that the decrease of population in the several islands is owing to an unrestrained intercourse with foreigners; an opinion which is entirely unsupported by the history of Rarotonga. The malady which, in the days of the late missionary Williams, swept away so large a portion of the inhabitants, had no resemblance whatever to any European disease. It is therefore the opinion of the medical officer who served in the Sulphur, that many of the ailments which have appeared since the visits of our early discoverers ought to be ascribed to the sudden change from one species of food to another. The people of Pitcairn Island, whose habits of reflection entitle their conclusions to some weight, attributed occasional illnesses to the cause now mentioned, and informed Captain Beechey that they would suffer severely from his visit, or rather from the festivities which accompanied it. Nor can there be any doubt that the mode of clothing the body now in use, compared with the almost total absence of dress, and the discontinuance of the ablutions in which the natives were wont to indulge, will account in no small degree for those cutaneous and glandular affections now so common in Polynesia.

The diseases  
 of Rarotonga.

Captain Belcher, who stopped at several ports in the Fijee group, found that the frequent presence of white men, and the constant residence of several indigenous missionaries, had produced little change on the temper of the inhabitants. The same savage manners, and the same propensity to cannibalism which shocked the followers of Cook, continue to manifest themselves among

The Feejee  
 Islands.

## CHAP. XX.

Amboyna  
and the  
minor Mo-  
luccas.

all classes. Even the chiefs acknowledge that they would eat the bodies of their enemies, though they gave no particular preference to human flesh. Nor has civilisation made greater progress at New Ireland and New Guinea; the notices concerning which groups, though interesting to voyagers who may have occasion to touch at their shores, present nothing inviting to any other order of men. Amboyna and the minor Moluccas furnish nothing more new or interesting than the numerous archipelagoes with which the neighbouring straits abound; for the Dutch, whose principal motive is the extension of trade, are averse to sudden changes in the condition of the aborigines, whose labour they employ to great advantage, and with whose faith they do not intermeddle. At Singapore, Sir Edward received several official letters, of which the purport was that he should retrace his steps and join the squadron in China, then actively employed in the Canton river in reducing the enemy's forts and batteries.

The Chinese  
war.

The events which marked the progress and close of the Chinese war are much too recent and well known to justify any abstract from the pages of the Narrative, which, in point of fact, contain hardly any thing interesting but what respects the limited movements of the Sulphur and Starling, when employed in burning junks or in demolishing ramparts. The captain of the former, indeed, mentions a case where the mercantile spirit predominated over the more noble sentiment of patriotism. There was great reason to suspect that ammunition and arms, both small and large, were supplied to the foe by British agents at Singapore, and even the more regular emporium of Madras. These articles were landed at Macao, nominally addressed to Portuguese merchants; but, nevertheless, no doubt was entertained that they were subsequently sold to the Chinese authorities, and employed, too, against the country whose artisans had fabricated them.

On the 14th November 1841, the Sulphur was ordered home, the Starling having been paid off, and her crew

transferred to the former. About the middle of February, Captain Belcher reached the Sechelles Islands, called originally by the French "Les Isles Labourdonnaises," and subsequently described under the name they now bear, in honour of the Viscount de Sechelles. The principal harbour, formerly Mahé, is at present known as Port Victoria; a change which has occasioned some dissatisfaction to the colonists, whose national feelings have not yet yielded to the policy of their present masters. Including the whole group, the number of islands amounts to twenty-nine; the largest being twenty-five miles in length, and not less than five miles broad at the widest point. Of this cluster it has been said that few parts of the world are so favoured by nature. Situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean, nearly equidistant from the lands on the east and west, they offer, besides a secure roadstead, a climate equable and salubrious. Not liable to abrupt changes of atmosphere, they are exempted from those diseases so common to other tropical regions: nor are they ever visited by hurricanes, those scourges of the South Sea, which so often destroy all agricultural efforts, and are inevitably followed by misery and despondence. They were taken by the English in the year 1794, by Captain Newcome of the *Orpheus*, who, in the name of his Britannic majesty, demanded an instant surrender of the principal island and its dependencies, "with every thing belonging thereto." The productions are said to be cotton, coffee, cocoa, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, anatto, and maize, together with fruits and vegetables of every species found within the tropics. It is, indeed, a garden in which every thing would thrive; and timber well calculated for ship-building may be had in the greatest abundance.

CHAP. XX.

The Sechelles Islands.

Their productions.



## CHAPTER XXI.

*Bennet, Ross, and Wilkes.*

The Whaling Voyage of the Tuscan—Pitcairn's Island—Tahiti—The Marquesas—Caroline Island—Marine Phenomena—Sir James Clark Ross's Voyage—Captain Biscoe's and Captain Balleny's Antarctic Discoveries—Sir James Ross's Cruise in the Atlantic, and Progress to the South—Possession Island—Kerguelen Island—Captain d'Urville's and Captain Wilkes' Antarctic Explorations—Sir James Ross's First Cruise in the Antarctic Ocean—Discovery of the Antarctic Continent—Island-Flanks, Mountain-Ranges, Grand Volcano, Sublime Scenery, and Icy Barrier of that Continent—Aurora Australis—Embayment among Icebergs—Sir James's Second Antarctic Cruise—Perils among the Pack Ice—New Views of the Continent—Collision of the Ships—Visit to the Falkland Islands—Sir James's Third Cruise in the Antarctic Ocean, and Further Discoveries there, and Return to England—The United States Exploring Expedition—Researches and Perils of its several Ships in the Antarctic Ocean—Visit to the Friendly Islands and the Feejee Islands, and Tragic Occurrences at the latter—The Volcanoes of Kilauea and Mauno-Loa in Hawaii—Cruise and Shipwreck of the Peacock—Occurrences in Oregon and California—Homeward Course of the Squadron.

## CHAP. XXI.

The voyage  
of the Tus-  
can.

THE ship Tuscan, of 300 tons, under the command of Captain T. Stavers, made a whaling voyage round the world, by the western route, in the years 1833-6. A journal of the voyage was kept and partly published by her surgeon, F. D. Bennett, Esq., containing descriptive and scientific notes of the chief places which she visited, and the most remarkable incidents which she encountered. Most things in the published part have either been anticipated by notices in the preceding portions of this volume, or superseded by notices of later voyages

afterwards to be given ; but the rest afford us matter for a few interesting paragraphs. CHAP. XXI.

The Tuscan sailed from London on the 17th of October, 1833. She attained her highest south latitude,  $58^{\circ} 33'$ , on the 14th of January, 1834, in west longitude  $68^{\circ} 53'$ . Though then in the height of summer, the weather was unpleasantly cold, with showers of sleet and hail ; and the sky to the south often presented the white luminous appearance termed "ice-blink." The barometer was a long time low, often falling to 29.20, without any accession of foul weather.

Pitcairn's Island was reached early in March. The northern side of it presented a very picturesque appearance, rising from the sea like a steep amphitheatre, luxuriantly wooded to its summit, and terminating at the sides in precipitous cliffs and naked, rugged, fantastically-shaped rocks. The simple houses of the inhabitants stood dispersed on that acclivity, and were half concealed by the abundant vegetation. The inhabitants, at that time, amounted to eighty ; and, with a very few exceptions, were all the offspring of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, bearing their surnames, and not, in any instance, descended farther than the third generation. They were healthy and robust, high-spirited and intelligent, and spoke both the English and the Tahitian languages ; but they had unprepossessing features, and seemed altogether a curious link between the civilized nations of Europe and the savage tribes of Polynesia. They lived chiefly on vegetable diet, yet occasionally indulged in the flesh of hogs, goats, fowl, and fish ; and they knew very little of any kind of disease, and nothing at all of the peculiar malady which prevails throughout the islands of the Pacific. They had returned only two years before from a migration to Tahiti, where they got sad acquaintance with fearful forms of both physical and moral evil ; and though they had in a great measure resumed their systematic simple habits, they yet bore broad effects of their migration in restlessness of mind

Pitcairn's  
Island.

Intercourse  
with Tahiti

CHAP. XXL

and licentiousness of discourse. They were divided into two rancorous factions, and had a great desire that some British ship of war might arrive and settle their disputes. Three of them, heads of families, embarked in the Tuscan to take temporary refuge in Tahiti, in the hope that the rancours might subside before they could find opportunity to return.

The Tuscan reached Tahiti before the end of March. Mr. Bennett, of course, was fascinated, as every intelligent voyager is, with that most luscious and romantic island; and, in company with a nautical friend, he made an excursion of thirty miles from its port of Papeiti to visit its singular mountain-embosomed lake of Vaihiria. His route for a great way lay along the shore, and afforded numerous highly picturesque coast-scenes. He observed, on the south-west of the island, many remarkable caverns at the base of lofty mural cliffs, and a number of fresh-water springs in the sea at various distances from the shore, welling and whirling up like small eddies from the coral reef. The natives, when fishing, sometimes dive beneath the surface of the sea at these springs, and quaff the fresh water; and they have placed in some of them bamboos with apertures in their sides, through which the fresh water flows as from a pump. Mr. Bennett at length struck inland, over level, luxuriant, well-watered plains, round the base of steep and lofty mountains, and up the tortuous, tumbling, romantic path of a mountain-stream. He had to ford that stream about 118 times in going and returning, and found it always a torrent, and often both deep and broad. About midway up the ascent, he ceased to see cocoa-nut trees and other plants of the coast, and entered among bushy ferns, elegant parasites, and extensive thickets of amomums bristling with reed-like leaves and emitting a powerful aroma. He toiled on till near the top of the water-course, and then climbed a steep and rugged hill, and then saw the lake of Vaihiria almost vertically below him, in the bottom of a moun-

Coast-scenery of Tahiti.

The lake of Vaihiria.

tain-girt, precipitous, circular, verdant basin. It is not more than a mile in circumference, and is fed by numerous small cascades leaping down the sides of the basin; and it is the resort of wild-ducks and of birds with plaintive dove-like cooing, but has no fish except eels. It no doubt occupies the crater of an ancient volcano, and probably sends through many ramified, profound cavities, once all bubbling with liquid lava, the perennial streams which feed some of the adjacent fresh-water springs of the sea.

The Tuscan visited the Marquesas group at the end of February, 1835, and put on shore of Santa Christina two missionaries whom she had conveyed from England. That island, with its alpine centre and divergent ridges and wheel-like series of valleys, and with a distinct tribe and chief and state in every valley, has long been a well-known great curiosity of the Pacific, and for some time before the visit of the Tuscan, was in a state of profound peace, and much under the influence of a shrewd chief, who encouraged commerce and protected missionaries. But the island of Roapoa, of nearly the same size, equally mountainous, and perhaps quite as interesting, continued till then to be little known. Its valleys are eminently fertile and picturesque, and many of its summits terminate in grand columns, spires, or pinnacles of rock. A number of its inhabitants came off in canoes to the Tuscan, and expressed much disappointment that she would not anchor and trade with them; and the chief man of them gave a rough chart of the coast, and a list of the ships that had visited it.

The Mar-  
quesas.

The Tuscan touched, on the 23d of April, at Caroline Island. This is one of the low uninhabited coral islands of the Pacific, and lies in south latitude  $9^{\circ} 58'$  and west longitude  $150^{\circ} 18'$ . It is circular and not more than four or five miles in circumference, and consists of several connected circular peninsulas, enclosing a lagoon. It is entirely coral, and has nowhere an elevation of more than six feet above the tide. All its compart-

Caroline  
Island.



CHAP. XXI.

ments were densely covered with rich vegetation, and profusely plumed with tall shrubs or small trees, chiefly *tournefortia*, in full flower, and delightfully fragrant. Some hogs had been landed upon it, by Captain Stavers, seven years before ; but not a trace of them could then be found ; and the only quadrupeds which could be seen were mice. Fish were abundant both in the waters around it and in the lagoon, but could not be easily obtained on account of the voracity of the sharks.

Marine phenomena.

On a night in November, 1835, in north latitude  $19^{\circ}$  and west longitude  $107^{\circ}$ , about midway between the group of *Revilla-gigedo* and the continent of America, the sea all round the *Tuscan*, as far as the eye could discern from the mast-head, presented a milk-white and luminous appearance ; and this continued from midnight till dawn. Nothing could be detected in the water to account for it, nor could any soundings be obtained. At a later date, and nearer the equator, a female sperm whale was taken, containing a mature foetus ; and this measured fourteen feet in length and six feet in girth, and was anatomically examined. On the 26th of May, 1836, in south latitude  $2^{\circ} 30'$  and east longitude  $175^{\circ} 10'$ , there was discovered an extensive low island, clothed with cocoa-nut and other trees, and girt with a sandy and almost surfless beach ; and a few leagues south-west of it, there was observed a remarkable belt of froth on the sea, some yards wide, very extensive, and accompanied by drift-wood, shells, and the carcasses of fish and birds,—all seeming to indicate the limits of a current.

Homeward course of the *Tuscan*.

The *Tuscan's* highest north latitude in the voyage was  $50^{\circ}$ , in the vicinity of Oregon. She went homeward through the Indian Archipelago and round the Cape of Good Hope ; and entered the British Channel on the 20th of November, 1836. Her people, during all the many continuous cruises of her long voyage, saw just eighty-nine spermaceti whales, and secured seventy-eight.

Sir James Clark Ross's voyage round the world—in the course of which he discovered an Antarctic Continent, and made vast explorations around and beyond the Antarctic Circle—was one of the most important in recent times.\* The object of it is explained in pages 232-234 of this volume. Certain discoveries by Bellingshausen and Weddell, also, which helped to lead the way to his grand discovery, are alluded to on pages 335 and 182 ; and others of the same character, by two of the navigators in the boldly enterprising southern whale fishery, may be briefly noticed in this place.

CHAP. XXI.  
The voyage  
of Ross.

In 1830 and 1831, Captain Biscoe, in command of the brig Tula, belonging to Mr. C. Enderby, pushed his researches bravely and far into the Antarctic main. He did not, like Weddell, get beyond Cook's farthest ; yet he discovered two territories, at a great distance from each other, and both in high south latitudes which had been very seldom reached. The one was Enderby's Land, in  $65^{\circ} 57'$  south latitude, and  $47^{\circ} 20'$  east longitude ; and the other was a range of islands and of land of unascertained extent in latitude between  $63^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$ , and west longitude between  $63^{\circ}$  and  $71^{\circ}$ . Captain Biscoe sailed, in the following year, to resume his researches ; but his vessel was wrecked.

Discoveries  
of Biscoe

In the summer of 1838, the schooner Eliza Scott, of 154 tons, commanded by Mr. John Balleny, and the dandy-rigged cutter Sabrina, of fifty-four tons, commanded by Mr. H. Freeman, sailed from London to go a-whaling in the south. They belonged also to Mr. Enderby, and had his usual liberal instructions to attempt discovery if they could. On the 7th of January, 1839, they left the south end of New Zealand ; on the 24th of that month, they sailed without impediment over the track where Bellingshausen was arrested by the ice ;

The voyage  
of Balleny.

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\* See "A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions during the years 1839-43, by Captain Sir James Clark Ross, R. N."

CHAP. XXI. and on the 1st of February, they reached a point, in latitude  $69^{\circ}$  and east longitude  $172^{\circ}$ , about 200 miles south of that navigator's furthest. There they were compelled by the pack ice to work to the north-west ; and on arriving at latitude  $66^{\circ}$  and east longitude  $163^{\circ}$ , they discovered a group of five volcanic islands. The surface of these islands showed only the characters of ice and snow, and did not look differently from that of icebergs ; but the summit of one emitted smoke, the body of another soared to the sky in a peak of seemingly about 12,000 feet in height, and the coast of four rose up in vertical cliffs, and exhibited flecks of bare rock, from which great masses of ice had recently broken off. A natural tower of rock, also, went sheer aloft from the water, in the near vicinity of one, and looked like a tall lighthouse. Mr. Freeman made a very difficult landing on the only piece of beach which could be seen—a piece washed by the billows, and not more than four feet wide, and he brought off from it some scorix and some small bits of basalt.

Balleny's  
Islands.

In their further progress, they passed near a cape which was discovered as land in the following year by the French circumnavigator, d'Urville ; and they saw it, and the land behind it, but mistook the cape for an iceberg and the distant land for clouds. On the 2nd of March, when in latitude  $64^{\circ} 58'$  and longitude  $121^{\circ} 8'$ , they observed land to the south. And on the 13th of March, when about 450 miles from that land, though possibly within 300 miles or less of some part of the subsequently discovered antarctic continent, they saw embedded in the face of an iceberg, in their near neighbourhood, a black, angular block of rock about twelve feet in height and nearly an hundred feet above the sea-line. This phenomenon strikingly illustrates one of the theories of geology. "If," remarks Mr. Darwin respecting it,—“If but one iceberg in a thousand, or in ten thousand, transports its fragment, the bottom of the antarctic sea, and the shores of its islands, must already

An iceberg  
with a block  
of rock.

be scattered with masses of foreign rock,—the counter-  
part of ‘the erratic boulders’ of the northern hemi-  
sphere.” Captain Balleny arrived at the port of London  
on the 17th of September, just in time to supply Sir  
James Ross’s expedition, on the eve of its departure,  
with the news of his discoveries and the fruits of his  
experience.

