



PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN COOK
by Nathaniel Dance, 1776

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF
THE *ENDEAVOUR*

1768-1771

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

THEFT AND KIDNAPPING

Be sure to scan the footnotes, as they often contain fascinating additional excerpts from other members of the officers and crew.

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me sensible that I must give her a hatchet & then she would give me a Pig. I agree'd to her plan and the Pig was produced.¹

[MAY 1769]

MONDAY May the 1st. This morning Tootaha came on board the Ship and was very desirous of seeing into every Chest and Drawer that was in the Cabbin. I satisfied his curiosity so far as to open most of those that belong'd to me, he saw several things that he took a fancy to and collected them together, but at last he cast his eye upon the Adze I had from Mr Stephens² that was made in imitation of one of their Stone Adzes or axes, the moment he lay his hands upon it he of his own accord put away every thing he had got before and ask'd me if I would give him that, which I very readily did and he went away without asking for any one thing more, which I by experience knew was a sure sign that he was well pleased with what he had got.

This day one of the Natives who appear'd to be a Chief dined with us as he had done some days before, but than there were always some Women present and one or a nother of them put the Victuals into his mouth but this day there happen'd to be none to perform that office; when he was helpt to Victuals and desired to eat he sat in the chair like a Stattute without once attempting to put one morsel to his mouth and would certainly have gone without his dinner if one of the Servants had not fed him.³ We have often found the Women very officious in feeding of us, from which it would seem that it is a Custom upon some occasions for them to feed the Chiefs, however this is the only instance of that kind we have seen, or that they could not help themselves as well as any of us.

This afternoon we set up the Observatory and took the Astronomical⁴ Quad^t a shore for the first time, together with some other Instruments. The Fort being no[w] finished and made as Tenable⁵ as the Time, Nature and situation of the ground, and materials we had to work upon would admit of. The North and south parts consisted of a Bank of earth $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high on the inside, and a Ditch without, 10 feet broad and 6 feet deep: on the west side facing the Bay a Bank of earth 4 feet high and Pallisades upon that, but no ditch the works

¹ *Queen Obaria* . . . was produced not in AMG: a later addition to the MS.

² Evidently this was an iron, or perhaps steel, adze. [Sir] Philip Stephens (1725-1809) taken as an able young man by Anson from the Victualling Office into the Admiralty, was secretary from 1763 to 1795. He was M.P. for Sandwich 1768-1806, F.R.S. 1771, and on resigning his secretaryship was made a baronet and one of the lords of the Admiralty.

³ Probably the chief was at this time under some special *tapu*, which made it impossible or him to touch food with his fingers. *Tapu* was a complicated affair: cf. 19 October below.

⁴ *M Astronomical*.

⁵ AMG *Tenatable*.

being at highwater mark: on the East side upon the Bank of the River was place'd a double row of casks: and as this was the weakest side the 2 four pounders were planted there, and the whole was defended besides these 2 guns with 6 Swivels and generally about 45 Men with small arms including the officers and gentlemen who resided aShore.¹ I now thought my self perfectly secure from any thing these people could attempt.

TUESDAY 2nd. This morning about 9 oClock when Mr Green and I went to set up the Quad^t it was not to be found, it had never been taken out of the Packing case (which was abt 18 Inches square), sence it came from Mr Bird the Maker,² and the whole was pretty heavy, so that it was a matter of astonishment to us all how it could be taken away, as a Centinal stood the whole night within 5 yards of the door of the Tent where it was put together with several other Instruments but none of them was missing but this. However it was not long before we got information that one of the natives had taken it away and carried it to the Eastward. Immediatly a resolution was taken to detain all the large Canoes that were in the Bay, and to seize upon Tootaha and some others of the Principle people and keep them in Custody untill the Quad^t was produce'd, but this last we did not think proper immediatly to put in execution as we had only Obaria in our power and the detaining of her by force would have alarm'd all the rest. In the meantime Mr Banks (who is always very alert upon all occasions wherein the Natives are concern'd) and Mr Green went into the woods to enquire of Toobouratomita which way and where the Quadrant was gone; I very soon was inform'd that

¹ Hicks gives us the inside arrangements: 'Our Works was finished the two Ends having a Wall of Turf and Mudd the Front Pallasaded the back a line of Water Cask; two four Pounders pointed to the Country & 6 Swivels to flank the Walls. In the front or West side Mr Banks's Bell Tent & two Markies N^o end the Observatory, NW Corner Armors Forge, Oven & Cook Room the S^o end a Tent for the Ships Company, East Side a Tent for Capt^t Observer and Officers, without the Works a Tent for the Cooper & Sailmaker to Work in.'—Turnbull MS.—'The sandy ground, on which the fort stood, was very troublesome when the wind was high.'—Parkinson, p. 16 n. Parkinson's drawing of the fort was much 'improved' by the engraver for inclusion in his book, the walls being considerably heightened, the ditch omitted, and a fancy landscape added behind. Cook's own, more literal, rendering, Add. MS 7085.8—where he gives both plan and elevation—is much to be preferred. See Chart VI.

² This was John Bird (1709-76), the mathematical instrument maker who was particularly celebrated for his astronomical quadrants. In early life a Durham cloth-weaver, he became interested in engraving dial-plates for clocks, and rapidly displayed a talent for delicate and precise work which brought him European fame. The brass quadrant of eight foot radius he made in 1749-50 for James Bradley, the astronomer royal, as part of the refitting of the Royal Observatory, 'marked an epoch in practical astronomy' (*D.N.B.*); he was thenceforth closely associated with Bradley's discoveries, while the chief continental observatories hastened to order his handiwork. He was the author of *The Method of dividing Astronomical Instruments* (1767) and *The Method of constructing Mural Quadrants* (1768), both published by the commissioners of longitude. He made the astronomical quadrant that Cook used in Newfoundland.

these Three were gone to the Eastward in quest of it and some time after I follow'd my self with a small party of Men, but before I went away I gave orders that if Tootaha came either to the Ship or the Fort he was not to be detain'd, for I found that he had no hand in taking away the Quadrant and that there was almost a certainty of getting it again. I met Mr Banks and Mr Green about 4 Miles from the Fort returning with the Quadrant, this was about Sunset and we all got back to the Fort about 8 oClock, where I found Tootaha in Custody and a Number of the Natives Crowding about the gate of the Fort. My going into the Woods with a party of arm'd men so alarm'd the Natives that in the evening they began to move off with their effects and a double Canoe puting off from the Bottom of the Bay was observ'd by the Ship and a boat sent after her, in this Canoe happen'd to be Tootaha and as soon as our boat came up with her he and all the people that were in the Canoe jump'd over board, and he only was taken up and brought on board the Ship together with the Canoe, the rest were permitted to swim ashore. From the Ship Tootaha was sent to the Fort, where Mr Hicks thought proper to detain him untill I return'd. The scene between Toobouratomita and Tootaha when the former came into the Fort and found the latter in custody, was really moveing, they wept over each other for some time, as for Tootaha he was so far prepossess'd with the thought that he was to be kill'd that he could not be made sensible to the contrary till he was carried out of the Fort to the people, many of whom express'd their joy by embracing him; and after all he would not go away untill he had given us two Hoggs notwithstanding we did all in our power to hinder him, for it is very certain that the treatment he had met with from us did not merit such a reward. However we had it in our power to make him a present of equal Value whenever we pleased.

We had now time to consider how the quadrant was Stolen: it is very probable that the man who took it had seen the box brought into the Tent or else had been well inform'd by others and had from that moment resolved to steal it, for about sunset last night a man was seen crawling a long the bank of the River behind the Fort, but on being spoken to he went away; however it is very clear that he was watching for an opportunity to get into the Fort in the dusk of the evening before the centinals were call'd in and while the most of our people, after leaving of work, were diverting themselves with the natives. However my self and some others were never out of the Fort and I did not stir out of the Tent where the quad^t was till Sun set, then walk'd several times round the Inside of the Fort after which I went into Mr Banks's Markee and order'd the Drumer to beat the

Tattoo, in the doing of which he went 3 times round the works yet in one of these Short intervals when either mine or the drummers back [was] turn'd the man found means to carry off the Box for immidiately upon beating the Tattoo every boddy came into the Fort, the centinals call'd and place'd in the inside when it wold have been impossible for him to have done it. Indeed we found it difficult to beleive that a naked Indian frighten'd of f[i]rearms as they are, would have made such an attemp'd at the certain risk of his life.¹

WEDNESDAY 3rd. Very early this morning Tootaha sent for the Canoe we had detain'd yesterday and in the afternoon sent a man for an Ax and a Shirt in return for the Hogs he gave us last night, but as this man told us that Tootaha would not come near us himself in less then 10 days we thought proper not to send them to try if he would not come himself for them sooner.²

THURSDAY 4th. Some people came to the Fort to day from York Island, one of them gave us an account of 22 Islands lying in the neighbourhood of this. Set up the two Clocks, the one in the Tent wherein Mr Green and I lay and the other in the observatory.³ This evening Tootaha sent a Man again for the Ax and Shirt, and we sent him word by the same Man, that Mr Banks and I would come and see him tomorrow and bring them along with us; for it now became necessary that we should take some step to reconcile this man to us in order to procure a Sufficient supply of Bread fruit and Cocoa-nuts which we have not had for these two days past, owing as we apprehend to Tootaha's being still displeas'd with our late conduct,⁴ or otherways the people take this method to shew their resentment of the treatment their Chief met with.

FRIDAY 5th. Early this Morning Tootaha sent some of his people to put us in mind of our promise and they⁵ seem'd very uneasy untill we

¹ Nothing of this last paragraph finds place in AMG. In the fair copy of the MS Cook evidently left a space to add it, for it finishes at the bottom of f.5b, with the top third of 5c blank. Some minor damage was done to the instrument, but Wilkinson (4 May) tells us, 'upon the Second Examination of the Quadrent it was found Repairable. Mr Sporing one of Mr Banks Ingenios Gentleman has under Taken it to Repair. Mr Banks being Fortunatly in Possession of a Set of watch Makers Tools & These Happy Circumstances makes all Easy again'.

