

The Resolution

Water-colour drawing by Henry Roberts,
in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, D11, no. 14

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND ADVENTURE

1772-1775

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

FIRST CONTACT, PT. 2

Be sure to scan the footnotes, as they often
contain fascinating additional insights from
other officers and crewmembers.

CAMBRIDGE

Published for the Hakluyt Society

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1969

a separte Isle, this was verified at 10 o'Clock when in Stretching to ssw the passage opened at sbw $\frac{1}{2}$ w, this Isle is called by the Natives Ambrrym. Soon after an Elevated land appeared open of the South end of Ambrrym and after that a nother still higher on which is a very high Peaked Mountain, we judged these lands to be two Seperate isles, the first came in Sight at se and the other at ebs, they appeared to be [10] Leagues distant.¹ Still continuing our Course to ssw for the land a head which at Noon we were about 5 Mile from, it extending from sse to nwbw round by the sw and appeared to be one continued land, the Isles to the East extended from NEBE to SEBE. Our Latitude by Observation was 16° 17' s.

FRIDAY 22nd. Wind at se a gentle breeze and pleasant Weather. In Standing in for the land we preceived a creek which had the appearance of a good harbour, formed by a point of land or Peninsula projecting out to the North,² we just fetched this place at 1 o'Clock PM when we tack'd and stood off till half past 2 in order to gain room and time to hoist the Boats out to examine it. Several people appeared on the Point of the Peninsula and seem'd to invite us a Shore, but³ the most of them had Bows and Arrows in their hands. In stretching in Shore, by the help of a Tide or Current which we had not before preceived, we fetched two Leagues to windward of this place, and by that means discovered a nother opening⁴ which I sent Lieut^t Pickersgill and the Master in two Arm'd boats to Sound and look for Anchorage; Upon their makeing the Sign¹ for the latter, we saild in and anchored in 11 fathom Water Sandy bottom, some thing more than a Cables length from the South Shore and a Mile within the entrance.

Some of the Natives came off to us in their Canoes,⁵ two of them were induced to come on board where they made a very Short stay as the Sun was already set; the kind reception these met with induced others to come off by moon light, but I would permit none to enter the Ship or even to come along-side, by this means we got rid of them for the night.⁶ They exchanged for pieces of Cloth some few

¹ The first was the two closely neighbouring islands for which Cook got the name Paoom—Paama, Pa Uma or Pau uma and Lopevi; the second Epi, which rises to a sharp peak at 2,770 feet.

² Paunomu point, lat. 16° 20' s, on the eastern side of Malekula; the 'creek' was Sasun Bay, a good anchorage in a se wind.

³ but: probably with no good intent, as

⁴ In stretching . . . opening: In order to gain room and time to hoist out and arm our boats to reconnoitre the place, we tacked and made a trip off, which occasioned the discovery of a nother port about a League more to the South . . .—ff. 237v–8.

⁵ . . . they were very cautious at first, but at last ventured along side . . .—f. 238.

⁶ Several Canoes came about the Ship so great was their Curiosity that they did not leave the Ship till past 10 at Night, holding up Torches to look at us by. . .—Hood.

Arrows, some of which were pointed with bone and dipped in Poison or some green gummy substance that could Answer no other end.¹

In the Morning a good many came round us, some came in Canoes and others swam off. I soon prevaild on one to come on board which he had no sooner done than he was followed by more than we desired:² four I took into the Cabbin and made them various presents which they Shew'd to those in the Canoes, thus a friendly intercourse between us and them was in a fair way of being opened when³ an accident happened which put all in confusion but in the end I believe turn'd out to our advantage. A fellow in a Canoe having been refused admittance into one of our boats a long-side was going⁴ to Shoot one of the Poisoned Arrows at the Boat-keeper, some⁵ interfeering prevented him from doing it that Moment,⁶ the instant I was acquainted with this I ran on deck and saw a nother man struggling with him, one of those as I was told who were in the Cabbin and had jump'd out of the window for that purpose, but the fellow got the better of him and directed his Bow again to the boat keeper, but upon my calling to him he directed it to me and was just going to let fly when I gave him a peppering of Small Shott, this Staggered him for a Moment but did not hinder him from holding his bow in the Attitude of Shooting, another discharge of the same Nature made him drop it and the others in the Canoes to Paddle off as fast as they could. Some began to Shoot Arrows from the other side, a Musquet discharged in the air and a four pounder over their heads sent them all off in the utmost confusion; those in the Cabbin leaped out of the Windows, other that were in the ship and on different parts of the Rigging all leaped over board and many quited their Canoes and swam a shore. After this we took no further notice of them, but suffered them to come and pick up their Canoes, and some were soon after prevailed upon to come along-side.⁷ We now got every thing in readiness to land in order to try to get some refreshments, for nothing of this kind had been seen in any of thier boats, and to Cut some Wood of which we were in want of.

¹ See p. 465, n. 5 below.

² . . . so that not only our decks but rigging was presently filled with them . . .—f. 238, red ink.—' . . . repeating the word Tomarr or Tomarro continually, which seemed to be an expression equivalent to the Tahitian Tayo (friend).—Forster, II, p. 205. It may have been the Malekulan *damar*, 'peace', but was more probably *temar*, 'ancestor'; cf. p. 484, n. 4 below.

³ thus . . . when: and seemed very well pleas'd with the reception they met with. While I was thus making friends with those in the Cabbin, red ink.

⁴ was going: bent his bow ⁵ some: some of his Countrymen

⁶ . . . and gave time to acquaint me with it

⁷ . . . Immediately after the great gun was fired, we heard beating of Drums on Shore, this was probably the Signal for the Country to assemble in arms.—f. 238v.

About 9 o'Clock we landed in the face of about 4 or 500 Men who were assembled on the Shore, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Clubs and Spears, but they made not the least opposition, on the contrary one Man gave his Arms to a nother and Met us¹ in the water with a green branch in his hand, which [he] exchanged for the one I held in my hand, took me by the other hand and led me up to the crowd to whom I distributed Medals, Pieces of Cloth &c.^a After Mr Edgcomb had drawn his Marines up on the beach in such a manner as to Protect the workmen in cutting down wood I made Signs² to the Natives that we wanted some to take on board, to which they willingly consented. A small Pigg was now brought down and presented to me for which I gave the bearer a Piece of Cloth,³ this gave us hopes that a trade would soon be opened for refreshments but we were mistaken, this Pig came on some other account probable as a peace offering, for all that we could say or do did not prevail upon them to bring us above half a Dozen small Cooanutt and a small quantity of fresh water. They set no sort of Value upon Nails⁴ nor did they seem much to esteem any thing we had, they would now and then give an arrow for a Piece of Cloth but constantly refused to part with their bows, they were unwilling we should go into the Country and very desirous for us to go on board, we understood not a word they said, they are quite different to all we have yet seen and Speak a different language, they are almost black or rather a dark Chocolate Colour, Slenderly made, not tall, have Monkey faces and Woolly hair.⁵ About Noon after sending what wood we had cut on board we all embarked and went of after which they all retired some one way and some a nother.

SATURDAY 23rd. Having now got on board a small quantity of Wood for present consumption and intending to put to Sea the next Morning in order to take advantage of the moonlight nights which now happened⁶ we employ'd this after-noon in setting up our lower & Top-mast Rigging which they stood in need of. Some time last night the Natives had taken away the Buoy from the Kedge Anchor we lay moor'd by, which I now saw a fellow bringing along the Strand to the landing place. I therefore took a boat and went for it accom-

¹ on the contrary . . . us: on the contrary seeing me advance alone with nothing but a green branch in my hand one man who seemed to be a chief gave his bow and arrows to a nother and met me . . .—f. 238.

² . . . (for we understood not a word of thier language)

³ . . . with which he seem'd well pleased;

⁴ . . . or any sort of Iron tools

⁵ Cook of course had passed from the Polynesian to the Melanesian area of the ocean, and was noticing Melanesian characteristics. See also p. 465, n. 3 below.

⁶ Having . . . happened: Before we had dined the after-noon was too far spent to do any thing on shore . . .—f. 239.

panied by some of the Gentlemen; the moment we landed the Buoy was put into our boat by a man who walked of again without Speaking one word; it ought to be observed that this was the only thing they even so much as attempted to take from us by any means whatever and that they seem'd to Observe Strict honisty in all their dealings. Having landed near some of their houses and Plantations which were just within the Skirts of the Woods, I prevaild on one man to let me see them, they Suffered Mr F. to go with me but were unwilling any more should follow. Their houses are low¹ and covered with thick Palm thatch, their form is oblong and some are boarded at the ends where the entrance is by a Square Port hole which at this time was Shut up;² they did not chouse we should enter any of them and we attempted nothing against their inclinations; here were about half a Dozen houses, some small Plantations which were fenced round with reeds,³ about Twenty Piggs and a few Fowles runing about loose, and a good many fine yams lying piled up upon Sticks or kind of Platforms; here were Bread fruit Trees, Cooanutt and Plantain Trees on which were little or no fruit, we afterwards saw an Orange on the beach, proof sufficient that they have of these fruit.⁴ We next proceed to the Point⁵ of the harbour where we⁶ could see the three distant Isles already mentioned the names of which we now obtained as well as the land on which we were which they call *Mallecollo*,⁷ a name which we find mentioned by Quiros or at least one so like it that there is not room for a Doubt but that they both mean the same land.⁸ After this we proceed to the other side of the Harbour and there landed by invitation⁹ but we had not

¹ Their . . . low: These houses were something like those at the other isles, rather low

² . . . and which they were unwilling to open for us to look in.

³ . . . as at the Friendly Isles

⁴ Proof sufficient? B is more cautious, and reads, 'Here we found on the beach a fruit like an orange called by them . . . but whether it is fit for eating or no, I cannot say, as this was decayed'. Cook afterwards picked up the name 'Barrecco' for the fruit. 'The ideas of the natural riches of the island of Mallicollo', says Forster (II, p. 223) 'were considerably raised after this confirmation of Quiros's reports'. But oranges did not grow in the New Hebrides. What was found on the beach was probably the bitter and inedible fruit of the wild *Citrus macroptera*, which is fairly common in Melanesian forests.

⁵ Point: S.E. Point.—It is called Lamap point.

⁶ where we: where we again landed and Walked along the beach till we

⁷ Malekula. But there was no native name for the island as a whole.

⁸ The name which Quiros picked up, in April 1606, at Taumako in the Duff islands of the Santa Cruz group, about three hundred miles to the north, was 'Manicolo'. The present editor has fallen into the same error as Cook (I, p. xlviii), in identifying it with Malekula; it was probably Vanikoro, the most southerly of the Santa Cruz group.—B f. 239v. omits the words 'a name . . . land', and substitutes, 'the island which first appeared over the South end of Ambrijm is called *Apee* [Epi] and the other with the hill on it Paoom.

⁹ by invitation: at the invitation of some people who came down to the shore . . .—f. 239v.

been a Shore five Minutes before they wanted us to be gone, we complied, put off and proceeded up the Harbour in order to Sound and take a view of it and to search for a stream of fresh Water, for as yet we had seen none but the very little the Natives brought us,¹ nor did we meet with any better success now, but is no reason but there may be some, the day was too far Spent to make a narrow Search and night brought us on board when I understood that not a Canoe had been of to the Ship the whole after noon, so soon was the Curiosity of these people satisfied.²

At³ 7 o'Clock AM weighed and with some variable light Airs of Wind and the Assistance of our Boat towing got out of the Harbour the South point of which at Noon wsw distant two or three Miles, Lat. Ob^d 16°24'30". We now got a gentle breeze at ESE [with] which we stretchd off NE with a view of geting to windward in order to explore the Isles which layd there. While we were geting out of the Harbour we had some little intercourse with the Natives who came off in their Canoes and sold us a few Bows and Arrows,⁴ but I think the Most we had along side at one time was only Eight Canoes in each of which might be four or five people. It being low-water when we came out, Vast numbers of people were out on the reefs along the Coast, most probably picking up Shell and other fish which might be there.

The people of this country are in general the most Ugly and ill-proportioned of any I ever saw, to what hath been allready said of them I have only to add that they have thick lips flat noses and. . . .⁵

Their Beards as well as most of their Woolly heads are of a Colour between brown and black, the former is much brighter than the latter and is rather more of hair than wool, short and curly. The Men go naked, it can hardly be said they cover thier Natural parts, the Testicles are quite exposed, but they wrap a piece of cloth or leafe round the yard which they tye up to the belly to a cord or bandage which they wear round the waist just under the Short Ribbs and over the belly and so tight that it was a wonder to us how they could endure it. They have curious bracelets which they wear on the Arm just above the Elbow, these are work'd with threed or Cord and studed with Shells and are four or five inches broad,

¹ . . . which we knew not where they got

² . . . As we were coming on board, we heard the Sound of a Drum and I think some other instrument and saw people dancing, but as soon as they heard the noise of the oars and saw us, all was silent.

³ At: Being unwilling to lose the benefit of the Moon light nights, which now happened,

at

⁴ . . . for pieces of cloth and papers

⁵ The sentence is unfinished.

they never would part with one, they also wear round the wrist Hoggs Tusks and rings made of large Shells; the bridge of the Nose is pierced in which they wear an ornament of this form,¹ it is made of a stone which is not unlike alabaster,² they likewise wear small ear Rings made of Tortise shell. We saw but few Women and they were full as disagreeable as the Men, their head face and Shoulders were painted with a Red Colour,³ they wear a piece of Cloth wraped round their Middle and some thing over their Shoulders in which they carry their Children.

Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, Clubs and Spears made of hard or Iron wood,⁴ the Arrows are reeds and some are arm'd with a long sharp point made of the Iron wood, others are armed with a very sharp point of bone and covered with a green gummy substance which we took to be poison and the Natives conform'd our Su[pposition] by makeing signs to us not to touch the point.⁵ I have seen some Arm'd with two or three of these points with little preklles on the edges to prevent the Arrows being drawn out of the wound.

* . . . only eight Canoes and in each of them four or five people: these Canoes were employed making several trips, bringing off some new faces every time. I beleive we did not see twenty Canoes in the whole neighbourhood and these were single with out riggers, mostly made out of the trunks of trees, without any ornament and ill built. At the time we came out of the harbour, the Sea was ebbing and vast

¹ The MS leaves a space for a drawing, which, however, was not made; see below, p. 466.

² This 'stone' must have been Tridacna shell, rubbed down.

³ The red colour was, according to Forster, II, p. 231, 'the yellow colour of turmeric'. — ' . . . the Women are very ugly & wear a short grass apron round their Waist which reaches to the knees & have more the appearance of the Monkey race than human beings.'—Cooper. This insistence on the likeness to monkeys, which none of the extant drawings of Hodges bears out, is explained by the elder Forster, *Observations*, p. 267: 'In Mallicollo, we observed that the greater part of the skulls of the inhabitants, had a very singular conformation; for the forehead from the beginning of the nose, together with the rest of the head, was much depressed and inclining backward: which causes an appearance in the looks and countenances of the natives, similar to those of monkeys.' The bridgeless nose, and possibly the wrinkling of the face in some people, which can be seen in modern photographs, added to the effect. George Forster, II, p. 229, was more appreciative: 'The features of these people, though remarkably irregular and ugly, yet are full of great sprightliness, and express a quick comprehension'.

⁴ The *Casuarina equisetifolia* found in the Polynesian islands, and much used for weapons there.

⁵ A great deal has been made since of these 'poisoned arrows'. The heads were of human bone, and they were subjected to magic charms, steeped in the juice of certain herbs, smeared with fancied sorts of dirt, and so on. In the ordinary European sense of the word they were not poisoned, but might bring tetanus, and certainly could prove fatal to the native, with his preconditioned and very suggestible mind. The really deadly thing was the charmed human bone. When one of these arrows was later tried on a dog, it suffered no ill effects, being psychologically unprepared—i.e. it did not know it was going to die, and therefore did not die. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford 1891), pp. 306-13, has an interesting discussion.

numbers of people were out on the shoals along the Coast, looking as we supposed for Shell and other fish; thus our being on their Coast and in one of their ports, did not hinder them from following thier necessary imployment, by this time they might be satisfied that we intended them no harm, so that had we made a longer stay, it is more than probable we should have been upon a good footing with this Apish Nation, for take them in gener[a]l they are the most ugly and ill proportioned people I ever saw and in every respect different from any we had yet seen in this sea. They are rather a Diminutive Race and almost as dark as Negros, which they in some degree resemble in thier countenances, but they have not such fine features. Thier hair is short and curled, but not so soft and wooly as a Negros, they have flat faces and long heads,¹ they weare a Cord or belt round their waist, just under the short ribs, and over the Middle of the belly, this is tied so tight, that they look as if they had two bellies, the one above and the other below the belt. The men are naked, it can hardly be said that they cover their natural parts, the Testicles are quite exposed, but the Penis is wrapped round with a piece of cloth or a leafe, the lower end of which is tied up to the belt. Thier Beards as well as most of their woolly heads are of a Colour between brown and black, the former is much brighter than the latter and is more of hair than wool, but very crisp and curly. Their ornaments are Ear rings mad[e] of Tortise Shell, and Bracelets, a curious one of the latter they wear just above the elbow, it is about 4 or 5 inches broad worked with thred or Cord and studded with shells; round the right wrist they wear Hogs tusks bent circular² and Rings made of Shells: and round their left a round piece of Wood, this we jud[g]ed was to ward of the recoiling of the Bow string. The bridge of the nose is pierced in which they wear a piece of white stone about an inch and a half long and of this shape:³



Thier signs of Friendship is a green branch and sprinkling water with the hand over the head.

¹ They are rather . . . heads substituted for They are of a very dark colour, inclining to black; little and slender, they have thick lips and flat noses; flat and monkey faces and long and woolly hair, and what adds to these infirmities . . . —f. 240.

² Not bent: the top tusk of the hog was knocked out when it was young, so that the bottom tusk grew without interference into a much admired and valued double circular form. Cook was on the edge of the great pig-cult of the New Hebrides, on which a good deal has been written.

³ The shape here drawn is different from that of another nose ornament reported by Forster, II, p. 221: 'An old woman parted with two semi-transparent bits of selenites, cut

Their Arms are Clubs, Spears and Bows and Arrows the two former are made of hard, or a kind of Iron wood. Their Bows are about 4 feet long and made of a stick split down the middle, they are not circular but in this form.¹

The arrows are made of a sort of reeds, some are armed with a long and Sharp point, made of the hard wood, others are armed with a very sharp point made of bone; the points of these were all covered with a substance which we took for poison, indeed the people themselves confirmed our suspicions by making signs to us not to touch the point and giving us to understand that if we were pricked by them we should die, they are very carefull of them themselves, and keep them allways wrapped up in a quiver; some of these arrows are Armed with two or three points, each with little prickles on the edges to prevent the arrows being drawn out of the wound. . . .

The Mallicollocans are quite a different Nation to any we have yet met with, and speak a different Language; of about Eighty Words which M^r F. collected² hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoke at any other island or place I had ever been at.³ The letter R is used in many of their words, and frequently two or three together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease.⁴ When they express their admiration of any thing they hiss like a goose.

To judge of the Country from the little we saw of it it must be Fertile, but I beleive their fruits are not so good as at the Society and Friendly Isles, their Cocoanutts I am certain are not and their Bread fruit and Plantains did not look to be much better. But their Yams seemed to be very good. We saw no other Animals than those I have already mentioned; they have not so much as a name for a Dog,

into a conical shape, and connected at the pointed ends, by means of a ribbon made of leaves. The diameter of the broad end was about half an inch, and the length of each bit three quarters of an inch. She took it out of the hole in the cartilage of her nose, which was very broad, ugly, and smeared with black paint'. It may have been this example which is shown in *Voyage*, II, pl. XVIII. The semi-transparency mentioned by Forster persuades one that this too was of Tridacna shell, the more usual material of the 'nose-sticks' or other ornaments of the Big Nambas of north-west Malekula. But Speiser, *Ethnographische Materialien aus den Neuen Hebriden und den Banks-Inseln* (Berlin 1923), p. 176, describes a 'quartz-stone' ornament, worn by chiefly persons, like Forster's; and his illustration is like that in the *Voyage*.

¹ The MS has no drawing: that here reproduced is from *Voyage*, II, p. 35. See also *Voyage*, II, pl. XVIII, for a bow of the conventional shape.

² The natives, says Forster (II, p. 213), 'with great goodwill sat down on the stump of a tree to teach us their language'.

³ spoke . . . been at substituted for of the more Eastern islands no more than it does to the New Hollanders.

⁴ Even the Russian *shch*, says Forster. The Polynesians, except in Tonga and Samoa, had great difficulty with the sibilant; and generally substituted *h*.

consequently can have none, for which reason we left them a Dog and a Bitch;¹ there is no doubt but they will be taken care of and they were very fond of them.

After we had got to Sea, we tried what effect one of the poisoned arrows would have on a dog, indeed we had try'd it in the harbour the very first night, but we thought the operation had been too Slight as it had no effect. The Surgeon now made a deep incision in the dogs thigh into which he laid a large portion of the poison just as it was scraped from the arrows, and then bound up the wound with a bandage. For several days after we thought the dog was not so well as he had been before but whether this was really so, or only suggested by imagination I know not; he afterwards was as well as if nothing had been done to him and lived to be brought home to England. I however have no doubt but this stuff is of a poisonous nature, indeed I could see no other purpose it could answer. The people seemed not unacquainted with the art of poisoning for when they brought us Water when we were on shore, they first tasted it and then gave us to understand we might safely drink it.² This Harbour, which is situated on the NE side of Mallicollo not far from the SE end in Latitude 16°25'20" S, Longitude 167°57'23" East, I named *Port Sandwich*, it lies in SWBS about one league and is one third of a league broad; a reef of Rocks extends out a little way from each point, but the channel is of a good breadth and hath in it from 40 to 24 fathom water; the depth of water in the Port is from 20 to four fathom and so Sheltered that no winds can disturb a Ship at Anchor in it and a nother great advantage is you can lie so near the shore as to cover your people who may be at work upon it.^{3*}—ff. 240-1.

SUNDAY 24th. Gentle breezes and fair Weather. After stretching to the NE till 3 o'Clock we Tacked and Stood to the South in doing of which we discovered at least three small isles⁴ laying off the SE point

¹ From the Society Islands, says Forster, and they were 'sold'.—II, p. 226.

² This was nothing to do with poison, but probably simply to guarantee that the water was good.

³ Cook's luck did not always hold with harbours, but Port Sandwich is said to be the best one in the New Hebrides.

⁴ *three small isles*: three or four small Islands which before appeared to be connected.—f. 241v. These were the Maskelyne islands, small and low, five of them in all; they lie on extensive coral reefs, and there is only one good anchorage among them. The name must have been conferred by Wales: for Cook seems to have had something of a distaste for the Astronomer Royal. At the end of the introduction to *Astronomical Observations*, p. lv, Wales writes, 'I cannot conclude, without observing that I have once, in the course of this work, stepped out of my province, and taken a liberty which I would wish not to be censured for. I had been at some pains to determine the situations of a group of small islands, to which I cannot find that any name has been assigned by Capt. Cook: I have therefore ventured to call them by the name of a person to whom I owe very much indeed; one who took me by the hand when I was friendless, and never forsook me when I had occa-



length of it and [the] wind began to abate.¹ At 8 o'Clock as we were Steering SSE we saw a light a head seemingly a good distance without the land. We had no idea of its being on the isle we had seen to the South for which we were now Steering, but supposed it to be on some low Island or Key which might be dangerous to approach in the Night, for this reason we hauled the wind and spent the night making short boards or rather driving to and fro for we had but very little wind. At Day light we could see nothing,² but found we had been carried by the Currants considerably to the Northward and attempted to little purpose to regain what we had lost. At Noon the Isl^d Extend^d from s to NNE. Lat Ob^d 18° 46'.

WEDNESDAY 3rd. Finding the Ship not only to drive to the Northward but in Shore also and as we were yet to the Southward of the Bay we had pass'd yesterday, I had thoughts of getting to anchor while we had it in our power to make choise of a Place; for this purpose hoisted out two boats one of which was sent a head to tow and in the other the Master went to Sound for Anchorage and soon after the other boat was sent to assist him: On the South part of the Bay where it was most convenient for us to Anchor no bottom was to be found till close to the beach, and before the other parts could be examined the Ship driv'd past and made it necessary to call the Boat aboard to tow her off from the Northern point, but this service was perform'd by a breeze of wind which very luckily sprung at sw and we hoisted them in and then bore up for the north side of the isle, intending to try once more to get round that way.⁴ Mr Gilbert told me he just landed at the South part of the Bay⁵ to taste of a Small Stream of Water he Saw there and which he found Salt, so that it must have come from a Pond behind the beach which must have some communication with the Sea; he saw some people without Arms but they came not near him.⁶ At Sun rise in the Morning we found ourselves a breast of the head⁷ and 3 Leagues from it, having had but little wind all night mostly from the South. Being in want of wood I sent two Boats under the Command of Lieut^t Clerk to

¹ ... I intended not to stop here but to stand to the South under an easy sail all night, but ... —f. 243v. This evening, narrates Forster, one of the marines fell overboard while drawing water to wash down the decks; the ship was brought to, and he was dragged out and revived with rum. It was William Wedgeborough. —Forster, II, pp. 249–50, 507.

² could see nothing: saw no more land than the Coast we were upon. —f. 244.

³ the Isl^d: we were about a League from the shore of the coast which

⁴ that way: by the East

⁵ he just ... Bay: that at the South part of the bay [i.e. Elizabeth Bay] he found no Soundings till close to a steep stone beach on which he landed

⁶ ... farther down the Coast, that is to the north, he found 20, 24 & 30 fathoms, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile or a mile from shore, the bottom a fine dark Sand. —f. 244.

⁷ the head: a lofty promontory on the NE side of the island

a Small Island lying off the head to endeavour to cut some, seeing there could be no people to disturb them.¹ At Noon they return'd Empty having not been able to land by reason of a great Surf; there were no people on the Islot, at least they saw none or any thing remarkable. They saw a large batt and caught a Water Snake.² The wind veering round to ESE and East so that we could ly up for the head.

→
First contact
at Eromanga,
New Hebrides
(Vanuatu),
2nd voyage

THURSDAY 4th. At 6 o'Clock in the PM we got in under the NW side of the head where we Anchored in 17 fathom Water half a Mile from the Shore, the bottom black sand. The Point of the head bore N 81° East distant Miles,³ the little Islot before mentioned NEBEJE and the NW point of land N 32° west. The Shore here forms a wide and tolerable deep Bay which lies open to ten points of the Compass (viz) from NWBN to East by North.⁴ We had reason to form a favourable Idea of the Natives as several attempted to swim off to us as we were Standing in but retired when the boat went a head to Sound.

At day-break I went with two boats to view the coast and to look for a proper landing place, wood and Water. Several people appeared on the Shore and by signs invited us to go to them, I with some difficulty⁵ on account of the rocks which every where lined the Coast, put a Shore⁶ at one place where a few men came to us to whom I gave pieces of cloth, medals &c^a, for this treatment they offered to haul the boat over some breakers to a Sandy beach, I thought this a friendly offer, but afterwards had reason to think otherwise. When they saw I was determin'd to proceed to some other place, they ran along the Shore keeping always abreast of the boats and at last directed us to a place, a Sandy beach, where I

¹ ... in the mean time we continued to ply up with the Ship, but what we got by our sails we lost by the current; at len[g]th, towards noon, we got a breeze at ESE and East with which we could lay up for the head. —f. 244v.

² This sea snake is referred to by Forster (II, p. 251) as *Coluber laticaudatus* Linn., and is figured in his drawings, pl. 170. Linnaeus' *Coluber laticaudatus* was a composite of two species, *Laticauda laticaudata* and *Laticauda colubrina* (Schneider); the specimen figured by Forster was the latter. Cf. p. 558, n. 7.