The ships employed in the expedition were the Ere-  
bus, of 370 tons, and the Terror, of 350 tons. Both  
were strong and capacious, and were specially strength-  
ened to resist the buffetings of icy seas ; and each had  
a complement of sixty-four persons, and all possible  
appliances for health and comfort. Sir James Ross took  
post in the Erebus ; and Commander F. R. M. Crozier  
was entrusted with the Terror. They sailed from  
Margate Roads on the 30th of September, 1839. They  
were obliged, by their duty of examining magnetic phe-  
nomena, to pursue a widely different course athwart the  
Atlantic from what is usually taken ; and they three  
times crossed the magnetic equator of least intensity,  
and found it, one of the times, in south latitude  $19^{\circ}$  and  
west longitude  $29^{\circ} 15'$ , about 200 miles farther north  
than previous observations had led them to expect. On  
the evening of the 22nd of February, while the sea was  
quite smooth, and only a moderate breeze was blowing,  
a flock of cuttle-fish leaped into one of the ships to the  
height of fifteen or sixteen feet above the bulwark,  
some of them going entirely over the ship, and not  
fewer than fifty falling on the decks. A current was  
detected near the coast of Africa, about sixty miles wide,  
200 fathoms deep, considerably colder than the adjacent  
ocean, and overhung by a cold mist, caused by the con-  
densation of the vapour of the superincumbent atmo-  
sphere ; and it flowed in a northerly direction, at the  
rate of about a mile an hour, and seemed to come from  
the east, round the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAP. XXI.

The ships of  
Ross's expe-  
dition.Current on  
the coast of  
Africa.

The expedition arrived at the Cape on the 17th of  
March, put on shore there the observers and instruments



## CHAP. XXI.

Possession  
Island.

for a magnetic observatory, and set sail again on the 6th of April. They reached Possession Island on the 26th, and tried instantly to get into communication with a party of eleven men, who were located on it to catch sea-elephants, but could not succeed in finding them, notwithstanding signal guns and other means, till the 1st of May. It is a vast mass of volcanic rock, with precipitous coast and projecting cliffs, and, with the exception of one considerable piece of beach, has not a spot where a boat could be landed or a habitation built. The sea-elephant catchers, when found, looked more like Esquimaux than civilized beings, but far filthier in dress and person than any Esquimaux commonly seen. Their clothes were saturated with oil, and emitted a most offensive smell; and their boots were made of penguin's skins, with the feathers turned inward. Yet they were contented enough with their mode of life, and only regretted that they were not on a neighbouring island which abounded with pigs, and gave better promise of success in the sea-elephant fishery. A breed of hogs had been left on that island only six years before; and, though many had been yearly killed by the sealers, they were already so numerous as to embarrass a person's landing. Another island, in the vicinity, little more than three miles in diameter, shoots aloft peaks to the height of at least 4000 feet, and has perpendicular sea-cliffs several hundred feet deep, and is subtended at its corners by vast fantastic isolated masses of rock, one of them resembling a church, another resembling a ship with all her sails set, and a third so perforated and arched that a small vessel might sail through it.

Kerguelen  
Island.

The expedition reached Kerguelen Island on the 12th of May, and remained there upwards of two months. This island was discovered in 1772 by Lieutenant Kerguelen. It is all rock of volcanic origin, with contained fossils and remarkable conformation. Christmas Harbour in it, has an entrance nearly a mile wide, and suddenly contracts to less than one third of a mile, and

then gradually narrows, and leads up to a fine level sandy beach. Its shores and the shores also of the rest of the island, are a steep lofty series of cliffs and terraces, —the latter nearly horizontal and looking like limestone or stratified sandstone. A tabular summit on the north side of the harbour, has a height of about 1350 feet; and a huge mass of basalt, on the south side, noticed by Cook, is not so high, but appears to have burst in a semifluid state from crevices in the older rocks of the terraces. Fossil wood was found beneath this mass of basalt, and small seams of coal in interstices between the older rocks. Some bits of the wood looked so recent that not till they were handled did they evince themselves to be fossil; and “it was curious,” says Sir James Ross, “to find it in every stage, from that of charcoal, lighting and burning freely when put in the fire, to so high a degree of silicification as to scratch glass.” A native plant of this island, called *Pringlea antiscorbutica*, proved of high value to the ship’s crews as a pot-herb, and possesses all the good qualities of the cultivated cabbages and borecoles of Europe, with the important addition, that it contains a large quantity of essential oil, and never produces heart-burn or inflation. The climate of the island is singularly stormy. Though the *Erebus* and the *Terror* had cables and anchors twice more powerful than what are usually supplied to ships of their tonnage, they could not withstand the tremendous fury of the gales which assailed them, and were sometimes nearly laid over on their beam-ends. And of sixty-eight days, that they remained in Christmas Harbour, forty-five were tempestuous and only three were without rain or snow.

Fossil wood.

The ships reached Van Dieman’s Land on the 16th of August. And there Sir James Ross learned that he had just been preceded in antarctic explorations by French and American expeditions. The French expedition, consisting of the vessels *Astrolabe* and *Zéleé*, under the command of Captain Dumont D’Urville had

D’Urville’s  
antarctic  
cruise.

CHAP. XXI. sailed from Hobart Town on the previous 1st of January, and had returned to it on the 17th of February, but, notwithstanding the shortness of this cruise, had made important discoveries. On the evening of the 19th of January, D'Urville saw land, in about the latitude of Terre Adélie. the antarctic circle; and on the following days, he traced it in a continuous line for about 150 miles between 136° and 142° east longitude. It was entirely covered with snow, and showed not a trace of vegetation, and had commonly a height of about 1300 feet. He called it Terre Adélie. And proceeding westward, he saw, and for sixty miles sailed along, a solid wall of ice about 150 feet high; and he believed this to have a base of land, and called it Côte Clairée. But he was compelled by the bad health of his crews to break suddenly off from his researches. We may add, though in the way of digression, that this great circumnavigator and geographer soon after returned to France, and was there killed in an awful catastrophe on the Versailles railway.

The American exploration was done in a squadron of four vessels under the command of Captain Wilkes, and formed only part of the proceedings of an extensive expedition which we shall afterwards have to notice. Captain Wilkes did not publish the results of the exploration, and was under instruction by his government not to publish them; yet he handsomely sent to Sir James Ross what he called "a tracing of the icy barrier, attached to the antarctic continent, discovered by the United States Exploring Expedition." And in explanation of this "tracing," which extends between the latitudes 62° and 66½°, and between the east longitudes 97° and 167°, he said, "I hope you intend to circumnavigate the antarctic circle. I made 70° of it, and if my time would have permitted, I should have joined on to Enderby's Land. It is extremely probable that land will be discovered to the eastward of 165° east; and I have no doubt it extends all round, with the exception of 30° or 40° east of 50° west longitude. Where there is

Wilkes' antarctic discoveries.

no land, there will be no icy barrier, and little drift ice will be met with. Although there will always be found plenty of ice islands, there is plenty of space for them and a ship too."

Sir James Ross had intended to run south in the same meridians in which D'Urville and Wilkes made their discoveries; but, finding himself anticipated in these, he resolved to go much farther to the east and he felt well guided to a point of promise by the experience of Balleny. On the 13th of November, he left Hobart Town, and on the 20th he reached the Auckland Islands, and prepared to set up observatories. These islands consist chiefly of basalt and greenstone, and contain an interesting diversity of plants and animals. The loftiest hill has an altitude of 1300 feet, and is clothed all over with verdure; and a prominent headland exhibits a columnar front of 300 feet in height, and is strongly magnetic. Campbell Island—which the ships reached on the 13th of December—has a similar composition, but is mountainous and about 30 miles in circumference.

The Auckland Islands.

The expedition "completed wood and water" at Campbell Island, and left it on the 17th of December, to run right south. On the 27th, they encountered a chain of icebergs, with vertical faces, tabular summits, and uniform appearance, each seemingly, about two miles in circumference. On the 4th of January, 1841, they sailed among many icebergs, totally different from these, strange, curious, and diversified,—reflecting the sunbeams in all the colours of the rainbow,—and forming a series of brilliant and magnificent scenery. On the 5th, they entered the pack, and began a course of boring through lanes and buffeting the ice, which only the strongest ships, most strongly strengthened, could have pursued without destruction. On the 9th, they were again in a clear sea; and on the 11th, they descried land right before them. It rose to the sky in majestic snow-clad peaks, and seemed to be at least an 100 miles

Iceberg scenery.



CHAP. XXI.

The Antarctic  
Continent.

distant. And when they drew near it, they saw that an outwork of small islands flanked its shores, that pieces of rock on its coast had been left bare by the breaking away of their icy covering, and that two sublime ranges of mountain occupied all its seaboard as far as the eye could reach, lifting up peaks to the height of from 7,000 to 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, and flinging down from their shoulders into the valleys and over the shore stupendous glaciers, which in many instances projected several miles into the sea, and terminated in lofty perpendicular cliffs.

Dense crowds  
of Penguins.

Sir James Ross and several of his officers attempted next day, to effect a landing; but they could not get on to the mainland, and were obliged to content themselves with the occupation of one of the largest of the islands. This is situated in latitude  $71^{\circ} 56'$  and east longitude  $171^{\circ} 7'$ , and consists entirely of igneous rocks. Here they planted the British flag, and went through the ceremony of annexing the newly discovered lands to the dominions of Queen Victoria. It contained not the smallest trace of vegetation, yet was all alive with feathered inhabitants, who angrily and bravely resented the invasion of their territory. "We saw," says Sir James Ross, "inconceivable myriads of penguins, completely and densely covering the whole surface of the island, along the ledges of the precipices, and even to the summits of the hills—attacking us vigorously as we waded through their ranks, and pecking at us with their sharp beaks, which, together with their loud coarse notes, and the insupportable stench from the deep bed of guano which had been forming for ages, and which may at some period be valuable to our Australasian colonists, made us glad to get away again, after loading our boats with penguins and geological specimens."

The expedition was kept for three days near this place by thick, snowy, baffling weather. On the 14th, they saw a great number of large whales, chiefly of the hunchback kind, and counted so many as thirty in view

at one time. On the 15th, they got again a clear prospect of the mountain ranges, and saw them at points more southerly than before, with peaks apparently of from 12,000 to upwards of 14,000 feet high; and they "gazed with feelings of indescribable delight upon a scene of grandeur and magnificence far beyond anything they had before seen or had conceived." On the 21st, they descried in the west a peculiar high-peaked summit, which they called Mount Monteagle, and a huge, massive, *Ætna*-like mountain, which they called Mount Melbourne. On the 22nd, they passed the latitude of  $74^{\circ} 20'$ , and so went further south than Weddell and all other navigators; and on the 25th, they calculated by the dip of the needle that they were within about 240 miles of the South Magnetic Pole. At this part of their course, the soaring peak of Mount Monteagle and the immense crater of Mount Melbourne were high above the adjacent mountains, and "formed two of the more remarkable objects of this most wonderful and magnificent mass of volcanic land."

Mounts  
Monteagle  
and Mel-  
bourne.

In latitude  $76^{\circ} 8'$  and east longitude  $168^{\circ} 12'$  lies an island about twelve miles long and six miles broad. The two commanders and some of their officers, thought this one of the most accessible places they had seen; and they went to attempt to land upon it, but were obliged to row long in search of a favourable spot, and then to contend dexterously with a powerful surf, before they set foot on its shore. Sir James himself watched the moment when the boat was on the crest of the breakers, and jumped upon the rocks; and he says, "By means of a rope, some of the officers landed with more facility, but not without getting thoroughly wetted; and one having nearly lost his life in this difficult affair, I was obliged to forbid any more attempting to land. The thermometer being at  $22^{\circ}$ , every part of the rocks which were washed by the waves was covered with a coating of ice, so that in jumping from the boat he slipped from them into the water, between

Landing on  
Franklin  
Island.

CHAP. XXI. her stern and the almost perpendicular rock on which we had landed—and but for the promptitude of those in the boat, in instantly pulling off, he must have been crushed between it and the rocks. It was most mercifully ordered otherwise; and he was taken into the boat without having suffered any other injury than being benumbed with cold. We proceeded therefore at once to take possession of the island in due form; and to the great satisfaction of every individual in the expedition, I named it Franklin island, in compliment to Sir John Franklin.” Its north side is a line of dark, basaltic, precipitous cliffs, with several longitudinal broad white bands several feet thick, and probably aluminous. The white petrel and the rapacious sea-gull nestled on the ledges of the cliffs; but not one plant, not even a seaweed or a lichen, was seen.

Taking possession.

At midnight of the 27th, the expedition saw, in the far distance, what they thought to be eight separate islands, and since the preceding noon they had been in sight of what they thought to be a very high island; but, on advancing on the 28th, they found the supposed eight islands to be summits of a grand system of mountains which stretched southward to the 79th degree of latitude, and the supposed high island to be an active volcano, 12,367 feet high, emitting flame and smoke. This volcano Sir James Ross called Mount Erebus; and an extinct volcano to the east of it, nearer the shore, and 10,884 feet high, he called Mount Terror. A bright red flame filled the crater of Mount Erebus, and was readily seen whenever the smoke cleared away; streams of lava also appeared, though not very distinctly, to flow a few hundred feet from the crater to the overmantling snow; and dense volumes of smoke, between 200 and 300 feet in diameter, shot aloft, at fitful intervals, and with great force, to the height of about 1500 or 2000 feet above the crater. The whole scene of crystal sky, belching volcano, pap-peaked mountains, and ice-clad continent, was sublimely picturesque and solemnly impressive. Dr. Hooker, the

Mounts Erebus and Terror.

distinguished botanist of the expedition, says respecting it,—“The water and the sky were both as blue, or rather more intensely blue than I have ever seen them in the tropics, and all the coast one mass of dazzlingly beautiful peaks of snow, which, when the sun approached the horizon, reflected the most brilliant tints of golden-yellow and scarlet, and then to see the dark cloud of smoke, tinged with flame, rising from the volcano in a perfectly unbroken column, one side jet-black, the other giving back the colours of the sun, sometimes turning off at a right angle by some current of wind, and stretching many miles to leeward,—this was a sight so surpassing everything that can be imagined, and so heightened by the consciousness that we had penetrated into regions far beyond what was ever deemed practicable, that it really caused a feeling of awe to steal over us at the consideration of our own comparative insignificance and helplessness, and, at the same time, an indescribable feeling of the greatness of the Creator in the works of his hands.”

CHAP. XXI.  
Sublime  
scenery.

On approaching the land, in the vicinity of the volcano, the expedition found it to be barred by a vertical icy barrier. cliff of ice, from 150 to 200 feet high, perfectly flat on the top, and without fissure or projection on the face. They could as little attempt to penetrate this as to “sail through the cliffs of Dover;” and in going along to the east, they found it to increase in height to between 200 and 300 feet, and conjectured it to be upwards of 1000 feet thick. They went on in the hope of turning its flank, or of seeing some opening through it; and on the 2nd of February, they had traced it in an unbroken line for about 250 miles, and saw it still to stretch away to the east as far as the eye could reach, and ascertained the part of it nearest them to be in latitude 78° 15'. On the 8th, they observed a break in it of remarkable bay-like appearance,—and all the more remarkable for being the first they had seen in the mural continuity of its front; and there, under circum-



CHAP. XXI.

stances of high hazard, they stood in till within a quarter of a mile of the cliffs. The seeming bay proved only the sea-flank of a large peninsula of ice, projecting with comparatively low neck from the barrier; but it gave the officers the only opportunity they could obtain of viewing from the mast-heads any part of the barrier's upper surface. This appeared quite smooth, and suggested the idea of an immense plain of frosted silver. Gigantic icicles, too, were seen pendant on every point of the perpendicular cliffs,—proving, what the officers otherwise would not have suspected or believed, that the intense summer frost of the place is sometimes interrupted by a thaw.

The barrier's  
upper sur-  
face.

On the 13th, the expedition bore away to make another attempt to reach the Magnetic Pole, and to try to find some harbour in its vicinity where they might spend the winter. But they could not get nearer the Pole than 160 miles, and could not find the desired harbour; so that they were obliged to steer back for Van Dieman's Land.

On the night of the 28th, just after having sailed out of view of the newly discovered continent, they got a first sight of an aurora australis. It had the form of two segments of a broken arch, and shot aloft bright and high corruscations, but possessed none of the colours which give such warm tinting and scenic power to the aurora borealis. In the nights of March, however, and increasingly as the ships got into lower latitudes, other specimens burst forth like glories, in many forms, with fitful changes, and in gorgeous hues, and one, in particular, after making a series of grand displays, rose in streamers to the zenith, and there formed coronæ, exhibiting bright flashes of all the prismatic colours.

The aurora  
australis.

On the 7th of March, the ships became perilously embayed amid a dense zone of large icebergs. "We found," says Sir James Ross, "we were fast closing this chain of icebergs, so closely packed together that we could distinguish no opening through which the ships

could pass, the waves breaking violently against them, dashing huge masses of pack-ice against the precipitous face of the bergs, now lifting them nearly to their summit, then forcing them again far beneath their water-line, and sometimes rending them into a multitude of brilliant fragments against their projecting points. Sublime and magnificent as such a scene must have appeared under different circumstances, to us it was awful, if not appalling. For eight hours we had been gradually drifting towards what to human eyes appeared inevitable destruction ; the high waves and deep rolling of our ships rendered towing with the boats impossible, and our situation the more painful and embarrassing, from our inability to make any effort to avoid the dreadful calamity that seemed to await us. In moments like these, comfort and peace of mind could only be obtained by casting our cares upon that Almighty Power which had already so often interposed to save us, when human skill was wholly unavailing. Convinced that he is under the protection and guidance of a merciful God, the Christian awaits the issue of events firm and undismayed, and with calm resignation prepares for whatever He may order. His serenity of mind surprises and strengthens, but never forsakes him ; and thus, possessing his soul in peace, he can, with the greater advantage, watch every change of circumstance that may present itself as a means of escape. We were now within half a mile of the range of bergs. The roar of the surf, which extended each way as far as we could see, and the crashing of the ice, fell upon the ear with fearful distinctness, whilst the frequently averted eye as immediately returned to contemplate the awful destruction that threatened, in one short hour, to close the world, and all its hopes and joys and sorrows upon us for ever. In this our deep distress, ' we called upon the Lord. He heard our voices out of His temple, and our cry came before Him.' A gentle air of wind filled our sails ; hope again revived, and the

CHAP. XXI.