² 'AM a woman Appeard with her Child whos Father beLong to the Dolphin as She Told us by Signs and indeed many Circumstances Make it highly Probable.'—Wilkinson, 3 May.

³ The clock used in the observatory, one made for the Royal Society by John Shelton in 1760, is still going and in use in the rooms of the Royal Society; it is described by H. Alan Lloyd, 'A link with Captain Cook and H.M.S. *Endeavour*', in *Endeavour*, X, No. 40 (October 1951), pp. 200-4.

⁴ *Tootaha's . . . conduct*: this is altered over the line from the AMG version, *Tootaha not being reconciled to us*.

⁵ AM *these*. Cook first wrote *these* in the MS.

set out, which Mr Banks Dr Solander and myself did about 10 oClock in the Pinnace having one of these men with us, as soon as we came to Appara,¹ the place where Tootaha resides, we saw a great number of people at the landing place near his house; one amongst them who had a large Turband about his head and a long white Stick in his hand, drove the others from the landing place by beating them with his stick and throwing stones at them, and at the same time directed us where abouts to land, after we landed he conducted us to the chief but in this there was no order every one crowding upon us calling out *Tyo*² *Tootaha*, that is Tootaha was our friend. We found the chief sitting under the shade of a large tree³ with a circle of Old men round him, he made us sit down by him and immediately ask'd for the Ax, I then gave him one together with an upper garment made of Broad Cloth after their fashion and a Shirt; the garment he put on, but the Shirt he gave to the man who first received us at landing who was now seated by us and the Chief seem'd desirous that we should take particular notice of him.⁴ By this time Obarea and several other Women whome we knew came and sat down by us. Tootaha did not stay long before he went away, as we thought to shew himself to the people in his new dress, but he was not gone long before he return'd and took his seat again for a few Minutes, then went away again as we were told to order something to be got for us to eat and at this time we gladly would have gone too being almost suffocated with the crowd that was about us. However here we remain'd for about 10 Minutes longer when word was brought us that the Chief wanted us, we were then conducted to our own boat where we found him sitting alone under the awning, he made signs to us to come into him which we did and as many with us as the boat would hold; here he order'd some Bread fruit and Cocoa-nuts to be brought of both of which we tasted. After we had sat here some time a Message was brought to the Chief who immediately went out of the Boat and we were desired to follow and were conducted to a large Area or Courtyard on one side of his Long⁵ House where we were

¹ Pare, the district west of Matavai Bay, is meant, not Papara on the south of the island. Cook seems to have added the preliminary A to the name as a mis-heard O. On his chart of the island he spells the name Oparre. Davies in his Tahitian dictionary of 1851 notes that O was an article prefixed to proper names when in the nominative case: hence Cook's Appara or Oparre was analogous with his Otaheite. In a certain context it also was virtually equivalent to 'it is', like the Maori *ko*, which will also be found below incorporated in proper names, e.g. *O Tahiti*, 'it is Tahiti'. The exact site seems to have been at Point Utuhaihai in the district, properly speaking, of Arue, where Tutaha had a *marae*.

² *Taio*, friend, or more closely, blood-brother. ³ M setting in the Shade under a large tree.

⁴ He may have been Tutaha's *taumihau*, or administrator, one of the chief functionaries of a great chief, possibly a blood-relative.

⁵ AM omit, or rather the word is a later insertion by Cook in the MS. The 'Long House' was apparently the '*aroi*' house' or place of public entertainment.

entertain'd with publick Wrestling. Tootaha seated himself at one end of the place and several of his principal men sat round him in a semicircle, We were desired to sit down here likewise but we rather choose to walk about. Every thing being now ready several men enter'd the Theater, 8, 10, or 12 and some times more, these walked about in a Stooping dancing posture forming a large Corve with their arms and almost every moment app[ly]ing their left arm bent near their bodys and with their right hand open struck with a smack their left fore arm [and] breast,¹ in this Manner they walk'd about untill one challenge'd a nother which was done by motion and gesture without speaking one word. The Two antagonist[s] would then meet and endeavour to seize each other by the thighs, but if that fail'd they would seize each other by the hair of the head or where ever they could and then wristle together untill by main Strength the one or the other was thrown on his Back, this was always (except once) follow'd by three hurras from some old men who sat in the house and at the same time a nother compney of men would dance for about a Minute, the wrestlers all the time continuing their game without takeing the least Notice of any thing else. The only dexterity the wrestlers seem'd to make use of was in first seizing each other for after they had close'd it was all decided by main Strength. It would sometimes happen that neither the one nor the other could throw his antagonist, in this case they would either part by mutal consent or were parted by others. The conqueror never exulted over the Conquer'd, neither did the Conquer'd ever repine at his ill luck, but the whole was carried on with great good humour. Notwithstanding during the Combat their countenances appear'd to express as much fury as if they had been really in earnest. The Women seem'd in a manner wholly to be excluded from this diversion.² There were present young and old near 500 people, the Women do no[t] seem to partake of this diversion, only some few of the principal ones were present and that appear'd to be owing to our being there. After this was over we was given to understand that we were to go to dinner and were desired to follow Tootaha who led us into our own boat and soon after came a small Pig ready Roasted with some bread fruit and cocoa-nuts, and here we thought we were to have dine'd but Tootaha after waiting about 10 Minutes in

¹ *Stooping dancing posture . . . breast.* Cook deleted and added to his original words in the MS to get this text, the original ones being given in AMG, *stooping Poster with there left hand upon their right breast, and with their Right hand Open struck with a smack their left Arm & fore Arm.*

² The foregoing two sentences are in A but not M or G. In the MS they are added marginally.

purfound silence¹ made signs to us to put of the Boat and go a Board which we did bringing him and Toobouratomita along with us: as soon as we got on board we all dine'd on the Cheer the Chief had provided.

We soon found the good effects of having made friends with this man for it was no sooner known to the Natives that he was on board the Ship than they brought Bread fruit, Cocoa-nuts &c² to the Fort.

SATURDAY 6th and SUNDAY 7th. Nothing remarkable only that the Natives supply us with as much bread fruit & Cocoa-nuts as we can destroy.

MONDAY 8th. Early this Morning the Master went to the Eastward in the Pinnacle to try if he could not procure some Hogs and Fowls from that quarter, but he return'd in the evening without success, he saw but a very few and those the Inhabitants pretended belonged to Tootaha: so great is this mans influence or authority over them that they dare part with nothing without his consent, or other wise they only make use of his name to excuse themselves from parting with the few they have, for it is very certain these things are in no great plenty with them.

TUESDAY 9th, WEDNESDAY 10th and THURSDAY 11th. Nothing remarkable happen'd for the three days. Obarea, the Dolphins Queen, made us a Visit for the first time sence the Quadrant was Stolen, she introduce'd her self with a small Pigg for which she had a Hatchet and as soon as She got it she lugg'd out a Broken Ax and several peices of Old Iron, these I believe she must have had from the Dolphin, the Ax she wanted to be mended and Axes made of the Old Iron. I obliged her in the first but excuse'd my self from the latter. Sence the Natives have Seen the Forge at work they have frequently brought pieces of Iron to be made into one sort of Tools or other, which hath generally been done when ever it did not hinder our own work, being willing to oblige them in every thing in my power; these peices of Old Iron the natives must have got from the Dolphin, as we know of no other Ship being here and very probably some from us; for there is no species of theft they will not commit to get this Artic^le and I may say the same of the common seamen when in these parts.²

FRIDAY 12th. Cloudy weather with Showers of Rain. This Morning a Man and two young women with some others came to the Fort whome we had not seen before: and as their manner of introducing

¹ in *purfound silence* interlinear, not in AMG.

² Ship's work: 'Gammoned the Bowsprit'.—Clerke; see also Molyneux. The *Endeavour* was given a pretty thorough overhaul while at Matavai Bay.

themselves was a little uncommon I shall insert it: M^r Banks was as usual at the gate of the Fort trading with the people, when he was told that some Strangers were coming and therefore stood to receive them, the compney had with them about a Dozⁿ young Plantains Trees and some other small Plants, these they laid down about 20 feet from M^r Banks, the People then made a lane between him and them, when this was done the Man (who appear'd to be only a Servant to the 2 Women) brought the young Plantains Singley, together with some of the other Plants and gave them to M^r Banks, and at the delivery of each pronounce'd a Short sentence, which we understood not,¹ after he had thus dispose'd of all his Plantain trees he took several peices of Cloth and spread them on the ground, one of the Young Women then step'd upon the Cloth and with as much Innocency as one could possibly conceive, expose'd herself intirely naked from the waist downwards, in this manner she turn'd her Self once or twice round, I am not certain which, then step'd of the Cloth and drop'd down her clothes, more Cloth was then spread upon the Former and she again perform'd the same ceremony; the Cloth was then rowled up and given to M^r Banks and the two young women went and embraced him which ended the Ceremoney.²

SATURDAY 13th. Nothing worthy of note happen'd dureing the day, in the night one of the Natives attempted to get into the Fort by climbing over the Walls but being discover'd by the Centinals he made off; the Iron and Iron tools daily in use at the Armourers Forge are temptations that these people cannot possibly withstand.

SUNDAY 14th. This day we perform'd divine Service in one of the Tents in the Fort where several of the Natives attended and behaved with great decency the whole time: this day closed with an odd Scene³ at the Gate of the Fort where a young fellow above 6 feet high lay with a little Girl about 10 or 12 years of age publicly before several

¹ M first had *did not understand*, which Cook alters to give the reading in the text.