³ Miles: half a league

⁴ This was Polenia Bay, the extremes of which are 'the head' to which Cook has referred more than once—Traitors' Head, lat. 18° 41' S, long. 169° 11' E—and the north-east point of Eromanga, eight miles to the north-west. Traitors' Head is a high bluff, rising a little inwards to 2700 feet. The position where Cook was anchored is often called, in error, Port Narevin. There is no port, the name being derived from the native Pot-narivin—pot, place; narivin, sandy. The 'little Islot' is now called Goat islet; it is precipitous and rocky, five miles north-east of the head.

⁵ I with some difficulty: I went first to a small beach which is towards the head, here I found no good landing

⁶ put a Shore: I however put the boats bow to the shore

could step out of the boat without wetting a foot.¹ I landed in the face of a great Multitude with nothing but a green branch in my hand I had got from of them,² I was received very courteously and upon their pressing near the boat, retired upon my making Signs to keep off, one Man who seem'd to [be] a Chief a Mongest them at once comprehending what I meant, made them form a kind of Semicircle round the bow of the boat and beat any one who broke through this order. After distributing a few trinkets a Mongest them³ I ask'd by signs for fresh water in hopes of seeing where they got it, the Chief immediately sent a Man for some, he ran to one of their houses and presently return'd with a little in a Bamboo so that I gained but little information by this. I next ask'd by the same means for some thing to eat and they as readily brought me a Yam and a few Cocoa nuts; in short I was charmed with thier behaviour, the only thing which could give the least Suspicion was the most of them being Arm'd with Clubs, Darts, stones and bows and Arrows. The Chief made Signs to me to haul the Boat up upon the Shore but I gave him to understand that I must first go on board and then I would return and do as he desired and so step'd into the boat⁴ and order her to be put of, but they were not for parting with us to soon and now attempted by force to accomplish what they could not obtain by more gentler means, the gang-board having been put out for me to come in some seized hold of it while others snatched hold of the Oars,⁵ upon my pointing a musquet at them they in some measure desisted, but return'd again in an instant

¹ When they . . . foot: When they found I would not do as they desired they made signs for us to go down into the bay, which we accordingly did, and they ran along shore abreast of us and their number increased prodigiously; I put in to the shore in two or three places, not liking the situation did not land: By this time I beleive the Natives conceived what I wanted, as they directed me round a rocky point where on a fine sandy beach I stepped out of the boat without wetting a foot . . . —f. 244v-5.

² . . . I took only one man out of the boat with me and ordered the other boat to lie at a little distance off. . . —f. 245.

³ After distributing . . . them: This man I loaded with presents and gave like wise to others

⁴ The Chief . . . into the boat: for this reason I kept my eye continually upon the Chief and watched his looks as well as actions, he made many signs to me to haul the boat up upon the shore and at last slipped into the crowd where I observed him speak to several people and then return to me and made again signs to haul the boat up, and hesitated a good deal before he would receive some Spike Nails I then offered him. This made me suspect something was intended and immediately stepped into the boat. . . —f. 245.

⁵ the gang-board . . . Oars: The gang board happened unluckily to be laid out for me to come into the boat; I say unluckily, for if it had not been out and the crew had been a little quicker in putting the boat off, the natives might not have had time to have put in execution their design and what followed would not have happened. As we were putting off the boat they laid hold of the gang board and by some means unhooked it off the boats stern; but as they did not take it away, I thought it had been done by accident and ordered the boat in again to take it up, when they themselves hooked [it] over the boats stern and attempted to haul her ashore; some at the same time snatched the oars out of the peoples hands . . . —f. 245v.

seemingly determind to haul the boat up upon Shore; at the head of this party was the Chief, and the others who had not room to come at the boat stood ready with their darts and bows and arrows in hand to support them: our own safety became now the only consideration and yet I was very loath to fire upon such a Multitude and resolved to make the chief a lone fall a Victim to his own treachery, but my Musquet at this critical Moment refused to perform its part and made it absolutely necessary for me to give orders to fire as they now began to Shoot their Arrows and throw darts and Stones at us, the first discharge threw them into confusion¹ but a nother discharge was hardly sufficient to drive them of the beach and after all they continued to throw Stones from behind the trees and bushes and one would peep out now and then and throw a dart, four laid to all appearance dead on the shore, but two of them after wards cript into the bushes, happy for many of these poor people not half our Musquets would go of otherwise many more must have fallen. We had one man wounded in the Cheek with a Dart² the point of which was as thick as ones finger and yet it entered above two Inches which shews the force with which it must have been thrown.³ An arrow struck Mr Gilberts naked breast but hardly⁴ penetrated the skin, he was in the Cutter about 30 yards from the shore.⁵ After all was over we return'd on board and I order'd the Anchor to be hove up in order to anchoring nearer the landing place, while this was doing several of the Islanders assembled on a low rocky point and there displayed two Oars we had lost in the Scuffle. I looked upon this as a Sign of Submission.⁶ I was nevertheless prevailed upon to fire a four pound Shott at them to let them see the effect of our great guns, the ball fell short but frightened them so much that not one afterwards appeared,⁷ the Oars they left standing up against the Bushes.

¹ The main endeavour was to get the boat off; 'but more was done to effect this, by a very fine young fellow of a Bowman, than half the Musquets, for he instantly spring into the midst of them, near the Bow of the Boat (his post) and stab'd and hook'd away at so desperate a rate, that he contributed much to the liberation of the Boat . . . —Elliott Mem., f. 30v.

² 'Solⁿ Reardon on the upper lip with a Spear'. —Cooper.

³ the force . . . thrown: that it must have come with great force indeed we were very near them. —f. 246.

⁴ but hardly: but it probably had struck some thing before for it hardly.

⁵ . . . The Arrows were pointed with hard wood.

⁶ . . . and that they wanted to give us the Oars,

⁷ . . . one or two of the Guns being fired from the Ship tho they could not be got to bear ('till we hoisted one on the Forecastle) seemed to alarm them much'. —Mitchel. —Of this unhappy clash there exists at Eromanga a very circumstantial tradition. According to this the natives first saw the boats rowing off from Goat Island. Now nobody had ever landed on that island but ghosts, whose habitation it was; and therefore nobody could come from the island but ghosts, and ghosts could do nothing but harm. The panic-

The¹ Anchor was no sooner at the Bows than a breeze of wind sprung up at North which blew right into the Bay which with the best of winds was but an indifferent road and did not seem Capable of supplying all our wants,² I therefore resolved to leave it, set our Sails and plyed out accordingly but this was not accomplished at Noon when we observed in Latitude [18°43' s]. These Islanders are a different race of people to those on Mallecollo and seem'd to speake a quite different language; they are of the Middle Size, have a good Shape and tolerable features, they are of a dark Chocolate Colour and paint their faces with a sort of black or Red Pigment,³ their hair is very curly and crisp and some what Woolly: I saw some few Women which I thought ugly, they wore a kind of Petticoat made of Palm leaves or some plant like to them. The Men like those of Mallecollo have no other covering than the Case to the Penis which they tie up to a belt or string which they wear round the waist.⁴

FRIDAY 5th. About 2 o'Clock in the PM we were clear of the Bay bore up round the head and steered SSE for the South end of the

stricken Eromangans were determined to get rid of them as soon as possible, by any means. If ghosts would have departed at the price of water, well and good, but there was only one small stream at Potnarivin Bay, and that was nearly dry. So force had to be attempted. The chief's name was Narom: he was killed, but no others; and 'the Eromangans saw the ship vanish into air'. I owe this account to Evelyn Cheesman's charming small book, *Camping Adventures on Cannibal Islands* (London 1949), pp. 146-9. It does not explain some parts of Cook's story—why the natives attempted to swim off to the ship, or why they tried to pull the boat on shore—but it bears the marks of good folk-lore. There is a rather different account in the missionary H. A. Robertson's *Erromanga, the Martyr Isle* (1902), pp. 18-20, according to which the visitors were white *nobu* or gods, who had a wonderful fire and lived in a huge floating *lo* or kingdom. This account agrees that only Narom was killed.

¹ The: It was now Calm but the

² ... with that conveniency I wished to have, besides I Allways had it in my power to return back to this place in case I found none more convenient farther to the South.—f. 246.

³ There was a special black earth on Eromanga used for this purpose; the red pigment was a clay from the peak of Nilpon-u-moap—'place of red clay'—near Cook Bay. Both these desirable articles, wherever found, had their place in inter-island trade.

⁴ B has here a curious but ethnologically important alteration. For the words 'which they tie . . . the waist' Cook first writes, 'which they tied up to the belt in the same manner'. He then has the red ink alteration, 'which was not tied up to the belt which they wore about their waist'. It is difficult to explain this contradiction from any other source; and the first statement is confirmed by Hodges, *Voyage*, II, pl. XLII—for what that assemblage of classical poses is worth. But it is wrong. The printed page, with some delicacy, hedges: 'the men, like those of Mallicolo, were in a manner naked; having only the belt about the waist, and the piece of cloth, or leaf, used as a wrapper'.—*Voyage*, p. 49, with a reference to p. 34, which does not tell us much more. On this point C. B. Humphreys, without the benefit of Cook's MSS, writes, 'One can only suppose that, in his haste, his usual accuracy in observation deserted him and that his recollection became mixed with that of Malekula, for the *yelau* [penis case] of Eromanga has never been worn inserted in the belt'.—*The Southern New Hebrides* (Cambridge 1926), pp. 134-5. B adds, 'I saw no Canoes with these people, nor had we seen any anywhere about the island, they live in houses covered with thatch and their plantations are laid out by line and fenced round'. Cf. Clerke 8952: 'We saw nothing like a Canoe or Boat among them—whenever of them are desirous of a little party upon the water I believe must conduct themselves upon their own Oars'.

Island having the Advantage of a fresh gale at NW. On the SW side of the head runs in a Deep Bay,¹ seemingly behind the one on the NW side, its Shores are low and the adjacent lands had greatly the appearances of fertility, it is exposed to the SE wind, therefore untill it is better known, the NW Bay must be preferred, in case any Ship should be under the Necessity of touching at this Isle.² The high Promontary or Peninsula which disjoins these two Bays I called Traitors head from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants, but the Island is called by them Erramango of which Traitors-head is the NE point³ and lies in Latitude 18°43', Longitude [169°28'] East.⁴ As we advanced to the South the New Island we had before seen began to appear in one with the SE end of Erromango bearing S½E distant from each other 10 or 11 leagues. At half past 6 o'Clock in the evening the South point of the last mentioned isle bore due west, by our reckoning from Noon we were in Lat _____ and had now made the circuit of the isle which is _____. The Middle is situated in Latitude 18° _____ Long^d 16° _____ East⁵ and _____; its Shores are in places low but there are hills in the Middle⁶ which may be seen as also Traitors head 15 Leagues: we had reason to form a favourable Idea of the Soil, as few parts appeared barren and Plantations were every where seen, laid out by line and fenced round, like those we had seen before. After leaving this Island we shaped our Course for the East end of the one to the South, being guided by a great fire we saw upon it. At 1 o'Clock⁷ we came near the Shore and made it necessary to shorten Sail, and spend the remainder of the night making Short boards. At day break we discover'd a high table land⁸ bearing EBS and a small low isle bearing NNE which we had passed in the night,⁹ Traitors head was still in sight bearing N 20° west and the Island to the Southward extending from S 7° W to S 87° W distant about one League, we now found that what we had taken for a common fire in the Night was a Volcano which threw up vast quantities of fire and smoke and made a rumbling

¹ Cook Bay.

² in case . . . Isle: because it is sheltered from the reigning winds; the Winds it is open to, viz. from NWBN to EBN, seldom blow strong.—f. 246v.

³ Strictly speaking, this is not true; the north-east point of the island is about eight miles further up the coast. Traitors' Head has the native name Wakwi.

⁴ . . . It terminates in a Saddle Hill which is of a height sufficient to be seen 16 or 18 leagues.—f. 246v.

⁵ Cook seems to have omitted to work out these figures, which are, roughly, lat. 18°48' s. long. 169°5' E.

⁶ See p. 474, n. 1 above.

⁷ . . . in the Morning

⁸ . . . (an island) . . .—f. 247. It was Futuna.

⁹ . . . without seeing it.—This was Aniwa.

noise which was heard at a good distance.¹ Soon after we had made Sail for the East end of the island we discovered an Inlet which had the appearance of a harbour, as soon as we drew near I sent two Arm'd Boats under the command of Lieut^t Cooper and the Master to examine and Sound it while we stood on and off with the Ship to be ready to follow or give them any assistance they might want. On the East point were a great number of People Hutts and Canoes, some of the latter they put into the Water and followed our boats but came not near them. It was not long before our boats made the Signal for Anchorage and we stood in accordingly: the Wind being at West, we borrowed close to the west point and pass'd over some Sunken Rocks which would have been avoided by keeping a little more to the East. The wind left us as soon as we were within the entrance and obliged us to drop an anchor in 4 fathom water when the boats were sent again to Sound and in the mean time the Launch was hoisted out and as soon as we were acquainted with the Channel, laid out warps and warped farther in. While this work was going forward Vast numbers of the Natives had collected together on the Shores² and a great many came off in Canoes and some even Swam off, but came not nearer than a stones throw and those in the Canoes had their Arms in constant readiness; insensibly they became bolder and bolder and at last came under our Stern and exchanged some Cocoa nuts for pieces of Cloth &c^a; some more daring than the others were for carrying off every thing they could lay their hands upon³ and made several attempts to knock the rings off[f] the rudder, the greatest trouble they gave us was to look after the Buoys of our anchors which were no soon let go from the Ship or thrown out of the boats than they lay hold of them, a few Musquets fired without any design to hit had no effect, but a four pounder threw them into great confusion, made them quit their Canoes and take to the water but seeing none were hurt they presently recoverd their fright and returned to their Canoes⁴ and once more attempted to take away the buoys, this put us to the necessity of firing a few Muskatoon shot over them which had the desired effect and altho none were hurt

¹ 'Saw a very large fire on the shore which at daylight we found to be a Volcano from which issued prodigious clouds of smoke, succeeded by very loud bellowings equal to loud claps of Thunder.'—Cooper.

² ... all armed with Bows Spears &c^a ...—f. 247v.

³ *exchanged ... hands upon:* made some exchanges. The people in one of the first Canoes, after coming as near as they durst, threw towards us some Cocoa nuts, I went into a boat and picked them up and gave them in return some Cloth & other things; this induced others to come under the Stern and a long side where their behaviour was insole[n]t and daring; their was nothing within their reach they were not for carrying off, they got hold of the fly of the Ensign and wanted to tear it from the Staff; ...

⁴ ... gave us some holloas, florished their weapons

they were afterwards afraid to come near them and at last retired to the Shore and we were suffered to set down to dinner undisturbed. During these transactions a friendly old man in a small Canoe made several trips between us and the shore, bringing with him 2 or 3 Cocoa nuts or a yam each time and took in exchange what ever we gave him: another was on the gang way when the great gun was fired, but he was not to be prevailed upon to stay long after.

→
First contact
at Tanna,
New Hebrides
(Vanuatu),
2nd voyage

SATURDAY 6th. Wind at South a fresh breeze and fair weather. In the PM after the Ship was moor'd I landed with a strong party of Men at the head of the harbour¹ without any opposition being made by a great number of the islanders assembled in two parties the one on our right and the other on our left, all arm'd with darts, clubs, slings, bows and arrows: after our men were drawn up upon the beach I distributed to the old people presents of pieces of Cloth, Medals &c^a and ordered two Casks of Water to be fill'd out of a Pond which we found conveniently situated behind the beach,² giving the Natives to understand it was what we wanted. We got from them a few Cocoa-nuts which seem'd to be in plenty on the trees, but they would not on any account part with any of their Arms which they held in constant readiness and press'd so much upon us that³ little was wanting to make them attack us, however no attempt was made, our early embarqueing probably disconcerted their scheme and after that they all retired.⁴

I now found it was practical to lay the Ship nearer to the landing place, and as we wanted to take in a large quantity of both wood and Water it would greatly facilitate that work as well as over-awe the Natives and be more ready to assist our people on Shore in case of an attack, we therefore in the morning went to work to transport her: while this was doing we observed the Natives assembling from all parts to the landing or Watering place where they form'd themselves into two parties one on each side the landing place, we judged there were not less than a thousand people⁵ arm'd in the same manner as in the evening. A Canoe conducted some times by one and at other times by 2 or 3 Men would now and then come off

¹ ... in the SE corner ...—f. 248.

² 'here we found a Pool of excellent Water not above Twinty yards from the shore and wood for fuel equally as convenient ...—Log.

³ *and press'd ... that:* and in the proper attitude for using them, so that ...

⁴ ... The friendly old man before mentioned was in one of these parties and we judge from his conduct that his disposition was pac[i]fick.—f. 248. Cf. Clerke 8952: '... their behaviour upon this our first Visit was not the most friendly I've ever experienc'd among Indians—they did not insult us tis true but they did by no means seem reconcil'd to the liberty we took in landing upon their Coasts ...'

⁵ *we judged ... people:* to the amount of some Thousands, ...—f. 248v.

from them, invite us to go a Shore and bring us a few Cocoa-nuts or Plantains which they gave without asking for any thing in return but I took care they always had some thing. One of those who came off was the old man whose beheavour had attracted our attention yesterday. I gave him to understand by Signs (for we could not understand one another) that they were to lay a side their Arms, took those which were in his Canoe and threw them over board,¹ there was no doubt but he understood me and I believe made it known to his country men on shore for as soon as he landed he went first to the one party and then to the other, and as to himself he was never after seen with any thing like a weapon in his hand. Three fellows coming under the Stern in a Canoe offered a Club² for a String of beads and some other trifles all of which I sent down to them, but the Moment they were in their possession they paddled off in all haste without making any return, this was what I expected and what I was not sorry for as I wanted a pretence to shew the Multitude on shore the effect of our fire arms without materially hurting any of them, having a Musquet³ ready load[ed] with Small Shott, (N^o 3) I gave one of the fellows the Contents into the bargain and when they were above Musquet shott off, order'd 3 or 4 Musketoons or Wall pieces to be fired at them which made them quit the Canoe and keep under her off side and swim with her to the shore, this transaction seem'd to have little or no effect on the two divisions on shore, on the contrary they seem'd to think it sport.

After mooring the Ship by four anchors with her broad side to the landing place, from which she was hardly Musquet Shott, and placing our Artillery in such a manner as to command the whole harbour, we embarked the Marines and a party of Seamen in three boats and rowed in for the Shore; I have already observed that the two divisions of the Natives were drawn up on each side the landing place, the space between was 30 or 40 yards, here were laid to the most advantage a few bunches of plantains, a yam and two Tara roots, between them and the shore were stuck in the sand four small reeds about 2 feet from each other in a line at right angles to the sea shore, for what purpose they were put there I never could learn;⁴

¹ . . . and made him a present of a large piece of cloth.

² offered a Club: one of them brandishing a Club, with which he struck the Ship side and committed other acts of defiance, but at last offered to exchange it . . . —f. 248v.

³ Musket: fowling piece

⁴ for what . . . learn: ABG note These reeds remained sticking in the Sand for two or three days after, but I never could learn their meaning.—Mr G. S. Parsonson, of the University of Otago, who has given much study to the New Hebrides, on this passage makes the following comment: 'I think the explanation is simple enough. They were placed to indicate that the food was *tapu*. This was the normal method of indicating that coconut

the old man before mentioned and two more stood by these things and by Signs invited us a Shore, but we were not in a hurry to land, I had not forgot the trap I had like to have been caught in at the last isle and this looked some thing like it; we answered the old men by making signs that the two divisions must retire farther back and give us more room, the old men seem'd to desire them so to do but as little regard was paid to them as us. More were continually joining them, and except the 3 old men, not one was without arms: In short every thing conspired to make us believe they intended to attack us as soon as we were on shore. The consequence of such a step was easily seen, many of them must have been kill'd and wounded and we should hardly have escaped unhurt.¹ Sence therefore they would not give us the room we required I thought it was best to frighten them away rather than oblige them by the deadly effect of our fire Arms and accordingly order a Musquet to be fired over the heads of the party on our right for this was by far the Strongest body, the alarm it gave them was only momentary, in an instant they recovered themselves and began to display their weapons, one fellow shewed us his back side in such a manner that it was not necessary to have an interpreter to explain his meaning;² after this I ordered three or four more to be fired, this was the Signal for the Ship to fire a few four pound Shott over them which presently dispersed them and then we landed and marked out the limits on the right and [left] by a line. Our old friend stood his ground all the time, tho' deserted by his two companions, the moment we landed I made him a present of Cloth and other things I had taken with me for the purpose.³ In-

trees, for example, were not to be touched. Moreover, the natives clearly looked upon Cook as a returned ancestor. Hence the very small quantity of food. The offerings to the ancestors were always very small and their quality poor. And they were *tapu*. I think it significant that the natives showed so little surprise at Cook's arrival. There was excitement, it is true. But they soon showed the greatest familiarity. Cook's colour must have afforded them further proof that he had returned from the dead. He was white. I have a notion, too, that the line of reeds was also designed to discover whose ancestor Cook was—whether that of the party to the left or that to the right'. There seem to have been two different clans present.

¹ . . . two things I equally wished, by every possible means to prevent.—ff. 249–9v.

² . . . one of them turned his backside to us and beat it, like a monkey. For this contemptuous challenge he was sufficiently rewarded, for the Lieutenant of Marines told me he could not restrain himself from aiming a charge of shot at the proffered target.'—Sparman, p. 145.—This sort of mild obscenity might have been the prelude to worse, and was typical of the gestures with which New Hebrideans, often hot-tempered people, would provoke battle. As Cook rightly judged, there was a very even balance between peace and war. One did not necessarily welcome one's ancestors, who must be 'ghosts'. There had been no hesitation over what to do about ghosts at Eromanga.

³ Our first care was to draw up the marines in two lines, to guard the waterers. Stakes were driven into the ground on both sides, and ropes fastened to them, leaving a space of fifty or sixty yards clear, for our people to pass and repass unmolested.—Forster, II, p. 273.

sensibly the Natives came to us seemingly in a more friendly manner, some even came without arms, but by far the greatest part brought them and when we made signs to them to lay them down, they told us to lay down ours first; they climbed the Cocoa trees and threw us down the Nutts, without requiring any thing for their trouble, but we took care they were always paid. After filling half a dozⁿ Small Casks with Water and obtaining leave of the old man whose name was [Paowang]¹ to cut wood for fireing, just to let the people see what we wanted we return'd on board to dinner after which they to a man retired.² I never learnt that any one of them was hurt by our Shott.³

SUNDAY 7th. Wind at sw a fresh gale. In the PM landed again, laded the launch with Water and made three hauls with the Sein in which we caught upwards of 300 lb^s of Mullet and other fish. We had been on shore some time before any of the Natives appeared and not above 20 or 30 came to us at last the most of them without arms, our trusty friend [Paowang] made us a present of a small Pig.⁴ We were now in hopes they would give us no farther trouble. In the night the Volcano⁵ threw up vast quantities of fire and Smoak, the flames were seen to ascend above the hill between us and it, the night before it did the same and made a noise⁶ like that [of] thunder or the blowing up of mines at every eruption which happened every four or five Minutes; a heavy shower of rain which fell at this time seem'd to increase it: the wind blew from that quarter and brought such vast quantities of fine Sand or ashes that every thing was

¹ In B Cook begins with 'Paowang', slips into 'Taowang', and then reverts to 'Paowang' without further change. Forster 'Pawyangom'.

² they told us . . . retired: gave us to understand that we must lie [*sic, altered from lay in red*] down ours first; thus all parties stood with their arms in hand. The presents I made to the old people and to such as seemed to be of consequence, had little effect on their conduct. They indeed climbed the Cocoa nutt trees and threw us down the Nutts without requiring any thing for them, but I took care, they always had something in return, I observed [*deleted that they gave us these with a sparing hand*] there were many who were afraid to touch any thing which belonged to us & they seemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. I took the old man, (whose Name we now found to be Paowang) to the Woods and made him understand, I wanted to cut down such and such trees to take on board the Ship, cutting some down at the same time, which we put into one of our boats together with a few small casks of water with a view of letting the people see what it was we chiefly wanted. Paowang very readily gave his consent to cut wood, nor was there one who made the least objections, he only desired that the Coco nutt trees might not be cut down. Matters being thus settle[d] we embarked and return'd aboard to dinner and immediately after they went away to a man.—ff. 249v–50.

³ footnote either on this or the preceding day which was a very happy circumstance . . . —f. 250.

⁴ footnote which was the only one we got at the isle, or that was offered us. AG this was the only Pig. . .

⁵ . . . (which was about 4 miles to the West of us) . . . —f. 250. The volcano is called Mount Yasur or Yasua. It is still in constant activity. See the view, Chart XXXVIIb.

⁶ a noise: a long rumbling noise

covered with it,¹ and was also exceeding troublesom to the eyes. In the Morning the Natives again Assembled about the watering place Arm'd as usual, but not in such numbers as at the first. After breakfast we landed in order to cut wood and fill Water, we found many of the Natives inclinable to Peace, especially the old men, while many of the younger sort were very daring and insolent and obliged us to stand with our Arms in hand. After every thing was properly disposed on Shore,² I return'd on board and left the party under the Command of Lieut^{ts} Clerk and Edgcomb, when they came on board to dinner they inform'd [me] the Natives continued to behave in that inconsistent manner they had done in the morning and one man carried his insolence so far that M^r Edgcomb was obliged to fire upon him and believed he was wounded with a Slug shott.³ While we were at dinner an old man came on board, look'd at some parts of the Ship and then return'd a Shore.

MONDAY 8th. In the PM most of the Natives retired as usual, a few who lived in the neighbourhood only remained with whom we were upon a tolerable footing. One of our people having lift an Ax in the woods, it was picked up by one of the Natives and return'd us by our friend.⁴

In the Morning sent the Launch⁵ to the other side of the harbour to take in ballast which we were in want of, this work was performed before breakfast after which she was sent for Wood and Water, and in her the people who were employed on this service under the protection of a Serjt^s guard which was now thought sufficient as the Natives seem'd more complaisant than ever, they even, as I was told, invited some of our people to go home with them, on condition they would strip naked as they were.⁶

TUESDAY 9th. Wind at SE fair weather. In the AM sent the Launch again to the west side of the harbour for more ballast, the guard and Wooders to the usual place, with the latter I went my self. A good

¹ . . . it was a kind of fine sand or like stones ground or burnt to powder,

² After . . . Shore: I stayed till I saw no disturbance was like to happen and then

³ . . . after that the others behaved with a little more discretion and as soon as our people came on board they all retired.—f. 250v.

⁴ . . . some other articles were also returned us which they either had stolen or had been lost through the carelessness of our own people, so carefull were they now not to offend us in this respect.—The point here rather is that the New Hebridean in general did not want any people's property (though cf. 5 and 6 August). It was too dangerous—it would put the thief (or even the quite well-intentioned appropriator) in the owner's power. But the coming of new needs and the breaking down of ancient tabus made these same islanders by the middle of the nineteenth century the worst thieves in the Pacific.

⁵ . . . under the protection of a party of Marines

⁶ . . . this shews that they had no design to robb them what ever other they might have.—f. 251.

many of the Natives were collected together as usual whose behaviour tho Arm'd was very pacific¹ as gave us as much room as we desired, so that it was no longer necessary to mark out the ground by a line, they strictly observed the limits without.² When I return'd on board to dinner I prevailed on a young man whose name was Wha-agou³ to accompany me, as we had nothing to eat but salt beef and pork he did but just taste the latter, but eat pretty heartily of yam and drank a glass of Wine.