Awful environment  
by icebergs.

Solemn  
crisis.

CHAP. XXI. greatest activity prevailed to make the best use of the feeble breeze. As it gradually freshened, our heavy ships began to feel its influence, slowly at first, but more rapidly afterwards; and before dark, we found ourselves far removed from every danger."

Ross's  
Second An-  
tartic  
Cruise.

The expedition reached Hobart Town on the 6th of April; and after refitting their ships, and laying in stores and provisions for three years, they went to Port Jackson and New Zealand, and there made comparative magnetical observations. On the 23d of November, they left New Zealand to go eastward; and on the 25th, they crossed the 180° of longitude. But in order to give back the day which they were gaining by the circumnavigation of the globe, they reckoned two successive days as of that date. On the 16th of December, they began to steer to the south; and on the 13th of January, 1842, they entered the pack; and six days after, they were tossed and buffeted, for twenty-four hours, by a tremendous storm. Sea and pack were in uproar; billows and icebergs rolled and roared in conflict; and the ships rose and fell as if they would be swallowed up, and quivered and reeled as if they would go to pieces. The Erebus was laid on her broadside, and considerably damaged; and the Terror had her rudder completely destroyed, and torn away from the stern-post. The scene altogether "was sufficient to fill the stoutest heart with dismay that was not supported by trust in Him who controls all events."

The icy bar-  
rier again.

The expedition eventually got through the pack; and they ascertained that it could not have been less than 800 miles broad where they traversed it. On the 23d of February, in latitude 78° 3' and west longitude 161° 27', they approached within five or six miles of the great barrier. It was there indented by a deep ice-filled bay, and was much less continuous and uniform than the parts of it seen in the preceding year, and less than half as high as the part in the vicinity of Mount Erebus. The continuation of it in the unexplored di-

rection trended considerably northward of east, and therefore precluded all hope of the expedition being able to penetrate to a higher latitude that season; and the surface behind it, away to the south, was seen from the mast-heads to rise gradually and undulatingly, till it became like a system of lofty snow-clad mountains. Little doubt can exist that the region was land.

On the four days following the 23d, the ships sailed along a great line of pack, stretching northward from the barrier; and on the 28th, they came in view of a range of stupendous icebergs extending northward, magnificently and without a break, away to the mast-head's horizon. Three of the icebergs carried patches of soil and rock, and were flat-topped, and had appearances of having undergone violent collision. On the 13th of March, during a high wind, and while the ships were still among the icebergs, the people of the Erebus, with top-sails closely reefed, were struggling to keep free from a near and menacing one, when they observed the Terror running down upon them under top-sails and fore-sail, with a speed and closeness which rendered collision inevitable. They instantly hove all aback in order to diminish the violence of the shock; but when the blow came, they were all thrown off their feet, and their bowsprit, foretopmast, and other smaller spars were carried away. The ships were entangled by their rigging, and dashed violently against each other, and plunged and rolled in each other's grips before the weather-face of the billow-fringed iceberg. The Terror, however, forged past, and was soon in safety. But the Erebus was left with her wrecked spars, almost in the very hug of the iceberg; and she escaped by means of a peculiarly bold deed of seamanship, which must be told in the words of her commander.

"The only way left us to extricate ourselves from this awful and appalling situation," says he, "was by resorting to the hazardous expedient of a sternboard, which nothing could justify during such a gale, and

CHAP. XXI.

Range of  
stupendous  
icebergs.

Collision of  
the ships.



CHAP. XXI. with so high a sea running, but to avert the danger which every moment threatened us of being dashed to pieces. The heavy rolling of the vessel, and the probability of the masts giving way each time the lower yard-arms struck against the cliffs, which were towering high above our mast-heads, rendered it a service of extreme danger to loose the main-sail. But no sooner was the order given, than the daring spirit of the British seaman manifested itself. The men ran up the rigging with as much alacrity as on any ordinary occasion; and although more than once driven off the yard, they after a short time succeeded in loosening the sail. Amidst the roar of the wind and sea, it was difficult both to hear and to execute the orders that were given; so that it was three quarters of an hour before we could get the yards braced by, and the maintack hauled on board sharp aback,—an expedient that perhaps had never before been resorted to by seamen in such weather. But it had the desired effect. The ship gathered stern-way, plunging her stern into the sea, washing away the gig and quarter-boats, and with her lower yard-arms scraping the rugged face of the berg, we in a few minutes reached its western termination, the ‘under tow,’ as it is called, or the reaction of the water from its vertical cliffs alone preventing us being driven to atoms against it. No sooner had we cleared it than another was seen directly astern of us, against which we were running; and the difficulty now was to get the ship’s head turned round and pointed fairly through between the two bergs, the breadth of the intervening space not exceeding three times her own breadth. This, however, we happily accomplished; and in a few minutes after getting before the wind, she dashed through the narrow channel,—between two perpendicular walls of ice, and the foaming breakers which stretched across it, and the next moment we were in smooth water under its lee.”

Bravery of  
the crew.

Deliverance  
from danger.

A dense range of icebergs was now seen to windward,

so that the small opening by which the ships were compelled to go out, proved to be the only one which could have led them from destruction, and the collision which obliged them to go backward prevented their going into a labyrinth of icebergs, from which they might never have escaped. While the Erebus, newly after her extrication, lay rolling amid foam and spray, a remarkable auroral light, in the form of a range of vertical beams, appeared along the cliff-top of the neighbouring iceberg, partaking of all the irregularities of its outline, and seemingly caused by some electrical action between the vaporous mist around the berg and either the berg itself or the adjacent cooler atmosphere.

CHAP. XXI.

A remarkable aurora light.

The Expedition passed Cape Horn on the 4th of April, and reached the Falkland Islands on the 4th; and they went into harbour at the latter, to make magnetic and pendulum experiments, and to lie up for the winter. The Falkland Islands are fully noticed in an early part of this volume, in connection with the voyage of Portlock and Dixon, and need not be noticed again. But their wild cattle and wild horses, which run in herds, and largely drew the attention of Sir James Ross's officers, are well worth remark. The cattle go in herds of from ten to thirty, and have singular power of muscle and speed of foot. The full-grown bull is larger than any bull of Europe; and has an enormous head, a short and very deep neck, a surprisingly thick skin, and a noble bearing, indomitable courage, and untamable ferocity. He is commonly seen alone on the hills, looking defiance at a human intruder, or starting, furiously and unprovokedly, into a gallop to assail him. The traveller must promptly run into a bog or run up to a cliff; or, if no such refuge be at hand, he must drop suddenly on the ground; and then the bull wheels aside, and goes unheedingly on. The horses roam in troops of from twenty to forty. They have small heads, clean limbs, flowing mane and tail, and a noble look, and bold, free bearing. They are dangerous to un-

The bulls of the Falkland Islands.

CHAP. XXI.  
 The horses of  
 the Falkland  
 Islands.

armed men, and cannot readily or at all be run down with dogs. "By and by," says the narrator of a hunting party from the Erebus and the Terror, "they advanced toward us, now ambling, now at a canter. They snorted, shook their wild manes, wheeled round in file, and again closing, stood stock still, and looked defiance at our whole party." And when "the loosened hound bounded forwards with a short bark, the horses eyed him, shook their heads, turned their tails toward us, and forthwith one and all began to neigh, rear, fling, and kick at the empty air, with a rapidity of motion, uniformity, and pertinacity that discomfited poor Yorke, and moved us to shrieks of laughter."

Ætna and  
 Danger  
 Islets.

The Expedition sailed from the Falkland Islands, on the 8th of September, to make a third visit to the south frigid zone. On this occasion, the 55° of west longitude was selected as the most desirable line of exploration. On the 28th of December, they saw land, which they supposed to be the north cape of Joinville Land; and the officers of the Terror thought they discovered smoke issuing from its hills. A very high islet also was discovered, which they called Ætna Islet, covered with recent snow, and sending down a glacier of several miles in breadth from a height of 1200 feet to a cliff termination at the sea. Near this was observed a very large aggregation of icebergs, evidently broken off from the glacier. Numerous rocky islets were passed, which they called the Danger Islets; and a great number of remarkably large black whales were seen,—so tame that they were almost touched by the ships before they would get out of the way. Sir James Ross remarks, at this point, that "within ten days after leaving Port Louis (in the Falkland Islands), they had discovered, not only new land, but a valuable whale-fishery, well worthy the attention of our enterprising merchants, and less than 600 miles from one of our own possessions."

Other islands and points of land, and mountainous

elevations and ranges of coast were afterwards seen, but nearly all so flanked with ice and ice-bergs that they could not be approached nearer than three or four miles. An inlet, about forty miles wide and nearly as many deep, was named the Gulf of Erebus and Terror. The whole of one of its sides was grandly upland; and another place sent aloft a magnificent table-topped mountain to the height of 7,050 feet. In latitude  $64^{\circ} 12'$  and west longitude  $59^{\circ} 49'$  was a soaring island, which had at one extremity a crater-topped peak and at the other a rock resembling a watch-tower; and on this the officers landed, and went through the ceremony of annexing the newly discovered territories to the crown of Britain. The Expedition coursed the land for some distance to the south-west, and found a range of it quite free from snow, but could not see any hope of being able, that season, to determine its limits, or to ascertain whether it joined on to their discoveries of the two preceding years.

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The Gulf of  
Erebus and  
Terror.

On the 8th of January 1843, they were fearfully imperilled, in a thick fog, among innumerable icebergs, aground in from 80 to 100 fathoms; and, next day, when the fog cleared off, they found themselves "beset by the close pack, and fast to the fixed land ice." They contended with the pack, fruitlessly and amid frequent danger, for a series of weeks, but at last got out of it on the 4th of February, and tried again to penetrate to the south. In latitude  $61\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and west longitude  $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , they crossed the line of no variation; and in latitude  $68^{\circ} 34'$  and west longitude  $12^{\circ} 49'$ , they could not find a bottom with a sounding line of 4000 fathoms. On the 5th of March, they were again beset in the pack; and when at their most southern point, in latitude  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and west longitude  $14^{\circ} 51'$ , they relinquished all hope of further success, and commenced their return home. They reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th of April,—spent some time there in refitting the ships, and continuing their magnetical observations, and arrived in

Besetment  
in the pack.



CHAP. XXI. England on the 3d of September. Thus, in their voyage round the world, and in their manifold labours of exploratory research and scientific observation, they were absent from Britain nearly four years.

The United States Exploring Expedition.

An expedition of similar character and rival interest to that of Sir James Ross was the United States Exploring Expedition. This was authorized by an Act of Congress, and had for its object to explore and survey the great Southern Ocean, with the view of facilitating mercantile adventure. It was the first national American one of its kind, and was got up with great difficulty, and threatened for a time to be a ridiculous failure, but became, before setting out, both complete and vigorous. It consisted of the Vincennes, a sloop of war, of 780 tons, with the accommodation of a small frigate, commanded by Captain Wilkes; the Peacock, a sloop of war, of 650 tons, commanded by Captain Hudson; the Porpoise, a gun brig of 230 tons, commanded by Lieutenant Ringgold; the tenders Sea-Gull and Flying-Fish, quondam New York pilot-boats, of 110 and 96 tons, commanded by Mr. Reid and Mr. Knox; and the Relief, a new vessel, built for a store-ship, commanded by Lieutenant Long.\*

Antarctic cruise of the Porpoise and the Sea-Gull.

The squadron set sail from Norfolk on the 18th of August, 1838. They visited Madeira and Rio de Janeiro before the middle of winter, and made scientific observations. They next went into Orange Harbour in Terra del Fuego, and made preparations for an antarctic cruise. The Porpoise and the Sea-Gull—the former with Captain Wilkes on board—sailed out thence on the 25th of February, 1839, for Palmer's Land, and reached that place on the 3d of March, but were compelled by the tempestuousness of the weather and the

\* See "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842. By Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. With Illustrations and Maps. In Five Volumes. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. 1845."

lateness of the season to make a speedy retreat. The Peacock and the Flying-Fish sailed out also on the 25th of February, to steer towards Cook's farthest, but were soon separated, and did not meet again till the 25th of March, in latitude 68°, amid storms of snow and crowds of icebergs. Both vessels were fearfully buffeted, and escaped many a peril; and the Flying-Fish got so far south as the 70°, and was often enclosed in nooks among the icebergs where she had barely room to work, and probably escaped more than once with little injury from situations where a large heavy ship would have been crushed to destruction; but neither she nor the Peacock made any discovery or performed any exploit of higher moment than desecrating a piece of fixed icy barrier.

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Perils of the  
Peacock and  
the Flying-  
Fish.

The squadron spent a number of the succeeding months on the west coast of South America and among the nearest groups of the Polynesian islands; but lost two of their number by the wrecking of the Sea-Gull and by sending home the Relief. In November, they assembled at Sydney to make observations, and to prepare for another antarctic cruise; and in due time, they set out, but were soon separated by storms, and forced to make separate explorations.

The Vincennes was arrested on the 11th of January, 1840, by a compact barrier of ice, inclosing large square icebergs; and she then began to trace the line of the barrier, from the longitude or 158° to that of 94°, between the parallels of 62° and 66½° a distance of more than 1500 miles. Her officers, however, did not keep the barrier always in view, but saw it only at intervals; neither did they ever leave the ship, or obtain any sure evidence that a base or nucleus of land lay below the seemingly continuous masses of ice. Yet they believed that elevations which they beheld behind the barrier were mountains; and they did not hesitate to persuade themselves, and afterwards to announce to their government, that they there discovered an antarctic continent.

The Vin-  
cennes at the  
icy barrier.

CHAP. XXI. Sir James Ross, however, sailed through one of the regions which figure on Captain Wilkes "tracing" as part of the supposed continent; and he has given reasons for strong doubt whether the whole of what the Americans saw may, at best, be no more than a range of islands covered and concatenated by coats of ice.

The  
Vincennes  
in a gale.

From the 28th to the 31st of January, in the near vicinity of the barrier, the Vincennes experienced a constant gale, and rode through a series of tremendous perils. On the night of the 29th, in particular, she careered and rolled among a tumult of icebergs; in momentary risk, for hours together, of being dashed to atoms. Several of the best men became completely exhausted with excitement, fatigue, and cold; and the rest could do no more than stand steadily to their post in readiness to leap into any action of joint-effort or of self-preservation at a sudden emergency. "We were swiftly dashing on," says Captain Wilkes, at an advanced point of the narrative of their perils; "for I felt it necessary to keep the ship under rapid way through the water, to enable her to steer and work quickly. Suddenly many voices cried out, 'Ice ahead!' then 'On the weather bow!' and again, 'On the lee bow!' and 'abeam!' All hope of escape seemed in a moment to vanish; return we could not, as large ice-islands had just been passed to leeward: so we dashed on, expecting every moment the crash. The ship in an instant, from having her lee-guns under water, rose upright; and so close were we passing to leeward of one of these huge islands, that our trysails were almost thrown aback by the eddy-wind. The helm was put up to pay the ship off, but the proximity of those under our lee bade me keep my course. All was now still, except the distant roar of the wild storm, that was raging behind, before, and above us. The sea was in great agitation, and both officers and men were in the highest degree excited. The ship continued her way; and as we proceeded, a glimmering of hope arose, for we acci-

Imminent  
peril among  
icebergs.

dentally had hit upon a clear passage between two large ice-islands, which in fine weather we should not dare to have entered through. The suspense endured while making our way between them was intense, but of short duration; and my spirits rose as I heard the whistling of the gale grow louder and louder before us, as we emerged from the passage. We had escaped an awful death, and were again tempest-tossed." They continued their exploration fully three weeks after this signally providential deliverance, and then, on the 21st of February, commenced their return to the north.

The Peacock arrived at the barrier on the 15th of January; and she repeatedly got soundings at depths of from 320 to 800 fathoms in its vicinity. But she was in bad condition, exceedingly unfit to contend with the perils of the ice; and only nine days after her arrival, she encountered evils which might have destroyed the strongest ship. Ice-masses beset her; one of them crushed her rudder, and otherwise disabled her; another of huge size toppled over so near her that, had it fallen but a few seconds earlier, it would have utterly overwhelmed her; and hundreds of others pressed so thickly and swiftly on as to force her to lie among them almost like a log. "Towards midnight," says her captain, "the sea was increasing, accompanied with snow, and every indication of a gale from seaward, and the ice, with which we were continually in contact, or actually jammed, more formidable in character, rapidly accumulating outside of us, and forming a compact mass. I found, as we were nearing the open sea, that we had been carried so far to leeward by the ice, as to be in great danger of taking up our last residence in the barrier, amongst bergs and islands of ice. There was, therefore, no choice left but to force her out, or grind and thump the ship to pieces in the attempt." She was led out, by Providence, to an open space in the morning; yet even then was environed at a distance by chains of icebergs which offered no outlet, and when at last conducted by Providence

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The  
Vincennes'  
escape from  
danger.

Imminent  
peril of the  
Peacock.



CHAP. XXI. through these also, had to stagger, all smashed and leaky, through a tempestuous sea, to the nearest point of refuge in Australia. Her escape from the ice, and subsequent safe voyage across the waters, were scarcely less wonderful than those of the Terror on occasion of her winter besetment in 1836 among the tempest-tost ice-masses of Hudson's Bay.

Disasters  
of the  
Flying-Fish.