² This pleasant interlude in commerce may have been some sort of fertilisation ceremony—the plantain was certainly phallic—the general effect of which was to place the young women of the district at the disposal of M^r Banks, also young, handsome and ingratiating. We gather from Banks's journal that the young woman principally concerned did in fact succeed in attracting his attention. On the other hand, in the diary of Maximo Rodriguez for 1775 we have the following: 'Some women decked in quantities of native cloth presented themselves before the Chiefs in order to strip themselves and make an offering of the cloth to the said Chiefs, being left with only a *maro* on to cover their nakedness. They call this festival a *taurua*. . . .' Corney (III, p. 43, n. 2) comments, 'An ancient custom, noticed by Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks. There was no impropriety about it. In Fiji it is still followed, but by men'. There was no impropriety about the ceremony with which Banks was honoured, but it certainly had marked points of difference from the one Rodriguez describes. Cf. Bligh, who describes girls, after dancing, leaving their dresses behind them on the mat on which they had danced, as a present to the chief guest.—*Log of the Bounty*, II, p. 61.

³ A *scheen*, M *Sceen*, G *Schaen*, a sufficient variety.

of our people and a number of the Natives. What makes me mention this, is because, it appear'd to be done more from Custom than Lewdness,¹ for there were several women present particularly Obarea and several others of the better sort and these were so far from shewing the least disapprobation that they instructed the girl how she should act her part, who young as she was, did not seem to want it.

MONDAY 15th. Winds Variable and Clowdy weather. Last night one of our Water casks was taken away from the outside of the Fort where they stood full of water; in the Morning there was not one of the Natives but what knew it was gone, yet contrary to what we had always met with on these occasions, not one of them would give us any² information about it, and I thought it of too little consequence to take any methods to oblige them.

In the Evening Toobouratomita and his Wife and a Man belonging to Tootaha, would needs lay all night by the Casks to prevent any more from being taken away, but as we had place'd a Centinal there this care of theirs became unnecessary and they were prevaild upon to go home, but before they went away they made signs to the Centinal to keep his eys open; from this it should seem that they knew that an attempt would be made in the night to take away more which would have been done had not the Centinal prevented it.

TUESDAY 16th. Winds Westerly, the Morning clowdy with heavy showers of rain, the remainder of the day fair weather: from this day nothing worth remark happen'd untill

MONDAY 22nd which was usher'd in with thick Clowdy weather and excessive hard Showers of rain and very much Thunder and Lightning which continued the greatest part of the Day.³

¹ It seems to have been ceremonial, as Cook guessed. But cf. Wales's *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's last Voyage round the World* (1778), p. 52 n. Wales concluded that the 'Point Venus scene' was the contrivance of Purea, 'an old demirep of quality there. . . . Since the above was written, I have been informed from the authority of a gentleman who was in the Endeavour, and saw the transaction here alluded to, that it is very imperfectly, and in some measure erroneously, related by Dr Hawkesworth. Oberea obliged the two persons to attempt what is there said to have been done, but they were exceedingly terrified, and by no means able to perform it. The same authority adds, that most of the natives reprobated Oberea in very severe terms for the part which she had in it.' Hawkesworth, however, merely repeated Cook.

² G the least.

³ 'AM verry thick cloudy Wear with much rain & such thunder and Lightning as is seldom to be heard or seen in any Part of the World whatsoever.'—Anon 155.—'. . . such thunder and lightning as very few of us had known before.'—Green. Wilkinson gives us further information on this week: [16 May] 'Many Complains among the People of the Venerale Kind.' [19 May] 'P.M. The People at Liberty to Refresh for thay Now begin to be very Bad with the Veneral Disorder, which we have great Reason to think was left here by two Spanish Ships that Arrivd here 10 Monts after the Dolphin.' For Cook's reflections on this matter see p. 99 below.

TUESDAY 23rd. Winds Southerly and fair weather in the Fore noon but in the after-noon showery. We have had a Scarcity of all sorts of fruit for these 2 days past which we imagine to be owing to the wet weather.

WEDNESDAY 24th. Fine Clear weather all this Day. Having found the Long-boat leaky for these few days past we haled her ashore to day to stop the leakes, when to our great surprise we found her bottom so much eaten by the worms¹ that it was necessary to give her a new one, and all the Carpenters were immidiatly set to work upon her.

THURSDAY 25th. Most part of these 24 hours Clowdy with frequent showers of rain.

FRIDAY 26th. Some flying showers of rain. This morning we haled the Pinnacle a Shore to examine her bottom and had the satisfaction to find that not one worm had touched it, notwithstanding she hath been in the water nearly as long as the Long-boat; this must be owing to the white Lead with which her bottom is painted, the Long-boats being pay'd with Varnish of Pine, for no other reason can be assignd why the one should be preserv'd and the other distroyd, when they are both built on the same sort of wood and have been in equall use. From this circumstance alone the bottoms of all Boats sent into Countrys where these Worms are ought to be painted with white lead, and the Ship supply'd with a good Stock in order to give them a new coat whenever its necessary, by this means they would be preserve'd free from these destructive vermin. The Long-boats bottom being so much destroy'd appear'd a little extraordinary as the Dolphins Launch was in the water at this very place full as long and no such thing happen'd to her, as the officers that were in the Dolphin say.

SATURDAY 27th. Winds Variable and fair weather.

SUNDAY 28th.² Winds Southerly and clear weather. This morning, my self, Mr Banks and Dr Solander set out in the Pinnacle to pay Tootaha a Viset who had moved from Apparra to the sw part of the

¹ Shipworm, *Teredo* sp.

² Cook, having mentioned the performance of 'divine Service' on the 14th of this month above, mentions it no more. His instincts do not seem to have been religious. But we gather from other journals that Lord Morton's injunction, and that of the first Article of War, was heeded with some frequency. Thus Bootie for this day: 'AM Perform'd Divine Service to the ships Company on shore servd fresh Pork'; and again on 16 and 25 June. This last day in the afternoon again 'People [were] at their own Leisure'. But whatever grace was derived from the divine service and the fresh pork, 'their own Leisure' does not seem to have been very holy. We learn from Molyneux that not Cook, but Monkhouse the surgeon, read the service.

Isl^d.¹ What induced us to make him this Viset was a message we had received from him some days ago importing that if we would go to him he would give us several Hogs, we had no great faith in this yet we was² resolved to try, and set out accordingly, it was night before we reached the place where he was and as we had left the Boat about half way behind us we were oblig'd to take up our quarters with him for the night. The Chief received us in a very friendly manner and a Pig was order'd to be kill'd & dressed for supper, but we saved his Life for the present thinking it would do us more service in a nother place and we supp'd on fruit and what else we could get: here was³ along with the Chief Obarea and many more that we knowed, they all seem'd to be travellers like ourselves, for nither the Canoes they had along with them nor the houses where they were were sufficient to contain the one half of them. We were in all Six of us and after supper began to look out for lodgings. Mr Banks went to one place Dr Solander to a nother, while I and the other three went to a third, we all of us took as much care of the little we had about us as possible knowing very well what sort of people we were among, yet notwithstanding all the care we took before 12 oClock the most of us had lost something or other, for my own part I had my stockings taken from under my head and yet I am certain that I was not a Sleep the whole time, Obarea took charge of Mr Banks's things and yet they were stolen from her as she pretended,⁴ Tootaha was acquainted with what had happen'd I believe by Obarea her self and both he and her⁵ made some stir about it but this was all meer shew and ended in nothing; a little time after this Tootaha came to the Hutt where I and those with me lay and entertain'd us with a consort of Musick, consisting of three Drums four Flutes and singing, this lasted about an hour and then they retire'd; the Musick and singing was⁶ so much of a peice that I was very glad when it was over. We stay'd with them till near noon the next day in hopes of geting some of our things again, and likewise some Hogs but we were at last obliged to come away with the one we had save'd out of the fire last night, and a promise from Tootaha that he would come to the Ship in a Day or two with more and bring with him the things that we had lost, a promise that we had no reason to expect he will fulfill. Thus ended our Viset and we got to the Fort late in the evening.

¹ Probably near his Atehuru *marae*, some distance south of Point Punaauia, near the river Vaiaava; possibly farther south. See Chart V for Cook's 'Attahourou'.

² A *were* altered from *was* by Cook. ³ A *were* similarly altered by Cook.

⁴ 'Mr Banks', reports Parkinson (p. 31) 'lost his white jacket and waistcoat, with silver frogs'; so that our gentleman of liberal fortune went attired with elegance, even in the wilderness.

⁵ M *him and her*, A *he and she*.

⁶ A *were* altered from *was* by Cook.

TUESDAY 30th. We are now very buisy in preparing our Instruments &c^a for the Observation and Instructing such Gentlemen in the use of them as I intend to send to other parts to Observe for fear we should fail here.

WEDNESDAY 31st. Late this Evening the Carpenters finished the Long-boat.

[JUNE 1769]

THURSDAY 1st June 1769. This day I sent Lieutenant Gore in the Long-boat to York Island¹ with Dr Munkhouse and Mr Sporing (a Gentleman belonging to Mr Banks) to observe the Transit of Venus, Mr Green having furnished them with Instruments for that purpose. Mr Banks and some of the Natives of this Island went along with them.

FRIDAY 2nd of June. Very early this morning Lieut^{nt} Hicks, Mr Clerk, Mr Petersgill² and Mr Saunders, went away in the Pinnace to the Eastward, with orders to fix upon some convenient situation on this Island³ and there to observe the Transit of Venus—they being likewise provided with Instruments for that purpose.

SATURDAY 3rd. This day prov'd as favourable to our purpose as we could wish, not a Clowd was to be seen the whole day and the Air was perfectly clear, so that we had every advantage we could desire in Observing the whole of the passage of the Planet Venus over the Suns disk: we very distinctly saw an Atmosphere or dusky shade round the body of the Planet which very much disturbed the times

¹ 'York Island' is called on the chart Eimeo=Aimeo or Aimeho, the old name of Moorea. From the description given by Banks we gather that this group went to the islet, no more than a flat coral rock, of Irioa. Gore simply says: 'Found a Convenient Place (by Mr Banks's direction) and landed in Search of a Proper Place to fix for Making the Observation'. Off the north-west point of Moorea are two larger islets called Tiahura and Fareone and to the west again another minute speck called Tarehu, but only Irioa answers to the description. The party rowed along outside the reef and entered, presumably, through the Passe Taotoi. Irioa is just inside the reef west of this opening. Banks looked after the commissariat while Gore and Monkhouse did the observing. According to Gore and Molyneux Monkhouse's brother Jonathan went as an observer also. Banks says that 'Tuboura' and his wife 'Tamio' went.