WEDNESDAY 10th. After dinner⁴ I shew'd Whaagou all parts of the Ship, I did not observe that any thing fixed his attention a moment or caused in him the least surprise, he had not the least knowledge of a Goat, Dog or Catt, he called them all Hogs (Bōōga or Bōōgas)⁵ he shewed a great desire for a Dog and I accordingly gave him both a Dog and a Bitch, a hatchet and a piece of cloth and then conducted him a Shore, while he was on board some of his friends brought me off a little Sug^r Cane, a few Cocoa-nutts & a Cock.⁶ As soon as we landed the youth and some of his friends took me by the hand in order to conduct me to thier habitations, at least so I understood. We had not gone far before some of the company, for what reason I know not, was unwilling I should proceed in consequence of which the whole company stoped, and if I did not mistake them some were detached for some fruit &c^a for me, for I was desired to sit down and wait which I accordingly did, during which time several of our Gentlemen pass'd us, at which they shewed great uneasiness and importuned me so much to order them back that I was at last obliged to comply, they were jealous at our making the least excursions inland or even along the shore of the harbour.

While I was waiting here Paowang came with a present of fruit and roots, brought by about 20 men, in order, as I supposed to make it appear the larger, one carried a small bunch of plantans, a nother a yam, a third a Tara root &c^a but [two] men might with ease have

¹ *pacific*: Courtious and obliging

² ... As it was necessary for Mr Wales's instruments to remain on shore all the middle of the day, the guard did not come off to dinner as they had done before till relieved by others.—f. 251.

³ Forster 'Fannōkko'.

⁴ *After dinner*: Before we sat down to dinner.—f. 251. This is a minor change, but one is curious to know what slip of memory or principle of literary composition prompted it. In any case (to be fussily pedantic) Forster says 'After dinner'.

⁵ An obviously Polynesian word; cf. Tahitian and Marquesan *puaa*, Tongan and Rarotongan *puaka*.

⁶ *while ... a Cock*: Soon after he came on board some of his friends came off in a canoe and enquired for him, probably they were doubtfull of his safety, he looked out of the quarter gallery and spoke to them and then they went ashore and soon after return'd with a Cock, a little sugar cane and a few cocoanuts, as a present to me.—f. 251.

carried the whole with ease.¹ This present was in return for some things I had given him in the Morning, I however did not now on that account send him and his train away empty handed.² After despatching these people I return'd to Wha-a-gou and his party who were still for detaining me and seem'd to wait with impatience for some thing or a nother,³ but as night was approaching I press'd them to be gone and so we parted.

Yesterday Mr Forster obtained from these people the Name of the Island (Tanna) and to day I got from them the names of those in the neighbourhood.⁴ They gave us to understand in such a manner which admitted of no doubt that they eat human flesh, they began the subject themselves by asking us if we did:⁵ they like wise gave us to understand that Circumcision was practised amongst them. While the Launch was taking in ballast on the West side of the harbour, one man employed on this work scalded his fingers in taking up a stone out of some water, this circumstance produced the discovery of several hot springs at the foot of the clift rather below high-water mark.⁶ In the AM Mr F. and his party made an excursion

¹ The gift was no doubt symbolical—another application, it seems, of the ancestor theory of Cook's visit.

² *I however ... empty handed*: however I thought the least I could do now was to pay the porters.—f. 251v.

³ ... and were unwilling and seemed to be a shamed to take away the two Dogs without making me some return, or at least so I thought;

⁴ ... the one we touched a[t] last is called *Erromango*, the small Isle we discovered the morning we anchored here *Immer*, the table island to the East discovered at the same time, *Erronan* or *Footoona* and an island which lies to the SE *Annattam*: all these islands are to be seen from Tanna.—f. 252. In modern versions and orthography, *Erromanga*; *Aniwa*, *Immer*, or *Niua*; *Futuna*; *Aneityum*; *Tana*. Forster's information was, in fact, wrong. Cf. Humphreys, p. xv: 'The native of an insular region of moderate size seems never to have a name for his own homeland until he has been a journey away from it. For instance, the proper native name for the island of Tanna is *Ipari*, which is given it by the natives of the other islands of the sub-group, all of which are in sight of it, when they point to it or mention it in any connection. The word *tanna* means 'ground' or 'earth' in the Waisisi dialect, and Captain Cook's [i.e. Forster's] mistake in thinking, when he pointed to the ground, that the native would give him the name of the island, and not of the object at which his finger pointed, was perfectly understandable from his point of view, but took no note of the workings of the native mind. ... Curiously enough, the name given by Cook has survived to this day, and there has never been any question of calling this island by the native name given it by its neighbours, or any other. ... The native name for *Erromanga* is, reciprocally, that given it by the Tannese when they speak of it or point to it'. The inhabitants of *Futuna* call *Tana* *Ekiamo*; but the tendency nowadays is for everybody to use the names used by Europeans.

⁵ ... otherwise we should never have asked them such a question. I have heard people argue that no Nation would be cannibals, if they had of other flesh to eat, or did not want victuals, and so lay the Custom to necessity; the people of this island can be under no such necessity, they have fine Pork and Fowls and plenty of roots and fruit; but sence we have not actually seen them eat human flesh, it will admit of some doubt that they are Cannibals.—f. 252. Forster, however, got pretty explicit information, II, p. 300; and the Tannese and other New Hebrideans were, and enjoyed being, cannibals.

⁶ 'Found the water which discharged it self from the Rocks under the Volcano extremely warm, in which we dipped two Men (for some disorder) tho, not without its first cooling'.—Mitchel, description of Tana.

into the country, he met with civil treatment from the Natives and saw several fine Plantations of Plantains, Sugar Cane, roots &c^a. The people now, especially those in our neighbourhood are so well reconciled to us that they take no notice of our going a Shooting in the woods.

THURSDAY 11th. Wind at South with some heavy showers of rain in the night. In the pm two or three boy's got behind some thickets and threw 2 or 3 stones at our people, who were cutting wood, for which they were fired at by the petty officers present. I was much displeased at such an abuse of our fire Arms¹ and took measures to prevent it for the future. During the night and all the next day the Volcano made² a terrible noise throwing up prodigious columns of Smoak and fire at every eruption;³ at one time great stones were seen high in the air. In the AM beside the necessary work of Wooding and Watering, we struck the main-top-mast in order to fix new Tristle-trees and a pair of new back stays. M^r F. made a little excursion up the hill on the west side the harbour where he found three places from whence assended Smoak or Steam of a Sulpherous smell,⁴ they seem'd to keep pace with the Volcano, for at every eruption the quantity of smoak or steam was greatly increased and forced out of the ground⁵ in such quantities as to be seen at a great distance which we had before taken for the smoak of common fire; it is at the foot of this hill the hot springs before mentioned are.

FRIDAY 12th. In the After-noon M^r F. carried his botanical excursions to the other side of the harbour and fell in with Paowang's house where he saw most of the articles I had given him hanging on the adjoining bushes, probably they were in his eyes of so little Value as not to be worth house room.⁶ Some of the gentlemen accompanied

¹ I was . . . Arms: I who was on shore at the time, was alarmed at hearing the report of the Muskets and saw two or three boys run out of the wood, but when I knew the cause I was much displeased at such a Wanton use being made of our fire arms . . . —f. 252v.

² made: was exceeding troublesome and made

³ . . . which happened every 3 or 4 Minutes . . . —The trouble with this volcano was that an evil spirit called Iaramus lived in the vent playing with fire and red-hot stones. The spirits of the dead also congregated there. 'The crater', writes Mr Parsonson, 'is about 1200 feet deep and about three quarters of a mile across. The peak is about 600 feet high, rising in a cone above a bare plain. On the landward side there is a lake. The scene is most desolate and awe-inspiring'. There is another interesting description in Miss Cheesman's *Things Worth While* (1957), pp. 189–91.

⁴ . . . from cracks or fissures in the Earth the ground about them was exceeding hot and parched or burnt;

⁵ . . . so as to rise in small Columns

⁶ George Forster, who was on the expedition, gives a different explanation, and does not fail to draw a moral. 'Little bits of their cloth, which they wear as sashes or belts, were suspended on the bushes which surrounded the green; and the presents which Paw-

M^r F. to the hot places he was at yesterday. [A thermometer] placed in a little hole made in one of them rose from 80¹ to 170. Several other parts of the hill emitted Smoak or Steam all the day, the Volcano was unusually furious and filled all the circumjacent air with its ashes so that the drops of rain which fell was mixed with its ashes, it mattered not which way the wind blew we were sure to be troubled with them.² The Natives gave us now very little trouble and we made little excursions inland with safety, they would however have been better pleased if we had confined our selves to the Shore, as a proof of this, some of them undertook to conduct the gentlemen to a place where they might see the mouth of the Volcano, they very readily embraced the offer and were conducted down to the harbour before they perceived the cheat.

SATURDAY 13th. Wind at NE gloomy weather. The only thing remarkable to day was old Paowang dining with us on board. I took the opportunity to shew him several parts of the Ship and various articles all of which he looked upon with the greatest indifferency.³

SUNDAY 14th. Wind northerly, weather as yesterday. After breakfast we made up a party consisting of 9 or 10 and set out in order to see if we could not have a nearer and better View of the Volcano, we first went to one of those burning or hot places before mentioned, having a Thermometer⁴ with us we made a hole in the ground where the greatest heat seem'd to be into which we put it; in the open air the mercury stood at but here it presently rose to and stood at 110⁵ which is only two below boiling Water.⁶ The Earth in this place was a kind of Pipe clay or whitish marl which had a sulphurous smell and was soft and wet, the upper surface only excepted which was crusted over with a thin dry crust, on which

yangom had received, among which was a laced hat, were placed in the same manner like so many trophies. This was a convincing proof to me of the general honesty of the people towards each other'. —II, p. 304.

¹ . . . which it stood at in the open air . . . —f. 253.

² so that . . . them: The rain which fell at this time was a compound of Water, Sand and Earth, so that it might very properly be called showers of mire. Let the wind blow which way it would, we were sure to be plagued with its ashes unless it blew very strong indeed from the opposite direction. —f. 253.

³ all of which . . . indifferency: in hopes of finding out some thing which they might value and be induced to exchange refreshments for, for what we got of this kind was trifling, but he looked upon every thing that was shewed him with the greatest indifferency; nay he hardly took notice of any one thing except a wooden Sand box which he seem'd to admire and turned it two or three times over in his hand. —f. 253. The sand was of course for drying ink.

⁴ . . . of Fahrenheits construction . . . —f. 253v. ⁵ An error for 210?

⁶ . . . It remained in the hole two minutes and a half without either rising or falling.

was Sulphur and a Vitriolick substance which tasted like Alumn: the whole space was no more than eight or ten yards square, near to which were some fig-trees who spread their branches over a part of it.¹ This extraordinary heat seem'd to us to be caused by the Steams of boiling liquid, most probably Water impregnated with Sulphur. I was told that some of the other places were larger than this, but we did not wait to look at them but proceeded up the hill through a Country covered with Trees, Plants, Shrubs, &c^a. The Bread fruit and Cocoa-nutt trees which seem'd to be Planted here by Nature were in a manner choked with Shrubery, creeping vines, &c^a. Every now and then we met with a house, some few people and Plantations, we found of the latter in different states, some of long standing, others lately cleared and clearing and before any thing had been planted; the clearing a piece of ground for a plantation seem'd to be a work of much labour, especially when we consider the tools they have to do it with which are of the same kind as at the other isles, but much inferiour, with these they cut or lop of the branches of the trees,² dig under the roots and there burn the branches and the small Shrubs and plants which they root up; thus they distroy both root and branch. The Soil, at least the upper surface,³ seemed to be chiefly composed of decayed leaves and plants and the Sand or ashes which the Volcano sends forth over all its neighbourhood. Happening to turn out of the common path we came into a plantation where there was a Man at work, he either out of good Nature or to get us the sooner out of his territories, undertook to be our guide, we had not gone with him far before we met a nother fellow standing at the junction of two roads with a Sling and a Stone in his hand, both of which he thought proper to lay aside when a Musquet was pointed at him, the Attitude we found him in and the ferosity which appear'd in his looks and his beheaviour after, led us to think he meant to defend the path he stood in; he pointed to the other along which he and our guide led us, he counted us several times over and kept calling for assistance⁴ and was presently joined by two or three more one of which was a young Woman with a Club in her hand; they presently conducted us to the brow of a hill and pointed to a road which led down to the harbour and wanted

¹ . . . and seemed to like their situation.

² with these . . . trees: G Their methods is however judicious and as expeditious as it can well be. They top off the small branches of the trees

³ at least . . . surface: G in some parts is a rich black mould

⁴ he pointed . . . assistance: G he in some measure gain'd his point, our guide took the other road and we follow'd, but not without suspecting he was leading us wrong; the other man went with us likewise, he counted us several times over and hollowing, as we judged for assistance

us to go that way, we refused to comply and returned to the one we had left which we pursued alone our guide refusing to go with us; after ascending a nother ridge as closely covered with Wood as those we had come over, we saw still other hills between us and the Volcano which discouraged us from proceeding farther especially as we could get no one to be our guide and therefore came to a resolution to return, we had but just put this into execution when we met twenty or thirty of the Natives collicted together and were close at our heels, we judged their design was¹ to oppose our advancing into the Country but now they saw us returning they suffered us to pass unmolested and some of them put us into the right road and accompanied us down the hill, made us to stop in one place where they brought us Cocoa nutts, Plantains and Sugar Canes and [what] we did not eat on the spot, brought down the hill for us; thus we found these people Civil² and good Natured when not prompted by jealousy to a contrary conduct, a conduct one cannot blame them for when one considers the light in which they must look upon us in, its impossible for them to know our real design, we enter their Ports without their daring to make opposition, we attempt to land in a peaceable manner, if this succeeds its well, if not we land nevertheless and mentain the footing we thus got by the Superiority of our fire arms, in what other light can they than at first look upon us but as invaders of their Country; time and some acquaintance with us can only convince them of their mistake.³

MONDAY 15th. In the PM I made an excursion in company with M^r Wales on the other side of the harbour, where we met from the Natives very different treatment [from what] we had done in the

¹ collected . . . was: G which the fellow before mentioned had got collected together with a design, as we judged,

² Civil: G hospit[ab]le, civil

³ in what . . . mistake: G under such circumstances what opinion are they to form of us; is it not as reasonable for them to think that we come to invade their Country as to pay them a friendly visit; time & some acquaintance with us, can only convince them of the latter; these people are yet in a rude state, and if we can judge from circumstances & appearances, are frequently at War not only with their Neighbours, but amongst themselves, consequently must be jealous of every new face. I will allow, that there are many exceptions to this rule to be found in this Sea, but there are few Nations who will willingly suffer you to make excursions far into their country.—The Log adds, 'PM nearly completed wooding and Watering AM Cleaned the Ship inside and out. Several people on shore on liberty trucking with the Natives, some few for fruits, but the greatest part for Curoisities Such as Bows, arrows, Darts and such like trifles'.—Cook's observation was very just, and he might well have regarded his expedition, comparatively speaking, as a great success. The New Hebrideans were extremely sensitive about visitors going beyond the beach. Natives from other islands always carried on their business on the beach. John Williams the missionary was killed in 1839 only when he persisted in going beyond the beach. On the other hand, the Log makes it clear that trading on the beach could be perfectly amicable. Compare the entry for 12 August above.

morning, these people, in whose neighbourhood lived our friend Paowang, being better acquainted with us than those we had seen in the morning, shewed a readiness to oblige us in every thing in their power: here was a little Stragling Village consisting of a few house which need no other discription than to compare them to the roof of a thatched house taken of the walls and placed on the ground, the figure was oblong and open at both ends, some indeed had a little fence or wall of reeds at each end about 3 feet high, some seem'd to be intended for more families than one as they had a fire place near each end,¹ there [were] other mean and small hovels which I understood were only to Sleep in, in one of these which with some others stood in a Plantation but separated from them by a fence, I understood was a dead Corps, they made Signs that he slipt or was dead, circumstances sufficiently pointed out the latter. Curious however to see all I could I prevailed on an elderly man to go with me within the fence which surrounded it, one end of the hut was closed up the same as the sides the other end had been open but now shut up with Matts which he would not suffer me to remove,² he also seem'd unwilling I should look into a Matted bag or basket which hung to the end of the hutt, in which was a piece of roasted yam and some kind of leaves all quite fresh: thus I was led to believe that these people dispose of the dead some thing in the same manner as at Otahiete. The Man had about his neck fastned to a String two or three locks of human hair and a Wqman present had several; I offered some thing in exchange for them but they gave me to understand this could not be done as they belonged to the person who laid in the hutt. A similar custom to this is observed by the New Zealanders.³ Near most of their larger houses are placed upright in the ground in a square position about 3 feet from each other the Stems of four Cocoa-nut trees, some of our gentlemen who first saw these seem'd to think they had a Religious tendancy, but I was now fully

¹ the figure . . . end: G some are open at both ends and others are partly closed with reeds and all are covered with Palm thatch; some are 30 or 40 feet long and 14 or 16 broad.—The reeds were probably those of the plant called *ning* or *ningu*, 'wild cane' or cane-grass, *Miscanthus japonicus*, generally used for that purpose; the roof and the outer walls were thatched with dried wild sugar cane, very thick.

² within . . . remove: G to the hutt, which was separated from the others by a reeded fence, built quite round it at the distance of 4 or 5 feet from it, the entrance was by a space in the fence made so low as to admit one to step over. The two sides and one end of the hut was closed or built up in the same manner and with the same materials as the roof, but the other end had been opened but was now well closed up with Matts, which I could not prevail on the man to remove or suffer me;

³ A similar . . . Zealanders: G a similar custom to wearing the hair is observ'd by the people of [Otahiete] and likewise by the New Zealanders; the former make Tamau of the hair of their deceas'd friends, and the latter make Ear-rings and Necklaces of their teeth . . . —For 'Tamau' (*taamu*) see the description in I, p. 126.

satisfied they were to hang cocoa upon to dry.¹ Thier houses are generally built in an open Area where the air has a free circulation, in some are a large tree or two whose spreading branches afford an agreeable shade and retreat from the Scorching Sun.

This part of the Isle was well cultivated open and airy, the Plantations were laid out by line and Planted with Plantains, Sugar Canes, yams and other roots and well stocked with Bread, Cocoa-nutt and other fruit trees. In our walk we met with old Paowang who with some others accompanied us to the landing place and brought down with them a few Cocoa-nutts and a yam which they gave to me, and then we parted they returning home and we on board. In the AM having compleated our wood and Water, a few hands were only employed ashore Cuting stuff for brooms, the rest were imployed on board seting up the rigging and puting the Ship in a Condition for Sea. M^r F. in his excursion to day Shot a Pigeon² and in the Craw found a fruit which was either a wild Nutmeg or very much like one.³

TUESDAY 16th. Winds northerly fair Weather. In the PM M^r F. and I⁴ took a Walk to the Eastern Sea shore in order to have a sight of an Island to the SE which these People called Annattom; the high table Island we discovered the Morning we anchored here is called Irromang or Foottoona and the flat isle lying off the harbour Immer.⁵ I observed that in their Sugar Plantations were dug holes or Pitts about 4 feet deep and 5 or six in diameter, we were made to understand that these Pitts were to catch Ratts which when once in they could not get out and so were easy killed, these animals which are distructive to the Canes are here in plenty.⁶ In the Morning after having got every thing in readiness to put to Sea and waited for nothing but a wind we found the Tiler sprung and other ways defective in the Rudder head and by some strange neglect we had

¹ G for when I asked, as well as I could, the use of them, a man took me to one loaded with Cocoanutts from the bottom to the top; no words could have informed me better.—'Some of our gentlemen' seems to point to J. R. Forster, but George Forster gives a clear account (II, pp. 303-4) of the use of these coconut stems as poles across which were fastened the sticks to which the nuts were hung.

² The Pacific Pigeon. Cf. p. 262.

³ . . . he took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were not attended with success.—f. 254. There are several species of wild nutmegs in the New Hebrides: *Myristica guillauminiana*, *M. inutilis*, etc.

⁴ M^r F. and I: a party of us. . . —The party was Cook, the two Forsters Cooper, Pickersgill, Patten, Hodges and Sparrman—so we learn from Forster, II, p. 333.

⁵ in order . . . Immer: in order to take the bearing of Annatam and Erronan or Foottoona but the horizon proved so hazey that I could see neither but one of the natives gave me as I afterwards found the true direction of them.—f. 254.

⁶ . . . the canes I observed were planted as thick as possible round the edges of these Pitts, so that the ratts in coming at them are the more liable to tumble in.

never a spare one on board and this was not known till now we wanted it. While the Carpenter was unshipping the old tiler I went ashore to cut down a tree to make a new one, but as we knew but of one fit for the purpose which stood near the watering place and this Paowang had disired might not be cut down and I had promised it should not proper application was therefore necessary in order not to give umbrage to the Natives. Therefore as soon as I landed I sent for old Paowang and as soon as he came made him a present of a Dog and a large piece of Cloth and then made known to him that our great steering Paddle was broke and that I wanted that tree to make a new one, he presently gave his consent as well as several others present and we set people to work to cut it down. It was easy to see that this Method which I took to Obtain the tree was very agreeable to all the people present.¹ After this I returned on board with Paowang who stayed dinner. After the tiler was unshipped we found that by scarfing a piece to the inner end and liting it farther into the rudder head it would still perform its office and the Carpenters and smiths were set about this work. When the gentlemen who had been on Shore returned on board to dinner I learnt from them that an old man whose name was _____ and as they understood King or Chief of the Island, was then at the landing place.

WEDNESDAY 17th. After dinner I went a Shore with Paowang, saw the old Chief and made him a present with which he retired; his name was [Geogy] he seem'd to be very old² and had with him a Son near

¹ I went ashore . . . present: sent the Carpenter a shore to look at it and an officer with a party of Men to cut it down provide[d] he could obtain leave of the Natives, if not to send to acquaint me with it; He understood that no one had any objection and set the people to work to cut it down, but as the tree was large this was a work of some time and before it was down word was brought me that our friend Poawang, was not pleased with it and I gave orders to desist, as we found that by Scarfing a piece to the inner end of the tiller and leting it farther into the Rudder head, it would still perform its office; but as it was necessary to have a spare one on board, I went on shore, sent for Paowang, made him a present of a Dog and a piece of Cloth and than made him understand that our great steering paddle was broke and that I wanted that tree to make a new one; it was easy to see how well pleased every one present was with the means I took to obtain it and with one Voice gave their consent so that Paowang gave his consent also which he, perhaps, could not have done without the others for I do not know that he had either more property or authority than the rest.—f. 254v.—The tree, says Forster, was a casuarina, 'highly valued at Tanna, and so very scarce, that they are obliged to go to Irromanga, where it grows more plentifully, in order to supply themselves with clubs'.—II, p. 339.

² saw the old chief . . . very old: to pay a Visit to an old Chief who was said to be king of the island; but this was a doubt with me, Poawang took little or no notice of him, I made him a present after which he immediately went away, as if he had got all he came for; his Name was Geogy and they gave him the Title of Areekes, he was very old but had a merry open countenance. He wore round his waste a broad red and white chequered belt, the materials and Manufacture of which seemed the same as those of Otaheite cloth but this was hardly a mark of distinction.—ff. 254v-5. Forster gives the old man's name as Yogai, and his son's as Yatta.

fifty years of Age. A great number of people were at this time at the landing place and some few were a little troublesome, daring and insolent¹ whilst the others behaved with courtesy and friendship.

In the Morning sent the Guard a Shore as usual, about 10 o'Clock I went a Shore and found in the crowd Old Yeoki² and his son, he soon made me understand that he wanted to dine with me on board, accordingly I brought him, his son and two more on board, they all called themselves Kings or chiefs,³ but I did not believe any one of them had any pretentions to that title over the whole island.⁴ I shewed them all over the Ship which they viewed with surprise and uncommon attention. We happened to have for their entertainment a kind of a Pye or Pudding made of Plantains and some sort of greens which we had got from the Natives, of this and yams they made a hearty dinner.⁵ After making each of them a present of a Hatchet, a Spike Nail, and piece of cloth and some Medals they were conducted a Shore and immediately retired.⁶

THURSDAY 18th. In the PM M^r F. and I went to the west side of the Harbour to try the degree of heat of the hot Springs, in one of which the mercury in the Thermometer rose to 191 from 78 which it stood at in the open air. At this time it was high-water and within two or three feet of the spring which we judged might be in some degree cooled by it but the next morning we found just the contrary for repeting the experiment when the tide was out the Mercury rose no higher than 187, but at a nother Spring which bubbles out in large quantities from under a steep rock at the sw corner of the harbour, the Mercury rose to 202½ which is only 9½ below boiling water; I have already said that these Springs are at the foot of the same hill on the side of which we saw the hot places and Smokes ascend before mentioned: this hill belongs to the Same Ridge in which the Volcano is: the Ridge is of no great height⁷ nor is the Volcano at the

¹ . . . which I thought proper to put up with as our stay was nearly at an end.

² Geogy

³ Kings or Chiefs: Areekes (Kings)

⁴ . . . it had been remarked that one of these Kings had not authority enough to order one of the people up into [a] cocoa nutt tree to bring him down some nutts, altho he spoke to several, and was at last obliged to go himself; and by way of revenge as it was thought, left not a nutt on the tree, took what he wanted himself and gave the rest to some of our people.—f. 255. —Cook was perfectly correct in his disbelief that there was any king of the whole island. The mark of New Hebridean social organization was indeed the great number of clans and chiefs on the same island—too many for social cohesion.

⁵ . . . for as to Salt Beef and Pork they would hardly taste it.

⁶ 'Punish'd W^m Tow Marine 1 dozen for trading with the natives when on guard on shore'.—Cooper.

⁷ I have already . . . height: The hot places before mentioned are from about three to four hundred feet perpendicular above these Springs and on the Slope of the same ridge as the Volcano, that is there is no vally between them but such as are formed in the ridge it self.—f. 255v.

highest part of it but on the SE side and contrary to the Opinion of Philosophers, which is that all Volcanos must be at the summits of the highest hills, here are hills in this island more than double the height of the ridge I have been speaking of. Nor was the Volcano on the isle of Ambrrym (which I now have not the least doubt of there being one if not two) on the highest part of the Island but seem'd to us to be in a Vally between the hills:¹ to these remarks must be added [a] nother which is that during wet or moist weather the Volcano was most vehement. Here seems to be [a] feild open for some Philosophical reasoning on these extraordinary Phenomenon's of nature, but as I have no tallant that way I must content my self with stating facts as I found and leave the causes to men of more abilities.

FRIDAY 19th. Winds northerly a gentle gale. In [the PM] the Tiller was finished and Shiped, so that we only waited for a fair Wind to put to sea. In the AM as the wind would not admit of our getting to sea I sent the guard on [shore] with M^r Wales as usual and at the same time a party to cut up and bring off the remainder of the tree we had cut a spare tiller of. A good many of the Natives were, as usual, assembled near the landing place and unfortunately one of them was Shott by one of our Centinals, I who was present and on the Spot saw not the least cause for the committing of such an outrage and was astonished beyond Measure at the inhumanity of the act, the rascal who perpetrated this crime pretended that one of the Natives laid his arrow across his bow and held it in the Attitude of Shooting so that he apprehen[d]ed himself in danger, but this was no more than what was done hourly and I beleive with no other View than to let us see they were Armed as well as us: what made this affair the more unfortunate it not appearing to be the man who bent the Bow but a nother who was near him. After this unhappy affair most of the Natives fled and when we embarked to go on board they retired to a man and only a few appeared in the afternoon² amongst whom was Wha-a-you who I had not seen sence the day he dined on board. During the night the Wind Veered round to SE. At 4 AM began to unmoor and at 8 got under sail and Stood out to Sea, leaving the Launch behind to take up a Kedge Anchor and hawser we had out to cast by and was obliged to Slip. As soon as were clear of the harbour we brought-to to wait for the Launch and to hoist her and the other boats in which was employment till Noon, when we

¹ Ambrim is a centre of considerable volcanic activity: ranges rise from all its shores to form a circle round a tremendous crater, in which are separate cones. The highest peak on the island is Mount Marum, 4,380 feet; so that Cook's observation was not inaccurate.