The Flying-Fish reached the barrier on the 21st of January. But she soon was awfully menaced by the icebergs, and began to be almost water-logged. The crew were all admitted to the cabin, and could scarcely, by perpetual working of the pumps, prevent it from being flooded. Most became sick; only two remained able to work the helm; and, on the wind freshening into a gale, the whole together, after many attempts, were unable to reduce sail. The vessel strained at every seam, and laboured terrifically in a terrific sea, and flew through thick snowfall among drift-ice and rolling icebergs; and was manifestly saved from destruction only by the special favour of Him who "holds the winds in his fists and the waters in the hollow of his hand." She bore away on the 5th of February for the south end of New Zealand.

Achievements  
of the  
Porpoise.

The Porpoise arrived at the barrier on the same day as the Vincennes. She fell in with the French discovery ships under Captain D'Urville on the 30th of January; and attempted to speak with them, but was refused a meeting. She sailed along the barrier to the 100° of east longitude, or about 1,400 miles, and then sailed back to the 126°, or about 600 miles, in the anxious but vain hope of finding some place where she could get through it; and on the 24th of February, she turned her course to the north.

The Vincennes joined the Porpoise and the Flying-Fish at the Bay of Islands on the 30th of March, and the whole squadron met at Tonga, one of the Friendly Islands, on the 1st of May. They were struck with the superiority of the natives of the Friendly Islands

to the natives of New Zealand,—with their cheerfulness, the number and healthiness of their children, and the beauty and correct deportment of their women. They speak well of the success of a Wesleyan mission on these islands; yet say something respecting narrow-mindedness and intolerance which we hope arose from misinformation or mistake. Great numbers of both sexes had been taught to read and write, and a few had been taught the rules of arithmetic and the outlines of geography. The entire population was estimated at about 18,500; and no fewer than 4,500 were under Christian instruction, and 2,500 were members of the mission churches.

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The moral  
state of the  
Friendly  
Islands.

The squadron spent three months, from May till August, at the Feejee Islands, and gave more attention and labour to them than to any other of the Polynesian groups. These islands comprise sixty-five inhabited ones, eighty-five uninhabited ones, and numerous reefs and shoals. The inhabitants amount to about 130,000; and are assured cannibals, and more infamous for cruelty and treachery, than any other Polynesians, excepting perhaps those of Byron's and Drummond's islands. They comprise a number of tribes, and are classified, in all, into kings, chiefs, warriors, landholders, and slaves. The higher classes are tall and symmetrical; the middle classes also have a fine appearance, and are generally above medium height; but the slaves are meagre and abject, and exhibit abundant results of living in lowest thral among barbarous masters. The chiefs pay vast attention to their beard and hair, and think them their greatest glory. Their barbers are men most eminently professional, and must not demean themselves by doing any act out of their profession, not even lifting their own food to their mouth. The hair is frizzled, and made to stand erect, to the height of several inches; and it is then enveloped in a winding of tapa, as fine as tissue paper, to protect it from the dust. The chiefs also wear tapa round the loins, and paint the naked

The inhabit-  
ants of the  
Feejee  
Islands.

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parts of their body with black and red pigments, and wear round the neck a shell or a necklace made of beads, whale's teeth, or the human teeth taken from the victims of their cannibal feasts ; and altogether spend much time in ornamenting their persons, and "will sit for hours with a small sixpenny-looking glass, admiring themselves with great delight." The middle classes and the women vie with them in the pigment decorations ; and all vie with one another in smearing themselves with cocoa-nut oil, in boring and distending their ear-lobes, and in wearing ear-pieces of tapa, wood, and shells. The women alone, however, practise tatoeing, and regard it as a passport to the other world ; and they wear round the waist a sort of ornamental band, made from the bark of a tree.

Their savage decorations.

The Feejeeans esteem war the most honourable of all occupations ; and they commence every war in a formal manner, by announcement and acceptance of a message of defiance ; yet always mix their hostilities with vile perfidiousness and horrid truculency. All prisoners of war are doomed to death, as sacrificial victims, and as the subjects of cannibal feasts. The eating of human flesh is probably restricted to the flesh of those, yet seems to be practised from habit and taste, and possibly may sometimes be gratified at the cost of butchering slaves. The pagan rites are inexpressibly shocking and absolutely diabolical. The death of a chief is celebrated by the sacrifice of his slaves, his children, and his wives. Few persons, however, die a natural death ; for all imagine that they will enjoy in the future state the degree of health and strength which they possess at their decease ; and all, in consequence, desire to die in prime condition, and therefore by violence. Parents, when becoming old, and dreading to become feeble, are strangled or buried alive, at their own request, by their children ; and deformed children and persons accidentally maimed, also, are generally put to death. Yet in spite of their tremendous savageism and tremendous

Their horrible pagan rites.

wickedness, the Feejeeans are still human, and occasionally in remarkable circumstances, make displays of thought and feeling which "show the work of the law written on their hearts," and might almost be called roughly virtuous. CHAP. XXI.

Six years before the visit of the squadron, a chief of the name of Vendovi, the brother of a king, on the island of Vitileva, had enticed on shore the crew of an American brig and murdered them. Captain Hudson of the Peacock, after having spent some time in surveying the island, and after having won the confidence of the king and chiefs, received an order to capture Vendovi. He could not come at Vendovi himself; but, on occasion of a visit of the king, the queen, the chiefs, and their attendants, to the number of between seventy and eighty persons, he made them prisoners, and held them bound to use their influence to capture him. They consented; and two of the chiefs were let loose, and soon found him. He at once consented to accompany them to the ship; and there he confessed his crime, and was put in irons. The rest were all then set free; and when they rose to take leave of him, they were convulsed with grief. "All the king's family shed tears, and sobbed aloud, while conversing in broken sentences with their brother. The natives shed tears also; and none but Ngaraningiou (who was afterwards ascertained to have instigated the crime) remained unmoved. The king kissed the prisoner's forehead, touched noses, and turned away. The inferior chiefs approached and kissed his hands, whilst the common people crawled up to him and kissed his feet. One young man, who belonged to the household of Vendovi, was the last to quit him; he wished to remain with his master, but was not permitted. In bidding farewell to the chief, he embraced his knees, kissed his hands and feet and received a parting blessing from Vendovi, who placed both his manacled hands on his head. The young man then retreated backwards

Capture of a  
chieftain  
murderer.

Parting of  
the natives  
with the  
murderer.



CHAP. XXI. towards the ladder, sighing and sobbing as though his heart would break." We may add that Vendovi was sent in custody to the Vincennes,—that he was kept there till the return of the ship, two years after, to New York,—and that he arrived there in a state of far-gone disease, and was put into the naval hospital and speedily died.

The killing of two officers on the island of Malolo.

The intercourse between the explorers and the natives, in another part of the group, was broken off by an incomparably worse affair than this of Vendovi. A party of the squadron went in three boats to the island of Malolo to endeavour to purchase provisions; and, having had previous experience of the ill-will and perfidy of the inhabitants, those who remained in the boats held a hostage, the son of a chief, to ensure the safety of those who went on shore. The hostage, by and by, was signalled from the land, and leaped overboard and escaped. A shot was fired after him, yet not at him, but over his head; and immediately the natives, in revenge of the shot, or in outburst of their previous pent-up purpose of mischief, made fight upon the squadron's men who were on shore, and killed two of the officers, Lieutenant Underwood and Midshipman Wilkes Henry,—the latter the nephew of Captain Wilkes. The party in the boats hastened to the conflict; but so suddenly did it pass, that they found not a foe, and could do no more than bring away the corpses of their comrades. Captain Wilkes selected a secluded sand-island, one of a beautiful little cluster, as the place of interment for the dead, and conducted the obsequies with affecting solemnity, and called the burial island "Henry" and the cluster to which it belongs "Underwood Group;" and then concerted measures for making an awful retaliation on the natives.

Burial of the two officers.

An armed force landed next day on the island, sufficiently strong to destroy its towns. But they found one of these remarkably well fortified; and they encountered a desperate resistance with clubs, arrows,

spears, and muskets ; and not till their rockets took effect on the thatched roofs of the houses, were they able to effect an entrance. But the work of vengeance was more easily done on the water. Lieutenant Emmons, during the afternoon, in a single boat, with a crew of seven men, attacked five canoes with each eight warriors, and mastered four of the canoes, and killed twenty-five of the warriors. Next day, a young female native appeared on the beach, bearing in her arms a white cock, an emblem of peace, and having near her different articles which belonged to the two murdered officers. Captain Wilkes accepted these articles, but declined the peace-offering ; for he knew that the Feejeeans, when beaten in war, had a custom of suing abjectly and publicly for mercy ; and he sent one of his prisoners to announce to the natives the only terms on which he would put an end to his inflictions,—that they would all come before sun-set of the following day, and beg pardon on the shore. He duly landed, with his whole force, to wait the result. “ The day was perfectly serene, and the island which, a few hours before, had been one of the loveliest spots in creation, was now entirely laid waste, showing the place of the massacre, the ruined town, and the devastated plantations. The eye wandered over the beautiful expanse of water, beyond and around, with the long lines of white sparkling reefs, until it rested, far in the distance, on the small green spot where they had performed the last rites to their murdered companions.” Toward four o’clock a sound of wailing was heard from a far distance, and gradually grew nearer ; and at the same time the natives were seen coming over the hills, and giving a painfully picturesque effect to the scenery. They reached the foot of the hills, and there stood fast till they received an assurance that their suit for mercy would be heard ; and on receiving this, about forty men advanced in a manner of profound abasement, crouching on their hands and knees, and occasionally uttering

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Retaliation  
on the natives.Desolated  
appearance  
of the island.The natives  
sue for peace.

## CHAP. XXI.

piteous moans and wails. When within thirty feet of the Americans, they stopped and bent their heads to the ground ; and an old man, their leader, in a most affecting manner, confessed their guilt and supplicated pardon. He said that they would never again assail a white man,—that they acknowledged themselves vanquished, and their island conquered,—that their two greatest chiefs and all their best warriors, to the number of fifty-seven, had been killed,—that the survivors were bereft of houses and provisions, and all the necessaries of life,—and that they were the slaves of the Americans, and would do whatever the American commander might desire. Captain Wilkes was now satisfied, and let the miserable creatures off ; and in his narrative of the expedition, he went into a long vindication, as well he might, of the dreadful vengeance he inflicted.

Wilkes' acceptance of their submission.

On the 10th of August, the squadron left the Feejee Islands, and separated ; and early in October they met again at Honolulu, the chief port of the Sandwich Islands. In December, a large party of the explorers, together with many natives, visited the volcano of Kilauea in Hawaii,—by far the widest-mouthed volcano in the world, and appearing at the top rather a lake of fire than a crater-vent.

The volcano of Kilauea.

“ We hurried to the edge of the cavity, in order to get a view of the interior,” says Captain Wilkes ; “ and as we approached, vapour, issuing from numerous cracks, showed that we were passing over ground beneath which fire was raging. The rushing of the wind past us was as if it were drawn inwards to support the combustion of some mighty conflagration. When the edge is reached, the extent of the cavity becomes apparent, and its depth became sensible by comparison with the figures of some of our party who had already descended. The vastness thus made sensible transfixes the mind with astonishment, and every instant the impression of grandeur and magnitude increases. To give an idea of

its capacity, the city of New York might be placed within it, and when at its bottom would be hardly noticed, for it is three and a half miles long, two and a half wide, and over 1000 feet deep. A black ledge surrounds it at the depth of 660 feet, and thence to the bottom is 384 feet. The bottom looks in the day time, like a heap of smouldering ruins. The descent to the ledge appears to the sight a short and easy task, but it takes an hour to accomplish. \* \* \* What is wonderful in the day becomes ten times more so at night. The immense pool of cherry-red liquid lava, in a state of violent ebullition, illuminates the whole expanse, and flows in all directions like water, while the illuminated cloud hangs over it like a vast canopy. The bank near us was covered with half-naked natives, two hundred or more in number, all gazing with affrighted looks and savage wonder, on this surprising phenomenon. Their ancestors would not have dared thus to look upon and into this dreaded abode of the malicious goddess Pele, never having approached it without the greatest fear and awe, and then only to deliver their offering by casting it into the burning pool, to secure a safe transit through her territory."

Night view of  
the volcano.

Again, when recording the scene as he stood within the crater, he says, "The lake was apparently rising, and wanted but a few feet of overflowing its banks. When I began to reflect upon the position we were in, its insecurity, and the vast and deep fires beneath, with the high basaltic walls encompassing us on all sides, the sulphurous fumes and broad glare, throwing such enormous masses of stone in strong relief by their own fusion, I found it difficult to comprehend how such a reservoir can thus be pent up and be viewed in such close proximity, without accident or danger. The whole party was perfectly silent, and the countenance of each individual expressed the feeling of awe and wonder which I felt in so great a degree myself, and which the scene was so well calculated to excite."

Interior of  
the crater.



## CHAP. XXI.

The great  
volcanic  
mountain  
Mouna-Loa.

The explorers, when at Kilauea, were on their way to ascend the far loftier volcano of Mauna-Loa, and to make an encampment on its summit. This and the higher and similar summit of Mouna-Kea, which rises from the same tableau, are the monarch-mountains of the Sandwich Islands, and for bulk and form and height might be the fit monarch-mountains of a continent. Mouna-Loa swells sublimely to the sky in a vast bronze-coloured dome, and attains an altitude of about 13,400 feet above the level of the sea. The explorers found the ascent of it rugged and very difficult, and spent four days in going from Kilauea to its summit. Loads originally light felt eventually heavy; loads originally considerable felt eventually insupportable; the labour of climbing became increasingly oppressive; all the painful effects of a highly rarified atmosphere, languor, nausea, dryness of skin, soreness of eyes, tenuity of voice and labouredness of respiration, were severely experienced; and to crown all, in consequence of the improvidence of the seamen and the cunning of the natives, provisions and water threatened to fail.

Grand prospect from  
Mouna-Loa.

The third day of the journey from Kilauea was a sabbath, and a day of bright sunshine and surpassing beauty, and was spent as a day of rest and of religious observance far up the mountain. The view then enjoyed by the party was both gorgeous and singular, especially in the region of clouds,—rich alike in features to interest poets and painters, and in phenomena to interest meteorologists. “The clouds,” says Captain Wilkes, “were all floating below us in huge, white masses, of every variety of form covering an area of a hundred or more miles; passing around as they entered the different currents, where some acquired a rotatory motion that I had never before observed. The steam-cloud above Kilauea was conspicuous, not only from its silvery hue, but by its standing form, like an immense rock, while all around and beneath it were in motion. The vault overhead was of the most cerulean blue, ex-

tending to and blending with the green rich tint of the horizon, while beneath the clouds, the foreground and distant view of the island were of a dark green. The whole scene reminded me of the icy fields of the southern ocean; indeed the resemblance was so strong, that it seemed only to require the clouds to have angular instead of circular shapes, to have made the similarity complete. It was perceived that as masses of cloud met they appeared to rebound, and I seldom saw them intermingle. They would lie together with their forms somewhat compressed, and their outlines almost as well preserved as when separated and alone."

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Peculiarity  
of the cloud  
scenery.

On the second night after that day of rest—the night of the 21st of December—the thermometer stood at 15°, and a heavy snow-storm broke down the explorers' tent. Next day they reached the summit, and pitched the tent about sixty feet from the edge of the crater. A violent gale scattered the fire, extinguished the candles, and made the tent rock and flap as if it would go to pieces. The wind blew in blasts with terrific sound and all-commanding power. One of the men went amissing, and continued so for three days and three nights, and, when found, was speechless and delirious. Yet Captain Wilkes held firmly to his purpose, and set up an encampment of eight or ten tents, with all necessary appliances for his scientific observations, and surrounded each tent and the whole encampment with stone walls of sufficient height to shelter them from the wind. Two depôts of provisions, also, were established at suitable intervals on the acclivity of the mountain; and one of these served likewise as an hospital and a recruiting station for all the men who became invalided at the summit.

Encampment  
on Moun-  
Loa.

The explorers remained twenty-one days in their thin-aired, alpine, tempest-beaten encampment; and except in so far as they were embarrassed by languor, by the intense cold, by snow-storms, and by the fearful nocturnal hurricanes, they worked as steadily as if they

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Volcanic  
phenomena  
of the sum-  
mit.

had been situated on a palmy beach. They made diligent use of the advantages which so singular a position afforded for scientific observations, and at the same time minutely noticed the place's own remarkable characteristics. They found all the summit, between shoulders and crater, to be but a thin crust over hot, steaming, volcanic cavities,—and to be fissured with deep rents; and they went round it at great peril, and not without some serious alarms. Their feet and legs sometimes went through the surface; and Captain Wilkes once sank for a few seconds into a vapour-cavity, which was afterwards ascertained to have a temperature of 169°.

A murderous  
chief at  
Upolu.