² A *Petersgill* MG *Pickersgill*.

³ They went to the islet Cook called 'Booarou'. Puuru or Puaru is off the north-east corner of the Hitiaa district, just south of a larger islet, belonging to Mahaena, Isle Nansouty or Taaupiri; it is not far north of Bougainville's Passe de la Boudeuse. But Cook was wrong about the name. His chart Add. MS 7085.6 marks but does not name the two islands; the chart in Hawkesworth makes 'Boourou' the northern, and 'Taawirry' the southern, of the two. There was no reason why Hicks should pass by the first suitable islet he came to in favour of a smaller one, and conjecture that the observation was made from Taaupiri is borne out by a chart by Pickersgill, H.D. 497/8, of 'A Bay where Two Spanish Ships Lay in Otahite . . .'. Here Puuru is unnamed, while Taaupiri is called 'Lord Mortons Island', with the note appended, 'where we obsd. the Late Transit of Venus'.

WEDNESDAY 7th, THURSDAY 8th, FRIDAY 9th. These three days we have been employ'd in careening both sides of the Ship and paying them with Pitch and Brimstone, we found her bottom in good order and that the Worm had not got into it.¹

SATURDAY 10th. Winds Variable with very much Rain all Day and last night.

SUNDAY 11th. Cloudy with rain last night and this Morning the remainder of the day fair weather. This Day M^r Banks and I took Toobouratomita on board the Ship and shew'd him the Print containing the Colours worn by the Ships of different Nations and very soon made him understand that we wanted to know which of them was worn by the Ships that were at Ohidea, he at once pitched upon the Spanish Flag and would by no means admit of any other: this together with several Articles we have lately seen amongst these people Such as Jackets Shirts &c^a usually worn by Spanish Seamen, proves beyond doubt that they must have been Ships of that Nation and come from some Port on the Coast of South America.

MONDAY 12th. Yesterday complaint was made to me by some of the Natives that Jn^o Thurman and Jam^s Nicholson Seam^a had taken by force from them several Bows and Arrows and Plated Hair,² and the fact being proved upon them they were this Day punish'd with two Dozⁿ lashes each.

TUESDAY 13th. Some Showers of rain last night, but fair weather the most part of the Day. Tootaha whome we have not seen for some time past paid us a Viset to Day, he brought with him a Hog and some Bread fruit for which he was well paid.

WEDNESDAY 14th. Between 2 and 4 oClock this Morning one of the Natives Stole out of the Fort an Iron rake made use of for the Oven, it happend to be set up against the wall and by that means was Visible from the outside and had been seen by them in the evening as a Man had been seen lurking about the Fort some hours before the thing was miss'd. I was inform'd by some others of the Natives that he watched an opportunity when the Centinal³ back was turn'd and hooked it with a long crooked stick and haled it over the wall; when I came to be inform'd of this theft in the Morning, I resolved to

they have assuredly been mistaken, and considered the number of People they had seen with the Scrophula, to be labouring under confirmed lues'.—*Log of the Bounty*, II, p. 60. See also Forster, *Observations*, p. 489 ff. The examination of the problem by S. M. Lambert, *A Doctor in Paradise* (London 1942), pp. 30–2, and his declaration against syphilis and for yaws, seem conclusive.

¹ Work on the ship went on continuously. On the 21st Molyneux records painting and caulking.

² *Taanu* or *tamou*; see p. 126 below.

³ AM Centinals, in M the s inserted by Cook.

recover it by some means or other and accordingly went and took possession of all the Canoes of any Value I could meet with and brought them into the River behind the Fort to the number of 22, and told the Natives then present (most of them being the owners of the Canoes) that unless the Principal things they had stolen from us were restored, I would burn them every one, not that I ever intend to put this in execution, and yet I was very much displeased with them as they were daily either committing or attempting to commit one theft or other, when at the same time (contrary to the opinion of every body) I would not suffer them to be fired upon, for this would have been putting it in the power of the Centinals to have fired upon them upon the most slight occasions as I had before experienced, and I have a great objection to firing with powder only amongst people who know not the difference; for by this they would learn to dispise fire arms and think their own arms superior and if ever such an Opinion prevail'd they would certainly attack you the event of which might prove as unfavourable to you as them.

About Noon the rake was restore'd us, when they wanted to have their Canoes again: but now as I had them in my possession I was resolved to try if they would not redeem them by restoring what they had stolen from us before; the principal things which we had lost were the Marine Musquet, a pair of Pistols belonging to M^r Banks, a sword belonging¹ one of the Petty officers and a Water Cask with some other articles not worth mentioning: some said that these things were not in the Island, others that Tootaha had them and those of Tootaha's friends laid the whole to Obarea and I believe the whole was between these two persons.²

THURSDAY 15th. We have been employ'd for some days past in overhauling all the Sea provisions, and stowing such as we found in a state of decay to hand in order to be first expended but having the people divided between the Ship and the Shore this work as well as the refitting the Ship goes but slowly on.³

¹ MG belonging to.

² The seizure of the canoes was an unsuccessful piece of strategy, and Banks doubted its morality. He had been on a shooting expedition with Gore that day, and on his return was applied to by some of the natives for the return of their property. The canoes having been seized, he thought, should be kept till the things stolen had been restored, 'if ever they were, which I much doubted as the Canoes pretty certainly did not belong to the people who had stolen the things. I confess had I taken a step so violent I would have seized either the persons of the people who had stolen from us, most of whom we either knew or shrewdly suspected, or their goods at least instead of those of people who are intirely unconcerned in the affair & have not probably interest enough with their superiors (to whom all valuable things are carried) to procure the restoration demanded'.

³ Under the conditions of the time immense labour went into maintaining stores in good order; on this day for example all the corn was carried ashore to air.—Anon 153, and Molyneux.

→ Theft in
Tahiti,
Cook
seizes
canoes,
1st voyage

← END
READING

East distant 1 Mile and a River into which the Boats can go at low water SSE distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile.

In the Morning the Natives came off again to the Ship but their behaviour was very different to what it was yesternorning and the little traffick we had with them was carried on very fair and friendly. Two¹ came on board the Ship to each I gave a piece of English Cloth and some Spike nails.

After the natives were gone I went with the Pinnace and Long-boat into the River to haul the Sene and sent the Master to sound the Bay and dridge² for fish in the yawl. We hauled the Sene in several places in the River but caught only a few Mullet,³ with which we return'd on board about noon.⁴

MONDAY 6th. Moderate breezes at NNW and hazey weather with rain in the night. PM I went to a nother part of the Bay to haul the sene but met with as little success as before and the Master did not get above half a Bucket full of shells with the dridges. The Natives brought to the Ship and sold to our people, small Cockles, Clams and Mussels enough for all hands, these are found in great plenty upon the Sand banks of the River.

In the Morning I sent the Long-boat to Trawl in the Bay, and an officer with the Marines and a party of men to cut wood and hale the sene, but neither the sene nor the Trawl met with any success, but the natives in some measure made up for this by bringing several baskets of dry'd or ready dress'd fish, altho it was none of the best I order'd it all to be bought up in order to incourage them to trade.

TUESDAY 7th. The first part Moderate and fair, the remainder a fresh breeze northerly with dirty hazey rainy weather. PM got on board a Long-boat Load of water and caught a dish of fish in the Sene; found here great quantity of sellery which is boild every day for the Ships Compney as usual.

WEDNESDAY 8th. PM Fresh breeze at NNW and hazey rainy weather, the remainder a gentle breeze at wsw and Clear weather. AM heel'd and scrubed both sides of the Ship and sent a party of men a Shore to Cut wood and fill water. The Natives brought of to the Ship and sold

¹ A men inserted after *Two* by Cook.

² Probably the Grey Mullet or *Kanae*, *Mugil cephalus*.

³ G: 'At 9 AM I went with the Pinnace & Long boat into the River to haul the saen & sent the Yawl to drudge we caught but little fish with the saen but found an emmence Quantity of small cockles, & other small shell fish in the Sandbanks of the river, the Natives vissited the ship again this morning traffickd with us for a few triffls & 2 of them ventured on board, so that there is not doubt but what we shall be soon upon good terms with them.'

⁴ AM *drudge*.

us for small peeces of Cloth as much fish as served all hands, they were of the Mackarel kind¹ and as good as ever was eat.

At Noon I observed the Suns Meridian Zenith distance by the Astromical Quadrant which gave the Latitude $36^{\circ}47'43''$ s, this was in the River befromentioned, that lies within the s entre^{ee} of y^e Bay.

THURSDAY 9th. Variable light breezes and clear weather. As soon as it was day light the Natives began to bring off Mackarel and more then we well know'd what to do with, notwithstanding I orderd all they brought to be purchas'd in order to incourage them in this kind of traffick. At 8 M^r Green and I went on shore with our Instru-ments to Observe the Transit of Mercury which came on at 7^h 20'58" Apparent time and was Observed by M^r Green only. I at this time was taking the Suns Altitude in order to asertain the time.² The Egress was observed as followes.

	h	'	"	
By M ^r Green	{	Internal Contact at 12	8 58	} afternoon
		External Contact -	12 9 55	
By My self	{	Internal Contact at 12	8 45	} Do ^s
		External Contact -	12 9 43	

Latitude observed at Noon $36^{\circ}48'28''$, the Mean of this and yester-days observation gives $46^{\circ}48'5\frac{1}{2}''$ s, the Latitude of the place of Ob-servation, and the Variation of the Compass was at this time found to be $11^{\circ}9'$ East. While we were making these observations five Canoes came along side of the Ship, two large and three small ones, in one were 47 people but in the others not so many. They were wholly strangers to us and to all appearence they came with a hostal intention, being compleatly arm'd with Pikes, Darts, Stones &c³ how-ever they made no attempt and this was very probable owing to their being inform'd by some other Canoes' (who at this time were along side selling fish) what sort of people they had to deal with. At their first coming along side they begun to sell our people some of their Arms and one Man offer'd to sale an Haāhow,⁵ that is a square pice of

¹ The Southern Mackerel, *Pneumatophorus colias*.