² i.e. the afternoon of Saturday 20th, ship time.

made Sail and Stretched to the Eastward with our Starboard tacks on board in order to take a nearer View of the Island of Erronan the same as we discover'd in the morning of the 5th.

*As I had nothing to do I went on shore with them and found a good number of the Natives collected about the landing place as usual, to whom I distributed all the presents I had about me and then went on board for more. In less than an hour returned, just as our people were getting some large logs into the boat; At the same time four or five of the Natives stepped forward to see what we were about, and as we did not allow them to come within certain limmits unless it was to pass along the beach, the sentry ordered them back, which they readily complied with. At this time I had my eyes fixed on them and observed the sentry present his piece (as I thought at the men) and was just going to reprove him for it, because I had observed that when ever this was done, some or another of the Natives would hold up their arms, to let us see they were as ready as us, but I was astonished beyond measure when the sentry fired for I saw not the least cause. At this outrage, most of the people fled, it was only a few I could prevail upon to remain; as they ran off I observed one man to fall and was immediately taken up by two others who led him into the water, washed his wound and then led him off. Presently after some came and described to us the nature of his wound, which I now sent for the surgeon to dress, as I found the man was not carried far. As soon as the Surgeon came I went with him to the man, which we found expiring; the ball had struck his left arm, which was much shattered, and then entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broke. The rascal who perpetrated this crime, pretended that a Man had laid an arrow a Cross his bow and was going to shoot it at him, so that he apprehended himself in danger, but this was no more than what they had always done, and I believe with no other view than to shew they were armed as well as us, at least I have reason to think so, as they never went further. What made this affair the more unfortunate, it not appearing to be the man who bent the bow, that was shott, but another who stood by him.¹ This unhappy affair threw the Natives into the utmost con-

¹ The sentry concerned was the marine William Wedgeborough, a not very attractive person; but it is not easy to give a satisfactory last word on this incident. There were others who took the matter more easily than Cook did, for instance Cooper; and others who thought Cook was quite wrong. To Cooper, it seems, the life of an 'insolent' native was of no particular value: 'This forenoon a Centinel on shore fired at one of the natives for attempting to fire an arrow at him, which shatter'd the Elbow of his left Arm & enter'd his side, he was immediately taken to a small distance & expired in a quarter of an hour, this act of hostility has been often offered to our Centinels before unnoticed which has totally rendered them disregarded by the natives to a great degree of insolence: the rest

sternation the few that were prevailed on to stay ran to the plantations and brought Cocoa nutts &c^a and laid [them] down at our feet, so soon were these daring people humbled.

When I went on board to dinner they retired to a man and only a few appeared in the after-noon amongst whom were Paowang and Whā ā-gou, this young man I had not seen sence the day he dined on board, both he and Pā-o-wang promised to bring me fruit &c^a the next morning but our early departure put it out of their power.

SATURDAY 20th. During the night the wind had veered round to SE; as this was favourab[le] for geting out of the harbour, we at 4 a.m. began to unmoor and at 8 wighed our last anchor and put to Sea. As soon as we were clear of the land, I brought-to to wait for the Lau[n]ch which was left behind to take up a Kedge Anchor &

of the natives on the Beach quite passive & undisturbed.'—Elliott's account (*Mem.*, ff. 32v–33) is possibly coloured by reminiscence, and he may have been unconsciously arguing a case: 'In this state of things with respect to the Natives, Tho I have several times said that Captⁿ Cook was a Most Brave, Just, Humane, and good Man, and the fittest of all others for such a Voyage; yet I must think, that here, and upon another occasion (which I shall notice, in its proper place) He lost sight, of both justice, and Humanity. The circumstance was this; Captⁿ Cook, told the officer of Mariens, that his Men were not to fire, until fir'd upon. And he repeated the orders to the Sentries; one day the Natives appear'd particularly Insolent, and one of them came repeatedly within a Sentry's lines, the Soldier told him to keep back, which only made him more insolent, He then shew'd the Man his Musquet, and push'd him by, upon this the Man took an Arrow, laid [it] across his Bow, and drew it, but looking at it, he took it from the Bow, and replac'd it with one that he lik'd better, and drew it to the last stretch; in this situation, not 5 Yards distance stood the Sentry; Now the question was, whether the sentry was to recieve a Poison'd Arrow into him (for he was sure to be hit) or he to save himself, was to shoot the Man; the sentry choose the latter, and he instantly level'd his Musquet and Shot the Man; for which Captⁿ Cook order'd him on board, and had him brought to the gangway to be flogged, but was induc'd through the per[s]wasions of all the officers, to forego the flogging, but kep't him in Irons a considerable time'. Neither Cooper nor Elliott was an eye-witness, and certainly Forster, who gives a circumstantial account (II, pp. 350–3) was not. According to him, Edgcumbe, the lieutenant of marines, had deliberately given the sentries orders directly contrary to Cook's—which reads like nonsense; and equally nonsense seems the remark, 'the officer's right to dispose of the lives of the natives remained uncontroverted'. Sparrman (p. 151), a less biased writer, says that Edgcumbe and the naval lieutenants defended Wedgeborough, arguing that he was 'entitled to believe he was not posted there simply to provide a target for arrows'.—Wales sided with Wedgeborough, and calls Forster's account 'one of the most malignant pieces of misrepresentation and abuse in his whole book'. One attempt to shoot a sentry had already been made, and was only prevented by another native who was standing by; and Edgcumbe's orders to the sentries were simply, if there was no alternative to shooting, to shoot in time. The only 'person of moment' who saw the whole transaction, he says, was Whitehouse, one of the master's mates. He concludes, 'I have already proved from the testimony of the only person who saw the whole, for Captain Cook saw only a small part of it, that the centinel did strictly obey Captain Cook's orders as long as he could, and, in consequence thereof, was obliged to shoot him in his own defence. Mr. Whitehouse has assured me, that he is absolutely certain Captain Cook is, himself, mistaken in saying, that there was room to suppose it was not the man who drew the arrow that was shot. I never heard that there was the least reason for such a supposition.'—Wales, *Remarks*, pp. 83–8. Forster gives his last word on the subject thus: 'So much I know, that the matter was discussed in my hearing, with much warmth, between the officers and Captain Cook, who by no means approved of their conduct at that time.'—*Reply*, p. 9. This is interesting but proves nothing on the main point.

hawser we had out to cast by. About day break a noise was heard in the Woods nearly abreast of us on the East side of the harbour, it was not unlike singing of Psalms; I was told that the same had been heard about the same time on other mornings, but it never came to my knowlidge till now when it was too late to known the occasion of it. Some were¹ of opinion that at the East point of the harbour (where we observed in coming in, some houses boats &c^a) were some thing or a nother, sacred to Religion, because some of our People [who] had attempted to go to this point were prevented by the Natives. I thought and do still think, it was only owing to a desire they on every occasion shew'd of fixing bounds to our excursions, so far as we had once been we might go again, but not fa[r]ther with their consent, but by encroaching a little every time our excursions were insensibly extended without giving the least umbrage, besides these morning ceremonies, whether Religious or not, were not performed down at that point, but in a part where some of our people were daily.² I cannot say what might be the true cause of these people shewing such a dislike to our makeing little excursions into their Country; it might be owing to a natural jealous disposition, or perhaps to their being accustomed to hostile visits from their neighbours or quarrels amongst themselves, circumstances seemed to shew that such must frequently happen; we observed that they are very expert and well accustomed to Arms and seldom or never travel without them. It is possible all this might be on our account, but I can hardly think it, we never gave them the least molestation, nor did we touch any part of their property, not even Wood and Water without first having obtained their consent. The very Cocoa-nutts hanging over the heads of the Workmen were as safe as those in the middle of the isle. It happened rather lucky that there were many Cocoa-nut trees near the skirts of the harbour, which seemed not to be private property, so that we could generally prevail on some or other to bring us some of these nutts when nothing would induce them to bring any out of the

¹ Some were substituted for Mr F. was now

² There is conflict of testimony here. 'Every morning, at day-break, we heard a slow solemn song or dirge sung on this point, which lasted more than a quarter of an hour. It seemed to be a religious act, and gave us great reason to suspect that some place of worship was concealed in these groves. . . .—Forster, II, pp. 300–1. Forster even reports 'signs that we should be killed and eaten' if they went beyond the point.—p. 300. This seems to display a rather romantic imagination, which had fed on Druids and certain ingredients of the forested Teutonic past. The natives were most probably practising for some great feast, or for celebrating a new season with new music—the Tanese spent a great deal of time 'singing heathen songs' (to use the missionary phrase), but they were not songs of religion. New Hebridean 'religion' is a ticklish subject, and need not be gone into. Possibly the second remark from Forster indicates some warning against less friendly clans, or even some local magician, 'disease-maker', living apart, with death at his disposal—though in Tana these people generally inhabited a spot close to the volcano.

them were within hail when we began to hoist out our boats which probably gave them some alarm as they retired again to the reef, but we afterwards saw our boats go along-side one or two. As soon as the boats made the Signal for a Channel we stood in and took them

First contact
at New Caledonia

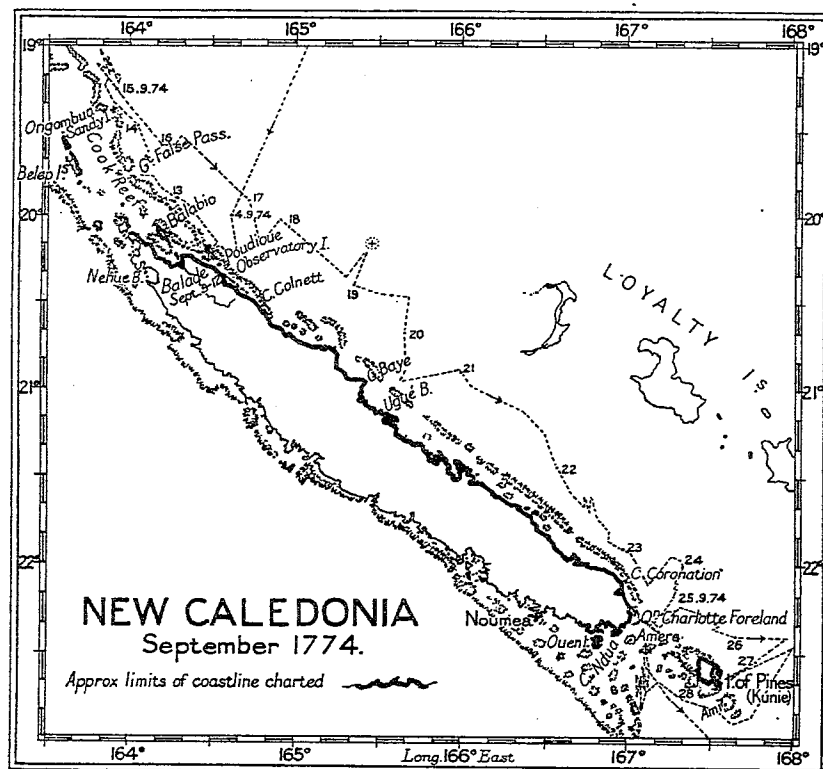


FIG. 68

aboard as they were coming off:¹ the officer informed [me] there was Soundings just within the Channel of 16 & 14 fathom bottom fine sand, also said he had put a long side two Canoes, the people [in] them gave him some fish,² in one was a robust young man whom he under-

¹ As soon . . . coming off: We now saw that what we had taken for openings in the Coast was low land and that it was all connected excepted [sic] the western extremity which was an Island known by the name of Balabea as we afterwards learnt. As soon as the Boats made the Signal for a Channell and one of them placed on the point of the Reef on the weather side of the Channel, we stood in with the Ship and took up the other boat in our way.

² the people . . . fish: and found the people very obliging and civil, they gave him some fish, & in return he presented them with medals &c^a.

stood was a Prince or Chief. After sending a boat to lay upon the Weather East point of the Channel we stood in and then hauld up s¹ for a Small sandy isle we saw lying near the shore,¹ Soundings from 15 to 12 f^m a fine Sandy bottom, these soundings continued for about three² miles, after which it shoalned to 6, 5 & 4 f^m. This was on the tail of a Shoal which lay to the East a little without the sandy isles.³ Being over this we found 7 & 8 fathom which gradually shoalned to 3 f^m, this last was near the shore. At length after making a trip we Anchored in 5 fathom the bottom fine sand mixed with mud, the Sandy isle EBS distant $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile and one or some thing more from the shore of the Main which extended from SEBE to ,⁴ an Island which the Natives called *Balabea*⁵ and the Channel through which we came nearly north 4 miles distant. The little sandy isle and its shoals and the one without effectually shelters this anchoring place from the reigning winds. We were accompaned to this anchorage by all the Boats we had seen in the morning, which were joined by some others from the Shore so that we had hardly Anchored before we were surrounded by a Vast number of People,⁶ the most of them without Arms; at first they were a little Shy, but it was not long before we prevail'd on the people in one Canoe to come near enough to receive some presents we lowered down to them by a line to which they tyed in return two fish which stunk intollerable as did those they gave us in the Morning, these mutual exchanges soon brought on a kind of Confidence so that two ventured aboard⁷ and presently after the Ship was full of them and we had the Company of several at dinner in the Cabbin. Our dinner was Pease Soup, Salt Beef and Pork which they had no curiosity to taste, but they eat some yam which they call *Oobee*, which is not much unlike Oofee the

¹ . . . and was followed by all the Canoes.

² three: 2

³ sandy isles: small isle to the NE.—f. 273.

⁴ to : round by the South to WNW

⁵ . . . bore NWBW . . .—This addition is essential to the meaning of the passage, and Cook can only have omitted it from the MS by a slip. 'Balabea' = Balabio. It appears that Cook made his way inside the long and dangerous barrier reef through the Amoss passage, between the western end of Balade reef on the south-east and the south-east end of Cook reef on the north-west; and then turned south ('hauld up s¹e') to anchor inside the 'little sandy isle' he later called Observatory Isle, now known as Pudioué or Poudioué. It was called by the natives 'Poridua', says Clerke, 6-7 September. Forster renders it 'Poozooc'. Chart XXXIXa gives a view of the harbour.

⁶ . . . in Sixteen or eighteen canoes,

⁷ . . . great No of Indians came onboard swimming from y^e shore, bring with them their weapons of War, & sold them for Nails & old peices of Cloth, which they seem very fond of, Their Weapons of War are Spears made of very hard black wood about 12 or 14 feet in length, which they thro' with a small sling upon y^e fore finger, they use Slings to Thro' stones having a bag tied before them with stones in it made on purpose, & they have short Clubs about 3 or 4 feet long & carv'd curiously at y^e big end, they have also fish gigs which have 3 or 4 prongs & are jagged.—Harvey.

name they are called by at all the isles we have been at except Mallicollo.¹ Nevertheless we found these people spoke a language quite new to us and like all those we have lately seen had no other² covering than a little case to the Penis which was suffered to hang down. They were curious to look into every corner of the Ship which they viewed with some attention; they had not the least knowledge of Goats, Hogs, Dogs or Catts, they had not so much as a name for one of them; they seem'd fond of Iron, large spike Nails especially, and pieces of red cloth or indeed any other colour, but red was their favourite.

TUESDAY 6th. Wind Easter, Clear weather. In the PM I embarked with two armed boats in order to land, having with us one of the Natives who had attached himself to me. We landed on a Sandy beach before a great number of people who crowded together with [no] other intent than to see us, for many of them had not so much as a stick in their hands, consequently we were received with great courtesy.³ I made presents to all those my friend pointed out to me which I observed were either old men or other of some note at least so they appeared to me; he took not the least notice of some Women who stood behind.⁴ Here we met with the same Chief Mr Pickersgill had seen in the boats in the Morning;⁵ after we had been some little time a shore he called for Silence was instantly obeyed and then made [a] short Speech, a little while after a nother chief did the same, it was extraordinary to see with what attention they were heard and the profound silence which was observed, only two or three old men answered to every sentence⁶ by nodding their heads and giving a kind of grunt, signifying as I thought their approbation. It was not possible for us to know what was said in these Speeches, we had reason to conclude they were favourable to us on whose account they were undoubtedly made, I kept my eyes fixed on the people all the time and saw nothing to induce me to think otherwise. Whilst we were with them we enquired by signs for Fresh water, some pointed along shore to the East others to the west, my friend offered to conduct us

¹ This generalization is rather too wide, though of course basically correct. The New Zealand, Tahitian, Marquesan and Easter Island word was *uhi*; the Tongan and Tanese *ufi*; the New Caledonian *ubi*; the Malekulan word is given in *Voyage*, II, 'Table' following p. 364, as *Nanram*.

² *had no other*: I may say quite naked, having hardly any other . . .—f. 273.

³ . . . and the surprise natural for people to express at seeing people and things so new to them as we must be. . .—f. 273v.

⁴ . . . and held my hand when I was going to give them some beads and medals.

⁵ . . . whose name we now understood was Teabooma: . . .—Cf. p. 544, n. 3 below.

⁶ *only . . . sentence*: their speeches were composed of short sentences, to each of which two or three old men answered . . .

to some and embarked with us for that purpose, we rowed about two miles along shore to the East where the Coast was mostly covered with Mangroves,¹ entering amongst them by a narrow creek or River we were brought to a little stragling Village where we landed, indeed this was necessary for we could proceed no farther in the boat. This was above all the Mangroves where the Country on one side the River was finely Cultivated and laid out in Plantations of Sugar,² yams and other roots and Watered by little rills, conducted by art from the main stream whose Source was in the hills. Here we were given to understand we might Water, it was excellent but far for us to fetch and troublesome to get at, here were some Cocoa-nuts which did not seem to be over loaded with fruit, we heard the Crowing of Cocks but saw none or any thing else to induce us to believe they had any thing to spare us but good Nature and Courteous treatment. We saw on a fire an earthen Jarr (in which were roots bakeing) which did not hold less than six or eight gallons,³ no one can doubt of these being of their own Manufactory. As we proceeded up this creek or river Mr F. shott a duck flying⁴ which was the first use these people saw made of fire arms, my friend beged it of me and when we landed he told his Countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far spent and the tide not permitting a longer stay we tooke leave of these people and returned on board a little after sun-set.⁵

In the Morning we were viseted by some hundreds of the Natives, some came off in Canoes, others swam off so that before 10 o'Clock our decks⁶ were quite full, my friend was one of the number who brought me a few roots, but all the others came empty in respect to refreshments, but brought with them some arms such as Clubs, darts, &c^a which they exchanged away, indeed these things gener-

¹ The mention of mangroves argues that the boat went at least as far as Point Bailly, which is low and covered with these trees; but there are a number of streams flowing down to the sea on this part of the coast, and precise identification of the place is probably impossible.

² . . . Plantains

³ . . . a round earthen pot, which could hold four or five gallons. It was very clumsily shaped, had a large belly, and consisted of a reddish substance, which was totally covered with soot both without and within.—Forster, II, p. 389. These pots were made only in the northern part of the country, by the women, who were secretive about the process; but it seems to have been by the coil technique.

⁴ It was George Forster who shot the duck, according to his own account (II, p. 386)—probably one of the only common duck in New Caledonia, the Australian Grey Duck, *Anas superciliosa pelawensis* Hartl. and Finsch.

⁵ . . . From this little excursion, I found that we were to expect nothing from these people but the privilege of visiting their country undisturbed for it was easy to see that they had little else but good Nature to spare us. In this they exceeded all the nation[s] we had yet met with, and although it did not fill our bellies it left our minds at ease.—f. 274.

⁶ . . . and all other parts of the ship

ally found the best Market with us, such was the prevailing Passion for curiosities, or what appeared new. As I have had occasion to make this remark more than once before, the reader will think the Ship must be full of such articles by this time, he will be mistaken, for nothing is more Common than to give away what has been collected at one Island for any thing new at a Nother, even if it is less curious, this together with what is distroyed on board after the owners are tired with looking at them, prevents any considerable increase.

After breakfast I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill with two armed boats to look for fresh water, M^r Wales and Lieutenant Clerk went to the sandy isle to make preparations for observing an Eclips of the [sun] which was to happen in the after noon. M^r Pickersgill soon return'd having found nearly a breast of the Ship a stream of Water far more convenient than the one we were at before. After ordering the Launch to be hoisted out to compleat our Water, I went to the Island to assist in the observation.

WEDNESDAY 7th. About one PM the Eclips came on, Clouds interposed and we lost the first contact. We were more fortunate in the end, which was observed¹

	Apr ^t time
	h ' "
By M ^r Wales with Dollonds 3½ ft Achromatic	
Refractor at	3 28 49½
—M ^r Clerke with Birds 2 ft Reflector at	3 28 52½
and by me with an 18 Inch Reflector made by	
Watkins	3 28 53½
Latitude of the isle or place of Observation 20° 17' 39" South	
Longitude p ^r Dist ^{ee} of the ☉ & ☽ and ☽ and ☆ ^s	
48 sets	164° 41' 21" East
D ^o p ^r Watch - - - - -	163 58 0
D ^o p ^r Eclips	

M^r Wales measured the quantity eclipsed by a Hadlies Quad^t a method I believe never before thought of, I am of opinion it answers the purpose of a Micrometer to a great degree of accuracy and that it is a valuable discovery and will be a great addition to the use of that most usefull instrument.

After all was over we returned on board where I found Teabooma

¹ There are so many hiatuses in the following seven lines of the MS that it seems preferable to delete them altogether and substitute the full passage from B, f. 274v. The figure for the longitude by eclipse is not given.

the Cheif, the same as made the first speach yesterday. Soon after I got aboard he slipped out of the Ship without my knowlidge and by that means miss'd the Present I intended him. Towards the evening I went a shore to the Watering place. The Water was taken up at a fine stream about ¼ of a mile from the sea Shore where it ran into a little creek and mixed with the Salt Water, it was necessary to have a small boat in the Creek to float the Casks down to the beach over which they were rolled and then taken into the Launch. A small boat could only enter this Creek at high-water.¹ Notwithstanding the great number of the Natives that were aboard the Ship there was not a few at the watering place, but no people could behave with more civility than they did.² This even^s departed this life Simon Monk, Ships Butcher,³ occasioned by a fall down the fore hatch-way last night.

In the AM the Watering party went aShore under the protection of a Guard as before. Some time after a party of us went to take a View of the Country having two of the Natives to be our guides who conducted us up the hills by a tollerable good path way, meeting in our rout several people most of whom followed us so that at last our train was numerous, some indeed wanted us to return back, but we paid no regard to their Signs and they seem'd not uneasy when we proceeded. At length we reached the Summit of one of the hills from whence we saw the Sea⁴ between some Advanced hills at a considerable distance on the opposite⁵ side of the Island.⁶ Between those advanced hills and the ridge we were upon is a large Vally through which ran a Serpentine river which added no little beauty to the prospect.⁷ The plains along the Coast on the side we lay appeared

¹ . . . excellent wood for fuel was here far more convenient than water, but this was an article we did not want.—f. 274v.

² 'This Afternoon 2 or 300 of the Natives onboard the Ship many came off in Canoes but great numbers swimming off in various large parties—they all behav'd exceedingly well except one who was detected in stealing a Bayonet—he was immediately turn'd out of the Ship and was seemingly much blam'd by his own Countrymen.'—Clerke 8953.

³ . . . a man much esteemed in the ship . . .—f. 275. 'He was a laborious man, indefatigable in his employment, though he seem'd to be near sixty years old'.—Forster, II, p. 395. —' . . . beloved alike by both his comrades and superiors (which is rare enough).—Sparrman, p. 175.

⁴ . . . in two places

⁵ . . . or sw

⁶ . . . This was a usefull discovery, by which we were able to judge of the breadth of the land which in this part did not exceed leagues.—f. 275. *Voyage*, II, p. 110, gives the figure as 10.

⁷ which added . . . prospect: on the banks of which were several plantations and some villages, whose inhabitants we had met on the road and found more on the top of the hill gazing at the Ship as might be supposed.—f. 275, red ink. The party had climbed the north-eastern of the two ranges that enclose the valley of the Diahot river, the largest river in New Caledonia, and saw the sea on the other side of the island between the peaks of the south-western range—to judge from the engraved chart, it was the sea of and about Nehue Bay.

from the hills to great advantage, the winding Streams which ran through them which had their direction from Nature, the lesser streames conveyed by art through the different plantations, the little Stragling Villages, the Variaty in the Woods, the Shoals on the Coast so variegated the Scene that the whole might afford a Picture for romance. Indeed if it was not for the Fertility of the Planes and some few spotts in the Mountains the Country would be called a D[r]eary waste, the Mountains and other high places are for the Most part incapable of Cultivation, consisting chiefly of solid Rocks,¹ the little soil which is upon them is scorched and dried up with the Sun, it is never the less coated with a kind of Coarse grass and other plants and here and there are trees and Shrubs. The Country in several respects bore a great affinity to some parts of New Holland under the same Parallel; here were the same sort of white barked trees² and I believe sever¹ other Plants, the Woods free from under wood; Alternately, Sandy and Mangrove shores and here and there a rocky point³ and several other similarities which struck every one who had seen both Countries. We could see from the hills, the reef extending all along the North Coast and towards the nw, that is off Balabea it extended out to Sea till it was lost in the horizon. After having made the observations⁴ we decended the mountains by a different road which brought us down to their Plantations in the Planes, which I observed were laid out with great judgement and cultivated by much labour: I observed several old plantations laying in fallow, some seemingly but lately laid down and others of a longer date, some pieces of which they were again begining to dig up, the first thing they do is to set fire to the grass &c^a which had over run its Surface.⁵ Our excursion was finished by noon when we return'd a board to dinner, bring[ing] one of our guides with us, the other having left us, the fidelity of the one which remaind was rewarded at a small expence to us but valuable to him.

THURSDAY 8th. In the PM we made a little excursion along the Coast to the Westward, but met with nothing remarkable, the Natives every where behaving with all the civility imaginable.⁶ A Fish was

¹ ... many of which are full of Mundick,

² Eucalypti, as Forster's description (II, p. 391) makes plain.

³ alternately ... point: the reefs on the Coast...—f. 275v.

⁴ ... and our guides not chusing to go farther

⁵ ... Recruiting the land, by letting it lay some years untouched is observed by all the Nations in this Sea, they seem to have no notion of manuring the lands, at least I have no where seen it done.

⁶ but met ... imaginable: in company with Mr Wales. Besides making observations of such things as came we got the names of several places, which I then thought were islands but upon farther enquiry, found they were districts on this same land.—f. 275v.

procured from the Natives by my Clerk¹ and given to me after my return a board, it was of a new genius, something like a sun fish,² without the least suspicion of its being of a poisonous quality we had ordered it for supper,³ but luckaly for us the operation of describeing and drawing took up so much time till it was too late so that only the Liver and Roe was dressed of which the two Mr Forsters and my self did but just taste. About 3 or 4 o'Clock in the Morning we were siezed with an extraordinary weakness in all our limbs attended with a numness or Sensation like to that caused by exposing ones hands or feet to a fire after having been pinched much by frost, I had almost lost the sence of feeling nor could I distinguish between light and heavy bodies,⁴ a quart pot full of Water and a feather was the same in my hand. We each of us took a Vomert and after that a sweat which gave great relief. In [the morning] one of the Pigs which had eat the entrails was found dead, the Dogs got the start of the Servants of what went from our table, so that they escaped, it soon made the dogs sick and they t[h]rew it all up again and were not much effected by it. In the Morning when the Natives came on board and saw the fish hanging up, they immediately gave us to understand it was by no means to be eat, expressing the utmost abhorrance of it, and yet no one was observed to do this when it was to be sold or even after it was bought.