The survey at the Sandwich Islands continued till spring. But during four months of the time when it was going on, the Porpoise performed a cruise among the Society and other islands; yet obtained results which are interesting chiefly, though very highly, to navigators. On the 2nd of December also, the Peacock and the Flying-Fish, under the command of Captain Hudson, set sail on an extensive cruise. On the 20th of January, 1841, Captain Hudson discovered an inhabited island, which he named Bowditch, in honour of the American mathematician. On the 6th of February, he arrived among the Samoan Islands. At Upolu, he made an attempt to capture a chief who had murdered an American; and getting into communication with his people, he received the insulting message that, "when the chief could kill a few more white men he would be given up;" and he then destroyed three towns over which the chief ruled, and which had united to protect him. Captain Hudson afterwards sailed through Ellice's group, and discovered another island which Captain Wilkes afterwards called Hudson Island. On the 3d of April, while a party from the Peacock were on shore on Drummond's Island, one of their men, on going aside from them for a few seconds, was kidnapped by the natives, and could not be again found. Every peaceful effort which could be thought of was used in vain to

obtain information respecting him; and then, as it seemed certain that he had been treacherously murdered, a party, under Lieutenant Walker, went to the town where he had been kidnapped, and burnt it, and killed twelve of the inhabitants. The people of this island are more truculent than even the Feejeeans; and many of them have scars of ghastly wounds which evince both the frequency and the ferocity of their wars. They have numerous weapons,—one of which is a formidable three-pronged spear, barbed with rows of shark's teeth; and they wear defensive armour,—a helmet of the skin of the porcupine-fish, arm-coverings and thigh-coverings of netted sinnet, and a cuirass made of a close web of the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Captain Hudson took on board from an island of the Kingsmill group two white men who had resided there several years. He afterwards visited the Mulgrave Islands, where once the mutineers of an American whale-ship had taken refuge. He next surveyed the Piscadores; and then, on the 15th of June returned to Honolulu.

Ferocity of the natives of Drummond's Island.

The Vincennes and the Porpoise had left Honolulu ten weeks before Captain Hudson's arrival, and were then engaged in surveying the labyrinth of waters on the northwest coast of America, adjacent to the embouch of the Columbia River. Captain Hudson knew that he was anxiously wanted to take part in that survey, and made all haste to follow; and at mid-day of the 18th of July, he arrived off the mouth of the Columbia River. "Mere description," we are told by Captain Wilkes, "can give little idea of the terrors of the bar of the Columbia. All who have seen it have spoken of the wildness of the scene, and the incessant roar of the waters, representing it as one of the most fearful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor. The difficulty of its channel, the distance of the leading sailing marks, their uncertainty to one unacquainted with them, the want of knowledge of the strength and direction of the currents, with the necessity of approaching

The bar of the Columbia River.



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close to unseen dangers, the transition from clear to turbid water, all cause doubt and mistrust." The cross-tides on the bar, too, change their relative forces every half hour, and are at times so rapid that no ship can maintain her position or steer her desired course against them. And a very singular circumstance—so singular as to be exemplified probably in not another part of the world—is, that the safest juncture for crossing the bar occurs when both the tide and the wind are adverse.

The Peacock strikes upon the bar.

The Peacock, without any fault of Captain Hudson, struck upon this terrible bar; and, in spite of every effort of the most skilful seamanship to work her off, was forced firmly on by the heaving sea, and rendered utterly unmanageable. The wind increased; and the ebb-tide, meeting the swell of the ocean, produced a powerful breaking tumult of the water. The first cutter was stove; and Lieutenant Emmons, who had been sent in one of the waist-boats to take soundings round the ship, got back to her only with great difficulty and hazard. She now laboured highly and heavily on her bed, and began rapidly to fill. Her rudder-braces were carried away; and the rudder thrashed violently on every billow, and acted threateningly on the stern-frame, but eventually worked itself loose. All hands were active in taking down sails and upper spars, in throwing overboard heavy articles, in placing the anchors to the best advantage, in working incessantly at the pumps, and in doing whatever else might lessen or postpone the coming catastrophe. At two o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the water in the hold was over the shot-lockers, the bulwarks were gone, and the decks were flooded by the oversurging waves. At an advanced period of the morning, as early as boats could be trusted in the water with the hope of reaching the shore, Lieutenant Perry was despatched with the surveys, the accounts, and the other public papers; and the launch and cutters were hoisted out, and successively freighted with the sick, the marines, and the scientific gentlemen,

She becomes a wreck.

but without any large loading of clothes or private property. Captain Hudson, Lieutenant Walker, and about thirty-five men remained on board ; and the masts, no longer useful, were cut away. The boats succeeded in making a second trip ; and they attempted a third, but had then to contend with the rush of the ebb-tide against the rollers from the ocean, and one of them was turned end over end and lost, and another was nearly swamped and had one of her men washed overboard and nearly drowned. The crew of the lost boat were saved by Lieutenant De Haven, who providentially was near them at the moment of their disaster. Captain Hudson saw the boats' crews in their perils, and hoisted the ensign, union up, on the stump of the mizen-mast as a signal for them not to persist ; and they understood the signal, and returned to the shore. The terrible breakers were now very rapidly demolishing the ship, and seemed as if they would have her all dissevered and strewn before the change of the tide. But at five o'clock in the afternoon, the boats again reached her, and carried off her officers and men from their appalling situation. Captain Hudson was the last to leave her, and he was received on shore with three hearty cheers from the assembled officers and crew. On the following morning, only the bowsprit of the ship was visible, and that soon disappeared. All the men, on this trying occasion, did their duty well ; and only forty-eight hours after they landed from the wreck, they were at work in the boats, under Lieutenant Perry, in the survey of the river. But, in the midst of their disasters, they received most kind and ready assistance from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and from the missionaries.

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Disasters of  
the boats.Good con-  
duct of the  
wrecked  
crew.

The survey of the waters of Northwestern America had commenced at the arrival of the Vincennes and the Porpoise in spring, and was carried on assiduously and unintermittingly till toward the end of autumn. It comprised the sounds and straits around Vancouver's

CHAP. XXI. Island, the main-stream and affluents of the Columbia, up to the cascades, 120 miles from the coast, and the course of the Sacramento, through a great part of its run, together with the chain of lagoons leading out from it to the sea. The brig Oregon was purchased to supply the loss of the Peacock, and the several vessels were placed under altered arrangements, as to officers and crew and position, suited to the peculiar exigencies of the service. Several parties went on exploring excursions from the ships, and penetrated interesting regions of the interior. Lieutenant Johnson encountered much curious adventure among the rugged scenery and wild people of the Columbia. Captain Wilkes ascended the Willamette valley, and visited the missions in it, which, he thought, "had but a limited field for spiritual operations." Lieutenant Emmons traversed the vast range of country from Vancouver to San Francisco, principally along the course of the Sacramento; and his journey lay through the territories of several hostile tribes, and involved great anxiety, but happily was achieved without any serious accident.

New arrangements of the vessels.

Peril of the Vincennes.

The squadron sailed from the harbour of San Francisco on the 1st of November, but were becalmed and left without a current before they got fairly out to sea. The Vincennes cast anchor in six-and-three-quarter fathoms of water, three miles from land, and lay there for some hours in almost total stillness. But in the early part of the night, without any apparent cause, amid calm and fog, a heavy swell arose, and rapidly increased, and soon set the ship a-rolling and pitching with excessive violence, and at two in the morning it began to burst, outside of her position, into a continuous series of terrific breakers. Every billow now rushed on with deafening roar, with tremendous violence, and with foaming and spouting summit, and had seemingly a height of at least thirty feet, a width of from 800 to 1000 feet, and a velocity of from fifteen to eighteen miles an hour, and struck the ship so strongly as to

make the chain-cable surge and the ring-stoppers start, and excited anxiety or fear in all the crew till its force was fairly spent. The ship behaved as if in a tempest, and once suffered a severe and damaging shock, yet hung firmly on by her anchor, and at eight o'clock got away from her difficulties. The Porpoise and the Oregon had reached a much more seaward anchorage at the commencement of the calm, and they did not encounter any of the rollers.

The squadron now directed their course across the Pacific, and touched at the Sandwich Islands to take in provisions; and the Porpoise and the Oregon went toward Japan, and through the Chinese Sea, while the Vincennes and the Flying-Fish proceeded to Manilla and through the Sooloo Sea, and all met again at Singapore. There the Flying-Fish was sold, and thence the others set sail homeward, the Vincennes to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Porpoise and the Oregon at Rio de Janeiro. The Vincennes arrived at New York on the 10th of June, 1842; and thus she was absent on the business of the expedition, three years, nine months, and twenty-three days.

Homeward  
course of the  
squadron.



## CHAPTER XXII

*Simpson and Pfeiffer.*

Sir George Simpson's Tour round the World—Whirl-tempest and Visuary Illusions in the Atlantic—Progress through Canada—Interview with Chippeway Indians—Journey across the Prairies and over the Rocky Mountains—Descent of the Columbia—Adventures in Oregon—Visit to San Francisco—Voyaging in the North Pacific—The Aleutian Islands—The Sea and Town of Ochotsk—Yakutsk—The River Lena—Progress through Siberia and onward to Britain—Madame Pfeiffer's Voyage round the World—Brazil—The Puri Indians—Cape Horn—Tahiti—The Central Pacific—The Waters and City of Canton—Singapore—Ceylon—A Tiger-Hunt in India—Voyage from Bombay to Basora, and progress thence to Germany.

CHAP. XXII. SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, Governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, went round the world in 1841 and 1842.\* His route was partly voyage and partly journey,—partly by sea and partly over land. It lay between the 19th and the 62d degrees of north latitude, and went across the North Atlantic Ocean, the lake zone of North America, the coasts and seas of Oregon and California, the North Pacific Ocean, and nearly the broadest part of the Old World Continent. It was altogether a route of rare interest and of many novelties, and comprised some things on sea, and multitudes on land, which never lay in the way of even the greatest doublings and detours

Simpson's  
route round  
the world.

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\* See "Narrative of a Journey round the World during the years 1841 and 1842. By Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories in North America. In 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1847."

of the nautical route round the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. CHAP. XXII

Sir George sailed in March 1841, in the steam-ship *Caledonia*, from Liverpool to Nova Scotia. That trip, as commonly run, is now almost as familiar to general readers as a trip on the Thames or the Clyde; yet, in Sir George's case, it yielded some stirring incident. On the 9th day of the voyage, the ship was caught in the same terrific whirl-tempest which produced one of the most awful wreck-catastrophes of modern times,—the foundering of the steam-ship *President*. The barometer fell, during the previous night, to the marvellously low point of 26°.9. "The wind," says Sir George, "gradually increased in violence till, by three in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, during which, so far from being able to mount the rigging, the crew could hardly show themselves on deck, unless sheltered from the fury of the blast. One of our boats was swept overboard; part of our cutwater was carried away; much of our canvass was torn to rags, and seven of our men were severely injured. The sea had risen into mountains, whose whitened crests, shorn off as soon as formed, were scattered through the air like drifts of snow, while the solid masses, one after another, were making a clean breach over us. The sky, as if its murky curtain rested on the very waters, was almost as dark as night; the rain fell heavily; and our ship, like 'a thing of life,' might have been supposed to struggle and groan in the agonies of dissolution. If the scene without was awful, the scene within was still more appalling to the nerves. Passengers and crew alike appeared to give themselves up for lost; and, in fact, the more experienced among us, as being more sensible of the extent and variety of our perils, laboured under greater terror than the rest. The storm came from all the points of the compass in succession, commencing at north-east, travelling round the east, south, and west, and finally settling about north. This characteristic of the tempest

Awful whirl-tempest.

Terror of the passengers and crew.

CHAP. XXII. raised such a cross sea, that, even when, about six in the morning, the wind abated, the vessel could not keep her course, and she was, therefore, laid-to for several hours."

VI-nary illu-  
sions.

On the afternoon of the third day after the storm, when the ship was believed to be still far from land, a cry of "Land a-head!" electrified all on board. The object a-head had completely the appearance of a wooded country, but proved to be a field of ice, with diversified surface, curiously and variously refracting the sun's rays, and so very extensive that the ship was compelled to go out of her course for it, and did not get rid of it till midnight. And while she was alongside of it, at the distance of several hundred miles from the nearest light-house, a still more extraordinary illusion was announced by the cry of "Light a-head!" The thing appeared to "all the knowing ones" a true sea-light, a magnificent revolver, and induced the captain to stop the ship and make soundings; but, in rather less than half an hour, it proved to be a newly risen star, alternately hid and seen behind the inequalities of the ice-land.

Fresh-water  
navigation in  
Canada.

Sir George Simpson went from Halifax to Montreal by way of Boston and through Vermont; and commenced at Montreal a course of fresh-water navigation, in what are there called light canoes, to the far interior of North America. He had for a long way the company of Lords Caledon and Mulgrave, and he travelled altogether in the princeliest style which the character of the region admits of; so that his equipage and his routine of progress, even to many persons who have read much of interior Canada and of the region beyond it, are matters of curiosity.

An average "light canoe" measures about thirty-five feet from stem to stern, and five feet across in the middle; and it weighs between 300 and 400 pounds, and when laden, draws scarcely eighteen inches of water. Its exterior consists of sheets of birch bark,

sewed together with fibres of pine-tree root, and rendered air-tight along the seams with gum ; its ribs are made of thin pieces of wood, bent to a semicircle ; and between the bark and the ribs is a lathing, to make the fabric firm, and to prevent the bark from being injured by interior blows or bruises.

The route lay up the Ottawa, and on by Lakes Nipissing and Huron to Lake Superior. About sunset on each day, the party went ashore to sup and sleep. A small tent was set up for the night-shelter of each of the great ones,—with an oil-cloth on the ground, blankets and great-coats on the oil-cloth, and with the canvass of the tent weather-proof against wind and rain. The canoes were drawn out of the water, examined, mended if need were, and laid on their side, with their bottom to the wind, for the night-shelter of the servants and boatmen. Great fires were lit on the lee-side of each tent and canoe ; and in a surprisingly brief period after landing, supper was cooked and eaten, and all heads were on the pillow. About one in the morning, all were suddenly aroused ; and in less than half an hour, they were once more afloat, with all their baggage, paddling along to the cadence of some merry old song. About eight o'clock, they went ashore for breakfast ; but spent less than an hour, in all the operations connected with it, packing, cooking, shaving, eating, re-packing, and re-embarking. About two, they landed for dinner, and ate it cold, and were afloat again in twenty or thirty minutes. The labours of the boatmen—or Canadian voyageurs, as they are called—were enormous,—and, in all such navigation, ever are so ; comprising not only the proper rapid work of paddling, but frequent dragging or towing in the water, frequent heavy carrying at portages, and many severe miscellaneous toils at all the landings and re-embarkations. Yet the travellers, too, had need of some hardihood ; for, though the season was in the very height of Britain's summer, they encountered frosts by night, and, on

Daily mode  
of progress  
through  
Canada.

Labours of  
the Cana-  
dian voya-  
geurs.



CHAP. XXII. arriving at Lake Superior, found that great inland sea still wrapped in its winter coat, and had to wait a week before the ice broke sufficiently up to allow them to proceed.

A body of  
Chippeway  
Indians.

At a fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, almost midway between the two oceans, a body of about 500 Chippeway Indians, the representatives of a diminished and starving tribe of 3000 or 4000, scattered over a vast extent of country, were waiting Sir George Simpson's arrival, to state grievances and solicit boons. He received them graciously, and appointed four o'clock next morning for an audience. They spent the whole night in performing ceremonies which they thought would favourably affect him,—circling round a fire, muttering charms, singing incantations, shaking rattles, throwing things in the fire, marching, whooping, and drumming; and when four o'clock arrived, they went direct from their ceremonies, in two lines of procession, to the hall of audience. They were profusely and fantastically decorated, all in what they thought a gay or magnificent manner, but each entirely according to his own taste.

Their fancy  
costume.

Their heads bore feathers of all sorts and sizes, and pendants of most curious variety,—coins, buttons, thimbles, and clippings of tin; the persons of some of the chiefs displayed finery of scarlet cloth and gold lace not unlike the dress of parish beadles, and those of the commoners were guiltless of clothing, and displayed instead of it numberless brilliant combinations of chalking and painting; and the faces of all were smeared into perfect masquerade,—generally with the forehead white, the cheeks and nose red, and the lips and chin black. Sir George Simpson and his friends, of course, were “not to be outdone in magnificence;” and Lords Caledon and Mulgrave appeared in their regimentals, whilst Sir George himself and his staff wore showy dressing-gowns. Yet all this rude display turned out to be perfectly worthy and expressive of the object of the interview; for the Indians had chiefly to complain that rum had

been interdicted from their territory, and to request that the dangerous drug might be restored ; and Sir George soothed them with explanations of its mischievous nature, and made them happy with a promise that they should nevertheless be allowed a small gift of it every autumn.

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From the Red River settlement, across the prairies and over the Rocky Mountains, into the valley of the Columbia River, Sir George's progress was all on foot or on horseback, amid frequent scantiness of water for drinking, and with no other supplies of food than such as was carried along with him, or could be procured with the rifle. He sent on two advance parties with instructions and baggage, and then, on the 3d of July, under a salute, marched out from Fort Garry, with a small escort, six followers, thirty horses, and one light cart. "While we defiled through the gates," says he, "into the open plains, with an horizon before us as well defined as that of the blue ocean, the scene resembled the moving of an Eastern caravan in the boundless sands of Arabia,—a medley of pots and pans and kettles in our single vehicle, the unruly pack-horses prancing under their loads, and every cavalier, armed to the teeth, assisting his steed to neigh and caper with bit and spur. The effect was not a little heightened by a brilliant sunrise, the firing of cannon, the streaming of flags, and the shouting of the spectators."

Progress  
across the  
prairies.

On a morning early in August, the travellers breakfasted at the summit of the Bow-River pass of the Rocky Mountains. The piece of summit ground was not more than fourteen paces wide. They estimated its height above the level of the sea at 7000 or 8000 feet, and the height of the surrounding peaks at nearly half as much more. The water for their breakfast was taken partly from a rill which flows toward the Atlantic and partly from one which flows toward the Pacific. But the two rills, though so near each other, and though descending from the same snow-wreaths, differed re-

The Bow-  
River pass of  
the Rocky  
Mountains.