² Green has his own version: 'Early in the morn^g M^r Green the Capt and M^r Hicks went ashore to Observe the transit of ☿ NB. unfortunately for the Seamen their lookout was on the wrong side of the Sun.—The end was likewise as grossly mistaken'. We are fortunate to have in the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty one of Pickersgill's charts (552/5) 'A Plan of Port and River Mercury, call'd by the Natives, Apuragge', which marks precisely most of the features mentioned by Cook. This observation was made on the beach at the eastern end of Cook Bay, about three hundred yards from the western bank of Oyster river, and directly opposite the anchorage.

³ The figures of the observation are all supplied from M, where they are inserted in Cook's hand. The MS, A and G are all blank.

⁴ 46° sic for the mean of the latitudes. A and M correct the slip.

⁵ *kakahu* or woven cloak.

← Theft by Maori, fatal shooting, Cook's disapproval, New Zealand, 1st voyage

Cloth such as they wear. Lieut^t Gore, who at this time was Commanding officer, sent in to the Canoe a peice of Cloth which the man had agreed to take in exchange for his, but as soon as he had got M^r Gore's Cloth in his posission he would not part with his own, but put off the Canoe from along side and then shook their paddles at the People in the Ship. Upon this M^r Gore fired a Musquet at them and from what I can learn kill'd the man who tooke the Cloth, after this they soon went away. I have here inserted the account of this affair just as I had it from M^r Gore but I must own that it did not meet with my approbation because I thought the punishment a little too severe for the Crime, and we had now been long enough acquainted with these People to know how to chastise trifling faults like this without taking away their lives.¹

FRIDAY 10th. PM Gentle breezes and Varble, the remainder a Strong breeze at ENE and Hazey weather. AM I went with two Boats accompanied by M^r Banks and the other gentlemen into the River which empties it self into the head of this Bay in order to examine it. None of the Natives came off to the Ship this morning which we think is owing to the bad weather.

SATURDAY 11th. Fresh gales at ENE and Clowdy hazey weather with rain. Between 7 and 8 oClock PM I returnd on board from out of the River having been about 4 or 5 Miles up it and could have gone much farther had the weather been favourable. I landed on the East side and went up on the hills from whence I saw or at least I thought I saw the head of the River, it here branched into several Channels and form'd a number of very low flat Islands all cover'd with a sort of Mangrove trees and several places of the Shores of both sides of the

¹ '... fired 4 Pound^r. to Prevent the Canoes Landing where the Capt and M^r Green was Observing.'—Forwood. Green is facetious: 'One Poor fellow being too fond of an English Sheet was Shot by M^r. Gore for making Love to it—he afterwards dyed (during our Stay): a 4 P^r. was then fired to disperse the rest'. Anon 1771 adopts a curious tone of high moral principle, referring to Gore as one 'who having always conducted himself with the strictest probity, was the more irritated by this deviation from it. But had we punished every dishonest attempt with equal severity, we must have extirpated the greatest part of the Indians with whom we have had any commerce; for never were people more ignorant or regardless of the principles of natural justice'.—p. 85. Adequate commentary on this piece of complacent Europeanism is provided by the council which the Maoris held after the event. The question was, Should they attempt vengeance or not? The answer was No, because the thief had been in the wrong, and his death was *utu*, recompense, or payment in blood, for the wrong that he had committed. Parkinson records his name as Otireoonoo—Otireonui? He was buried with the cloth he had taken wrapped round him. Lady Martin (*Our Maoris*, London 1884, pp. 145–6) has a reference to the oft-told reminiscences of Te Horeta, from whom our knowledge of the Maori discussion comes. 'He used to tell us of his going down into the cabin and having biscuits given to him.' See also Heaphy in Chapman's *New Zealand Magazine* (Auckland 1862), pp. 4–7 (where the name of the thief is wrongly given) and White, *Ancient History of the Maori* (Wellington 1887–91), V, pp. 121–30. White's version is interesting for its glimpse of the impression made by Cook on a child: 'There was one supreme man in that ship. We knew that he was the lord of the

River were cover'd with the same sort of wood:¹ the sand banks were well store'd with Cockles, and clams and in many places were Rock Oysters.² Here is likewise pretty plenty of wild Foul, such as Shags, Ducks, Curlews,³ and a Black Bird about as big as a Crow, with a long sharp bill of a Colour between Red and yellow.⁴ We also saw fish in the River but of what sort I know not. The Country Especialy on the East side is barren and for the most part distitute of wood or any other signs of fertillity but the face of the Country on the other side looked much better and is in many places cover'd with wood. We met with some of the natives and saw several more and smookes a long way inland, but saw not the least sign of cultivation either here or in any part about the Bay, so that the Inhabitents must live wholly on shell and other Fish⁵ and Fern roots which they eat by way of bread. In the entrance of this River and for 2 or 3 Miles up it is very safe and commodious Anchoring in 3, 4 and 5 fathom water, and convenient places for laying a Vessel a shore where the Tides rises and falls about 7 feet and flows⁶ full and change.

I could not see whether or no any considerable fresh water stream came out of the Country into this River but there are a number of small Rivulets which come from the adjacent hills. A little with[in] the entrance of the river on the East side is a high point or peninsula⁷ jutting out into the River on which are the remains of one of thier Fortified towns, the Situation is such that the best Engineer in Europe could not have choose'd a better for a small number of men to defend themselves against a greater, it is strong by nature and made more so by Art. It is only accessible on the land side, and there have been cut a Ditch and a bank raised on the inside, from the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch was about 22 feet and depth

whole by his perfect gentlemanly and noble demeanour. He seldom spoke, but some of the goblins [the British were at first taken for creatures from another world] spoke much. But this man did not utter many words: all that he did was to handle our mats and hold our mere, spears, and *wahaika* [a sort of club] and touch the hair of our heads. He was a very good man, and came to us—the children—and patted our cheeks, and gently touched our heads.' He also gave Te Horeta a nail; so that all in all the boy and his companions reflected, in the words of the Maori proverb, 'a noble man—a *rangatira*—cannot be lost in a crowd'.

¹ The New Zealand mangrove is *Avicennia officinalis*.

² *Saxostrea glomerata*.

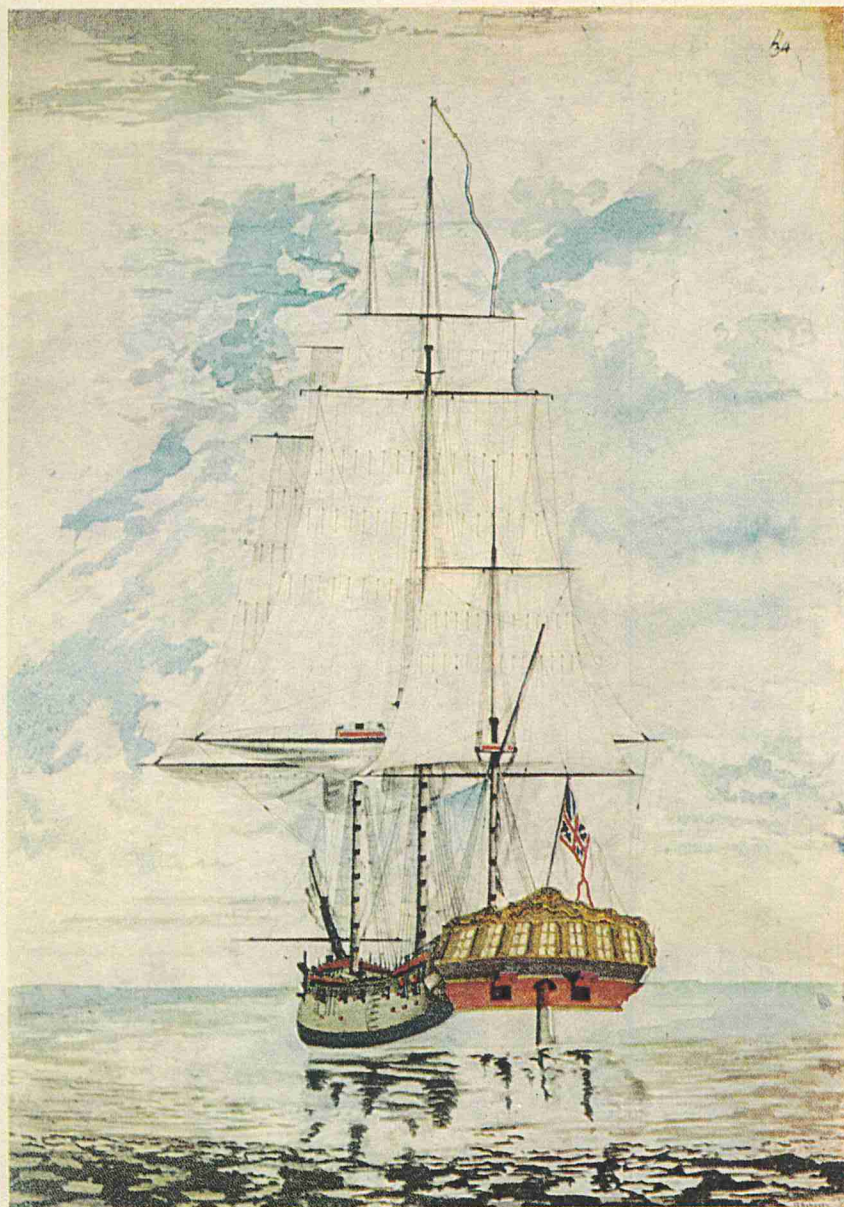
³ The curlew is not native to New Zealand, but an occasional migrant from Eastern Siberia. But Cook may refer to the Bar-tailed Godwit, *Limosa lapponica baueri*, a regular winter visitor.

⁴ Probably the dark phase of the New Zealand Oyster-catcher, *Haematopus ostralegus unicolor*, which still inhabits the district.