The guard and Watering party was sent a Shore with the last of our empty Casks to fill with water and also some people to Cut shrubery for Brooms.

FRIDAY 9th. Fresh gales at East and fair Weather. In the PM I received a Message from the officer on duty a shore that Teabooma the Chief was come down with a present, consisting of a few yams and sug^r Canes. I sent him in return amongst several other things a Dog and a Bitch,⁵ the former was red and white, the latter all red or the Colour of an English fox.⁶ When the officer came aboard in the even-

¹ A fish... Clerk: In the afternoon a fish was struck by one of the natives near the Watering place, which my Clerk purchased

² ... with a large ugly head...—f. 275v. It was a Toadfish, *Lagocephalus scleratus* (Gm.).

³ Forster's account is slightly different. 'It was of the genus, by Linnaeus named *tetraodon*, of which several species are reckoned poisonous. We hinted this circumstance to captain Cook, especially as the ugly shape, and large head of the fish, were greatly in its disfavour; but he told us he had eaten this identical sort of fish on the coast of New Holland, during his former voyage, without the least bad consequences. It was accordingly preserved for the next day, and we sat down very chearful, in expectation of a fresh meal'.—II, p. 403. It seems true that Cook was stubborn about food.

⁴ ... that is such as I had strength to move

⁵ ... both young, but nearly full grown...—f. 276.

⁶ ... I mention this because they may prove the Adam and Eve of their species in this Country.

ing, he inform'd me that Teabooma came attended by about twenty Men so that it looked like a Visit of ceremony, it was some time before he was satisfied the Dog and Bitch was intended,¹ but as soon as he was convinc'd he could hardly contain himself for joy.² Early in the AM I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill and the Master³ to explore the Coast to the West and to see whether it was continued or only Isles, judging this would be better effected in the boats than in the Ship as the reefs would oblige the latter several leagues from land.

After breakfast sent a party a shore brooming, my self and the two Mr F^s confined aboard, but much better, a good sweat last night had a good effect.

SATURDAY 10th. Wind Easterly a very fresh gale. In the PM a man was seen a shore and a long side the Ship said to be as white as a European, from the accounts I had of this man (for I did not see him my self) his whiteness was not from hereditary descent but from some disease.⁴

AM a party a shore as usual, Mr F. and his party Botanizing. Many of the Natives on board.

SUNDAY 11th. Wind and Weather as yesterday. Nothing remarkable.

MONDAY 12th. Wind continues to blow fresh at East. In the evening the Boats returned when the officers reported that from an elevated point they reached the morning they set out, they took a view of the Coast, Mr Gilbert was of opinion he saw the termination of it to the west but Mr Pickersgill thought it extend beyond their sight, from this place they proceeded to the Island of Balabea,⁵ they agree'd in one thing which was that there was no passage for y^e ship but as it was dark before they reached it and left it again in the morning before day-break, this proved a fruitless expedition. The other two days were spent in recovering the Ship. As they went down to the Island they saw abundance of Turtle, the Violence of the wind and sea rendered it impractical to stricke any. The Cutter was very near foundering by suddinly springing a leak and filling with Water, they

¹ intended: intended him

² ... and sent them away immediately

³ ... with the Launch and Cutter ...—f. 276v.

⁴ ... such have been seen at the Society isles. A fresh Easterly wind, and the Ship laying a mile from the shore, did not hinder these good natured people from swimming off to us in shoals of 20 or 30, and returning the same way.—f. 276v. Cf. Clerke for a note on this albinism: '... this Afternoon I saw a man onshore as white as Europeans in general are with light colour'd Hair, nothing inclining to the Woolly order which is the general case here with the head furniture; it had a most singular and striking appearance to see a white fellow naked running about among these dark colour'd Gentry, it really appears to me highly unnatural and disgusting'.

⁵ ... (accompanied by two of the Natives)

were obliged to heave several things overboard before they could free her & stop the leak. From a fishing boat they met coming in from the reef they purchased as much fish as gave all the people a good Meal, and they were received by Teabi the Chief of Balabea and his people with great Curtesy who came in crowds to see them, this made it necessary for our people to draw a line on the ground within which the Natives were given to understand they were not to come; one of them happened¹ to have a few Cocoa-nutts which one of our people wanted to purchas, but as the other was unwilling to part with them he ran off but when he saw he was followed by the man who wanted to make the purchas, he sat down on the Sand and made a Circile round him, as he had seen our people do, and signified none were to come within it which was accordingly observed: as this story was well attested I thought it not unworthy a place in this Journal.

As I was willing to have the Cutter repaired before we put to sea to incounter with shoals the Carpenters were set to work upon her in the Morning and the Launch was employed to replace the water which had been expended the three preceeding days. Mention hath been made of my putting a Dog and a Bitch a shore, I also wanted to lay a foundation for stocking the Country with Hogs having kept some alive for such purpose's. As Teabooma the Chief had not been seen sence the day he got the Dogs, I took a young Boar and a Sow with me in the boat and went up the Mangrove creek to look for my friend² but when we came there we were told he lived at some distance off but they would send for him, but whether they did or no I cannot say, in short he did not come, and as the tide would not permit us to stay much longer, I resolved to give them to any man I could find of some note; our guide we had to the hills happened to be here, I made him understand I wanted to leave the two pigs a Shore, which I had now ordered out of the boat; several people present made signs to me to take them away one of which was a grave elderly man, him I made understand that it was my intention they should remain there, at which he shook his head and repeated his signs to take them away; but when they saw I did not do it they seemed to consult what was to be done, and at last our guide told me to carry them to the Alekee (Chief),³ accordingly I ordered them

¹ one ... happened: a restriction which they observed and which one of them soon after turned to his own advantage, for happening ...—f. 277.

² The MS has a space left here, presumably for a name; B reads 'friend in order to give them to him'.

³ Cf. Forster, II, p. 381: 'Their language, if we except the word areekce and one or two more, had no affinity with any one of the various languages which we had heard in the South Sea before'.

to be taken up by my people, for none of the others would come near them; our guide conducted us to a house wherein were seated in a circle eight or ten middle aged men to whom I and my Pigs were interduced and with great courtesy I was desired to sit down, when I began to expatiate on the merits of the two Pigs, shewing them the distinction of their sex, telling them how many young ones the female would have at a time, in short I multiplyed them to some hundreds in a trice, my only view was to enhance the Value of the present that they might take the more care of them, and I had reason to think I in some measure succeeded. In the mean time two men had left the Company, it was not long before they returned again with six yams which were presented to me and then I took leave and returned aboard. Here was a pretty large scattering Village and a good deal of Cultivated land, regularly laid out in plantations, mostly planted with Tarro or Eddy roots, some yams, Sug^r Cane & Plantains: the Tarro Plantations were prettily Watered by little rills, continually supplied from the main Channel where the Water was conducted by art from a River at the foot of the mountains. They have two methods in Planting and raising these Roots, some are planted in square or oblong Plantations which lay perfectly horizontal and sunk below the common level of the adjacent lands, so that they can let in as much water upon them as is necessary. I have generally seen them wholly covered 2 or 3 inches deep, but I do not know if this is always necessary; others are planted in ridges about 4 feet Broad and 2½ in height, on the middle or top of the ridge is a narrow gutter along which is conveyed a small stream of Water which Waters the roots planted on each side, the plantations are so judiciously laid out that the same stream will Water several. These ridges are some times the divisions to the horizontal plantations, where this method is used¹ not an Inch of ground is lost. Perhaps there may be some difference in the roots which may make these two methods of raising them necessary.² I cannot say I have observed it, some are better tasted than others and they are not all of one Colour, be this as it will they are a very wholesome root and the tops make excellent greens and are eat as such by the planters. On these plantations men women and Children were at work.

¹ . . . which is for the most part observed, when a Pathway or something of that sort is not necessary, . . .—f. 278.

² There may have been some difference, but both methods are characteristic of the cultivation of the 'wet' taro—at which, as Cook noticed, the New Caledonians were extremely expert. Some of their 'canals', bringing water to terraced plantations, were five or six miles long. There are other varieties of taro, of the 'dry' sort, which do not require this refinement of cultivation but are generally a coarser and less-favoured food.

TUESDAY 13th. PM fresh gales at East. All our Water Casks being filled and got on board, I order the Kedge Anchor to be taken up and the Launch to be hoisted in. In the mean time I went a shore and by Vertue of our being the first discoverers of this Country took possession of it in his Majestys name and as a farther testimony had an Inscription engraved on a large tree close to the Shore near the Watering place, seting forth the Ships Name date &c^a &c^a.¹ This being done we return'd aboard and then hoisted in all the Boats in order to be ready to put to sea in the morning.²

*I shall conclude our transactions at this place with some acco^t of the Country and its Inhabitants. The latter are a strong robust active well made people, Courteous and friendly and not in the least addicted to pelfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this Sea. They are nearly of the same colour as the people of Tanna, but these have better features, more agreeable countenances and are a much stouter race, some were seen who measured Six feet four inches.³ I have seen some who had thick lips, flat noses and full cheeks and in some degree the features and countenance of a Negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an Idea, first their ruff mop heads and secondly their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and Beards in general black, the former is very much frizzled so that at first sight it looks like that of a negro, but it is nevertheless very different and is both Coarser and stronger than ours; some who wear it long tie it up on the Crown of the head, some suffer only a large lock to grow on each side the head, which they tie up in a club, others again and these not a few, and likewise all the women, wear it cropped short. These rough heads most probably want frequent scratching, for this purpose they have a most excellent instrument, which is a kind of Comb made of Sticks of hard wood, from 7 to 9 or 10 Inches long and about the thickness of Kniting Needles, a number of these, seldom exceeding 20, but generally fewer, are fastened together at one end parallel to, and near a tenth part of an inch from, each other, the other ends, which are a little pointed, will spread out or open like the Sticks of a fan,

¹ . . . as I had done at all others we had touched at, where this ceremony was necessary.—f. 278. But B does not say specifically that he took possession of the country.

² From this point the MS has 7½ pp. blank before resuming—no doubt left for a description of the country, which is here supplied from B, ff. 278–82.

³ The New Caledonians are Melanesian, their closest relatives racially being the people of the northern New Hebrides, though they themselves were in some respects more primitive. Their language was Melanesian—if one may use the singular language where there were so many distinct dialects (sixteen major groups alone, it is said) some quite incomprehensible to the speakers of others. At the same time they had a common, neolithic, culture, the source of which is doubtful. Cook's further meditations on the 'origin of this Nation' should be read in the context of these remarks.

by which means they can beat up the quarters of a hundred lice at a time. These combs or scratchers, for I believe they serve the purpose of both, they allways wear in their hair on the one side or other of the head; an Instrument of this kind the people of Tanna used for the same purpose, theres were forked and never I think exceeded 3 or 4 prongs and some times only a small pointed Stick. Their Beards, which are of the same crisp nature as their hair, they, for the most part wear short. Swelled and ulcerated legs and feet are very common amongst the Men; swelled Testicles are likewise very Common, I know not whether this is occasioned by a disease or by tying the Coat or covering of the Penis too teight; this like the people of Tanna and Mallicollo is allmost their only covering and is made generally of the bark of a tree and some of leaves: all small pieces of cloth, paper &c^a that they got from us was generally applied to this use. They do not tye it up to the belt as at Tanna, but suffer it to hang down, nor do they untie it when they want to make water, but piss through all, and when done shake off what drops may hang to the coat. We have seen Coarse Garments amongst them made of a sort of Matting¹ but I never saw them worn, except when out in their Canoes and unemployed. Some have a kind of Concave cylindrical stiff black caps,² these seemed to be a great ornament a mong them, and we thought only worn by men of note or Warriors, a large sheet of our strong paper, when ever they got one, was generally applied to this use, so that these men only ornamented or cloathed the head and tail. The Womens dress is a short Petticoat made of the small filaments of the Plantain tree, laid over a cord to which they are fastned and tyed round the waist; the Petticoat is made at least Six or eight inches thick, but not one inch longer than necessary for the use they seemed to be designed for. The outer filaments are dyed black and as an additional ornament the most of them have a few Pearl Oyster shells fixed to the right side. The generall Ornaments of both sex, Are Ear rings of Tortoise shells, necklaces or amulets made of both shells and stones and Braclets made of large Shells which they wear above the elbow. They have punctures or marks on the skin on several parts of the body,³ but none I think are black as at the eastern island[s]. I know not if they have any other design than ornament; the people of Tanna are marked much in the same

¹ The 'matting' of the New Caledonians, used for these coarse garments, sails, and anything else for which a rough textile was required, was generally woven of pandanus. Their bark cloth was beaten from the banyan (*Ficus prolixa*), *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).

² These were most often woven of the threads of coconut leaves.

³ Tattooing was not very important in New Caledonia, though used; and curiously enough, women were more tattooed than men.

manner. Was I to judge of the Origin of this Nation, I should take them to be a race between the people of Tanna and the Friendly isles or between Tanna and the New Zealanders or all three; their language in some respects is a mixture of all. In their disposition they are like the Natives of the friendly isles, in affability and honesty they rather exceed them.¹ Notwithstanding their pacific disposition they must some times have wars, as they are well provided with offensive weapons, such as Clubs, Spears, Darts and Slings for throwing stones. The Clubs are about two feet and a half long and variously formed, some are like a Cyth others like a pick ax, others have a head like a Hawk and some have round heads and all are neatly made; many of their Darts and Spears are no less neat and ornamented with Carvings; the Slings are as simple as possible, but the stones they use they take some pains with, to form them into a proper shape, which is some thing like an egg, supposeing both ends to be alike, that is like the small end. They use a becket in the same manner as at Tanna in throwing the dart which I believe is much used in striking fish &c^a at which they seem very dextrious, indeed I do not know that they have any other methods of catching large fish, I neither saw hooks nor lines a mongst them. It is needless to mention their working tools as they are made of the same Materials and nearly in the same manner as at the other islands, their axes indeed are a little different, some at least, which may be owing to fancy as much as custom.² Thier Houses or at least the most of them are circular, something like Behives and full as close and warm, the entrance is by a small door or long square hole just big enough to admit a man to enter double. The side walls are about 4½ feet high, but the roof is high and peaked to a point at the top above which is a post or stick of wood which is generally ornamented with either carving or shells or both. The framing is of small spars reeds &c^a

¹ "... we always found the inhabitants Friendly wherever we landed conducting us to the most convenient places for our boats and repose at night and in that cordial manner which gave us pleasure in accepting of their good offices. These people are of a black complexion and in general have woolly hair their Features regular and pleasing in our Rambles both up into the country and along shore found them well disposed offering us their little services with the greatest pleasure imaginable. The women wear a long fring about 6 inches deep folded many times round their waist, the end secured and fastened to an handsom shell of the pearl kind which is all the Ladies dress its made of a silky colourd grass and sometimes dyed Black it looks decent and becoming. The men treat them with more respect then I have seen the generallity of the Islanders. In return we have no reason to believe them unfaithfull. The men crow[d]ed on board in great numbers, The Ladies always paid their visits alongside not one could ever be preswaded to come on board."—Gilbert, 29 September.

² A number of these artifacts, with a cylindrical cap and a comb, are presented from Hodges's drawings in *Voyage*, II, pl. XX. For the cap, see also Fig. 73b in this volume.

and both sides and roof is¹ thick and close covered with thatch made of coarse long grass. In the inside of the house are set up posts to which cross spars are fastned & platforms made for the conveniency of laying any thing upon: some houses have two floors one above the other. The floor is laid with dry grass and here and there mats are spread,² for the principal people to sleep or sit on. In the most of them were two fire places and most commonly a fire burning, and as there was no vent for the smoak but by the door, the whole house was not only smoaky but hot too, in so much that we, who were not used to such smoaky holes, could hardly indure to be in them a moment. This may be the reason why we find these people so chilly when in the open air and have no exercize; we have frequently seen them make little fires any where, and hurtle³ round them with no other View than to warm them selves. Smoaky houses too may be necessary to keep out the Moskitoes which are pretty numerous here. In some shape their houses are neat, besides the ornaments at top, I have seen some with carved door post[s]. Upon the whole their houses are better calculated for a Cold than a hot climate & As there are no partitions in them they can have little privacy. Houshold Utentials are confined to very few articles, the Earthen Jarrs before mentioned is the only article worth noting, every family has at least one of them, in which they bake their roots and perhaps Fish &c^a. The fire by which they Cook their victuals is on the out side of the house in the open air: at each are three or five pointed stones fixed in the ground, their pointed ends being about six inches above the surface, in this form those of three stones are only for one Jarr and those of five for two; The Jarrs do not stand on their bottoms but lie inclined on their bilge or side: the reason of these stones is obviously to keep the Jars from resting on the fire in order that it may burn the better. Their chief subsistence must be in roots and fish and the bark of a tree (which I am told grows in the West Indias) which they roast and are almost continually chewing, it has a sweetish & insipid tas[t]e and was liked by some of our people.⁴ Cocanuts, bread fruit, Plantains and Sugar Cane are by no means plenty. Bread fruit are very scarce and Cocoa nutt trees are small and but thinly planted and neither the one nor the other seem to yeild much increase. To judge

¹ and both . . . is substituted for over it is laid bark of trees and then the whole is . . . — The thick cork-like bark of the tree called Niaouli, *Melaleuca viridiflora*, was much used for this purpose.

² deleted as I supposed

³ 'Hurtle' had an old sense of 'jostle'.

⁴ This was the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, says Forster, 'insipid, nauseous, and affording little nutriment'.—II, pp. 407–8. Sparrman, p. 168, mentions *Hibiscus esculentus* or okra, and three or four other foods, including cooked spiders, 'a food they eat quite readily'.

of the Inhabitants by the number we saw every day one must think them numerous, but I believe it is not so, but that at this time they were Collected from all parts to see us; M^r Pickersgill observed, that down the coast to the West, he had seen but few people and we know they came daily from the other side of the land over the mountains to see us. But although¹ the Inhabitants may not be numerous the Country upon the whole is not thinly peopeled, especially on the Sea Coast and in the plains and Vallies where it is cultivatable. It seems not to be a Country able to support many inhabitants; Nature has been less bountifull to it than any other Tropical island we know in this Sea. The greatest part of its surface or at least what we have seen of it consists of barren rocky Mountains, the grass &c^a which grow on them is of no use to people who have no cattle to eat it. The sterility of the Country will apologize for the Natives not contributing to the wants of the Navigator. The Sea perhaps may in some measure make up for the difficiency of the land, a Coast surrounded by reefs and shoals as this is cannot fail of being stored with fish. I have before observed that the Country has a great resemblance to new south Wales in New Holland and some of its natural productions are the same particular[ly] the tree which is covered with a soft white and ragged bark that is easily picked off, and is, as I have been told, the same that in the East Indies is used for caulking of ships. The wood is very hard, the leaves are long and narrow and of a pale-deadish green and a fine aromatic,² so that it³ may properly be said, to belong to that Continent; nevertheless here are several plants &c^a which are common to the Eastern and nothern islands and even a species of the Passion flower, which I am told has never before be[en] known to grow wild any where but in America.⁴ Our Botanists did not complain for want of employment while we lay here, every day brought in some thing new, either in Botany or Natural history; land Birds indeed are not numerous, but several are new, one of which is a kind of Crow, or at least so we called it, for it is not half so big and its feathers are tinged with blue,⁵ some very

¹ But although substituted for I have observed, that we met many the day we went to the hills, those were not all, several companies were assembled on the hills, from the other side of the land in order to see the Ship, as might be supposed, amongst these were several Women and even some children. However though

² It was the commonest New Caledonian tree, Niaouli, *Melaleuca leucadendron*.

³ 'it' refers to the country and not to the tree; i.e. the country might be said to belong to the continent of New Holland. The words 'and some of its natural productions . . . aromatic' are inserted in the original text, f. 280v; this syntactical confusion causes the printed version, *Voyage*, II, p. 124, to go wrong.

⁴ *Passiflora aurantia* Forster f. See Fig. 53.

⁵ This was probably the New Caledonian Cuckoo-shrike, *Graucalus caledonicus* (Gm.), of which a drawing by George Forster exists, as well as three others by an artist unknown.

beautifull turtle Doves¹ and other small birds, such as I never saw before.

All our endeavours to get the name of the whole Island proved enefectual, probably, it is too large for them to know by one name;² when ever we made this enquiry they allways gave us the Name of some district or place which we pointed to; I, as hath been before observed, got the names of several with the Name of the King or Cheif of each; hence I conclude that the Country is divided into several districts, each governed by a Cheif, but we know nothing of the extent of his power. *Balade* was the Name of the district we were at and *Tiā Booma* the Cheif, he lived on the other side the ridge of hills, so that we had but little of his Company and therefore could see but little of his power. *Tea* seems to be a title which is prefixed to the Names of all or most of their Chiefs or great men, my friend honoured me with this title calling me *Tiācook*.³

Their dead they entarr in the ground, I saw none of their burrying places my self, but several of the gentlemen did; in one, they were informed, laid the remains [of] a Chief who had been killed in battle, his grave, which had some resemblance to a large Mole hill, was decorated with Spears, Darts, Paddles &c^a all stuck upright in the ground round about it.

The Canoes which these people make use of, are in some shape like unto those of the Friendly isles, but the most heavy clumsy Vessels I ever saw: they are what I call double Canoes, made out of two large trees hollowed out, and with a raised gunel about ten inches high, and closed at each end with a kind of bulk head of the same height, so that the whole is like a long square trough about 3 feet shorter than the body of the Canoe, that is a foot and a half at each end; two Canoes thus fitted are secured together about three feet asunder, by means of cross spars, which project about a foot over each side, over these spars is laid a deck or very heavy platform made of planks and small round spars on which they have a fire hearth & generally a fire burning & they carry a Pot or Jarr to dress

It somewhat resembles a small crow and its dark feathers have the blueish tinge mentioned by Cook. Latham (*General Synopsis of Birds*, 1781, p. 377) calls it the New Caledonian Crow.

¹ The country has half-a-dozen doves and pigeons, and a specific identification could not be risked here.

² This was so.

³ Sparrman, p. 158: 'Ti Buma, which means the Chief Buma'; and 'Eriki, as the word for chief, was sometimes used, but mostly *ti*'. Forster, II, p. 380: 'shewed him one of their number whom they named *Teā-booma*, and stiled their *areekee*, or king'. Sparrman has certainly omitted a syllable. It appears that Cook was received by the tribe of Pouma, though Pouma may also have been the chief's personal name—cf. 'Teabi' above. Père Lambert, however, says that a high chief was called 'Téama'; that 'Téa' was the title of the eldest son of a high chief.—*Moeurs et Superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* (Noumea 1900), p. 79.



their victuals. The space between the two Canoes is laid with plank and the rest with spars: on one side of the deck and close to the edge is fixed a row of knees, pretty close to each other; the use of which are, to keep the masts yards &c^a from rolling over board. They are Navigated by one or two Latteen sails, extended to a small latteen yard, the end of which fixes in a notch or hole in the deck, the foot of the sail is extended to a small boom: the sail is composed of pieces of matting and the ropes are made of the coarse filiments of the plantain tree, twisted into cords of the thickness of a finger; three, four or more such cords marled together serve them for Shrouds guies &c^a.¹ I thought they sailed very well,² but they are not attall calculated for rowing nor padling; their method of proceeding when they cannot sail is by sculling, for which purpose there are holes in the boarded deck or platform through which they put the Sculls, which are of such a length that when the blade is in the water the loom³ or handle is 4 or 5 feet above the deck; the man who workes it, stands behind it and with both his ha[n]ds sculls the vessel forward. This method of proceeding is very slow for which reason I think them but ill calculated for fishing, especially for striking of Turtle, which I think can hardly ever be done in them. Their fishing Implements, such as I have seen, are Turtle netts, made, I believe, of the filaments of the plantain tree twisted; small hand netts with very small Meshes, made of fine twine, and fish gigs; I believe their general way of fishing is to lie on the reefs in shoal Water and strike the fish that may come in their way. They may however have other methods of fishing, which we had no opportunity to see as no boat went out while we were here,⁴ all their time and attention was taken up with us. Their Canoes are about 30 feet long and the deck or platform about 24 in length and 10 in breadth; we had not at this time seen any timber in the country so large as the hulls of these Canoes were made on.⁵ It was observed that the holes made in the several parts in order to sew them together were burnt through but with what Instrument we never learnt, most probable with an instrument of stone;⁶ this may be the reason why they were so fond of large spikes, seeing at once that they would answer this purpose; I was

¹ The larger ropes were twisted from coconut husk.

² In spite of the cumbrous look of these double dug-outs, they are said to have been very seaworthy, and could carry as many as twenty men.

³ The 'loom' was the shaft of an oar.

⁴ They did: by hook and line, traps, and the use of some vegetable drug in the Polynesian manner.

⁵ The trunks of the pine called *Araucaria columnaris*, which caused such excitement and argument later, were used.

⁶ A good guess: heated stones were applied to the wood till it was burnt through.

convinced they were not wholly designed for edge tools, because every one shewed a desire to have the Iron belaying-pins which were fixed in the Quarter-deck rail, and seemed to value them far more than a spike nail, altho' it might be twice as big. These pins (being round) was perhaps the very shape of the tool they wanted to make of the nails. I did not find that a hatchet was quite so Valuable as a large spike, small nails was of little or no value and Beads, looking glasses &c^a they did not admire. The Women of this Country and likewise those of Tanna, are, so far as we can judge, far more Chaste than those of the Eastern islands. I never heard that one of our people obtained the least favour from any one of them; I have been told that the Ladies here would frequently divert themselves by going a little aside with our gentlemen as if they meant to grant them the last favour and then run away laughing at them. Whether this was Chastity or Coquetry I shall not pretend to determine, nor is it material sence the Consequences were the same.*—ff. 278–82.

At Sun-rise on the Morning of the 13th we got under sail with a fine gale at EBS and steered for the same Channel we came in by, indeed we were not sure we could get to sea by any other. At half past 7 we were in the middle of it, Observatory isle bore s 5° East distant four miles and the East end of Balabea WBN $\frac{1}{2}$ N, this was the Northernmost land we had in sight and lies within the same reef as guards the Coast of Ballade. As soon as we were clear of the reef we hauled the Wind on the Starboard tack with an intent to ply round the SE end of the land; but M^r Gilbert the Master, on whose judgement I had a good opinion, being of opinion that he had seen the Western extremity of the land and that it would be easier to get round by the NW I gave over Plying and bore up along the out side of the Reef, steering NNW, NW and NWBW as it trended. At Noon the Isle of Balabea bore from s $\frac{1}{2}$ W to SBW $\frac{1}{2}$ W distant [13] miles. What we judged to be the west end of the other land¹ bore SW $\frac{1}{2}$ S and the direction of the reef was NWBW. Latitude observed 19°53'20'', Longitude from Observatory isle 14' west.

WEDNESDAY 14th. Fresh gales easterly and fair weather. PM continued to range a long the reef till half past 3 before we came to any seperation or Channel leading within it, here we thought was one from the strong tide or current seting out, it lies with the Isle of Balabea bearing [SBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E]² from this place the reef turn'd away north for 3 or 4 Leagues and then inclined to NW. We followed its

¹ other land: great land . . .—f. 283; i.e. the main island. Cook was now outside the Cook reef, a barrier which runs north-west from Amoss passage for nearly a hundred miles.