CHAP. XXII. markably in temperature, the former having a temperature of 53° and the latter a temperature of 40°, while the air around both, in the shade, had a temperature of 71°. Yet the summit of the Athabasca pass, farther north, is, in another respect, more singular; for it holds a small lake whence one rill goes eastward to the Mackenzie River and another goes westward to the Columbia. The travellers had not descended half a mile till they observed, what has frequently been asserted respecting the Rocky Mountains, that the climate of the west side is warmer than that of the east side, and fosters a more luxuriant vegetation. "Whatever may be the reason of the sudden alteration," says Sir George, "the same clouds have been known to clothe the eastern side with hail and snow, and to refresh the western with gentle rain." Yet the respective temperatures of the streams, not only are strikingly the reverse high up, but continue to be observably so a long way down; for after our travellers had followed their western stream during two or three days from the summit of the pass, they found it still half a degree cooler than the eastern stream was at the summit.

The climate  
of the Rocky  
Mountains.

The nearest navigable head-stream of the Columbia, and afterwards the Columbia itself, were descended in a succession of flat-bottomed boats. Many parts were wildly romantic, with basaltic cliffs and pinnacles; and some were exciting and perilous, with long and whirling cataracts. In one place, a truncated pyramid, about 180 feet high, shot up from the water's edge and bore on its top two oblong blocks, about twenty-five feet high, and shaped like chimney-stalks; and in another place were grand natural amphitheatres, "whose columnar tiers of seats comparatively reduced the Roman Colosseum to a toy." One of the cataracts, far down, where the river has become vastly voluminous, is a whirling rush of great length, along a narrow gorge, between perpendicular rocks; and looks all foam and fury, and was at one time as terrible for the cruelty and

Romantic  
scenery on  
the Colum-  
bia River.

treachery of the savages on its banks as for the bewildering speed and wrecking race of its waters. Our travellers made a portage over it ; and Sir George tells of a critical meeting which he had there, in an upward voyage in 1829, with a hostile body of 400 or 500 Indian warriors. These wretches, or their kin, had murdered several shipwrecked crews or trading travelling parties, and had not been called to any reckoning ; and now they thought to put an end to the visits of white men, by waylaying and killing Sir George and his retinue. They took post on a lofty rocky esplanade, at the upper end of the portage, where a low ledge projects to the water. Sir George's party comprised only twenty-nine persons ; and about two-thirds of them had to go down to the ledge with the baggage ; so that only ten or so, more than half of whom were Sandwich Islanders, stood beside their leader to confront the Indians.

CHAP. XXII.  
 A hostile body of Indian warriors.

“ When we were nearly ready to take our departure,” says Sir George, “ the Indians, instead of squatting themselves down to smoke the pipe of peace, crowded round us, gradually forcing us to the edge of the declivity, and then, as the concerted signal for commencing the attack, ordered their women and children to retire. With a precipice behind us, and before us a horde of reckless and blood-thirsty savages, our situation was now most critical, more particularly as the necessity of concealing our danger from our people below embarrassed our every movement. At this moment of anxiety, the chief grasped his dagger. In the twinkling of an eye, our ten or eleven guns were levelled, while some of my Sandwich Islanders, with the characteristic courage of their race, exclaimed, as if to anticipate my instructions, ‘ She broke him.’ With my finger on my trigger, and my eye on that of the chief, I commanded that no man should fire till I had set the example, for any rash discharge on our part, though each shot, at such close quarters, would have

Critical encounter with the warriors



CHAP. XXII. told against two or three lives, might have goaded the savages into a desperate and fatal rush. The chief's eye fell, his cheek blanched, his lips grew livid ; and he ceased to clutch his weapon. Still, however, he retained his position, till, after again preparing to strike and again quailing before the tube which to himself at least would be certain death, he recoiled on his people, who again, in their turn, retreated a few paces. The distance to which we had thus driven the enemy by the mere display of firmness was less valuable to us in itself than on account of the reaction of feeling which it evinced ; and availing ourselves of the favourable opportunity, we immediately embarked without either having sustained or inflicted any injury."

Happy effect  
of mere firm-  
ness.

Sir George, in the course of the autumn, sailed north to Sitka, the dingy, filthy, dripping capital of Russian America, and back again to the parts of Oregon round the sea-board reaches of the Columbia. In both trips, he traversed the labyrinth of waters connected with Nootka Sound and embracing Vancouver's Island,—  
“the most extraordinary course of inland navigation in the world,” overhung by tremendous precipices and alpine peaks, and swept by fitful, powerful, whirling currents, which rush in from opposite tides, and struggle with obstructing promontories and a vexing channel ; and in the return trip, on board of a trading steamer, he experienced quite as much as he wished of the freakishness and wildness of the navigation. From three o'clock in one afternoon till six o'clock in the next, they were enveloped in a fog as thick as any which ever broods over Amsterdam or London ; and all that while, they were among whirlpools and careering tides, within sea-room of similar width and character to that of the sea-lochs of the west of Scotland ; and during much of the time, they struggled hard to hold on with every appliance in their power, but lost their best anchor in the effort, and got a smaller one crushed and shattered, and after all reeled right away

Perilous trip  
through  
Nootka  
Sound.

at the mercy of the waters. "They passed a most anxious time of it, in the midst of impenetrable darkness, with a current almost equalling the speed of a racer, with a bottom where no tackle could find holding ground, and with a coast where a single touch would have knocked the stoutest ship to pieces. Nor was man likely to be more hospitable than nature. Even if they had survived the perils of shipwreck, they would have had to enter on a fearful struggle for their lives with savages, whose cruelty had never yet acknowledged any check but that of power and force."

Toward the close of November, two barques at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, weighed anchor to sail, the one to Britain, and the other to California, the Sandwich Islands, and Sitka. Sir George Simpson was then at Fort Vancouver, and had arranged to be a passenger in the latter barque ; but he staid some days behind till she should creep down to the vicinity of the bar ; and then, on the last day of the month, he set out to follow her in a clumsy boat with ten men. The rain fell in torrents ; and they did not proceed far till they were obliged to push ashore, amid a vast tract of swamps, occupied by millions of many kinds of wild fowls, and to squat among them for the night. But during all the night, the fowls kept up " a serenade of several miles in diameter ;" and the travellers could not sleep, and were glad at four in the morning to betake themselves again to the boat. They worked on till two in the afternoon, and then got into the skirts of a rising gale, and tried to run to a suitable encamping ground ; but they soon became the sport of a heavy squall and a tremendous onfall, accompanied by a premature murky darkness, and were obliged to drive the boat at a venture among the bushes, and there to grope among the underwood and forest for some free spot where they could pitch their little tents and lie down. They eventually succeeded, and they could have slept well after the sleeplessness of the previous night, but

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Embarkation  
at Fort Van-  
couver.Adventures  
on the  
Lower Co-  
lumbia.

CHAP. XXII. they feared that the rising tide might reach them, and were kept awake by the roar of the tempest, the crash of falling trees, and the peals and reverberations of a thunder-storm; and, to crown all, they felt, or fancied they felt, a slight shock of an earthquake. Next day they worked hard, through a series of squalls, down the estuary to an encampment for the night, a few miles above Fort George or Astoria, and saw their ship struggling against the same winds which were distressing and retarding themselves. On the next they got on board of her. But during seventeen days more, she and the other barque stood off and on amid adversities of weather, and once were struck with lightning, before they obtained an opportunity of attempting, with fair hope of success, to cross the perilous bar of the river.

Embarrassments off Fort George.

The voyage along the coast was a pleasant and spanking one; and it came to a pause in a sunny and halcyon calm about ten miles from the harbour of San Francisco. "We now began," says Sir George, "to feel sensibly the influence of a more genial climate; and, as the night was clear as well as warm, we could enjoy a scene which forcibly struck the imagination as an emblem of the lazy grandeur of the Spanish character. The sails flapped listlessly against the masts, the vessel heaved reluctantly on the sluggish waters, and the long swell slowly rolled the weight of the giant ocean towards the whitened strand. During the whole of the 29th, we lay in this state of inactivity about five miles from the shore, which presented a level sward of about a mile in depth, backed by a high ridge of grassy slopes—the whole pastured by numerous herds of cattle and horses, which, without a keeper, and without a fold, were growing and fattening, whether their owners waked or slept, in the very middle of winter, and in the coldest nook of the province. Here, on the very threshold of the country, was California in a nut shell, Nature doing everything and man doing nothing—a

Specimen view of California.

text on which our whole sojourn proved to be little but a running commentary.”

The harbour of San Francisco is one of the finest and most remarkable in the world. A strait of three miles leads to a magnificent lagoon about thirty miles long and twelve miles wide, fringed by an open and house-dotted plain of from two to six miles in breadth, and sheltered from every wind by an amphitheatre of green hills. A deep bay and a strait of about two miles wide leads from this to another lagoon, of circular outline, and about ten miles in diameter. And a third strait leads from the second lagoon into a third, also about ten miles in diameter, but full of islands, and serving as the receptacle of the rivers Sacramento and San Joachin. But throughout all this range of beautiful waters, at the time of Sir George Simpson's visit—and he believed also throughout all the other waters of California—the inhabitants had neither boat nor canoe, neither barge nor scow, no other craft for going afloat than a sort of basket which, whenever it was wanted, could be constructed in a few minutes out of the bulrushes which grew luxuriantly on the margins of the lakes and the rivers. Horses, however, were “almost as plentiful as bulrushes;” and served as an apology—though a lame and lazy one—for the want of boats.

Sir George visited other parts of the coast of California, and then, near the close of January 1842, set out for the Sandwich Islands. Most of the voyage thither was in a line as straight as that of the crow's flight; and all was smooth and monotonous, with a steady advance into tropical sultry heat, and amid such uniformity of weather as never required the taking in of either studding-sail or sky-sail. On the morning of the 9th of February, the loftier of the two volcanic mountains of Hawaii was seen at the distance of 110 miles; and, for several hours, it alone formed any break in the horizon, swelling like a solitary iceberg out of the blue ocean. But on the following days till

CHAP. XXII.  
The harbour  
of San Fran-  
cisco.

Trip from  
California to  
the Sand-  
wich Islands.



CHAP. XXII. the 12th, as the ship gradually and slowly approached, lower heights and lower ones, at farther and farther distances, rose successively into view ; illustrating by the gradation of their altitudes, by their relative positions, and by their rugged eruptive outlines, how the whole Sandwich group appears to have been thrown up from the deep by volcanic action, advancing from the north-west to the south-east, and increasing in force as it advanced, "so that, while island rose after island, each grew at once in height and in breadth according to the intensity of the power that heaved it upwards from the waters."

Eruptive outlines of the Sandwich group.

Sir George goes long and learnedly into the affairs of the Sandwich Islands,—devoting to them more than one-fifth of all the contents of his two volumes. We cannot take space to follow him there, and must pass at once to his re-embarkation on the 24th of March. His voyage was now to Sitka, and gave notable experience of transition through sinking temperatures. Geniality of climate, in its effects on comfort and health, dwindled perceptibly down, not only from day to day, but almost from hour to hour. First mosquitoes and flies disappeared ; next, great coats were welcome ; next, a swathing of blankets in bed became necessary ; so early as the fourth day of the voyage, came a storm of sleet and snow ; and ever after were cold and searching winds. All persons on board, and especially some Sandwich Islanders, suffered damage in health ; the cattle fell rapidly off, till they became mere skin and bone ; and the goats were constantly at the galley-fire turning themselves round and round to receive the heat by turns on every part of their shivering frame. And the ship at last entered the harbour of Sitka, on the 16th of April, under a blinding squall of snow.

Voyage from the Sandwich Islands to Sitka.

Embarkation at Sitka for Ochotsk.

Sir George left Sitka on the 21st of May, in an admirably appointed Russian ship, called the Alexander, to proceed to Ochotsk,—a voyage of eighty-two degrees or longitude and nearly twenty of latitude.

During all the voyage, the winds were gentle and remarkably variable, seldom holding longer than twenty-four hours in one direction, and the waters were smooth, and variegated only by a gentle swell; and in summer, they are almost always so,—insomuch that, from the middle of May till the end of August, these seas might be traversed by an open boat.

The ship's course passed near the Aleutian Islands; and Sir George took occasion thence to state what he knew respecting their deplorable condition. "These Islands," says he, "are now far less valuable than they once were. The human inhabitants hardly muster one-tenth of their early numbers, having been thinned and thinned again by hardships and oppression. They were ground down through the instrumentality of the natural wealth of their country; they experienced the same curse in their fur-seal and their sea-otter, as the Hawaiians in their sandal-wood, and the Indians of Spanish America in their mines of silver. To hunt was their task; to be drowned or starved, or exhausted, was their reward. Even now, under better auspices and more humane management, the Aleutians are, in every respect, servants of the Russian American Company, acting as labourers at the establishments, and as hunters throughout the whole country from Behring's Straits to California, while they almost entirely feed and clothe themselves without obtaining supplies." The useful lower animals of the islands, with the single exception of the walrus, have diminished fully more than even the human inhabitants. The walrus is of vast and very diversified value,—its teeth serving for spear-barbs and for ivory, its flesh for food, its oil for fuel, its skin and bones for the materials of sea-boats, and its skin also for wrappers to the packages of furs sent to the international mart of Russian and Chinese commerce on the northern frontier of China. The sea-boats formed of the skin and bones are small and fragile,—incapable of resisting the action of water for many days together,

CHAP. XXII.

The Aleu-  
tian IslandsThe lower  
animals of  
these  
islands.

CHAP. XXII. and incapable also of taking on any available repair of an injury at sea ; and yet fleets of them push out to sea, often to the distance of fifty or sixty miles from land, to hunt the sea otter ; and when any one of them springs a leak or is otherwise injured, its occupants, knowing well that no other can take them in, and that inevitable drowning is before them, “ call their comrades around their sinking craft, and send kind messages to their wives and families, and then lie down to die without a single effort at self-preservation.”

The fogs of  
the Northern  
Pacific.

Thick fogs, occasioned by the collision of warm currents from the south with the cold waters of the north, almost constantly overhang a great part of the Northern Pacific Ocean, and are particularly dense around Kamtschatka and within the sea of Ochotsk,—so much so as often to prevent all eyes which are not accustomed to them from seeing to the distance of an hundred yards. The *Alexander*, for about a week before getting near Kamtschatka, had surpassingly variable weather, a change or changes of some kind every twelve hours, calms and gusts and lulls in rapid succession, winds from all points and of all forces, yet the strongest of them too short-lived to raise a sea ; and throughout them all, she had the fogs pretty constantly, though not without breaks and clearings which permitted observations to be got almost every day. But when she got near and within the sea of Ochotsk, she seemed to move as much among a zone of clouds as on an expanse of water, and had to grope along like a blind man who uses ears and fingers as a substitute for eyes. “ An Aleutian on board, with the characteristic sharpness of vision of his race, discerned land at a distance of several miles, through a mist as impervious to ordinary eyes as a solid wall ; and the captain, by firing a gun now and then, and catching its echo, was able to ascertain, within limits sufficiently accurate to be very useful, both the direction and the distance of the nearest shore.”

The fogs of  
the sea of  
Ochotsk.

The sea of Ochotsk resembles Hudson's Bay at once in extent, in relative situation, and in being completely landlocked. The Kurile Islands and Kamtschatka shut it in from the ocean; and the former maintain three posts of the Russian American Company for collecting furs and catching sea-animals. The entrance between the Kuriles and Kamtschatka is twenty miles wide, and free from rocks and currents, and might seem sufficiently ample and perfectly safe for all navigation. But so dense and constant often are the fogs, that vessels from Russian America sometimes have vast difficulty about the entrance, or cannot find the occupied islands, or even cannot go on to Ochotsk, and are obliged to return to Sitka as they came. The sea is very shallow, affording soundings of only fifty fathoms or so at the distance of fifty miles from land; and the country around it, in the latitude of Paris, at or even after midsummer, has snow on its heights, and shows scarcely a symptom of vegetation on its low grounds.

On the 29th of July, the Alexander, getting out from among the fogs and approaching her destination, sighted land between twenty and thirty miles distant, in the vicinity of Ochotsk. But her people, even in the very flush of joy, discovered that the coast was still beset with the winter's ice; and, though a bold effort was made to push on among the broken floes, they soon found that they must retreat and wait in patience the rising of a strong wind to blow away the insuperable obstacle. The captain fired a signal-gun, rather as a ceremony than in sober expectation that it could be heard on land; yet they afterwards learned that persons at Ochotsk not only heard it, but at the same time saw the Alexander as if she were standing on the frozen surface of the gulf. The ship, in order to vary the scene and gain a more genial climate during the tantalizing delay, sometimes made a run to the south, yet did not find a higher temperature than 40° of Fahrenheit. The sea continued singularly calm; and on the

CHAP. XXII.  
The entrance and soundings of the sea of Ochotsk.

Long continuance of the winter's ice.



CHAP. XXII. pieces of ice which floated past her, were great numbers of hair-seals, doing their best to bask in the sunshine. These creatures, when close to her, waddled into the water and disappeared; but, in general, they are very fearless, and lie fast till approached and struck a deadly blow, and have been known to scramble up to the deck of vessels lying at anchor in the roadstead of Ochotsk. The *Alexander* stood daily in toward the anchorage, to try whether she could reach it; and at length, on the 4th of August, by availing herself of every lane of open water, and after gradually reducing her soundings, till her keel ploughed up the mud from the bottom, she succeeded, against an advanced hour of the evening, in getting near the town.