⁵ Parkinson (p. 105) picks out for honourable mention the cray fish, 'of an enormous size, which were very good. These were caught by women, who dived for them in the surf amongst the rocks.'

⁶ and flows: in A altered by Cook to at, in M he inserts at but omits to delete flows.

⁷ Pa Point.



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

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case of an axcedent of this kind, and sent her immidiately to the Adventure by this timely assistance she was got off without receiving any damage.¹ As soon as the Sloops were in safety I landed² and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. I distributed some presents among them and presently they brought down Hogs, Fowls and fruit³ which they exchanged for Hatchets, Nails, Beeds, &c⁴, a like trade was soon opened aboard the Sloops, the natives bring[ing] them off in their Canoes so that every thing promised us a plentiful supply of fresh pork and Fowls which to people who had been living Ten months on salt meat was no unwelcome thing. I learnt that my old friend Oree was still living and chief of the Island and that he was hastning to this part to see me.

SATURDAY 4th. Early in the morning I sent Lieutenant Pickersgill with the Cutter on a tradeing party towards the South end of the Island and also a nother on shore near the Sloops, with this I went my self in order to see it was properly conducted at the first seting out, a very necessary point to be attended to, this being settled to my mind I went to pay my first Viset to Oree the Chief who I was told was waiting for me, accompanid by Captain Furneaux and M^r Forster. We were conducted to the place by one of the natives, but we were not permitted to go out of the Boat without going through the following ceremony usual at this Isle on such occasions. The Boat being landed before the chiefs House which was close by the Water side Five young Plantan trees, which are their Emblems of Peace, were brought seperately and with some ceremony into the Boat. Three small Pigs⁴ accompanied the first three and a Dog the fourth, each had its particular name and purpose rather too mysterious for us well to understand,⁵ lastly the Chief sent me the Inscription engraved on a small peice of Pewter which I left with him when [I saw] him in 1769, it was in the same bag I had made for it together with a peice of counterfeit English coin and a few Beads given him at the same time,⁶ this shews how well he had taken care of the whole. After they had done sending the things above mentioned to the Boat, our guide who still remained in the Boat with us desired us to decorate three young Plantan plants with Nails, looking glasses

¹ . . . Several of the Natives by this time had come off to us bringing with them some of the productions of the Island and . . .—f. 96.

² . . . with Captain Furneaux

³ Fowls . . . fruit: Fowls, Dogs and fruit

⁴ Three small Pigs: Three young pigs with their ears ornamented . . .—f. 96v.

⁵ Cf. Forster I, pp. 375–6, where the ceremony is treated in more detail. Cook, I, p. 141, describes the corresponding ceremony of 17 July 1769, when he first met Ori.

⁶ See I, p. 143.

Medals, &c^a &c^a, which was accordingly done, we landed with these in our hands and walked up towards the Chief a lane being made by the people between us and him for here were a vast crowd. We were made to sit down before we came to¹ the chief, our Plantains were then taken from us one by one and laid down by him, one was for Eatoua² or God, the Second for the Arree or King and the third for Tyo or friendship. This being done Oree rose up came and³ fell upon my neck and embraced me, this was by no means ceremonious, the tears which trinckled plentifully down his Cheeks sufficiently spoke the feelings of his heart. All his friends were next introduced to us among whome was a beautifull Boy his grandson. The whole ceremony being now over I made him the present I had prepared consisting of the most Valuable articles I had for this purpose⁴ and in return he gave me a Hog and a quantity of Cloth and promised that all our wants should be supplied and it will soon appear how well he kept his word, at length we took leave and return'd aboard to dinner and some time after the Cutter arrived with 14 Hogs, many more were purchased on shore and a long side the Sloops.⁵

SUNDAY 5th. Early in the morning Oree made me a visit accompanied by some of his friends, he brought me a present of a Hog and some fruit for which I made him a suteable return, this good old Chief never faild to send me every day for my Table the best of ready dress'd fruit and roots and in great plenty. Lieut^t Pickersgill was again detached to the South end of the Island with both Cutter and Launch, he returned the same day with Twenty-eight Hogs and about four times as many more were got a shore and along side the Sloops.⁶

MONDAY 6th. In the morning I sent the tradeing party⁷ a shore as usual and after breakfast went my self when I found that one of the natives had been a little troublesome,⁸ this fellow being pointed out to me compleatly equiped in the War habit with a club in each hand, as he seem'd to be intent on Mischief I took from him the two

¹ before . . . to: a few paces short of

² e atua.

³ Oree . . . and: I wanted to go to the King, but was told that he would come to me, which he accordingly did . . .—f. 97.

⁴ . . . for I regarded this old man as a father, . . .—Cf. Log: 'this brave old chief who receiv'd me more like a son he had not seen these four years than a friend . . .'

⁵ . . . besides fowls and fruit in abundance.

⁶ People at no allowance [i.e. the ship's food was cut off entirely] they abound most plentifully in Pork and Yams.—Clerke.

⁷ . . . consisting of only two or 3 people

⁸ a little troublesome: very troublesome and insolant

←
Kidnapping
of Tahitian
chief to
compel
return of
stolen goods,
Tahiti,
2nd voyage

clubs and broke them and with some difficulty forced him to retire from the place, they told me that he was an Aree which made me the more suspicious of him and occasioned me to send for a guard which before I had thought unnecessary. About this time Mr Sparman being out alone¹ botanizing was set upon by two men who striped him of every thing he had but his Trowsers, they struck him several times with his own hanger but happily did him no harm, as soon as they had accomplished their end they made off after which a man came to him, gave him a piece of cloth to cover himself and conducted him to me. I went immediately² to Oree to complain of this outrage takeing with me the man who came back with Mr Sparman to confirm the complaint,³ as soon as the chief heard it he wept a lowd as did several others and after the first transports of his grief was over expostulated with the people shewing them how well I had treated them both in this and my former voyage or some thing to this purpose,⁴ he then promised to do all in his power to recover what was taken from Mr Sparman and took a very minute account of every article after which he rose up and went to the Boat desiring me to follow, his people seeing this and being apprehensive of his safety they opposed his going into the Boat, he step'd in notwithstanding their opposision and intreaties. When the people saw their beloved chief wholly in my power they set up a great outcry and with Tears flowing down their cheeks intreated him once more to come out of the Boat.⁵ I even joined my intreaties to theirs, it was to no purpose,⁶ he insisted of my coming into the Boat and as soon as I was in ordered her off him self, his Sister with Spirit equal to her Royal Brother was the only person that did not oppose his going: as his intention for coming into the Boat was to go with us in search

¹ being . . . alone; having imprudently gone out alone . . .—f. 97v.

² he . . . immediately: the trading place where were a great number of the Natives, the very instant Mr Sparman appeared in the condition I have just mentioned, they fled to a man with the utmost precipitation, my first conjectures were that they had stolen something, but we were soon undeceived when we saw Mr Sparman and the affair was related to us. As soon as I could recall back a few of the Natives and had made them sensible that I should take no step to injure those who were innocent, I went . . .

³ Taking also Sparrman and Forster, we learn from Sparman. Poor Sparman of course treats his misadventure in some detail (pp. 78-81), and inclines to blame Tubai, the bravo whose clubs Cook had broken. He adds ruefully, 'I had undertaken this unfortunate expedition by myself without any misgivings, since Captain Cook had often told us that the Society Islands were as safe and as peaceful as Otaheite . . . Captain Cook declared my solitary botanical excursion to have been imprudent, and, if indeed it were so, then many similar expeditions made on that voyage must be so considered'.

⁴ or . . . purpose: and how base it was in them to commit such actions

⁵ and . . . Boat: the grief they showed was inexpressable every face was bedewed with tears, they prayed, intreated and even attempted to pull him out of the boat,—ff. 97v-8.

⁶ it . . . purpose: for I could not bear to see them in such distress, all that could be said or done availed nothing

of the Robbers we put off and proceeded accordingly as far as we could by Water, then land and entered the Country and traveled some miles, the chief leading the way inquiring of every one he saw, at length he step'd into a house which was by the road side and order some Cocoa-nutts to be brought for us to drink. After we had refreshed ourselves he wanted to proceed farther, this I opposed¹ and insisted upon his returning back which he was obliged to comply with when he saw I would not follow him. I desired him to send some people for the stolen things for I saw it was to little purpose going farther for the thieves had already got so much start of us that we might have pursued them to the very remote part of the Island,² besides as I intended to sail the next day, this occasioned a loss to us by puting a stop to all manner of trade for the natives were so Allarmed that none came near us but those that were about the chief, the accident which befell Mr Sparman was first made known to us at the trading place by the precipitate retiring of all the people without my being able to conceive the meaning till Mr Sparman appeared, it became therefore the more necessary for me to return to endeavour to restore things to their former state, accordingly we return'd to our boat where we found the chief's sister and several more people who had traveled by land to the place. We immediately embarked in the Boat in order to go aboard without so much as asking the Chief to accompany us, he however insisted on going with us in spite of the opposission he met with from those about him, his Sister followed his example contrary to the tears and intreaties of her Daughter a young woman about 16 or 18 years of age. The Chief sit at Table with us and made a hearty meal, his sister sit behind us as it is not the custom for the Women to eat with the men. After dinner I made them both presents and in the Evening carried them a shore to the place where I first took him in where some hundreds waited to receive him many of whome imbraced him with tears of joy in their eyes, all was now harmony and Peace, the people crowded in from every part with Hogs, Fowls and Fruit so that we presently loaded two Boats, the Chief himself made me a present of a large Hog and some fruit, the hanger, the only thing of value Mr Sparman had lost, and part of his waist coat was brought us and we were told we should have the others the next day. Some of the officers who were

¹ . . . thinking that we might be carried to the very farther part of the island after things the most of which, before they came into our hands again, might not be worth the bringing home; the chief used many arguments to persuade me to proceed tilling me that I might send my boat round to meet us or that he would get a Canoe to bring us home if I thought it too far to travel;—f. 98.