² This was Great False passage, practicable only for boats.

directions till 5 o'Clock, passing what appeared to us to be two other openings,¹ we also raised more land, but at a great distance, which seemed to be connected with the other so that M^r Gilbert was mistaken when he judged he saw the Western extremity.² At this time the land bore WBN $\frac{1}{2}$ N³ and the reef seem'd to extend NWBN. Hauled the wind on the Starboard tack and spent the night plying. At Sunrise the Island of Balabea bore s 6° East and the land seen last night west, the direction of the reef NW. Ranged along it, but having but little [wind] made no great progress, indeed I was affraid to come near for fear of a Calm in a place where there was not a possibility of anchoring. At Noon observed in Latitude 19°28' s, Longitude made from Observatory isle 27' west. We had now lost sight of the isle of Balabea and could only see the land to the West of it which bore WBS $\frac{1}{2}$ S, we were not sure if it was continued or isles, some partitions appeared in the coast which made some parts of it look like the latter; a multitude of shoals rendred a nearer approach to it exceeding dangerous, if not impractical.

THURSDAY 15th. PM a gentle breeze at ESE with which we steered NWBW, NWBN and NNE along the out side of the reef, following its direction. At 3 o'Clock we past a low sandy isle lying near the outer edge.⁴ At 6 o'Clock we were a breast of a point of the reef from which it turned away WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W and seemed to terminate in a point which was seen from the Mast head: the Northerly direction it had lately taken had carried us almost out of sight of land, what we now saw of it bore SWBS distant about 10 Leagues. In ranging along the reef we preceived some places where the sea did not break, among other there was a large space on the SE of the sandy isle which we judged to be a Channell, but within it were extensive shoals. The night was spent making short boards with the wind at NEBE & ENE.⁵ At Sun-rise made sail and steer'd NWBW, at this time saw neither land nor breakers. Two hours after saw the latter extending NW farther than the eye could reach, but no land was to be seen, so that

¹ Not practicable as passages.

² The land now seen was the Belep islands, the northernmost part of New Caledonia, some twenty miles north-west of the main mass.

³ . . . distant 20 Miles, . . .—f. 283.

⁴ . . . in Latitude 19°25'.—f. 283v. Ongombua, a low sandy island in the middle of the Ongombua passage, to which Cook refers a few lines further on.

⁵ . . . At Sunset we could but just see the land which bore SW by S about 10 leagues distant. A clear horizon produced the discovery of no land to the westward of this direction; the reef too trended away WBN $\frac{1}{2}$ N and seemed to terminate in a point which was seen from the Mast head, thus every thing conspired to make us beleive that we should soon get round these Shoals and with these flattering expectations we hauled the wind, which was at ENE and spent the night making short boards.—f. 283v.



Portrait of Captain Cook
By John Webber

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY

1776-1780

EDITED BY
J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

PART ONE

CAMBRIDGE
Published for the Hakluyt Society
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1967

till 2 PM when seeing no likelihood of the Wind ceasing, I bore up for the island we had seen to the Westward thinking to come to an anchor under it till the gale was over. But on our getting to this land we found it composed of two small island[s], each not above 3 or 4 leagues in circuit, consequently there was not that shelter we expected and besides the Wind blew with great Violence both over and between them; So that I could not think of Anchoring but continued to Stretch to the Westward. We had now fair weather and at times tolerable clear;¹ at 7 land was seen to the Westward, which at 8 extended from NNW to WBS the nearest part Six leagues distant, I stood on till 10 then made a board to the Eastward in order to spend the night.

MONDAY 10th. At day break in the Morning of the 10th resumed our Course to the West for the land we had seen the preceding evening, which at 7^h 11' when the Longitude by the Time keeper was 189° 24' E extended from S 72° West to N 41° E. Between the SW extreme and a point which bore West 2 leagues distant, the shore forms a large bay² in which we anchored at 10 AM about 2 miles from the North shore in 10 fathoms Water over a gravelly bottom; the South point of the bay bore S 58° W the North point N 43° E, the bottom of the bay N 60° W two or three leagues distant and the two islands we past the preceding day N 72° E distant 14 leagues.³ As we were standing into this place we perceived on the North shore an Indian Village, and some people whom the sight of the Ships seemed to have thrown into some confusion or fear, as we could see some running inland with burdthens on their backs. To this place I went with three Armed boats, accompaned by some of the Offi[c]ers, and found 40 or 50 Men each armed with a Spontoon Bow and Arrows drawn up on a rising ground on which the village stood. As we drew near three of them came down towards the shore and were so polite as to take of their Caps and make us a low bow: we returned the Compliment but

¹ 'This fine cheerly day, gives even this wretched, barren Country a most pleasing appearance; we all feel this morning as though we were risen in a new World. We have had such a succession of hazy, wet, disagreeable Weather, that we had almost forgot the cheerfull & pleasing Sensations, instilled by a clear Atmosphere & enlivening rays of the Sun.—Got every thing from between Decks & clean'd Ship.'—Clerke.

² Log: '... a bay that seemed to be sheltered from the North winds. Although the gale was by this time much abated, yet the sea was pretty high, so that I thought a few hours in the bay reconnoitring the coast would be better spent than in plying, Accordingly steered for it and anchored in 10 fathom water. ...'

³ The ships had now crossed Bering Strait and were on the Asian shore: it was Eastern Siberia. The bay was St Lawrence (Lavrentiya) Bay. Its south point is Cape Krigugnon (lat. 65° 29' N, long. 170° 54' W), the other, about 13 miles to the north-east, Cape Nun-yagmo. Cook named it, from the saint's day on which he anchored, though he does not mention doing so, except by inference on p. 431 below. The name appears on the MS Chart LIII; on the engraved chart it is in the wrong place.

this did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait our landing, for the Moment we put the boats a shore they retired. I followed them alone without any thing in my hand, and by signs and actions got them to stop and receive some trifles I presented them with and in return they gave me two fox skins and a couple of Sea horse teeth. I cannot say whether they or I made the first present, for these things they brought down with them for this very purpose and would have given me them without my making any return. They seemed very fearfull and causious, making signs for no more of our people to come up, and on my laying my hand on one mans Shoulder he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced they retreated backwards always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their Spears, while those on the hill behind them stood ready to support them with thier arrows. Insensibly my self and two or three more got in amongst them, a few beads distributed to those about us brought on a kind of confidence so that two or three more of our people joining us did not Alarm them, and by degrees a sort of traffick between us commenced.¹ They gave us in exchange for Knives, Beads, Tobacco &c^a some of their cloathing² and a few Arrows, but nothing we had to offer them would induce them to part with a Spear or a Bow, which they held in constant readiness never once quitting them, excepting one time, four or five laid them down while they gave us a Song and a Dance, and then they placed them in such a manner as they could lay hold of them in an instant and for greater security desired us to sit down. The Arrows were pointed with either bone or Stone, but very few were barbed and some had a round blunt point of bone, I cannot say what use these were for unless to kill small animals without hurting the Skin.³ The Bow[s] were such as we had seen on the America Coast and like those used by the Esquimaux's;⁴ the Spears or Spontoons were of Iron or steel and of European or Asiatic workmanship in which no little pains had been taken to ornament them with carving and inlayings of brass and a white Metal. Those who stood ready with Bow and arrows in hand had the Spear slung over their Shoulder by a leather strap. The Arrows they carried in a lather quiver slung over the left Shoulder; some of the quivers were ex-

¹ The foregoing passage gives us a much more detailed account than we normally get from Cook of his first approach to a native and potentially hostile people. It may be compared with George Forster, II, p. 116, n. 4; and Elliott, II, p. 124, n. 3—where the Maoris of Dusky Sound, at the other end of the world, are to be turned into friends.

² 'These things [clothes, gloves, etc.] they exchanged for beads and other trifles, but any thing better than common they would not part for any thing but a knife or Tobacco, which last they called *Tamac*.'—Log.

³ They were blunted for bird-hunting; a sharp arrow might pass through a bird without halting it.

⁴ Presumably Cook here refers to the bows pictured in Crantz's book.

tremely beautiful, being made of red leather on which was very neat embroidery and other ornaments. Several other things and in particular, their cloathing shewed them possessed of a degree of ingenuity far surpassing any thing one could expect amongst so Northern a people. All the Americans we had seen before were rather low of Stature with round chubby faces and high cheek bones, whereas these are long visaged Stout made men and appeared to be a quite different Nation.¹ We saw neither Women nor Children, Boys nor girls nor aged except one man, who was bald headed, and he was the only one who had not a spear as well as a bow and arrows; the others seemed to be picked men and rather under than above the middle age. The old man had a black mark a cross his face which I did not see in any others, all of them had their ears bored and some had glass beads hanging to them which were the only fixed Ornaments we saw about them, for they wear none to the lips, which is another thing in which the[y] differ from the Americans. Thier cloathing consisted of a Cap, a Frock a pair of Breeches, a pair of Boots and a pair of gloves, all made of leather or the Skins of Dear, Dogs, Seals &c^a all extremely well dress'd some with the fur or hair on and other with it off. The caps were made to fit the head very close, and besides these caps which most of them had on, we got from them some hoods made of dog skins that were large enough to cover both head and Shoulders. Their hair seemed to be black, but their heads were either shaved or the hair cut close off and none wore any beard. Of the few articles they got from us knives and Tobacco were what they most Valued.²

Here were both their Winter and summer habitations, the former are exactly like a Vault the floor of which is sunk a little below the surface of the earth. The one I examined was of an oval form the length where of was about twenty four feet and the height 12 or more; the framing was composed of Wood and the ribs of Whales,

¹ Cook's observation is quite accurate; these people were indeed a quite different nation—the Chukchi, a Mongoloid people, inhabiting the north-eastern corner of Asia between the Anadir river and the Arctic ocean. These were the 'Fishing Chukchi' of the coast, as distinct from the wealthier, more warlike, nomad 'Reindeer Chukchi' of the interior. A vigorous people, the Chukchi had beaten back Russian attempts to control them (even at the present day they refuse to speak Russian), and had driven the 'Asiatic Eskimo' into the very north-eastern tip of the continent. Nevertheless they shared certain characteristics with the Eskimo of the opposite shores—their large flat-bottomed boat, for instance, the *baidar*, was the same as the Eskimo *umiak*, and the small *baidarka* the same as the Eskimo *kayak*. All that Cook says in his subsequent paragraphs is so admirably particularized that annotation is scarcely necessary.

² 'Their chief demand with our People in the Course of Traffick was for Tobacco and Snuff, but that all sovereign Herb now begins to run very short in both Ships, and there unfortunately was very little of it among our People who were on shore. . . .—Clerke, 11 August.

disposed in a judicious manner and bound together with smaller materials of the same sort. Over this framing is laid a covering of strong coarse grass and over it a covering of earth; so that on the outside it looks like a little hillock, supported by a wall of Stone about 3 or 4 feet high which is built round the two sides and one end; at the other end the earth is raised sloping to walk up to the entrance which is by a hole in the top of the roof over that end. The floor was boarded and under it was a kind of cellar, in which I saw nothing but Water, and at the end of each house was a Vaulted room which I took to be a store room; it communicated with the other by a dark passage and with the open air by a hole in the roof which was even with the ground one Walked upon, but one cannot say they were wholly under ground as one end reached to the edge of the hill along which they were made and was built up of Stone, over which was built a kind of Sentry box or tower of the large bones of large fish.

The Summer huts were pretty large, and circular and brought to a point at the top; the framing was of slight poles and bones, covered with the skins of Sea animals. I examined the inside of one; there was a fire place just within the door or entrance where lay a few wooden vessels all very dirty; thier bed places were close to the side and took up about half the circuit; some privicy seemd to be observed as there were several partitions made with skins, the bed and bedding were of dear skins and the most of them were dry and clean. About the habitations were erected several stages ten or twelve feet high, such as we had observed on some part of the America coast; they were built wholly of bones and seemed to be intended to dry skins, fish &c^a upon, out of the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great many; they were of the fox kind rather large and of different Colours with long soft hair like wool. These Dogs are probably of no other use than to draw their sledges in Winter, for sledges they have as I saw a good many laid up in one of the Winter huts; It is also not improbable but dogs may make a part of their food; several laid dead about them that had been killed that Morning, but why they were then killed or why they let them lay there I cannot say.

They have the same sort of Canoes as the Americans, we saw some of both sorts¹ in a little creek under the Village. By the large fish bones and the Skins of other Sea Animals, it appeared that the sea supply'd them with the greatest part of their subsistence. The Country appeared to be exceeding barren, yeilding neither Tree nor shrub that

¹ i.e. large *baidar-umiaks* and the small *baidarka-kayaks*.

this island has been produced by Marine productions and is in a state of increase,¹ for not only the broken coral, but the shells are many of them too large and too heavy for any bird to bring from the sea coast to where they now lay. Not a drop of fresh water was any where found though dug for in several places;² there are several ponds of salt water in the land, and one of the lost men found some salt, on these part of the island; this was an article we were in want of, but a man who could loss himself as he did, and not know whether he was traveling East, west, North or south, was not to be depended upon to find the place.

As we kept our Christmas here I called it *Christmas Island*,³ I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circuit, it seemed to be of a simicircular form, or like the Moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points and bear from each other, nearly NBE and SBW four or five leagues distant.⁴ This west side, or the isle at the entrance into the lagoon on which we observed the Eclipse, lies in the Latitude of $1^{\circ}59'—''$ North, and in the Longitude of $20[2^{\circ}30'0'']$ East,⁵ determined by a considerable number of lunar observations which differed only [7'] from the Time keeper, it being so much less. The variation of the compass was $[6^{\circ}22\frac{1}{2}' E]$.⁶ This island, like most others in this sea, is bounded by a reef of coral rock, but it extends but a little way into the sea, without which, on the west side is a bank of fine sand extending a mile without it, on this bank is good anchorage in any depth between 18 and 30 fathoms; in less than the first is too near the reef and in more than the latter too near the edge of the bank. During the time we lay here the wind blew constantly a fresh gale at East, or EBS but except one or two days, we had always a great swell from the Northward which broke against the reef in a

¹ 'What deserves the most to be remarkd in this Island, is the evident sign of it encreasing upon the Sea, to the Eastward in many places is to be seen the white Beech 200 Yards from the Seaside & between honey comb'd coral as black as coal, with perhaps a bush or two on it.'—King.

² 'our people were Grip'd & flux'd by drinking the Brackish water out of our Wells.'—Edgar log.

³ 'This day we kept as Christmas day, the people were Served fresh pork, fish, & double allowance of Liquor, which Enabled them to spend this Evening, with mirth & Jollity.'—Martin, 26 December.

⁴ Christmas Island, with its 300,000 acres, is reputed to be the largest of all atolls in land area. Except for Jarvis Island, 200 miles to the south-west, it is the southernmost of the northern group of the Line Islands, four in number, stretching north-west for 350 miles. When discovered, between this date and 1802, they were all uninhabited, but they had been inhabited in the past: Christmas has its raised rectangular platforms and other coral enclosures, but Cook's men were interested in turtle, not in archaeological exploration.

⁵ Lat. $1^{\circ}57' N$, long. $157^{\circ}28' W$ —i.e. $202^{\circ}32' E$. The Journal figures are very close; indeed Adm 55/112 has the latitude correct at $1^{\circ}57'$, though its longitude is $202^{\circ}45' E$.

⁶ The bracketed figures are in King's hand. Douglas writes here, 'the dip / North End / of the Needle $11^{\circ}54'$ '; with the explanatory note, 'Cap^t King has given me the dip'.

prodigious surf. We had found this swell before we came to the island and it continued for some days after we left it.

FRIDAY 2nd. On the 2nd at day-break we weighed anchor and resumed our Course to the North,¹ having fine weather and a gentle breeze at East and ESE till we got into the latitude of $7^{\circ}45' N$, Longitude $205 E$ where we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a NEBE and ENE wind, at first it blew faint but freshened as we advanced to the north.² We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned, sometimes in greater numbers than at others: and between the latitude of 10 and a 11 we saw several turtle. All these are looked upon as signs of the vecinity of land; we however saw none till day break in the Morning of the 18th when an island was discovered bearing NEBE³ and soon after we saw more land bearing North and intirely ditatched from the first;⁴ both had the appearence of being high land. At Noon the first bore NEBE $\frac{1}{2}E$ by estimation⁵ leagues distant and an elevated hill near the east end of the other bore $N\frac{1}{2}W$; our Latitude at this time was $21^{\circ}12'30'' N$, Longitude $200^{\circ}41' E$. We had now light airs and calms by turns so that at sun set we were not less than 9 or 10 leagues from the nearest land.

MONDAY 19th. On the 19th at Sun rise the island first seen bore East leagues distant at least; this being directly to windward there was no geting nearer it so that I stood for the other, and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of WNW and as far distant as an island could be seen.⁶ We had now a fine breeze at EBN and I stood for the East end of the second island, which at noon extended from $N\frac{1}{2}E$ to $WNW\frac{1}{4}W$, the nearest part about two leagues distant. At this time we were in some doubt whether or no the land before [us] was inhabited, this doubt was soon cleared up, by seeing some Canoes coming off from the shore towards the Ships, I immediately brought to to give them time to come up, there were three and four men in each and we were agreeably surprised to find them of the same

¹ 'Set the Carpenters to work to caulk the main deck and weather work in the Waist.'—Cook, Adm 55/112, 2 January. He has the same sort of note for 6 January.

² 'Served the Fearnought Jackets and Trowsers allowed by the Admiralty, to the People.' Cook, Adm 55/112, 6 January. He obviously did not expect another tropical or sub-tropical island. The contrary wind, with its threat of delay, may have been the reason why, in the *Discovery*, a different precaution was taken: '... Put y^e Ship's Comp^y to an allowance of Water, 2 Quarts a Man p^r Day, exclusive boiling their provisions.'—Harvey, 6 January. Four days later Bayly notes one of the amenities. 'Cap^t Clerke dined with Cap^t Cook Yesterday Cap^t Cook & his people are all in good health except M^r Anderson the Surgeon who is very ill he being in a Consumptive State.'—Bayly JT, 10 January.

³ The ships were approaching the western islands of the Hawaiian group. This one was Oahu.

⁴ Kauai.

⁵ Cook leaves the blank. Douglas notes, 'On Cap^t King's Authority eight or nine'.

⁶ Niihau.

Sun. 18

First contact
at Kauai,
3rd voyage

Nation as the people of Otabiete and the other islands we had lately visited.¹ It required but very little address to get them to come along side, but we could not prevail upon any one to come on board; they exchanged a few fish they had in the Canoes for any thing we offered them, but valued nails, or iron above every other thing; the only weapons they had were a few stones in some of the Canoes and these they threw overboard when they found they were not wanted. Seeing no signs of an anchoring place at this part of the island, I boar up for the lee side, and ranged the *SE* side at the distance of half a league from the shore. As soon as we made sail the Canoes left us, but others came off from the shore and brought with them roasting pigs and some very fine Potatoes, which they exchanged, as the others had done, for whatever was offered them; several small pigs were got for a sixpeny nail² or two apiece, so that we again found our selves in the land of plenty, just as the turtle we had taken on board at the last island was nearly expended. We passed several villages, some seated upon the sea shore and other up in the Country; the inhabitants of all of them crowded to the shore and on the elevated places to view the Ships. The land on this side of the island rises in a gentle slope from the sea shore to the foot of the Mountions that are in the middle of the island, except in one place, near the east end where they rise directly from the sea; here they seemed to be formed of nothing but stone which lay in horizontal stratas; we saw no wood but what was up in the interior part of the island and a few trees about the villages; we observed several plantations of Plantains and sugar canes, and places that seemed to be planted with roots. We continued to Sound without stricking ground with a line of 50 fathoms till we came abreast of a low point which is about the middle of the south side of the island or rather nearer to the NW end;³ here we met with 12 and 14 fathoms over a rocky bottom; being past this point, from which the coast trended more northerly, we had 20, then 16, 12 and at last 5 fathom over a sandy bottom; the last soundings was about a mile from the shore. Night now put astop to any further researches and we spent it standing off and on. The next morning we stood in for the land and were met by several Canoes filled with people, some of them

Tues. 20

¹ "... what more than all surprisd us, was, our catching the Sound of Otaheite words in their speech, & on asking them for hogs, breadfruit, yams, in that Dialect, we found we were understood, & that these were in plenty on shore: this Specimen of the Natives were in Colour, between that of the Otaheite & the Friendly Islanders, & in this respect the nearest to the New Zealanders, they were not tall, but of strong, muscular make, and there was great variety in the shape of their visages. . . ."—King.

² Sixpenny nails (nails at 6d a hundred) were an inch and a half long, with flat points.

³ Puolo Point (lat. 21°54' N, long. 159°36' W) about five miles south-eastward of Waimea Bay, where Cook was to make his first landing in the Hawaiian group.

took courage and ventured on board. I never saw Indians so much astonished at the entering a ship before, their eyes were continually flying from object to object, the wildness of thier looks and actions fully express'd their surprise and astonishment at the several new o[b]jects before them and evinced that they never had been on board of a ship before.¹ However the first man that came on board did not with all his surprise, forget his own intrest, the first moveable thing that came in his way was the lead and line, which he without asking any questions took to put into his Canoe and when we stoped him said "I am only going to put it into my boat" nor would he quit it till some of his countrymen spoke to him. At 9 o'clock being pretty near the shore, I sent three armed boats under the command of Lieutenant Williamson, to look for a landing place and fresh water. I ordered him, that if he found it necessary to land to look for the latter not to suffer more than one man to go out of the boat. As the boats put off an Indian stole the Butcher[']s cleaver, leaped over board with it, got into his canoe and made for the shore, the boats pursued him but to no effect.

As there were some venereal complaints on board both the Ships, in order to prevent its being communicated to these people, I gave orders that no Women, on any account whatever were to be admitted on board the Ships, I also forbid all manner of connection with them, and ordered that none who had the venereal upon them should go out of the ships. But whether these regulations had the desired effect or no time can only discover. It is no more than what I did when I first

¹ "We took some of them into the Gunroom to observe their behavior & to put Questions to them; when we askd them what this Iron was, & where it came from, they told us, they did not know but that we knew; when we shewd them beads they askd if they shou'd eat them, or what was their use, we told them only to hang to their Ears, on which they returnd them to us as useless, for their ears are not pierced; they also returnd looking Glasses, saying they did not know what these things were for; & of Iron they only knew its use for boring & to make Toës (Hatchets) & wantd them large. they observd with attention our Cloaths, & seem'd to think the Substance different from their own; but at first they took Otaheite Cloth to be the same, however they soon tried if it wou'd tear, which finding it to do, they did not care for it; they were quite Ignorant of what our China cups were made of, taking them for wood, asking for some, that those on shore might look at them. They were very curious & doubtful what our Ships Sails &c were made of. In their behaviour they were very fearful of giving offence, asking if they should sit down, or spit on the decks &c, & in all their conduct seemd to regard us as superior beings."—King.—"My Cabin was at one time full of them, but was soon clear'd by the following Accident; my Guests were exceedingly curious and very desirous of handling and examining whatever came in their way, especially if composed of their favourite Metal, Iron; the Cabin Windows were open and suspended by Iron Hooks; one of them in examining one of these Hooks, withdrew its Support from the window, which immediately shut down like a Trap Door; something of the kind I believe my poor friends took it for, for they directly made their way out at the other Windows (some of which by their crowding they broke in their way) with as much confusion and fright, as tho' a battery had been opened upon them; we were going upwards of 4 knots at the time, however their Canoes soon picked them up."—Clerke, 20 January.

visited the Friendly Islands yet I afterwards found it did not succeed, and I am much afraid this will always be the case where it is necessary to have a number of people on shore; the opportunities and inducements to an intercourse between the sex, are there too many to be guarded against.¹ It is also a doubt with me, that the most skilful of the Faculty can tell whether every man who has had the venereal is so far cured as not to communicate it further, I think I could mention some instances to the contrary. It is likewise well known that amongst a number of men, there will be found some who will endeavour to conceal this disorder, and there are some again who care not to whom they communicate it, of this last we had an instance at Tongatabu in the Gunner of the Discovery, who remained a shore to manage the trade for Captain Clerke. After he knew he had contracted this disease he continued to sleep with different women who were supposed not to have contracted it; his companions expostulated with him without effect; till it came to Captain Clerke's knowledge who ordered him on board.

¹ 'Capt Cook prohibited all intercourse between us & the women, on acct of a number of our people not being free from the fowl disease, they got at the Society Islands which was a great disappointment to the Girls.'—Bayly T, p. 165. There are many references to this matter in the journals. 'None of them were permitted to come on board the Ships & every precaution was taken to prevent the Men from meddling with them on Shore & this requir'd the utmost vigilance of the Officers for the Women us'd all their Arts to entice them into their Houses, & even went so far as to Endeavour to draw them in by force. And tho none who were known to have that dreadful distemper upon them were suffered to set their foot on Shore, nor even those who had been but lately out of the Surgeon's List, Yet the great eagerness of the Women concurring with the Desires of the Men it became impossible to keep them from each other & we had reason to believe that some of them had Connections with these Woman both on board our Ships & on Shore, Notwithstanding every precaution that was taken to Prevent it.'—Edgar, ff. 86–86v. Edgar's log Adm 55/21 adds to this, 'we found it impracticable keeping them out the Men finding so many Schemes to deceive the Officers by dressing them up as Men & calling them their Tio's'. What steps could be taken, were taken. 'Will Bradyley, for disobeying orders, with 2 dozen, and having connections with women knowing himself to be injured, with the Venereal disorder.'—Roberts, 25 January.—Native Hawaiian historians and American missionary writers were later extremely bitter against Cook for the introduction of venereal disease. Fornander, who summarizes them, is himself much more reasonable (Abraham Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, II [London, 1880], pp. 162–3). David Malo got some high-coloured traditions from his elders, which he included in his *Moololo Hawaii* of 1838. The Hawaiians were much excited by the iron they saw. 'Because the iron was known before that time from wood with iron (in or on it) that had formerly drifted ashore, but it was in small quantity, and here was plenty. And they entered on board, and they saw the people with white foreheads, bright eyes, loose garments, corner-shaped heads [from their hats] and unintelligible speech'. They returned on shore with news of the iron, and one warrior went on board, took some, and was shot and killed. In the night guns and rockets were fired. 'They (the natives) thought it was a god, and they called his name *Lonomakua*, and they thought there would be war. Then a chiefess named *Kamakahalet*, mother of *Kaumualii*, said, "Let us not fight against our god; let us please him that he may be favourable to us". Then *Kamakahalet* gave her own daughter as a woman to *Lono*; *Lele-mahoolani* was her name; she was older sister of *Kaumualii*. And *Lono* slept with that woman, and the Kauai women prostituted themselves to the foreigners for iron.'—Fornander, II, pp. 168–9. Whatever the success the young lady might have had with Lono, it is very certain she could not have had much with Cook. For this chiefly family, see p. 1224 below.

While the boats were in shore examining the coast we stood on and off with the Ships, waiting their return, at length, about noon Mr Williamson came on board and reported that he had seen a large pond behind a beach near one of the Villages, which the natives told him was fresh water and that there was anchorage before it. He also reported that he attempted to land in a nother place but was prevented by the Indians coming down to the boat in great numbers, and were for taking away the oars, muskets and in short every thing they could lay hold upon and pressed so thick upon him that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. But this unhappy circumstance I did not know till after we left the islands,¹ so that all my measures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. Mr Williamson told me that after the man fell they took him up, [c]arried him off, and then retired from the boat and made signs for them to land, but this he declined. It did not appear to Mr Williamson that they had any design to kill or even hurt any of the people in the boat but were excited by mere curiosity to get what they had from them, and were at the same time, ready to give in return any thing they had.²

After the boats were on board I sent away one of them to lay in the best anchoring ground, and as soon as she got to her station I bore down with the ships and anchored in 25 fathom water, the bottom a fine grey owsey sand.³ The East point of the road, which was the low point before mentioned, bores [51]° E, the west point⁴ N [65]° W and the Village⁵ where the water was said to be, NEBE distant one mile, but

¹ Which may indicate the seriousness of Cook's admonitions to caution, and some unwillingness on Williamson's part to face an almost certain denunciation. Cook may have made his mind clear later on, to judge from Griffin: 'The first boat that was sent on shore to reconitre (Lieutenant Williamson) on the natives flocking round the boat though with no hostile intent, he shot one of them a Cowardly, dastardly action for which Capt^a Cook was very angry as he himself generally acted very humanely towards the natives by which we got much better supply'd'. The incident may have happened at Makaweli landing, which has some place in Hawaiian Cook tradition.