Ochotsk. But Ochotsk, now that they had reached it, appeared to the strangers on board exceedingly repulsive, standing on a low flat shingly beach, as if it were actually in the water, and consisting of an irregular assemblage of miserable buildings, half hid from view in the all-enveloping fog. Nor did the place look better after they landed. It was the only town within a space equal to that of two or three European kingdoms; yet contained a population of only about eight hundred, and had scarcely one element of comfort. "A more dreary scene can scarcely be conceived. Not a tree, and hardly even a green blade, is to be seen within miles of the town; and in the midst of the disorderly collection of huts is a stagnant marsh, which, unless when frozen, must be a nursery of all sorts of malaria and pestilence. The climate is at least on a par with the soil. Summer consists of three months of damp and chilly weather, during great part of which the snow still covers the hills, and the ice chokes the harbour; and this is succeeded by nine months of dreary winter, in which the cold, unlike that of more inland spots, is as raw as it is intense."

The climate of Ochotsk.

Sir George Simpson travelled from Ochotsk to Yakutsk with a cavalcade of eight men and about thirty

horses. The journey comprised a distance of about 880 miles, and lay all through a bleak and dismal country, of kindred character to the vicinity of Ochotsk, and was accomplished in seventeen days. Yakutsk stands on an extensive, flat, and featureless plain, which seems all, at some former period, to have been formed and overflowed by the Lena; and the town comprises about four hundred one-storey dwellings, with outhouses and gardens, disposed in wide streets and spacious squares, and spread over a great extent of ground. But it exists chiefly for the fur trade, and depends for the commonest necessaries of life on importation down the Lena, and lies under a climate of keen severity and of surpassing range of temperature. Ice is formed in its wells and cellars in the nights of the warmest part of summer; and the thermometer in the shade in the open air has been known to range from 106° in summer to minus 83° in winter—a range nine degrees greater than the range between the freezing point and the boiling point of water.

Sir George Simpson went next to Irkutsk; and he achieved the greater part of the distance, or about 1660 miles, on the Lena. Tract boats are in use there, for all the passenger traffic of the region, each drawing from eighteen to twenty-four inches of water, and divided into three compartments,—a front one, with floor of earth or brick or stone, for cooking,—a central one, with a sort of cabin or crib, formed of boards and canvas, for the passengers,—and a stern one, consisting of a small platform, for the helmsman. The boats are towed by horses, in charge of men, or sometimes of boys or women, to the number of at least one driver for each horse; and stations occur at regular intervals along the banks for supplying relays of horses and drivers. Sir George had “a tolerably comfortable boat” for himself and two other gentlemen, and a smaller one in tow for their servants and an attendant Cossack. Yet he calls his boat “a floating cage,” a “little prison,” and describes his progress in it as dull and dismal, scarcely

CHAP. XXII.

Yakutsk.

The tract  
boats of the  
Lena.

CHAP. XXII.

Journeying  
in the tract  
boats.

better than "durance vile," or, in his own phrase respecting the first night in it, "as uncomfortable as possible." During sleeping hours, the "crib" was close and hot, and infested with swarms of mosquitoes; and the drivers of the horses, being often obliged by broad shoals to wade far into the river, and drag the boat past the shoals, kept up an awakening and agitating clamour. And by day, the gentlemen could not move from their seats without incommoding one another, and had scarcely room to stretch their limbs or take a hearty yawn; and they could not go out to the bank to enjoy the luxury of a walk, for either the horses went too fast to be followed, or the drivers were struggling in the stream, far from the shore, to get over shoals; and even on arriving opposite many of the stations for a change of horses, the boat stopped a full verst from the houses. The travellers could do no better than resign themselves to vegetate in their hotbed, and to seize with avidity any rare opportunity which offered for an airing.

The river, for a long distance, had a breadth of from two and a half to six miles, with frequent divisions into two or more channels by islands and sandbanks; and its shores, or the sides of its valley, were extensively formed of high and broken rocks. It is pronounced by Sir George "one of the grandest rivers in the world;" and, though not less than 2650 miles in length, it flows entirely within Siberia. But the craft which navigate it with supplies of grain, provisions, and stores from its upper and central reaches to Yakutsk and the north, and which are the most conspicuous and the most important on its waters, give a sad idea of its relations to commerce and the arts. These are mere rafts of round logs, floored over with boards, and rudely gunwaled with rough planks nailed on the tops of the sides; and though each carries six or seven persons to guide it, and is provided with sails to drive it along in a favourable wind, and with poles and branches of trees, and all other possible rude appliances, to push it or steer it in any

The mer-  
chant craft  
of the Lena.

emergency, yet all are lumbering and crazy and unmanageable, and move slowly and difficultly, and are in hazard of very long delays, or of absolute arrestment by the winter, occasioning great loss to all parties concerned in them, and great misery to the communities dependent on their supplies. There is this apology for them, however, that each serves for only one voyage, and, on arriving at its destination, is broken up to be used as timber.

Many of the inhabitants on the banks of the Lena live in dismal poverty and privation ; and though some or all could easily improve their condition by a change of place, they are not permitted to remove. "At one of the stations," says Sir George, "I saw some bread which had been made of rye and the inner bark of the larch, ground up together. On this unsavoury substance, with sour milk, the poor people in a great measure lived ; and they were considered to fare sumptuously indeed, if they could add a little of something that looked very much like tallow, being a mixture of curd and butter melted together into a mould. As to the article of dress, they were clad almost exclusively in the skins of their defunct nags ; and their feet were enveloped in stockings of horse-hair, which I apprehend would make a very satisfactory kind of penance for the tender feet of some other regions." The middle and the upper classes, however, live well ; and Sir George lavishes much eulogy on their hospitality and urbanity, and on the Russian system of penal colonization in Siberia, and particularly on the classification and various destination of the exiles according to the character of their respective offences.

The inhabitants of the banks of the Lena.

Sir George obtained at Irkutsk a travelling carriage of such large capacity, that he could lay himself down on the bottom of it at night and use it as a bed ; and thence he travelled, in forty-one days, about 4000 miles, amid comparatively little incident, through the generally flat territories of central Russia, and through

A travelling carriage in Russia.



CHAP. XXII. — scenes which are all more or less known by the great bulk of general readers, to Petersburg. Of the forty-one nights of that journey, he spent thirty-six in the carriage, one on a sofa at Tomsk, two on the floor at Ekaterineburg, one on a sofa at Kazan, and one in a bed at Moscow. On the 16th of October he embarked in a steamer for Lubeck; and thirteen days after, he arrived in London; and thus he accomplished his trip round the world, including all his long detours and detentions, in nineteen months and twenty-six days.

Madame  
Pfeiffer's  
voyage.

Madame Ida Pfeiffer went round the world in the years 1846-1848.\* She is a German lady, and "dates her birthday from the last century." Her motive was mere intelligent curiosity, first fired in youth, and ever kept alive through life till it could be prudently gratified. She went forth alone, boldly and enthusiastically, and combined the characters of a traveller and a heroine. Her progress, like that of Sir George Simpson, was a series of movements by a series of conveyances, but was mostly by water, and generally lay within the warm latitudes, and led through eminently interesting regions. The full original account of it was published in German; but an abridged English translation, leaving out all passages of little or no interest to Britons, was recently published in London.

A gale near  
Rio de Ja-  
neiro.

Madame Pfeiffer sailed from Hamburg in a Danish brig, on the 29th of June, 1846, for Rio de Janeiro. They encountered a severe gale near their destination, and afterwards found a portion of the sea covered with the bodies of butterflies which it had swept away. Cape Frio was approached, though not seen, on the 13th of September, and again approached, and also seen, on the following day; but twice was the brig driven out to sea by renewals of the gale, and not till the 17th did the lady set foot on the shore.

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\* "A Lady's Voyage Round the World. A selected translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. In two parts. London: Longman & Co., 1851."

Various interesting excursions were made by her on the seaboard and into the forests of Brazil ; and a particularly romantic one, and the most distant of all, was made to a hamlet of Puri Indians. These people throughout Brazil are computed to amount to about half a million ; and all live in the remote fastnesses of the forest, dispersed in little communities of each five or six families. "They have stunted-looking figures, broad compressed faces, and straight coal-black hair. Their foreheads are low, their noses flat, their eyes small and cut out, like those of the Chinese, their mouths very large, with thick lips, and over the whole physiognomy is diffused a peculiar expression of stupidity, heightened by the constantly open mouth. They are mostly tattooed with red or brown colour ; and both sexes are passionate smokers and lovers of brandy." But they are proudly free, and will not brook constraint ; and can seldom be induced to work till they are half starving ; and yet they perform very hard tasks for very trifling rewards, and often make laborious, keen-scented, persevering hunts after runaway negroes. They have few words and few wants,—a meagre language and excessive penury ; and scarcely differ enough from the old savages of the forest to be deemed in any sense civilized ; yet are harmless and hospitable, and have taken on impressions from their intercourse with the whites. "Many of them have been baptized ; and indeed they are at all times ready, for the consideration of a little brandy, to go through the ceremony again, and only regret that they have not more frequent opportunities, especially as it does not last long. The priest on his side generally makes his mind easy that, by this holy action, he has won the soul for heaven, and does not, therefore, give himself any superfluous trouble about the morals of his new Christians."

CHAP. XXII.  
 —  
 The Puri  
 Indians.

Their wants  
 and man-  
 ners.

Madame Pfeiffer found those whom she visited in the profoundest poverty. Their only clothing was a few rags round the loins ; their habitations were simply open

CHAP. XXII. frames of four stakes, with roofs of palm leaves ; and their only appliances of art were bow and arrow for the open air, and a few gourds for the hearth. She accompanied some of them on a parrot and monkey hunt, and admired their skill in shooting their game ; and, on returning to the huts, she joined them in a hearty repast of roasted parrot and monkey, with some tuberous roots and some cobs of maize, and readily accepted an invitation to spend an evening in their society. After dark they kindled a bonfire, and performed round it a series of loutish, grotesque movements, which they called a peace or joy-dance ; and then the men went through a furious pantomime of warfare, with such ferocity of gesture and twanging of bows and fierceness of shout and yell, as agitated their heroine-guest with terror. But she became calm again when the performance was over, and then prepared to go to sleep ; and she "spread her cloak on the ground, took a clump of wood for a pillow, and found herself magnificently accommodated ;" yet lay long awake, thinking of "the many wild animals and the terrible serpents that might be lurking close to the open defenceless shed." In the morning she made the savages happy with presents, received an offer of all they had, and accepted a bow and arrows as a keepsake ; and then she commenced her journey back to the regions of civilized men, and had to force the first eight hours of it on foot through an almost impenetrable thicket.

An evening  
in their  
society.

Storms round  
Terra del  
Fuego.

She left Rio de Janeiro in an English barque to go to Valparaiso. Her experience in passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was the experience of most voyagers who go near Cape Horn. A series of storms buffeted the barque over all the way round Terra del Fuego ; and at last wound up in a terrific gale, which continued twenty-four hours, and did the ship very much damage. But our heroine, and some others on board, were not a jot daunted, "and during the gale could not help laughing at the comical positions they involuntarily assumed whenever they attempted to rise."

She next took ship at Valparaiso for China, and enjoyed an opportunity, by the way, of spending some days in Tahiti. She describes Papeiti, the capital of that island, as only a row of little timber houses situated round the harbour, and immediately backed by the woods. She had great difficulty in obtaining a lodging in it, and was obliged, in the end, to content herself with shelter in a single apartment, with earthen floor, palisaded walls, and not a bedstead or a chair, occupied by a carpenter's family of four persons,—and even there merely “obtained leave to deposit herself in a corner behind the door, in a space exactly six feet long and four broad.” French soldiers crammed the town; French officers of rank occupied some of the huts; and several French ships were in the harbour. The deterioration of morals consequent on the French occupation had become frightful. “The people,” says Madame Pfeiffer, “have acquired a number of new wants, in consequence of which the eagerness for money has greatly increased among them; and, what is worse, as they are by no means fond of work, they make their wives, daughters, and sisters earn money for them. The women have no objection, for they get dress and ornaments on what they consider easy terms; and the house of almost every French officer is a rendezvous for these native beauties, who are to be seen going in and out at all times of the day, and even joining them in public. As a woman of advanced age, I may be permitted to speak of these things; and I must declare that, much as I have travelled in the world, I have nowhere seen behaviour in this respect so shameless.”

The French were doing their best to conceal the infamy of “the protectorate,” and to reconcile Queen Pomare to her enthrallment,—building a handsome new house for her, doling out to her a yearly pension of 25,000 francs, and showing her off at sumptuous entertainments; yet would not allow her to receive any stranger without their express permission. Madame

The French  
and Queen  
Pomare.



CHAP. XXII. Pfeiffer was present at one of the royal entertainments, and received there from the Prince Consort and from a kingkin of one of the neighbouring islands all the polite attentions which are common at the tables of Europe. The queen was very showily dressed in sky-blue satin, and had subjected herself, for the occasion, to the restraint of shoes and stockings; but at table she put aside some choice things on a plate to be taken home with her, and in the course of the evening she retired to discuss a cigar.

An excursion  
to Fantaua.

Madame Pfeiffer trod the steps of Mr. Bennet, as narrated in our preceding chapter, to the curious lake Vaihiria; and she also made an excursion, which we must allow her to relate in her own words, to the remarkable heights of Fantaua and the Diadem mountain. "Fantaua," says she, "is a point which the Tahitians considered impregnable, and which, nevertheless, the French took in the last war. As I wished to see it, the governor, M. Bruat, was so kind as to lend me horses, and send a subaltern officer with me, who could explain every position of the French and Tahitians. The road for two hours led through savage ravines, rushing mountain-torrents, and thick woods. The mountains often approached so closely, that, as at the pass of Thermopylæ, a small band of determined men might keep back whole armies. The entrance to Fantaua is the key to the whole island; and in order to take it, it was necessary to climb one of the steepest mountain-sides, and advance along a narrow ridge, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. For this dangerous service M. Bruat called for volunteers, and had soon more than were necessary. Out of them he chose sixty-two men, who stripped themselves to their trousers and shoes, and took with them nothing but a musket and a cartridge-box. After twelve hours' hard climbing, they succeeded, by means of ropes, bayonets, and sharp irons, in reaching one of the mountain-tops, where they made their appearance so unexpectedly to the Tahitians

Military  
exploit on  
Fantaua.

that they were struck with terror, and threw down their arms. They thought that mere men could never have climbed that point; 'they must have been assisted by spirits, and against them they were not able to fight.' A small fort is now built on Fantaua, and on one of the highest peaks is a guard-house. This is reached by a footpath along a narrow ridge falling on both sides into measureless abysses. People who are subject to giddiness could scarcely venture to proceed along it; but they would lose a splendid prospect if they did not—mountains, valleys, and ravines without number, of the latter, especially the colossal rock of the Diadem, woods of palm and other gigantic trees, and beyond the mighty ocean breaking on a thousand cliffs and reefs, and, in the remote distance, mingling with the clear blue sky. Near the fort, a cataract plunges down a perpendicular wall of four hundred feet high. The body of water is not great, and the bottom of the fall is, unluckily, concealed by rocks and advancing hills, or it would deserve to be counted among the grandest in the world. The view from the Diadem is still more extensive than from the fort, as on two sides you look over the island to the sea."

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Splendid prospect from Fantaua.

The ship, with our heroine on board, set sail from Tahiti on the 18th of May; and she performed, all the way thence to the Chinese Sea, one of these calm, halcyon voyages which so well entitle the ocean of Polynesia to the name Pacific. There were on board three horses, a dog, and some pigs, geese, and singing-birds; and the sounds from these, so like the sounds of a farmery, together with the perfect smoothness of the motion, often betrayed Madame Pfeiffer into the momentary belief, when at her writing-table, that she was sitting in a small room on shore. But at length, in what promised to be the last night of the voyage, after the coast of China had been sighted, a fierce wind sprang up, and drove the ship nearly 400 miles back, and threatened to assume the terrors of the awful typhoon,

Voyage across the Pacific.

CHAP. XXII. but, after all, passed away as a short-lived storm, and then allowed the ship to go quietly into Macao.

Madame Pfeiffer embarked next day in the same ship for Hong-Kong, about thirty-five miles to the east; and thence, after a few days, she engaged a passage in a Chinese junk to Canton. She was dissuaded from the latter step as perilous, but she saw no occasion for fear, and so "put her pistols in order, and went quietly on board;" and she was very civilly treated by both master and fellow-passengers, and remarked nothing particular about them except much love of coarse excitement and excessive indulgence in tea and tobacco. But her description of the scenery along the upper reaches of the navigation, touches off one of the most characteristic tracts of the most singular and curious country in the world—and does so in words remarkably few and simple: "Pretty country houses," says she, "in the true Chinese style, with fantastic jagged and peaked roofs, and coloured tiles, come into view from time to time, lying in the shade of groups of trees; and various kinds of pagodas, from three to nine storeys high, rise on small hills near the villages, and draw attention from a great distance. There were many fortifications, but they looked more like great unroofed houses than anything else. As you advance toward Canton, the villages begin to follow each other very closely; but they have a miserable appearance, and are mostly built on stakes close on the river, and lying before them are numerous boats, many of them also serving as dwellings. The river now becomes more and more animated, and covered with vessels of all sizes and of the strangest forms. There were junks, the back part of which rose two storeys above the water, and which looked like houses with lofty windows and galleries, and covered by a roof; they are often of immense size, and several thousand tons burden. Then came the Chinese ships of war, flat, broad, and long, and carrying twenty or thirty guns; mandarins' boats, with their painted doors and

Trip in a  
Chinese  
junk.