² . . . without so much as seeing them

out on a Shooting party had some things stolen from them which were returned in like manner, thus ended the transactions of this day which I have been rather particular in enumerating because it shews what great confidence this Brave old Chief put in us, it also in a great degree shews that Friendship is Sacred with these people. Oree and I were profess'd friends in all the forms customary among them and he had no idea that this could be broke by the act of any other person, indeed this seem'd to be the great Argument he made use on to his people when they opposed his going into my boat, his words were to this effect: Oree (for so I was always call'd) and I am friends, I have done nothing to forfeit his friendship, why should I not go with him. We however may never meet with a nother chief who will act in the same manner on any semiliar occasion.¹

TUESDAY 7th. Early in the morn we began to unmoor, while this was doing I went to take my leave of the chief accompanied by Captain Furneaux and M^r Forster. I tooke with me such things for a present as I knew were most useful and valuable to him. I also left with him the Inscription plate he had before in keeping and another small copper plate on which was engraved these words: Anchor'd here His Britannic Majestys Ships Resolution and Adventure September 1773, together with some Midals all put up in a Small Bag, the chief promised to take great care of the whole and to produce them to the first Ship that should come to the Isle. He next gave me a Hog and after trading for six or eight more and loading the boat with fruit we took leave at which the good old Chief imbraced me with Tears in his eyes. At this interview nothing was said about the remainder of M^r Sparmans Clothes. I judg'd they were not brought in and for that reason did not mention them least I should give the chief pain about a thing I did not give him time to recover.² When I came aboard I found the Sloops crowded round with Canoes full of Hogs, Fowls and Fruit as at our first arrival. Soon after Oree himself came aboard to inform me (as we at first understood him) that the robbers were taken and wanted me to go on Shore either to punish or see them punished, but this could not be done as the Resolution was just under sail and the Adventure already out of the Harbour. I likewise understood from him that four or five of his people were



END

READING¹ . . . It may be asked what he had to fear, to which I must answer nothing, for it never was my intention to hurt a hair of his head or to detain him one single moment longer than he desired, but how was he or the people to know this, they were not ignorant that if he was once in my power, the whole force of the isle could not take him from me, and that let my demands for his ransom been [*sic*] ever so high they must have comply'd with it; thus far their fears both for his and their own safety were justly founded.—f. 99.

² . . . for this was early in the morning

gone away in the Adventure and that he wanted to have them return'd, but in this the chief had either been misinformed or we misunderstood him for I immediately sent on board Captain Furneaux for them, when the Boat returned she brought only one¹ no more being on board and as this man had been on board the Adventure from the first hour of her arrival at the Isle and it being known to all the natives that he intended to go away with us, without being once demanded² and as Captain Furneaux being desirous of keeping [him]³ I did not think it was necessary to send him on Shore for the Chief was now gone, he stayed aboard till we were a full half League out at Sea then went away in a small Canoe conducted by one man and himself.⁴ While we lay in this Port several of the common people frequently desired me to Kill the Bolabola men (the people of a neighbouring isle). Oree probably heard of this and took an opportunity when he was left aboard to disire that I would not, telling me that Opoone their King was his Friend, the Common people in general seem to bear an implacable hatred against the Bolabola men nor is this to be much wondred at sence they have made a conquest of most of the neighbouring iles, the little Island of Huaheine under the brave and wise conduct of Oree still preserves its independancy, not a Bolabola man have yet been able to get a footing there tho' we have been told some attempts have been made but of this we have no absolute certainty, from the great plenty of everything on the Isle one might conclude that it had enjoyed the b[]esings of Peace for many years, during our short stay we procured not less than 300 Hogs to both Sloops, besides Fowls⁵ and Fruit and had we made a longer stay might have got many more for neither Hogs nor Fowls were apparently diminished but every where appeared as numerous as ever, such is the state of the little but fertile Isle of Huaheine.⁶ My friend Oree was no sooner gone⁷ than we made sail for Ohamaneno⁸ Harbour on the West side of Ulietea where I intended to stop a few days to procure an addition of Fruit to our present stock:

¹ . . . whose name was Omiah

² . . . besides we were now some distance from the shore

³ . . . one of the Natives a young man who expressed the greatest desire to go to *Britania*.—Furneaux. See Fig. 43.

⁴ . . . all the others being gone long before. I was sorry that it was not convenient for me to go on shore with him to see in what manner these people would have been punished for I am satisfied that this was what brought him on board.—f. 99v.

⁵ 'At Huahine we have got by purchase & presents in both sloops about 400 Hogs & half as many Cocks.'—Log.

⁶ A note. We met with a man at this Isle who measured 6 feet 3 inch & $\frac{5}{16}$.—B . . . and was the tallest man I ever saw in the isles.

⁷ . . . and our boat returned from the Adventure

⁸ Haamanino, inside the Rautoanui passage. Cook had anchored there, 2-9 August 1769.

MONDAY 9th. In the Morning Tee, Otou's fathfull Ambassadors, came again on board to acquaint me that Otou was gone to Oparre and desired I would send one of the Natives to let him know that I was still his friend. I asked why he had not done it as I desired, he made some excuse, I believe he had not seen him, in short I saw it was necessary for me to go my self, for while we thus spent our time with Messages we were without refreshments.¹ Accordingly I set out with Tee, M^r Forster and some of the Officers, we proceeded in our boat to the very utmost Limmits of Oparre where after waiting some time and Several Messages had passed to and fro, the King at last appeared. After we were seated under the shade of some trees as usual and the first salutations were over, he desired me to Parou,² make a speech, as we understood, to the People, but this was more than any of us could do, and be understood, therefore to cut the Matter Short, I began with blaming Otou for being Mataou, sence I had all along profess'd My self his friend and that I was not angry with him or any of his people but those of *Tiarabou* who had stolen the Musquet. I was then asked how I came to fire at the Canoes, Chance on this occasion furnished me with a very good excuse. I told them they belonged to Mariatata a Tiarabou Man one of whose men had occasion'd all this disturbance and if I had them now in my possession I would destroy them or any other belonging to Tiarabou, this declaration pleased them as I expected from the natural aversion the one Nation has to the other; what I said being enforced by a few presents (which had perhaps the greatest weight with them) restored things to their former state, Otou promised on his part that on the morrow we should be supplied with provisions as usual.

We now return'd with him to the place of his residence where after Viewing some of his dock yards (for such they well deserve to be call'd) and large Canoes³ we return'd on board with Tee in our Company, who after dinner went to acquaint the Kings father who was in the Neighbourhood of Matavai, that all differences were accomodated. It should seem from what followed that this old gentleman was not pleased with the Conditions, for in the Evining all the Women which were not a few, were taken out of the Ship and Sentinals stationed on the beach to prevent any one from coming off to the Ship and the next Morning —

¹ refreshments: fruit, for a stop was put to all exchanges of this Nature, that is the Natives brought nothing to Market.

² parau, to speak, advise.

³ ... some lately built and others building two of which were the largest I had ever seen in this Sea or indeed any where else under that name.—f. 203v.—'that name': the name of canoe, presumably, or *pahi*.

TUESDAY 10th. No Supplies whatever was brought us, on enquiring the reason was told that Happi¹ meaning Otou's father, was *Mataou* and had forbid any supply's to be brought us. Chagrained as I was at this disapointment I forbore taking any step from a Supposition that Tee had not yet seen old Happi or that Otous orders had not yet reached Matavai: a supply of fruit sent us from *Oparre* and some brought us by our friends served us for the present and made me less anxious about it, thus Matters stood till the afternoon when Otou himself came to the Tents with a large supply, there I went to him and charged him with a breach of his promise in not permitting the People of Matavai to bring in the supplies as usual and insisted on him giving immidiate direction about [them], which I believe he did, if not done already, for presently after more was brought us than we could well purchas;² this must not be wonder'd at for the people had every thing in readiness to bring us the Moment they were permitted and I believe thought themselves as much injured by the restriction as we did.

Otou desired to see Some of the great guns Fired from the Ship, accordingly I ordered Twelve to be fired³ all Shotted, which he viewed seemingly with more pain than pleasure. I believe he had never seen a Cannon fired before. In the Evening we entertained him with fire-works,⁴ which gave him great satisfaction, thus ended the day and all our differences.

*... in the evening we entertained him with fireworks which gave him great satisfaction, thus ended all our defferences which occasioned the following remark. I had occasion some were in this Journal before to observe that these people are continually upon the lookout to rob us upon every occasion, which the Legislature⁵ either encourage or have not power to prevent, but most probable the former, because the offender is allways screened; that they should commit such daring thefts is the more extraordinary, as they are frequently done at the risk of being shott, and if the article they steal be of any consequence they know they will be obliged to make restitution; the moment a theft of this kind is committed it spreads like the wind over the whole neighbourhood, they judge of the consequences from what they have got, if a trifle, and such things as we usually give them, little or no notice is taken of it, but if the con-

¹ Hapai, or Teu. Like so many *arii*, he had alternative or successive names; Hapai seems to have been the one used at this period.

² purchas: dispence with

³ ... towards the Sea

⁴ The Tahitians' first experience of this joy: they called, and still call, the phenomenon *ahi-tiri*, lit. 'fire to throw' (or 'scatter').

⁵ No doubt he means by this the chiefs.

... than every one takes the alarm and begins to move off with their Moveables in all haste; the Chief is Mataou'd, gives orders to bring us no supplies and flies to some distant part; all this is some times done in so short a time that we have obtained by this means the first knowledge of our being robbed. Whether we obliged them to make restitution or no, the Chief must be reconciled before any of the people are permitted to bring in any refreshments—they know very well we cannot do without them, therefore never fail of strictly observing this rule, without ever considering that all their War Canoes, on which the strength of their Nation depends, thier houses and even the very fruit they refuse to supply us with are intirely in our power. It is hard to say how they would act was one to destroy any of these things; except the detaining some of their Canoes for a while, I have never touched the least article of thier property, of the two extremes I have allways chused that which appeared the most equitable and mild, a trifleing present to the Chief has always succeeded to my wish and very often put things upon a better footing than they were before. That they were the first aggressors had very little influence on my conduct in this respect, because no differences happened but when it was so, my people very rarely or hardly ever broke through the rules I thought proper to prescribe. Had I observed a different conduct I was sure to be the looser by it in the end, and all I could expect after destroying some part of their property was the empty honour of obligeing them to make the first overturn¹ towards an accommodation; but who knows if this would have been the event. Three things made them our fast friends, Their own good Natured and benevolent disposition, gentle treatment on our part, and the dread of our fire Arms; by our ceaseing to observe the Second the first would have wore off[f] of Course, and the too frequent use of the latter would have excited a spirit of revenge and perhaps have taught them that fire Arms were not such terrible things as they had imagined, they are very sensible of the superiority they have over us in numbers and no one knows what an enraged multitude might do.*—f. 204-4v.