² The man Williamson shot had 'laid hold of the Officers gun with one hand (but with what intention is hard to tell) on which the officer shot him through the body. . . . It does not appear that they had any ill intention, but rather the contrary. They being over eager to Assist us, in landing thro' the surf: But the officer (Mr Williamson) could not tell that.'—Bayly, 20 January. For Williamson's own account, see pp. 1347–9 below.

³ The boats had found good anchorage, says Bayly, 20 January, but in an open road opposite the mouth of a river by which stood a town called by the natives Abootaberry; so it was called Abootaberry Road. In his next paragraph he crossed out 'Abootaberry' and substitutes 'Ohimeia' (Waimea). Edgar also uses the form Bootaberry. Samwell is more discriminating: 'the Indians calling the Town & River off which we lay O-Waimea & giving the Name of Bootaberry to a Mountain lower down & some way inland'. The name is derived from Puu ka Pele, a crater cone at the edge of the Waimea canyon some distance inland, where there was a village and a *heiau* or 'temple'—the remains of which have been listed by Wendell Clark Bennett in his *Archaeology of Kauai* (Honolulu 1931), p. 104; and map, p. 98.

⁴ Probably Kokole Point is meant.

⁵ Waimea.

and we had seen one in this vally that we were desirous of going to see. Our guide understood us, but as this was on the other side of the river, he conducted us to one on the same side we were upon; it proved to be in a Morai¹ which in many respects was like those of Otaheite. The *Pyramid* which they call [Henananoo]² was erected at one end, it was 4 feet square at the base and about [20] feet high, the four sides was built of small sticks and branches, in an open manner and the inside of the pyramid was hollow or open from bottom to top.³ Some part of it was, or had been covered with a very thin light grey cloth,⁴ which seemed to be consecrated to Religious and ceremonious purposes, as a good deal of it was about this Morai and I had some of it forced upon me on my first landing. On each side and near the Pyrimid, stood erect some rude carved boards, exactly like those in the Morais at Otahiete.⁵ At the foot of these were square places, a little sunk below the common level and inclosed with stone, these we understood were graves.⁶ About the middle of the Morai were three of these places in a line, where we were told three chiefs had been buried; before them was another that was oblong, this they called Tanga[ta] taboo⁷ and gave us clearly to understand that three human sacrifices had been buried there, that is one at the burial of each chief. The next thing that fixed our attention, was a house or close shed on one side of the Morai, it was 40 feet long, 10 broad in the middle, each end being narrower, and about 10 feet high.⁸ The en-

and other artists drew them (see Pl. 31) they were not in the least pyramidal, but rather like obelisks. But in the eighteenth century 'pyramid' could have a wider sense, mainly architectural and now obsolete, within which a spire, pinnacle, obelisk, even a gable, was a pyramid; so that the observation was not an inaccurate one.

¹ Naturally Cook used this word for the 'temple' he was now visiting; but the Hawaiian term was *heiau* and not *marae*.

² This word is supplied by, I think, King: *he* or *ka* [the article] *anamu'u*—generally rendered *lanamu'u*.

³ This is a pretty good description, except that the *lanamu'u* was not 'hollow or open from bottom to top' but was divided into three stages or 'stories'; though possibly in this one the dividing 'floors' had fallen away through lack of repair. The term used for the structure in English writing is usually 'oracle tower'. On the lowest floor (*lana*) offerings to the gods were laid; on the second, sacred, floor (*nu'u*) ritual ceremonies were conducted by the priests; on the third, even more sacred, floor (*mamao*) where only the 'king' and his high priest were allowed, the high priest, or the god speaking through him, uttered oracles. Hence the full name of the structure was *lana nu'u mamao*.

⁴ *oloa*, also called *maku'u*, white *tapu*.

⁵ Probably they also had the same function as the Tahitian *ti'i*, representing spirits set up to guard the place; or they may have been lesser, local gods; or possibly filled both functions.

⁶ Or perhaps, more likely, they were refuse-pits, *lua-kini* or *lua-pa'u*, in which were cast the remains of offerings made to the gods. These would include the remains of human sacrifices.

⁷ '[at]' supplied by King?—*Tangata tapu*. Buck notes (*Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*, Honolulu, 1957, p. 571), 'It is possible that by *kanaka kapu* (holy man) Cook's informants meant a sacred priest, for human sacrifices were supposed to be thrown into the refuse pit of the temple'.

⁸ This was the main building of four houses of different sizes, serving different purposes, erected on a *heiau*. It was the *mana*, and contained large carved representations of the gods.

trance was at the middle of the side which was in the Morai, fronting it on the other side was a kind of Altar, composed of a piece of carved wood set ere[c]t and on each side the figure of a Woman carved in wood, neither very ill designed nor executed; on the head of one was carved a cap like a helmet worn by the ancient warriors and on the other a round cap, like the head dress at Otaheite called Tomou.¹ These two images, which were about three feet high, they called Eatua no Veheina,² Goddess's, but that they worship them may be doubted, as they had no objections to our going to and examining them; be this as it may, they here make some kind of offerings, as several strips of the cloth before mentioned hung to and about them, and between them before the other piece of carving, lay a heap of a plant called _____ and by them _____.

³ It was obvious it had been laid there piece by piece and at different times, as there was of it in all states, from quite decayed to fresh and green. Before this place, and in the middle of the house, was an oblong space, inclosed by a low edging of stone and covered over with the thin cloth; this they told us was the grave of seven chiefs. On one side of the door on the out side of the house was a nother Tanga taboo, or a place where a human secrifise had been buried. On the out side of the Morai was a smal shed no bigger than a dog kennel,⁴ and before it a grave where, as we were told, the remains of a woman laid. This Morai was inclosed by a wall of stone about 4 feet high like many of those at Otahiete, to which as I have already observed it bore a very great resemblance, and the several parts that compose it being called by the same names,⁵ shews, at least, that these people have nearly the same Notions of Religion and that the only material difference is in the disposal of the dead.

After having seen every thing that was to be seen about this Morai and M^r Webber had taken a drawing of it, we returned to the beach by a different rout to the one we came. Besides the Tara plantations before mentioned we met with some plantations of plantain, Sugar cane and the Chinese paper Mulberry tree or cloth plant, as it is more generally called by us, there were also a few low cocoanut trees,

¹ The head-dress made of plaited human hair, *taamu*.

² *e atua no wahine*—goddesses, perhaps, as Cook says, for the Hawaiians did represent such beings, with some realism; but perhaps also 'gods of women'.

³ I do not know why Cook should be at once so particular and so vague about this plant. *Voyage*, II, p. 202, says 'a quantity of fern', so Anderson took no particular note of it; nor do the later authorities seem to do so.

⁴ This was the *hale pahu*, or drum house, where the tall temple drums were kept.

⁵ We may wish, then, that Cook had given us the names. Anderson does, in the description drawn on largely in *Voyage*, II, pp. 200-4; but as a matter of fact, the names he gives vary a good deal from Tahitian terms—not unnaturally, as they are applied to different things. Of course the general scene provided plenty of reminiscences of the Tahitian *marae*.

but we saw but one bread fruit tree and but very few of any other sort.

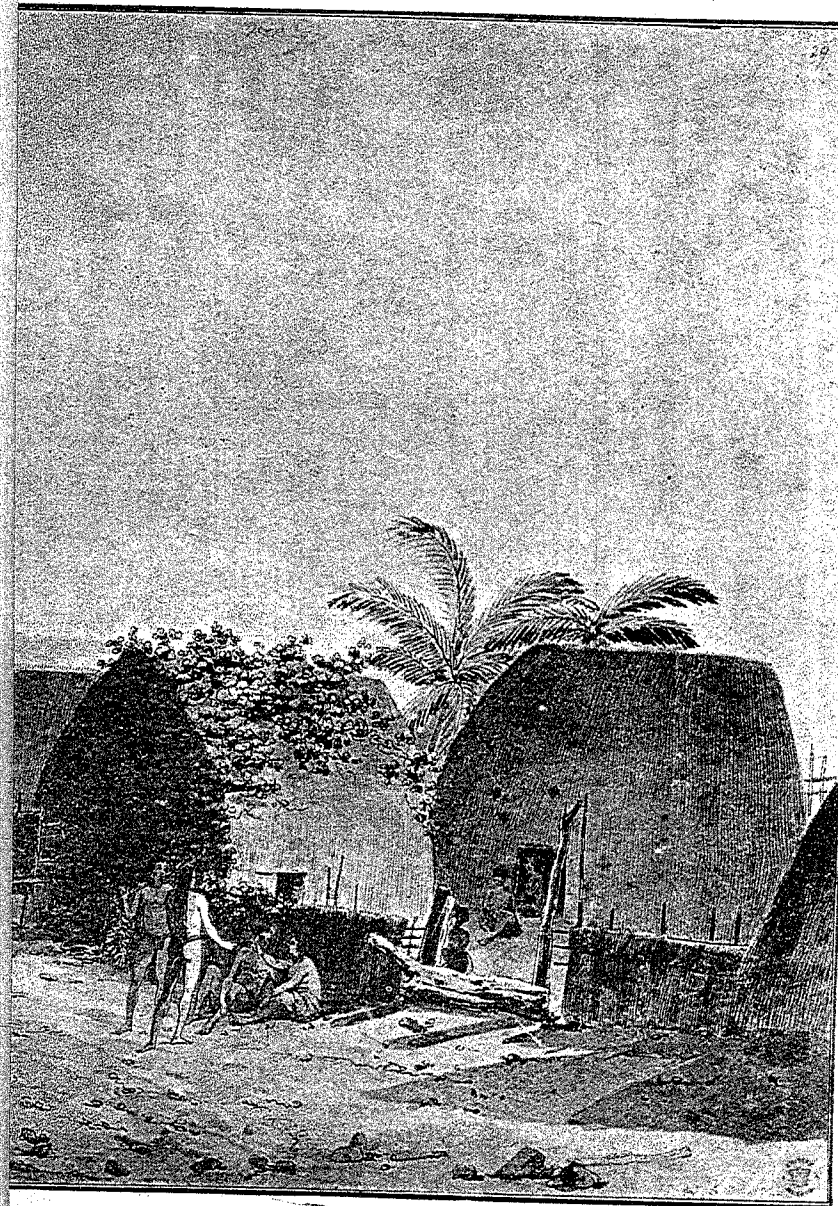
At the beach I found a great crowd and a brisk trade for pigs, fowls and roots which was carried on with the greatest good order, though I did not see a man that appeared of more consequence than a nother, if there was they did not shew themselves to us. At Noon I returned on board to dinner and sent Mr King ashore to command the party; he was to have gone in the Morning, but was detained aboard to make lunar observations. In the after noon I went ashore again accompanied by Captain Clerke, I designed to have taken a walk into the Country, but thinking it too late defered it to another opportunity and that did not afterwards happen. At sun set I brought every body on board, having got during the day Nine tons of water, and by exchanges chiefly for nails and pieces of iron, about sixty or eighty Pigs, a few Fowls, a quantity of potatoes and a few plantains and Tara roots. No people could trade with more honesty than these people, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or along side the ships.¹ Some indeed at first betrayed a thievish disposition, or rather they thought they had a right to any thing they could lay their hands upon but this conduct they soon laid aside.²

THURSDAY 22nd. In the night and all AM on the 22nd it rained almost continually, the wind was at SE, SSE and South, which brought in a short choppy sea, and as there were breakers little more than two cables length from our stern our situation was none of the safest.³ The

¹ 'These people are certainly of an exceeding good natured disposition but quite the tradesmen selling every thing they had for trifles but did not seem disposed to give any thing, or nor [*sic*] expect to have anything given them for nothing. They exceed any we ever met with in point [of] honesty both in their trading & otherwise, never deviating from their agreement, nor was scarcely a theft committed by them.'—Bayly J.T. pp. 73-4.

² Elsewhere we get a rather diverting instance of the native notion of 'right' before reform set in. 'About 1 an Indian being very officious in getting our dinner out of the Boat for us which had been just sent on Shore, he watching an opportunity set off with a Pewter Tureen their being a roasted Pig in it, the Natives opening to the Right & Left making a lane to let him pass & then Clos'd again Immediately, as if they had been well acquainted with his design, they all seem'd highly pleas'd to see him get clear off with his Prize. In the Afternoon they brought the Pig down and sold it to some of our People, who swore Damn their Eyes that these black Buggers understand roasting of hogs as well as we do.'—Edgar, 23 January.

³ The weather provided so many of the critical points of the voyage off the Hawaiian islands that the *Pacific Pilot* (7th ed., 1946, III, p. 287) is worth quoting on Waimea Bay. 'This open bight, about five miles southeastward of Kokole point, should afford one of the best anchorages in the island, owing to its position, but the Trade wind is deflected by the high land and blows along the coast from east-south-east or even south-east, raising a sea sufficient to make the anchorage uncomfortable and landing impossible. A moderate south-west wind has been experienced at the anchorage while a strong east wind was blowing about 2 miles offshore. In January and February, the Kona [Hawaiian *kona*, leeward or south-west] season, south-westerly winds sometimes blow strongly and directly on shore.' With winds so determined, it is not altogether surprising that the ships were now and again parted, and that Clerke was not always sure what Cook's intention was.



surf broke so high against the shore that we could not land in our boats, but the Indians came off in their Canoes with hogs and roots, so that the day was not wholly lost. In the after noon had some intervals of fair weather and the wind inclined to the East and NE but in the evening it veered back again to SSE and then the rains returned and continued all night. It very luckily was not attended with much wind; we had however prepared for the worst, by dropping the small bore¹ Anchor and striking topgallant yards. At 7 oclock the next morning, a breeze of wind springing up at NE I took up the Anchors, with a View of removing the Ship a little further out. The moment the last anchor was up, the wind veered to the East and made it necessary to set all the sail we could to clear the shore, so that before we had got a tolerable distance off we were driven some distance to leeward. We made a stretch off in order to regain the road, but having very little wind and a strong current against us I found this was not [to] be done and therefore sent Mr King and Mr Williamson ashore with three boats for water and to trade for refreshments; at the same time I sent an order to Captⁿ Clerke to put to sea after me if he saw I could not recover the road. Being in hopes of finding a better road or harbour at the west end of the island, I was the less anxious of regaining the other, but as I had sent the boats thither we kept to windward all we could yet at Noon we were three leagues to leeward of it. As we drew near the west end of the island, we found the coast to round gradually to the NE without forming a Creek or cove to Shelter a vessel from the force of the swell which rolled in from the North and broke against the shore in a prodigious surf, so that all hopes of find[ing] a harbour here vanished.

Fri. 23

At 7 oclock in the evening the boats returned, with two tons of water a few hogs, a quantity of Plantains and a few roots. Mr King informed me that a great number of the inhabitants were at the watering or landing place; he supposed they had come from all parts of the island, and had brought with them a great many very fine fat hogs to barter, but my people had nothing that would purchas them, nor indeed did we want them, having already as many on board as, for want of salt, we could dispence with.² He also told me that there was a great deal of rain fell ashore, whereas we had only a few showers out at sea, and that there run so high a surf, that it was with great difficulty they could get in and out of the boats.

We had light airs and calms by turns with showers of rain all

¹ i.e. bower.

² The diet was indeed a sailor's dream of bliss. "... Serv'd Turtle & pork to the ships Company."—Adm 55/114, 21 January. On the 30th there was turtle again.

- Sat. 24 night, and at day break in the Morning of the 24th found that the currents had carried the Ship to the NW and North; so that the West end of the island we had been upon, called by the people *Atoui*,¹ bore East one league distant; the island *Orre'houa*² WBS and the high land of the island *E*, *nee-hee-ou*³ from SWBW to WSW. Soon after a breeze sprung up at North, and as I expected this would bring the Discovery to sea, I steered for Enecheeou in order to take a nearer view of it and to anchor there if I found a convenient place. I continued to steer for it till past 11 o'clock at which time we were about two leagues off, but not seeing the Discovery, and being also doubtful if they could see us I was fearful some ill consequence might attend our separating so far, and therefore gave up, for the present, the design of visiting Enecheeou, and stood back for Atoui with an intent to anchor again in the road to fill up our water. At 2 PM the northerly wind died away and was succeeded by variable light airs and calms, that continued till 11 then the wind fixed at ENE and blew a steady fresh breeze, with which we stretched to the SE all night. And
- Sun. 25 at day break in the Morning of the 25th tacked and stood in for Atoui road which bore about N from us, and soon after the Discovery joined us. We fetched in with the land about two leagues to leeward of the road, which we could never recover; for what we gained at one
- Thur. 29 time we lost at another;⁴ so that by the Morning of the 29th the cur-

¹ Kauai.

² Lehua, nothing more than a rocky islet half a mile off the northern point of Niihau.

³ Niihau. In Cook's rendering of the names of these islands we have the initial in each case, A, O, and E corresponding to the nominative article O in his Otaheite. The *t* of Atoui and the *r* of Orre'houa are undoubtedly more authentic, for the north-western Hawaiian pronunciation of that time, than the modern *k* and *l*; just as it is pretty certain that other English renderings, on this voyage, of Hawaiian words are closer, in consonantal sounds, to the eighteenth-century language than those standardized in the nineteenth century. Cf. Samwell (pp. 1230-31): 'these people constantly make use of the T. where the others use the K. such as in the name of the Island Atowai which is called Akowai at Ou-waihee [Hawaii]'.
⁴ Cook's strict attention in his journal to the business of discovery is now causing him to omit some matters of ship's detail which we find interesting, as the three following extracts show us. '... at 10 AM Departed this Life Thos Roberts Quarter Master. He had not done a week's duty since his Departure from England, His Complaint was y^e Dropsy; He had been tap'd four times. y^e Ship's Company remarkably healthy, not a Man in y^e Sick List, after an Absence of 18 Months from England.'—Watts, 27 January. 'It is rather remarkable that a great many of our people have been affected with the Yellow jaundice since our arrival at these Islands—but they are all recovering very fast; Otherwise we are all in good health. The Resolution is the same having scarcely a man on the sick list. ... [Roberts] got wet & caught [cold] which threw him into a Fever & killd him.'—Bayly JT, p. 76. '... on the night of the 27th the Serjeant of the Marines fell Overboard, he was a little in liquor & laid himself down to Sleep upon the Gangway; the Ship had not much way thro the water, & we toss'd overboard a pole that had a bell at one end & corks near the Middle, & a Shot at the other end; this machine was sent on board to us at long reach, & it was placed conveniently to be thrown overboard instantly; he got hold of this & kept the bell ringing, till a boat was hoistd out which pickd him up & also the machine. that this is a useful thing the present instance prov'd, but it does not answer all the purposes the humane inventor meant it shou'd. The circular Corks near the middle were sufficiently

rents had carried us to within 3 leagues of the SE point of Enecheeou. Being tired with plying, I resolved to try if we could get what we wanted at this island, with this view, I sent the Master in a boat to Sound the coast, to look out for a landing place and fresh water, while we followed under an easy sail with the Ships. As soon as we were abreast or to the westward of the SE point, we found 30, 25 and 20 fathom water over a bottom of coral sand, a mile from the shore. At 10 o'clock the Master returned and reported that he had landed in one place, but could find no fresh water, and that there was anchorage all along the coast. Seeing a village a little farther down the coast, and some of the islanders who had come off to the Ships, informing us that there was fresh water I ran down and came to an anchor before it in 26 fathom water about three quarters of a mile from the shore. The SE point of the island bore S [65°] E 3 miles distant, the other extreme of the island bore NBE about 2 or 3 miles distant, a peaked hill in land NE½E and the island *Otaoora* which was discovered the preceding evening, bore S [61°] W distant [7] leagues.¹ PM sent Lieutenant Gore with three armed boats to look for the most convenient landing place and fresh water. In the evening he returned having landed at the Village above mentioned, and was conducted by some of the Indians to a well of water about half a mile inland; the quantity in the well was too inconsiderable for our purpose and the road to it exceeding bad.²

FRIDAY 30th. On the 30th I sent Mr Gore ashore again with a guard of Marines and a party to trade with the Natives for refreshments; I intended to have followed soon after and went from the Ship with that design, but the surf had increased so much, that I was fearful if I got ashore I should not get off again as really happened to the party

large & extended, for a man to sit upon, which by the Shot sinking & keeping the Pole upright, it was supposed he might easily do, & the motion of the Waves would then ring the Bell: but our most expert swimmers cou'd never sit upon the Corks, in attempting it they always upset the Pole; the only way to use it, was by holding any part by the hand, as if an Oar had been in the water: & by shaking it the Clapper of the bell would Strike.'—King, 27 January.

¹ Neither Chart LV nor its engraved copy marks the anchorage, but from these bearings and other indications it seems to have been not far from Leahi Point, towards the now disused village of Kamalino—or rather perhaps off a village a mile or two south of that. We must remember that Cook's distances are estimates. The SE point of the island is Cape Kawaihoa, 'the other extreme' must have been the little bulge, the most western point of the island, just north of Kamalino, which itself lies in lat. 21°50' N, long. 160°15' W. The 'peaked hill' was Kawaewae, 290 feet. The 'island *Otaoora*' was the bare and rocky islet Kaula, more like 6 than 7 leagues from Cook's position. Bligh must anyhow have landed not far from Kamalino. There are no permanent fresh water streams on the island.

² 'On G Clerke's coming on board & perceiving by some bustle in getting the Canoes out of his way, that he was a Chief, those on board crouch'd down & did not rise till they were told so to do. after staying on board some time many desir'd permission to leave a lock of their hair on the deck after which they all left us.'—King, 29 January. The lock of hair was for 'remembrance'.

that was ashore, the communication by our own boats being soon stopped. In the evening the party a shore made the Signal for the boats, sent them accordingly. Not long after they returned with a few yams and salt,¹ a tolerable quantity of both was procured during the day but the greatest part was lost in getting into the boats. The officer with about twenty men were left a shore; thus the very thing happened that I had above all others wished to prevent.² Most of what we got to day was brought off by the Natives and purchased along side the ship in exchange for Nails and pieces of iron hoops.³ About 10 or 11 o'clock the wind veered to the South and the sky seemed to forebode a storm; thinking we were rather too near the shore, took up the anchor and shoot into 42 fathom and there came to again. This precaution was unnecessary as the wind soon veered to NNE, where it blew a fresh gale with Squalls attended with very heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day, and the sea run so high that we had no manner of communication with the people on shore; even the Natives durst not venture out in their canoes. In the evening I sent the master in a boat up to the SE head, or point, to see if a boat could land under it, he returned with a favourable report, but too late to send for the party till the next morning, when I sent an order to Mr Gore, that if he could not embark the people where he was to march them up to the point. As the boat could not land a person swam a shore with the order; on the return of the boat I went myself with the Pinnace and Launch up to the point to bring the party on board, taking with me a Ram goat and two Ewes, a Boar and Sow pig of the English breed, the seeds of Millons, Pumpkins and onions. I landed with great ease under the west side of the point, and found the party already there, with a few of the Natives among them. There was one man whom Mr Gore had observed to have some command over the others, to him I gave the Goats, Pigs and seeds. I should have left these things at the other island, had we not been so unexpectedly driven from it. While the people were filling four water casks from a small stream occasioned by the late rain, I took a little walk into the island attended by the man above mentioned, and followed by two others carrying the two pigs. As soon as we got upon a rising ground I stopped to look round me, a woman on the other side

¹ The Hawaiians, alone among Polynesians, produced salt from sea-water by means of properly-constructed salt pans.

² "... the Surf broke so violently on the shore, that Mr Gore & the Marines did not venture to come off in the boats that were sent for them, & for what they had purchas'd, most of which was lost & spoilt in getting into the boats; the Captain was very uneasy at their staying on shore, being apprehensive, that his endeavours in hindring any connexions with the women would be now frustrat'd. . . .—King.

³ i.e. hoops.

of the vally where I landed, called to the men with me, on which the Chief began to mutter something like a prayer and the two men with the pigs continued to walk round me all the time, not less than ten or a dozen times before the other had finished. This ceremony being ended, we proceeded and presently met people coming from all parts, who, on the men with me calling to them laid down till I was out of sight.¹ The ground over which I walked was in a state of nature, very stony and the soil seemed poor; it was however covered with shrubs and plants, some of which sent forth the most fragrant smell I had any were met with in this sea. After the water casks were filled and got into the boat, and purchasing from the Natives a few roots, a little salt and salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island again the next day. But about 7 o'clock in the evening, the anchor started and the Ship drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out it was some time before the anchor was at the bows, and then we had the Launch to hoist up along side before we could make sail, so that at day-break the next morning we were three leagues to leeward of our last station. And foreseeing that it would require some time to recover it, more at least than I chused to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us² which was done about Noon when we stood away to the Northward. Thus after spending more time about these islands than was necessary to have answered all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had compleated our Water, and got from them such a quantity of refreshments as the inhabitants were able and willing to supply us with. But as it was we procured from them full three weeks provisions and Captain Clerke got roots sufficient for two months or upwards.³

[Mon. 2]

¹ It is difficult to say what would be in the minds of an island people at any particular juncture nearly two hundred years ago, but the observances which Cook describes are such as would be associated with the presence of an *ali'i ai moku*, a chief of the highest or almost the highest rank, a 'king' or man with supreme powers. The highest chief of all carried in him some sort of godhead. Certainly in the presence of the *ali'i ai moku* people fell prone; and there seems no doubt that at this time Cook was regarded as an *ali'i ai moku* at the least.

² "... soon after Sunset, the Resolution was drove off the Bank, and went to Sea; hoisted her Lights throughout the Night, but at Sunrise, saw her at a great distance in the Offing, bearing WBS. We had now a fine breeze with pleasant Weather, and the Wind having been off shore for some time, there appears very little Surf to interrupt any business we might wish to transact. A great Number of the Natives came off in their Canoes to traffic for Yams, Hogs &c. but I was under the necessity of getting away to Sea and joining my Comodore, so took my Anchor up and stood for him with all Sail."—Clerke, 2 February.

³ Of the vegetables bought at 'Towi', Gilbert remarks (p. 114) that the yams would keep good at sea for two to three months; the plantains or bananas, if brought away green, two to three weeks; the sweet potatoes (*uala*, New Zealand *kumara*) not above ten days; bread-fruit only two or three days. Yams were therefore a most valuable sea-store, though anything, while it lasted, was better than the supplies packed in England. The worst article of provisions on board was peas, because they had been kiln-dried to keep them, 'which almost rendered them use less: for after being in the copper six hours they were very little softer than at first, and only just ting'd the water they were boild in . . .'.—Gilbert, p. 116.