The Canton  
river.

windows, carved galleries, and coloured silk flags; and, best of all, the flower-boats decorated with wreaths and garlands, and pretty arabesques. . . . Besides all these, there were thousands of shampan, some anchored, some cruising and darting about; fishermen casting their nets; people of all ages bathing and swimming; and children romping and tumbling about in the boats, so that one dreaded every moment to see them fall overboard; but careful parents tie the little ones to hollow gourds, or bladders filled with air, so that if they fall into the water they may not sink. All these varied occupations, this unwearied life and activity, afford such picturesque effects as can hardly be conceived without being witnessed.”

Madame Pfeiffer, on landing at Canton, walked openly through the streets, escorted only by the master of the junk, to the house of an European friend. She soon had a crowd after her, and observed all onlookers, old and young, to be viewing her with far more indignation than curiosity, hooting after her, and pointing the finger of scorn; but she kept up a fearless look, and went fearlessly on, and was afterwards told that she ran imminent risk of being stoned by the mob and abandoned by her escort. She afterwards learned, too, that the hatred of Europeans had recently increased and become very strong, that acts of assault and piracy and murder upon them were of daily occurrence, that a general outbreak against them was not at all improbable, that many of the European merchants had laid up store of arms and ammunition in their counting-houses, and were prepared for flight, and that European women were especially obnoxious, on account of some silly Chinese prophecy, that a woman shall one day conquer the Celestial Empire. But she, nevertheless, remained five weeks to see all that could be seen; and enjoying constantly the escort of a gentleman, who exposed himself to many dangers on her account, and who coolly endured the abuse of the angry natives, she “saw under his kind

CHAP. XXII.

Walk  
through the  
streets of  
Canton.

Madame  
Pfeiffer's  
determined  
sight-seeing.



CHAP. XXII. protection more than any woman ever saw in China before." Excepting her own adventures, however, she tells us little that has not within the last few years become pretty generally known; and she certainly gives abundant confirmation to the notions which are now commonly afloat respecting the prejudices and peculiar usages of the Chinese. She got into a scuffle in a great pagan temple, the priests pressing menacingly around her, and giving her alarming abuse. She made an excursion, in a handsome hired boat, a good way up the river into the interior of the country, and was fired upon from a fortress, but was not struck by any of the shot. She took a walk round the walls of Canton,—a thing which no woman had ever done before, and which she herself did not venture to do without the precaution of putting on male attire; and, after a long and disgusting exploration of filthy little streets and narrow alleys, she arrived at an exterior elevated spot which commanded a tolerable view of the town; and thence "the town looked a confused mass of little houses, with a few trees growing among them, for she could discern no wide streets or squares, nor any building of architectural importance, with the exception of one pagoda of five storeys." She stumbled once on the place of execution, and saw there, to her unspeakable horror, a long row of bleeding heads set upon poles; and she states that, in the year 1846, 4000 men, the alleged criminals of two provinces containing 19,000,000 of inhabitants, were beheaded in Canton; and she justly and indignantly queries, "were the criminals really so many, or is the punishment of death so lightly inflicted, or is both the case?"

Her perils  
among the  
Chinese.

Voyage from  
Hong Kong  
to Singapore. She left Canton on the 20th of August, in a Chinese junk, for Hong-Kong; and took a passage thence, in the British steamer Pekin, to Singapore. She felt obliged to go in the second cabin of the steamer, and she speaks bitterly and sarcastically of it, as to at once high fare, low comfort, and shabby treatment. She landed at

Singapore on the 4th of September; and she made some stay on the island, and rambled largely athwart it, and found it a gorgeous museum of at once plants, animals, and intertropical cultivation. Her chief excursion was an eminently interesting one, into the dense forest, or what is there called the jungle, in company with four gentlemen, who were armed with weapons for confronting severally tigers, bears, wild boars, and large serpents; but, though intended to be a tiger-hunt, and though leading through a tangled maze of the most magnificent vegetation, it does not seem to have issued in any grander exploit than the killing and taking of two boa-constrictors. The carcass of one of these, after being skinned, was given to some Chinese labourers to be used as food; and Madame Pfeiffer afterwards came upon them when at their horrid serpent repast, and "requested to taste it, and found the flesh extraordinarily fine and delicate, more so, she thought, than that of young chickens."

CHAP. XXII.

Excursion  
into the  
Singapore  
forest.

She left Singapore on the 7th of October, in the British steamer Braganza, for Ceylon. The crew comprised seventy-nine persons, Chinese, Malays, Cingalese, Bengalese, Hindoos, and Europeans; and the coloured ones appeared, in the eyes of our heroine, very simple creatures, very discreditably treated. Ceylon came in view on the 17th, and gradually "rose in wondrous beauty from the waves," and lifted many mountain-chains magnificently aloft, to immerse their tops in the molten gold of the setting sun. Madame Pfeiffer landed at Pointe de Galle, and spent a few days in a trip to Colombo and Candy. She availed herself of the neat and rapid public conveyances, exactly similar to the stage-coaches of Britain; and enjoyed to rapture the superb scenery, the luscious vegetation, the groves of palms and aromatic shrubs, the swift succession of dwellings and hamlets and towns, the kindly and constant appliances for the solace of travellers, the continuous moving multitude of carriages

First views  
of Ceylon.

CHAP. XXII. and people, the huge waggons drawn by teams of  
 Colombo and two and sometimes three elephants, the spaciousness  
 Candy. and splendour of Colombo, with its vast streets and  
 beautiful colonnaded houses, and the exquisitely pic-  
 turesque site of Candy, within a basin of gorgeous love-  
 liness, encompassed by mountains all bushy over side  
 and shoulder with the gayest woods, and shooting up  
 romantic summits to the sky. But she found Candy  
 itself "a town little and ugly, nothing but a heap of  
 small shops," while the few European houses and  
 places of business and barracks connected with it stood  
 outside on small eminences; and, just after entering it,  
 she encountered from one of its natives a piece of ex-  
 treme rascality, an astute attempt to inveigle off her  
 portmanteau to the adjacent woods, which would have  
 given a less justly reasoning mind than hers a stiff pre-  
 judice against the place's moral qualities.

She left Ceylon on the 26th of October, in another  
 British steamer, for Calcutta; and she afterwards tra-  
 versed Northern India, by way of Benares, Allahabad,  
 Agra, Delhi, and Adjunta, to Bombay. But she says  
 respecting the country or its people little additional to  
 what is known by all intelligent British readers. Her  
 own adventures, as usual, are curious and stirring  
 enough; and a very characteristic specimen of them  
 was her taking part in a tiger-hunt. This occurred in  
 the vicinity of Adjunta, on the 6th of March, 1848.  
 "Early in the morning," says she, "I mounted my  
 horse, to visit the rocky temple of Elora; but, as it  
 often happens in life, I was reminded of the proverbial  
 saying, 'Man proposes, and God disposes,' and instead of  
 the temple, I saw a tiger-hunt. I had scarcely turned  
 my back on the town where I had passed the night,  
 when I saw advancing towards me, from the bongolo,  
 several Europeans, sitting upon elephants. We stopped  
 on coming up with each other, and began a conversa-  
 tion, from which it appeared that the gentlemen were  
 out on a tiger-hunt, as they had had information of

A tiger-  
 hunt near  
 Ajunta.

some being in the neighbourhood, and they invited me, if such sport did not terrify me too much, to join them. I was very glad of the invitation, and soon found myself, in company with two of the gentlemen and one native, seated in a box about two feet high, which was placed on the back of a very large elephant. The native was to load the guns; and they gave me a large knife to defend myself with in case the tiger should spring up to the edge of the box. Thus prepared, we set off for the hills, and after the lapse of some hours, thought we had come, probably, pretty close to the tiger's den, when suddenly one of our servants exclaimed, 'Back, back!—that is Tiger!' Glaring eyes were seen through the bushes, and at the same moment several shots were fired. The animal was soon pierced by several bullets, and now dashed at us full of fury. He made such tremendous springs, that I thought he must infallibly soon reach our box, and choose himself a victim out of our party. This spectacle was terrible enough to me, and my fear was presently increased by the sight of a second tiger. I behaved myself, however, so valiantly, that no one of the gentlemen suspected what a coward I was. Shot followed shot. The elephants defended themselves very cleverly with their trunks, and after a hot fight of half an hour's duration we remained victors, and the dead animals were in triumph robbed of their beautiful skins. The gentlemen were so courteous as to offer me one of them, but I declined accepting it, as I could not have delayed my journey long enough to have it dried and put into a proper state. I got a good deal of praise for my courageous behaviour, and I was told tiger-hunting was really extremely dangerous where the elephants were not very well trained. If they were afraid of the tigers, and ran away, one would be very likely to be dashed off by the branches of the trees, or perhaps left hanging upon them, and then would infallibly become the prey of the enraged animal."

CHAP. XXII.

Encounter  
with two  
tigers.Dangers  
of tiger-  
hunting.



CHAP. XXII. She sailed from Bombay on the 23d of April, in the small steamer Forbes, of forty horse power, for Bassora. The steamer had only two cabins—both of which were engaged by other parties—and was excessively overcrowded. Her own company comprised forty-five persons, and her passengers—most of whom were Persians and Arabs—amounted to 124. Our heroine could make no better of it than to take up her abode under the captain's dinner table; yet was unwell when she went on board, and was attacked by fever on the third day of the voyage; but, nevertheless, felt content with her lot, and took no medicine. Smallpox appeared in the larger cabin, among a dense package of eighteen women and seven children, and sent out a pestilential vapour which frightened all others on board, but inflicted only three deaths, and then lost its virulence.

Voyage from  
Bombay to  
Bassora.

Two Persian  
towns.

The steamer anchored first before the Arabian town of Muscat, and next before the little Persian town of Bandr-Abas. Madame Pfeiffer wished anxiously to go ashore for a few minutes at the latter, but was told that an European woman had never been seen there, and that if she went she would probably be stoned; yet she persisted in going, and was treated by the natives only as a prodigious curiosity, and received no insult. The place, of course, was a dull dirty huddle of narrow streets. And so also, or even worse, was Buchir, further on, the best harbour of Persia, situated on a sea-board of plain, about six miles from mountains 5,000 feet high. Our heroine intended to disembark there, in order to traverse Persia, but was deterred by accounts of marauding and insurrection throughout the country, and observed that the men of Buchir all went armed, as if in momentary expectation of outrage.

The Shat el  
Arab.

The Shat el Arab, or joint stream of the Euphrates and the Tigris, was entered on the 11th of May; and thence to the vicinity of Bassora, right and left and onward, all the view to the horizon was monotonous plain, the eastern extremity of the immense champaign

of Mesopotamia. The landing of the women at the end of the voyage was an amusing scene. "Had they been princesses and beauties of the very first rank," says Madame Pfeiffer, "more care could not have been taken to avoid the possibility of the glance of a man's eye, and there was not really among them (for my sex had procured for me the privilege of a peep into their cabin) a single handsome woman. Their husbands placed themselves in two lines stretching from the cabin to the ship's side, and held great cloths stretched out so as to form close moveable walls. Through these the ladies were marched by degrees out of the cabin, and even then they were so closely enveloped in shawls and veils, that they had to be led along as if they were blind. As they reached the side, they crouched down between the walls till the others arrived, and when all were assembled, the still more difficult operation commenced of climbing down the narrow ship ladder into a well-curtained boat. The wall was in motion again; but first one tumbled, then another, and the landing of this part of the cargo was not effected under a full hour."

CHAP. XXII.

The disembarking of Mahomedan women.

Madame Pfeiffer travelled from Bassora, by way of Bagdad, Mossul, and Erivan, to Redout-Kalé on the Black Sea; and then sailed first to Odessa, and next to Constantinople; and then proceeded through the Grecian Archipelago to Athens, and up the Adriatic to Trieste, and thence, in the beginning of November, to Vienna. We need not follow her through scenes so familiar,—and scenes which belong much more to a book of travels through the old countries of the earth than to a volume of voyages round the world. Yet we must not close without recording that, at the completion of her sublime trip, she repented not a jot its high purpose, and felt full confirmation of the belief with which she undertook it,—that as little restraint to intelligent curiosity, as little curbing of personal liberty while roaming among the works of God, may be experienced almost

Route from Bassora to Vienna.

CHAP. XXII. anywhere as near home. She does not directly say so, indeed, but she declares, on occasion of the rough handling by the custom-house people at her first contact with the Russian frontier, "I really thought that now, for the first time, I was in the hands of savages;" and, in the course of narrating the earliest part of her journey within the Russian territory—a journey with a goods caravan between Natchivan and Erivan—she records as follows:—

Adventure on  
the Russian  
frontier.

"After several days' travelling, we still remained in the neighbourhood of Ararat, passing, however, several Russian and German colonies, but along a very rugged and stony road. Near Sidin a very disagreeable adventure befell me. The caravan had encamped close to the high road, and about eight o'clock in the evening I trotted out upon it for a walk, and was just about to return, when I heard the sound of the bells of post-horses. I stood still, to hear who the travellers were, and soon saw a Cossack with a musket, and a gentleman seated beside him on an open car. As soon as they had passed, to my great surprise the car suddenly drew up, and almost at the same moment I felt myself seized by two powerful arms. It was the Cossack, who was dragging me to the car. I struggled to get loose, pointed with my free hand to the caravan, and screamed that I belonged to it. But the fellow immediately placed one hand over my mouth, and flung me upon the car, where the *gentleman* held me fast. The Cossack then sprung up, and the driver received the order to go on as fast as the horses could gallop. This all passed so quickly, that I scarcely knew what had happened. The men, however, held me with a strong grasp, and my mouth was not uncovered till we were so far from the caravan that my cries could not be heard. I did not, fortunately, feel much afraid, for it immediately occurred to me that these two amiable Russians must, in their zeal, have taken me for some dangerous person, and imagined they had made an important capture.

Violent  
abduction.

As soon as they allowed me to speak, they commenced a long list of questions concerning my name, country, and so forth; and I understood Russian enough to answer them; but they were not satisfied, and required to see my passport. I told them to send for my trunk, and I should then be able to give them full satisfaction; but when we came to the post-house, they placed me in a room as a prisoner, and the Cossack mounted guard over me with his musket on his shoulder, keeping his eye constantly upon me. The gentleman also, whom, by his green velvet collar and cuffs, I took for an imperial officer, remained some time in the room. In half an hour the post-master, or whatever he might be, came to take a view of me, and hear the heroic exploit of my capture narrated. I had to pass the night under strict superintendence, on the wooden bench, without either blanket or cloak to cover me, and without food or drink; and if I only attempted to rise up from the bench, and walk a little up and down the room, the Cossack ordered me back, and desired me to remain quiet. Towards morning my effects were brought. I showed my papers, and was set at liberty; but instead of making any apology, my captors laughed in my face, and when I came out into the courtyard, all the people pointed their fingers at me, and joined in chorus. Oh, you good Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindoos, how safely did I pass through your heathen and infidel countries; and here, in Christian Russia, how much have I had to suffer in this short space!"

Imprisonment for a night.

Contumelious release

THE END.



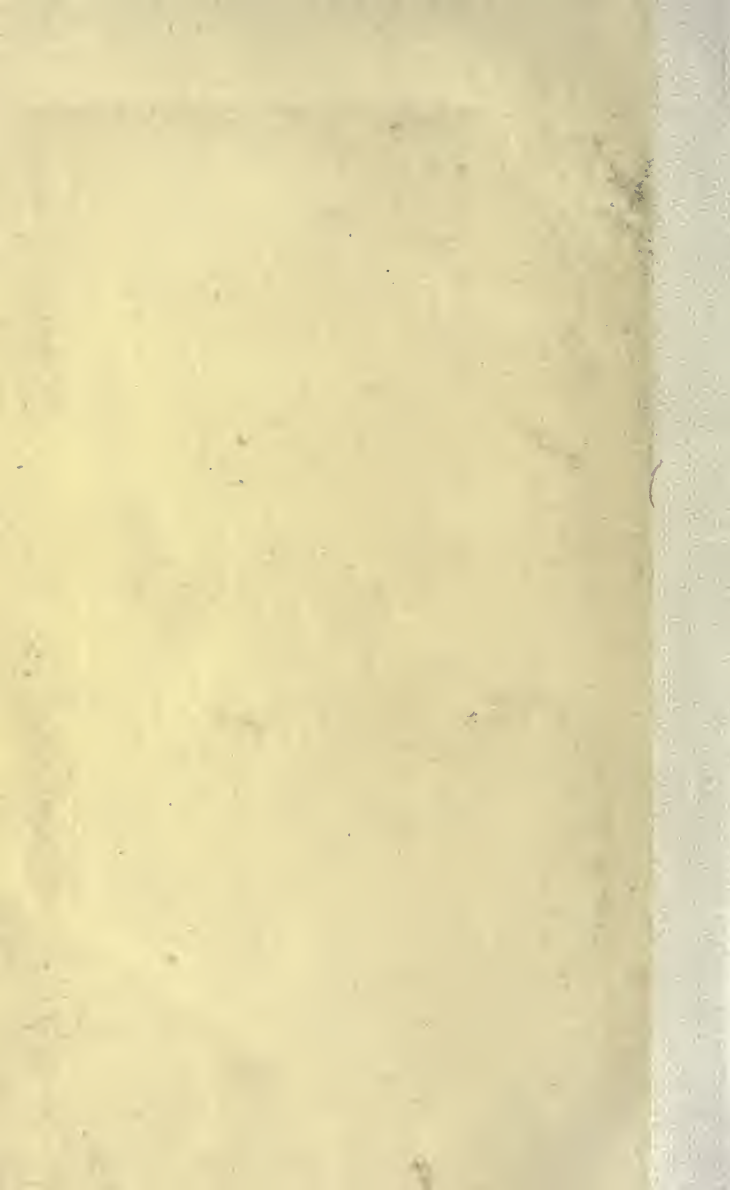












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