These five Islands, *Atoui*, *Eneehēou*, *Orrehoua*, *Otaoora* and *Wouahoo*, names by which they are known to the Natives, I named *Sandwich Islands*, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. They are situated between the Latitude of $21^{\circ}30'$ and $22^{\circ}15' N$ and between the Longitude of $199^{\circ}20'$ and $201^{\circ}30'$ East. *Wouahoo*, which is the Easternmost and lies in the Latitude of $21^{\circ}36'$ we knew no more of than that it is high land and inhabited. *Atoui*, which is the largest,¹ is about leagues in circuit, it is, as I have already observed also high land and without wood, except what may be in the Mountains which we had no opportunity to examine. This island produceth all the sorts of fruit and roots that are found at Otaheite or any other of the South sea islands, but nothing seemed to be in great plenty, but Potatoes, which are the largest I ever saw, some being as big as a mans head. They have a sweet taste but are not so farinaceous as our best potatoes; perhaps many of those we got were not come to their full perfection. I am told these potatoes are very common in Virginia and other parts of North America and known by the name of spanish potatoes.² The Tara or eddy root, is also in tolerable plenty and the best I ever tasted. The tame Animals are hogs, dogs and fowls, all of the same kind as at Otaheite and equally as good. We saw no other wild animals than rats,³ small lizards and birds; but as we did not penetrate into the country, we neither know in what plenty no[r] variety they may have of the latter. The road or anchoring place is on the sw side of the island about 6 Miles from the west end, before the Village of *Wymoa*.⁴ So far as we sounded we found the bank all a fine greysand and free from rocks, except a little to the Eastward of the Village where there spits out a shoal on which are some rocks and breakers, but they are not far from the shore. This Road would be intirely sheltered from the trade wind did not the hieght of the land, over which it cannot blow alter its direction and make it follow that of the coast; so that it blows at NE on the one side of the island and at ESE or SE on the other, falling obliquely upon the shore. Thus this road, tho' situated on the lee side of the island, is a little exposed to the trade wind, but for all this it is not a bad place.⁵

¹ Oahu is larger than Kauai, but Cook saw nothing of Oahu beyond a glimpse of coastline.

² He refers of course to the 'sweet potato', *kumara* or '*uala*', which was widespread in the Americas, and must have come thence to Polynesia. Its name in north Peru is *kumar*. The first Europeans to see it were the Spaniards in the West Indies about 1500, and its name there was *batata*; the first reference to it in O.E.D. as the 'Spanish potato' is dated 1599. It is rather curious that Cook, who had been eating *kumara* since 1769, seems to treat them now almost as something new.

³ The only other mammal to be found in Hawaii was a bat. The rat is still extant—*Rattus hawaiiensis*.

⁴ Waimea.

⁵ Cf. p. 272, n. 3 above.

Eneehēou lies [7] leagues to the westward of *Atoui*¹ it is not above [15] leagues in circuit, its chief produce is yams at least we got nothing else at it, except salt which the natives call *Patai*² and which is produced in salt ponds. With it they cure both fish and pork, the salt fish we got from them kept very well and was found to be very good. One of my Midshipmen got from one of the natives of *Atoui* a piece of Salt-petre or what he took to be Saltpetre,³ but he lost it in swimming off to the boat. This island is mostly low land, except the part facing *Atoui* which rises directly from the Sea to a good height, as does also the SE point which terminates in a round hill.⁴ It was on the west side of this point where we anchored.

Orrehoua, is a small elevated island laying close to the North side of *Eneehēou*, and *Otaoora* is another small elevated island lying⁵ leagues from the SE point of *Eneehēou* in the direction of s 69° w. They tell us it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants.

Besides these five islands, we got some information of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood of these, called *Tammata pappa*.⁶

I have already observed that these people are of the same nation as the people of Otaheite and many others of the South sea islands, consequently they differ but little from them in their persons. These have a darker hue than the generality of the Otahetians, which may be owing to their being more exposed to the Sun and wearing less cloathing. How shall we account for this Nation spreading it self so far over this Vast ocean? We find them from New Zealand to the South, to these islands to the North and from Easter Island to the Hebrides; an extent of 60° of latitude or twelve hundred leagues north and south and 83° of longitude or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues east and west, how much farther is not known, but we may safely conclude that they extend to the west beyond the Hebrides.⁷

¹ Note by Douglas for insertion of words before '*Atoui*': 'Cap^t King's addition / the anchoring Place at'.

² In modern Hawaiian, *pa'akai*.

³ Saltpetre has never been found on Kauai. A bit of volcanic rock picked up casually might, Dr Gordon A. Macdonald of the University of Hawaii informs me, possibly have contained sodium sulphate or very fine-grained white opal—which would be near enough to saltpetre for a midshipman.

⁴ Cape Kawaihoa is a hill about 550 feet high, steep to the sea.

⁵ MS blank. Douglas notes, 'Cap^t King's addition / four or five'.

⁶ See p. 604, n. 4 below.

⁷ This was of course a subject that kept on nagging at Cook, and not unnaturally. He had already given his sentiments on it, briefly, in recording his call at Atiu on the present voyage, p. 87 above. He had first asked himself the question, or at least first recorded it, on leaving New Zealand in April 1770—I, p. 288. In the New Hebrides he thought he had seen some likeness between the Tanese and the Tongans, though he proceeded to doubt this—II, p. 503 and p. 504, n. 1. He may now almost be said to foreshadow the 'Polynesian triangle'—with its western side thrown a good deal out of line, certainly. The Hawaiian group was traditionally settled from Tahiti.

These people are scanty in their cloathing, very few of the Men wear any thing more than the Maro, but the women have a piece of cloth wrapped round the waist, so as to hang down like a petticoat as low as the knee; all the rest of the body is naked.¹ Thier ornaments are bracelets, necklaces and Amulets, which are made of shells, bone or stone; They have also neat Tippetts made of red and yellow feathers, and Caps and Cloaks covered with the same or some other feathers; the cloakes, reach to about the middle of the back, and are like the short cloakes worn by the women in England, or like the riding cloaks worn in Spain. The Caps are made so as to fit very close to the head with a semicircular protuberance on the crown exactly like the helmets of old. These and also the cloaks they set so high a Value upon that I could not procure one, some were however got.²

Tattooing or staining the skin is practised here, but not in a high degree, nor does it appear to be directed by any particular mode but rather by fancy. The figures were straight lines, Stars &c^a and many had the figure of the *Taame*³ or brea[s]t plate of Tahiete, though we saw it not among them. The hair is in general black were they not to stain it,⁴ as at the Friendly islands; it is worn in different forms, some have it long and some short, and some both; but the general fashion, among the women in particular, is to have it long before and short behind. Some of the men had a kind of wig made of human hair

¹ The male garment was the *maro* or *malo*; the female the *pa'u*. Ellis, I, p. 169, has the remark, 'The women were rather ordinary, and in general masculine, and will scarce bear a comparison with the fair dames of Tahitee'.

² These famous feather-covered garments (*ahu-ula*, cloaks, and *mahiole*, caps or helmets) were worn only by chiefs; they were indeed highly valuable, made with exceeding skill, and could be not only exceedingly beautiful, but a quite gorgeous panoply—as anyone will agree who has seen a reasonably well preserved specimen in a museum. The engraving, pl. LXIV in *Voyage*, III, 'A Man of the Sandwich Islands', shows both a helmet and the top of a cloak. For the cloaks, the feathers were attached to a fine network of *Olonia* (*Touchardia latifolia*) fibres; for the helmets, to a woven base of 'Ie'ie vine (*Freycinetia arborea*) rootlets. The red feathers came from the 'I'iwi (*Vestiaria coccinea*) and (a darker red) the 'Apapane (*Himatione sanguinea*); the yellow ones from the 'O'o (*Moho nobilis*) and the now extinct Mamo (*Drepanis pacifica*). We get an amusing note in Bayly T, p. 76 (4 February), exhibiting at once the value of this feather work and his irritation with Burney: 'While I was on deck observing of Az^{ns} in the evening between 4 & 5 o'clock my Cabbins was robbed of a red Cap made of Feathers. I suspect the 1st [?] L^t. We may suspect rather some Hawaiian, or even British, commoner.—For the best technical discussion, see Buck, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 215–50; also W. T. Brigham, *Hawaiian Feather Work* (B. P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1899).

³ *tamai*. It was probably a fan design, the fan used by a Hawaiian chief having somewhat the form of the Tahitian *taumi*, or feather gorget. See Emory, 'Hawaiian Tattooing' (*Occasional Papers of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Vol. XVIII, No. 17 (Honolulu 1946)). This 'breast plate' or crescentic figure was also used a good deal in the designs of feather cloaks, yellow (the regal colour) on red.

⁴ King, *Voyage*, III, p. 134, writes (almost directly quoting from Samwell), 'They daub their hair with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth; and, in time, changes it to a pale yellow colour'. See also pp. 1179–80 below.

twisted together into a number of long tails, each a finger thick that hung down as low as the breach.¹ Some of the men had long beards but the general custom was to have it short. They are an open, candid, active people and the most expert swimmers we had met with; in which they are taught from their very birth: It was very common for women with infants at the breast to come off in Canoes to look at the Ships, and when the surf was so high that they could not land them in the Canoe they used to leap over board with the child in their arms and make their way a shore through a surf that looked dreadful. It hath been mentioned that I did not see a chief of note, there were however several on Atoui and one of them called Tamahano, made Captain Clerke a visit after I had left the island. He came off in a double canoe, and like the King of the Friendly islands, paid no regard to those who happened to lay in his way but ran against or over them without endeavouring in the least to avoid them; nor could they get out of his way as the people in them were obliged to lay down till he had passed. His attendants helped him into the Ship and placed him on the gangway, and were so careful of him that they stood round him with their hands locked with each other, not suffering any one to come near him but Captain Clerke. He was a young man, clothed from head to foot and accompanied by a young woman, suppos'd to be his wife. Captain Clerke made him some suitable presents and in return he gave him a large Cava bowl, that was supported by two car[v]ed men, neither ill designed nor executed.²

¹ Buck, *Arts and Crafts*, p. 562, reproduces a photograph of a small bundle of these 'long tails', which looks as if it may be 'a finger thick'.

² Bayly writes twice about this chief, 24 January: 'he is a Young man about 2 or 3 & 20, & a square well set man—about 5^{ft} 9ⁱⁿ or 10^{ft} high & well limb'd & proportion'd, He had very regular features, & long hair hanging down on his shoulders His skin was rather darker than the generality of his Subjects; but it was very soft & smooth. His Chiefs were exceeding careful of him & would not suffer him to go any farther than the gangway of the Ship after helping him very carefully up the Side, where they stood round him with their hands and Arms extend[ed] across each other, to prevent his receiv[ing] any harm from any thing.'—Bayly T, p. 158.—'After a great deal of intreaty and a large Nail being given him he came up the side, his chiefs some laid hold of his legs & Arms As many as could get hold of him to prevent any accident happening to him. he came as far as the gangway, & would have come into the Ship, but his people would not let him stir an Inch farther, nor suffer any one to come near him but me having taken me for the Aree de hoi or king of the ship (I having on a red jacket.) I kissed him According to their custom, & he presented me with a curious Yava bowl as captain, but I undeceived him & told him that Cap^t Clerke was the Aree de hoi or King of the Ship, & consequently gave him the bowl—then he Nosed with Cap^t Clerke, but the people would not suffer any other person to come near him so great was their care & attention to him. Cap^t Clerke gave him a little piece of red bay's & some other trifles. . . . '—Bayly JT, p. 59. Clerke has his word: 'I was very desirous of laughing them out of these ridiculous fears; I said all I cou'd, then took him by the hand, and clap'd him upon the Shoulder; upon which they gently took away my hand, and beg'd I wou'd not touch him'. The high chief's person was very sacred. The identity of this young notable provides a little puzzle. 'Kumahana, the son of Peleioholani, to whom the name most probably corresponds, was doubtless then on Kauai, if alive, whither he had fled after being dethroned on Oahu by his chiefs and subjects in 1773; but

Cava or Ava-Ava, as it is called at Otahiete is prepared and drank here as at the other islands. Captain Clerk could not prevail upon him to go below, nor move from the place he was first fixed in; at length after a short stay he was conducted a shore in the same manner as he came on board. The next day several messages came off to Captain Clerke, desiring him to go ashore, and acquainting him that the Cheif had got a large present for him; but being anxious to get to sea did not go.

We had good reason to think that all the islands are subject or belong to the great men of Atoui, though the people of Eheenecou, told us, they sometimes fought with them.¹ Their weapons are Spears or lances, some barbed at one end and flatened to a point at the other, and a short instrument something like a dagger about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one, or both ends and secured to the hand by a string: the use of this weapon is to stab in close fighting and seems well adapted for the purpose. Such were the weapons they offered to us for sale, they may have other which we did not see. Some of these were made of a redish dark coloured wood not unlike Mahogany.²

Although we saw very few trees except the Cocoanut tree, they must have some of a good size on which they make their Canoes; as they are in general about twenty four feet long and the bottom for the most part formed of one piece, hollowed out to about an inch, or an inch and a half thick, and brought to a point at each end: the sides consi[s]ts of three boards, each about an inch thick and neatly fited and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities of both head and stern is a little raised, and both are made sharp, something like a wedge but flatenes more abruptly, so that the two side boards join each other side by side for more than a foot; but the drawing will explain this better than words. As they are not more than fifteen or eighteen inches broad, those that go single have out riggers, which

he was not "a young man" at the time. If he had died in the interval between his deposition and 1778, it is possible that his son *Kaneoneo* might, according to frequent usage, have assumed his father's name, or presented himself under that name on board of the "Discovery" . . . —Fornander, II, p. 164, n. 6. This identification seems to be confirmed by Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854* (Honolulu 1938), p. 30, n. 12. Kaneoneo's rank was of the most exalted kind, his parents being brother and sister: hence the distress when Clerke treated him so jovially. Cf. p. 1227, n. 3 below.

¹ 'All the islands' were certainly not subject to Kauai. But Kauai and Niihau formed one of the four kingdoms that existed in the group at this time. Niihau, a dependency of Kauai, does not figure prominently in the Hawaiian story.

² There were different sort of spears with different names; there were also different sorts of daggers, called generally *pahoa*. The wood Cook refers to was *Kauila* (*Alphitonia ponderosa*), or, as Samwell says, *Koa* (*Acacia koa*); both of which polish like mahogany. Clubs (many made more formidable with shark's teeth) and slings were also used as weapons.

are shaped and fited with more judgement than any I had beforeseen.¹ They are rowed by paddles and some have a light triangler sail, like those of the Friendly islands, extended to a mast and boom.

Their houses are not unlike oblong corn stacks,² they are of various sizes from forty or fifty feet long and twenty or thirty broad to little huts: they have low walls and a high roof consi[s]ting of two flat sides inclining to each other, and terminating in a ridge like the thatched houses in England. The framing is of wood, and both walls and roof consi[s]ts of Course dry grass which is very closely put together so that they appear to afford too warm a retreat for the climate. The door is so low that a man can hardly get in without going upon his hands and knees,³ and they have no other light except what may come through the crevices in the wall; some of our gentlemen observed that when they wanted light they made a hole in the wall and closed it again when they had done with it. The floor is covered with dry hay and upon this they spread Mats to sleep upon. A few gourds and wooden bowls, make up their whole catalouge of houshold utensils.⁴ Their mats are both strong and fine and some are neatly coloured. But what they most excell in colouring is cloth, which, like the cloth of the other islands, is made of bark, none of it is remarkably fine but it is all glazed and prented with different Colours, which are so disposed as to have a pritty and pleasing effect; they have a very great variety of patterns and many of them are extremely beautiful.⁵ Of this cloth they have of different degrees of thickness, but no large

¹ Cf. Ellis, I, pp. 178-9: the Hawaiian canoes, he says, 'are the neatest we ever saw, and composed of two different coloured woods, the bottom being dark, the upper part light, and furnished with an out-rigger'. The two colours are clearly shown in Webber's canoe drawings. They were due, however, to the fact that while the hull of the canoe was generally made from the trunk of the great tree called *Koa* (*Acacia koa*), it was also painted black with a mixture of plant juices and charcoal, and dressed with the oil of the Kukui (Tahitian Tutui) nut. Only after this was done was the rest of the canoe built up on the dug-out hull. The wash-strakes, often of breadfruit or Ahakea (*Bobea* spp.) were kept their original light colour or else stained yellow. Canoe-construction is described in Buck, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 253-83; and A. C. Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, I (Honolulu, 1936), pp. 6-26.

² King also uses this simile, and adds the interesting note, 'Their dwellings instead of being scatterd as at the other Islands, are here connect'd into Villages . . .'

³ This last detail reminds us of the common houses of New Zealand. The houses appear in more than one shape in Webber's drawings, e.g. *Voyage*, II, pl. XXXV—in which, however, the doors do not seem so small as Cook says. A variety of hard woods could be used for the framing. The preferred thatch was Pili grass (*Heteropogon contortus*), but other grasses and sedges, or pandanus, sugar-cane leaves and so on, might be used.

⁴ This note on gourds and bowls is a significant one for the Hawaiian domestic economy. The Hawaiian *poi*, a standard food of mashed taro diluted with water, was a liquid, unlike the other Polynesian foods; and so gourds, and gourd-shaped bowls, were a distinctive Hawaiian utensil. There were other household utensils that Cook missed, like knives and scrapers and pounders.

⁵ 'These people Had a great Quantity of Cloths, & was figured with more ta[s]te & variety, then any we had seen—some resembling rich Tapestry, other peices, like fine

pieces like what is at the other islands, the thickest sort is in general made in small pieces, several of which are sewed together to make a dress. We had no opportunity to see how it was Coloured and prented nor did we see any of the instruments with which it is done, by which we might form a judgement.¹

As to their Religion, I can add nothing to what has been already mentioned, and we have fewer lights to form a judgement of the Government, but from the subordination that was observed, there is great reason to believe that it is of the same nature as at the other islands.² We had no opportunity to see any of their amusements and the only musical instruments that was seen among them was a hollow vessel of wood like a platter and two sticks, on these one of our gentlemen saw a man play: one of the sticks he held as we do a fiddle and struck it with the other, which was smaller and something like a drum stick and at the same time beat with his foot upon the hollow Vessel and produced a tune that was by no means disagreeable.³ This Musick was accompanied with a song, sung by some women and had a pleasing and tender effect. Another instrument was seen among them, but it can scarcely be called an instrument of music; this was a small gourd with some pebblestones in it, which they shake in the hand like a child's rattle

Spotted muslin. . . .—Martin, 21 January.—‘the peices of Cloth are very narrow, but much thicker than what is manufactured at Otaheite; they have here some thin cloth, but it is full of holes & not usd as a dress; however inferior their cloth may be in size & fineness, it far surpasses any we have seen in the variety & beauty of its patterns, which often show an Elegance, & taste that woud lead one to suppose their figures borrowd from the productions of more enlightend Nations: & seeing their strips of cloth exposd to sail [sic] at a distance, one might suppose oneself transportd in a Linen drapers shop; where the greatest number of patterns are exhibit'd to his View: Tedious as it must be to stain all these various patterns by the hand as at Otaheite, yet it is more probable that this is done by hand, than by a pattern from which it is print'd; & as on a close examination it is perceiv'd not to be regular enough for a regular machine. . . .’—King. On this subject see also note following.

¹ Aesthetically, *tapa* or *kapa* was one of the glories of Hawaii. *Broussonetia papyrifera* (Hawaiian Wauke, Tahitian Aute) was extensively used, but so were plants unknown in the other islands. There was great variety of texture, and an enormous variety of design in coloured decoration. The *tapa*-beaters themselves were incised with different designs, rather than the straight lines used elsewhere, and thus gave the cloth a pleasing range of ‘water-marks’. Whole sheets of *tapa* were covered with colour by light brushing; decorative designs were applied, it seems clear, mainly by ‘block-printing’ with bamboo stamps. Colours—red, yellow, black, pink, green, pale blue, were obtained from dye plants, ochre and charcoal. Even the technical terms used in connection with *tapa* reached an extraordinary number. The subject has been exhaustively treated and illustrated by Brigham, *Ka Hana Kapa—the Making of Bark-cloth in Hawaii* (B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem., Vol. 3, Honolulu, 1911); and by Buck, *Arts and Crafts*, pp. 166–213. But on the application of patterns, see also pp. 594, 625 below.

² See Introduction, p. cxix above. On religion cf. King, pp. 620–21 below.

³ This sentence describes instruments used to accompany and keep time to the dance called *hula ka la'au*, after the ‘hula sticks’ (*ka la'au*, ‘strike wood’). The ‘hollow vessel of wood’, a footboard or treadle, was the fundamental time-keeping instrument. One feels dubious about the ‘tune’.

and are used, as they told us, at their dances.¹ They must have some game in which they use bowls as we found among them some which were in the shape of Cheeses, about an inch and a half thick and three and an half in the diameter. Some are made of stone others of clay hardened in the fire and then glazed. But though some of these bowls are made of Clay we did not find they had any Earthen vessels.²

Such of their working instruments or tools which I saw were the same as at the other islands, their hatchets or adzes exactly so, and seemed to be of the same kind of black stone, but they had others that were made of a clay coloured stone.³ The only iron tools or indeed pieces of iron seen among them, which they were supposed to have before our arrival, was a piece of iron hoop about three inches long, fitted into a wooden handle in the same manner as their stone adzes and a nother edge tool which was supposed to have be[en] made of the point of a broad sword. This, and their knowing the use of iron made some imagine that we were not the first Ships that had been at these islands, on the other hand the very great surprise they shewed at the sight of the ships and their total ignorance of fire arms seemed to prove the contrary.⁴ There are many ways by which these islands as

¹ The gourd rattle, ‘*uli'uli*, contained seeds; it had a handle ending in a circular fringe of cock's feathers. One is held by the dancer in Webber's picture, *Voyage*, III, pl. LXII; see also pl. LXVII.

² These discs, *maika* or ‘*ulumaiika* were invariably of stone, though different sorts of stone were used. Cook must have got the idea of fire-hardened and glazed clay from the peculiar appearance of some polished stone. They were slightly convex on both sides, and bowled on a prepared course, either for distance, or to pass through a pair of sticks, at the end. Earthenware was certainly not made, or known before the advent of Europeans.

³ The preferred stone for adzes was a dark, heavy, close-grained basalt called *ala*.

⁴ ‘This morning one of the Midshipmen purchased of the Natives, a piece of Iron lash'd into a handle for a cutting Instrument; it seems to me a piece of the Blade of a Cutlass; it has by no means the appearance of a modern acquisition, it looks to have been a good deal used and long in its present State; the Midshipman, who is one of the best Proficients in the Otaheite Language we have among us, demanded of the Man where he got it; the Indian pointed away to the SE:ward, where he says there's an Island called Tai, from whence it came.’—Clerke, 23 January. But the Kauai *tai* means sea. There was no island to the south-east to be considered: the current from the south-east had floated some wreckage ashore containing this particular piece of iron—which Stokes identifies as a Japanese *debabocho* or fish-knife.—J. F. G. Stokes, ‘Iron with the Early Hawaiians’, in *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 18 (Honolulu 1931). There are many other references to the same subject. An ‘Arrea told us’, writes Edgar a year later, 3 February 1779, ‘that we were the Only Ship's or white People they ever saw, or heard of: he was Ask'd how they came by the Iron we saw in their possession, he told us it came on shore fix'd in pieces of wood but from whence it came they know not, he told us that about 5 Moon's ago: there was a Large piece of wood, came on shore, with a Bolt, in it, which they made a Daggar of: it was very well beat Out, into the form of their own wooden daggar's we saw a great many Daggar's beat out, of our long spike Nail's we left here last Year . . .’. The natives valued iron exceedingly, ‘particularly the nails from which circumstance we Imagine these Islands to have been Visited [sic] by some European ship or that they may have had the knowledge of Iron from some neighbouring Island that may have been Visited, Indeed one Circumstance Induced us to think the latter to be the case for although they seemd to know the use of Iron so well, they Appeard Ignorant of and very much Astonis'd at every thing else they saw, which probably woud not have been the case had they been

well as many others, may come by the knowledge of iron without being visited by shipping; for without mentioning the intercourse which one group may have with another, is there not the whole coast of America to windward, where the Spaniards have been settled for more than two hundred years and where Shipwrecks must and have frequently happened. It therefore cannot be thought an extraordinary thing for part of such wrecks with iron in it, to be now and then cast upon islands, scattered about this vast ocean; the distance is no argument whatever against it; but even if it was, it would not destroy it, as many things containing iron may be thrown out, or lost from ships that have made passages across this ocean, such as the loss of a mast and many other things which must be obvious to every one. But what confirms it [is] one of my people seeing some wood in one of the houses at Wymoa, which he judged to be fir; it had been eat by the worm and the people made him understand that it was driven a shore by the waves of the sea.¹

Spain may probably reap some benefit by the discovery of these islands, as they are extremely well situated for the Ships sailing from New Spain to the Philippine Islands to touch and refresh at, being about midway between Acapulco and the Ladrone islands. It is necessary to mention that no dependence can be placed, in the hogs taken on board at these islands, for they will neither thrive nor live on board a ship. This was one great inducement to my leaving of the English breed as the hogs we got at Otaheite, that were of the Spanish breed, thrived and fed on board the Ship as well as our own, at the very time that others were pining away and dying daily.

The Longitude of these islands is determined by Seventy two sets of Lunar observations, some made at anchor in the Road of Wymoa, others made before we arrived and after we left it and reduced to it by the watch, or Timekeeper. By the mean result of these observations the Longit. of the road is 200°13' E

aquainted with Europeans Before our arrival—Portlock, 20 January. But the presence of iron and the shape of the feather helmets of course immediately convinced some persons in the ships of an earlier Spanish discovery. Harvey in the *Discovery* headed his entry for 21 January 'Mandana Isl^{ds}, or Sandwich's Isl^{ds}'. The Hawaiian historians, Malo and Kamakau, both accept it that the pre-Cook iron came on drift-wood.

¹ This could easily happen to a log from the great forests of the north-western sea-board of America, coming down the American coast in the California current till it met the North Sub-tropical current to be carried across the ocean. The prevailing wind would also help. Oregon pine flotsam was in fact frequently washed up on the shores of Kauai and Niihau and big logs were greatly treasured for their size as material for canoes. Vancouver recounts (*Voyage of Discovery*, II, p. 219) meeting a chief who had such a log, and after waiting in vain for another to match it in a double canoe, reluctantly made it into one of the biggest outriggers ever built in the islands, 61½ feet long.

Time-keeper { Greenwich rate . . . 202 00
Ulietea rate 200 21¹

The Latitude by the mean of two
Meridⁿ observations of the Sun } 21°56'15 N.

The observations for the variation of the Compass did not agree very well among themselves, its true they were not all made in the same spot, the different situations could however make very little difference, but the whole will be best seen in the following table.

TIME	LAT.	LONG.	COMPASS VARIATION		MEAN
			EAST		VARIATION
Jan ^{ry} 18 th AM	21° 8	200° 41	<div>Gregry 10° 10' 10"</div> <div>Knights 9 20 5</div> <div>Martins 10 4 40</div>	<div>9° 51' 38"</div> <div>10 37 20</div> <div>9 26 57</div> <div>11 12 50</div>	
19 PM	21 51	200 20	<div>Knight 10 02 10</div> <div>Greg 11 12 30</div>		
28 AM	21 22	199 56	<div>Greg 9 01 20</div> <div>Knight 9 01 25</div> <div>Mar 10 18 05</div>		
28 PM	21 36	199 50	<div>Greg 11 21 15</div> <div>Knight 10 40 00</div> <div>Mar 11 37 15</div>		
Means	21 29	200 12	10 17 11 E	
Jan ^{ry} 18	21 12	200 41	North end of the Needle diped 42° 01' 7"		

The Tides are so inconsiderable that with the great surf which broke against the shore, it was hardly possible to tell at any time whether it was high, or low-water or that the water was ebbing or flowing. On the South side of Atoui, we generally found a current setting to the westward, or N. Westward. But when at anchor off Enee-hee-ou it set nearly NW and SE six hours one way and six the other and so strong as to make the Ships tend, tho the wind blew fresh. This was certainly a regular tide and so far as I could judge the flood came from the NW.

After the *Discovery* had joined us I stood away to the Northward Mon. 2 close hauled with a gentle gale Easterly. On the 7th being in the Sat. 7

¹ This was certainly nearest to the truth—measured on the modern chart, it was about 2 minutes out.