WEDNESDAY 11th. In the Morning had a very large Supply of Fruit brought us from all parts, some of which came from Towha the Admiral, sent as usual by his Servants with orders to receive nothing in return, only desired to see me at Attahourou as he was ill and could not come to me; as I could not well undertake this Journey now I sent Odiddy along with his Servants with a present sutable to

¹ sic; no doubt for 'overture'.

those I had in so genteel a manner received from Towha. As the Most Essential repairs of the Ship were now nearly finished I resolved to leave the isle in a few days, accordingly ordered every thing to be got off from the Shore, that the Natives might see we were about to depart.

THURSDAY 12th. Showery Rainy weather. To Day we had a Viset from Old Obarea the Dolphins Queen¹ who looked as well and as young as ever. She presented me with two Hogs, some Cloth &c^a. Presently after her came Otou with a great retinue and a great quantity of Provisions, to every one of them I made large presents thinking it might be the last time I should see them² and in the evening entertain'd them with fire works.

FRIDAY 13th. Winds Easter, fair Weather. Two things prevented our Sailing this Morning, first Odiddy was not yet return'd from Attahourou, Secondly Otou desired I would not sail till he had seen me again;³ various were the reports about Odiddy, some said he was return'd, others that he was at Oparre and others said he would not return. In the evening a party of us went down to Oparre to learn more of the truth, here we found not only Odiddy, but Towha also who notwithstanding his ill state of health had resolved to see me before I went away and had got thus far on his Journey, he had got a swelling in his feet and legs which had intirely taken away the use of them; our Viset was short for⁴ after seeing Otou we return'd with Odiddy on board, this youth I found was desirous of remaining at this isle and therefore⁵ told him he was at liberty to remain here or at Ulietea and Frankly told him that if he went to England it was highly probable he would never return, but if after all he choosed to go I would take care of him and he must look upon me as his Father, he threw his arms about me and wept saying many people persuaded him to stay at the isle. I told him to go a Shore and speak with his friends and then come to me in the morning. He was

¹ ... whom I had not seen since 1769...—f. 205. ABG footnote: 'When the Dolphin was here in 1767, they took this woman to be Queen of the Island'. See I, pp. clxxxiii-iv, and the Tahitian portion of the Journal, *passim*. 'O-Ammo [Amo, Purea's ex-husband: the highest ranking chief, after his son, of the district of Papara, on the south of the island] likewise came to the ship about this time, but was still less noticed than his late consort; and being little known on board, was not permitted to come even into the captain's cabin... These two royal personages are living examples of the instability of human grandeur.'—Forster, II, p. 101. The moral is uncalled for: Purea and Amo, though since their defeat of little account in the north, still enjoyed their powers and dignity at Papara.

² them: these good people who had so liberally relieved our wants...—f. 205.

³ ... and I had a present to make him which I reserved to the last

⁴ our Visit... for: As the day was far spent we were obliged to Shorten our stay and

⁵ and therefore: as I had before told him, as likewise many others that we should not return, I now...

END
READING

occasion; is [it] not therefore reasonable to believe that this was intended as a Satire against this girl and to discourage others from following her steps.*—ff. 215–16.

→ **Hilarious Tahitian theft, Huahine, 2nd voyage**

→ **WEDNESDAY 18th.** Some Showers of rain. Morning Oree came with a present of fruit, stay'd dinner and in the after noon desired to see some great guns fired, Shotted, which I comply'd with and then he return'd a shore well satisfied.¹ Some of the Petty officers going out into the Country took two men as guides and to carry their money bags, containing hatchets, Nails &c^a the Currant coin of these countries, but the fellows found means to move off with their burdthens and the Method they took was artfull enough, they pointed out to them some birds to shoot,² one of the two Musquets they had went of and the other miss'd fire several times, so that they saw they were secure from both and ran off immidiately and left the gentlemen gazing at them like fools.

→ **END READING**

THURSDAY 19th. Showery all the morning, afternoon fair weather; little or no supplies from the Natives, or any thing else remarkable.

FRIDAY 20th. Early in the Morning three of the officers set out on a Shooting party,³ about 3 o'Clock in the after-noon I received intelligence that they were Seized and stripd of every thing about them, immidiately upon this I went a Shore with M^r F. and a boats crew and took possession of a large house with all the effects in it and two Chiefs, but in such a manner that they hardly knew what we were about being unwilling to alarm the neighbourhood. In this situation we were till the officers returnd safe and had had all their things restored; some insult⁴ on their side induced the Natives (who perhaps

¹ . . . The reason of his making this requist, was his hearing from Odiddy and our Otahiete passingers, that we had so done at that island. The Chief would have had us fired at the hills in the Country, but I did not approve of it, least the shott should fall Short and do some Misschief; besides the effect was better seen in the Water.—f. 215v.

² they . . . shoot: the gentlemen had with them two Muskets for shooting birds, the fellows after a shower of rain pointed out some for them to Shoot. . . .

³ . . . rather contrary to my inclination as I found the Natives, at least some of them, were continually on the lookout watching an opportunity to rob stragling parties, and were daily growing more and more daring.—f. 217.—The officers, says Forster (II, p. 122), were Cooper, Clerke, and one of the mates.

⁴ restored; some insult: restored and then I quited the house and presently after every thing in it was carried off. When I got aboard I was informed of the whole affair by the officers themselves: some little insult . . .—f. 217. Forster, II, pp. 122–4, gives a circumstantial account; according to him, Clerke 'ingenuously confessed' that he and Cooper had been the aggressors, 'and had drawn upon themselves the severe revenge which the natives had taken'. One of them had bullied and beaten a native into acting as a retriever for the ducks he had shot, and when the man tried to escape with the ducks, shot at him with ball—luckily missing. This hardly seems a 'little insult'; and it seems quite out of Clerke's character, whatever Cooper was capable of. Possibly Forster exaggerated. Cook could hardly have regarded the prevention of murder as an 'outrage'—the word used by him a few lines below.

waited for such an oppertunity) to seize their guns, upon which a scuffle insued, some chiefs interfeer'd and took the officers out of the Crowd and caused what had been taken from them to be restored.¹ I wint to look for Oree to complain of those repeated outrages, but not being in the neghberhood did not see him, after I had got on board I was told he was come to his house and was much grieved at what had happen'd.

SATURDAY 21st. Early in the Morn sail'd from hence for Ulietea, upward of Sixty Canoes, we were told the people in them were Arieo's and were going to the neighbouring isles to viset thier Brethren of the same ferternity, one may almost compair these Men to free masons, they tell us they assist each other when need requires and they seem to have Customs amongst them which they either will not or cannot explain, Odiddy says he is one and yet he cannot give us hardly any Idea of them.²

Odiddy who generly sleeps on Shore came off with a Message from Oree desiring I would come on shore with 22 Men to go with him to Chastise the robbers, the Messenger brought with him 22 pices of leaves least as I suppose he should forget his number, but this is one of their customs. Upon my receiving this extraordinary message I went ashore for better information; all I could learn from the Chief was these fellows were a sort of Banditi that had form'd themselves into a boddy with a resolution to seize and rob our people where ever they found them and therefore he wanted them chastized. I told him they would fly to the Mountains, he said no they had arm'd themselves to fight us.³

¹ . . . This was a place where we had before been told a set of fellows had formed themselves into a gang with a resolution to rob every one who should go that way. It should seem from what followed that the Chief could not prevent this or put a stop to those repeated outrages. I did not see him this evening as he was not come into the neighbourhood when I went on board, but I learnt from Odiddy that he came soon after and was so concerned at what had happened that he wept.—f. 217.

² and yet . . . them: Tupia was one, and yet I have not been able to get any tolerable idea of this set of men from either of them. Odiddy denies that the children they have by their Mistresses are put to death as we understood from Tupia and others.—f. 217v. At this point Cook writes into H, 'It is a well known fact that they are put to death'. A151 has a footnote: 'This assertion of Odiddies is of very little weight with me, I have found him but very little or hardly att all acquainted with many of their Customs of which this is one. Nuno an Arieo of Otahiete keeps a Mistress, a Sister of Odiddies, on asking him what became of the Children she might have by Nuno, he tells us she can have none, for that they have no other connections with each other than just sleeping together in the bed. Is it possible for any one to beleive this?' The text in both B and G are marked for a note, but B leaves inadequate space for it, and G no space at all. For the *arioi* see I, pp. clxxxviii–cxc.

³ no . . . fight us: they were resolved to fight us, and desired I would distroy both them and their house, but desired I would spare those in the neighbourhood as Also the Canoes and the Whenooa, and by way of security for these, presented me with a pig as a peace offering for the Whenooa, it was too small to be meant for any thing but a cerimony of

→ **Tahitian theft, attempt to trap Cook, Hitihiti's advice, Huahine, 2nd voyage**

When I got on board I acquainted the officers with what I had heard and desired to have their opinion of the Matter, in short it was concluded to go upon this consideration, that if we declined it as it was at the request of the cheif, these fellows would thereby be encouraged to commit greater acts of Violence and as these proceeding[s] would soon reach Ulietea, at which isle we intended to touch, the people there might treat us in the same manner or worse as being more numerous. Accordingly we landed 48 Men including my self, Mr F. and officers, the Cheif join'd us with a few people and we set out on our march in good order, the Chiefs party gather'd like a snow ball as we marched thro' the Country, some arm'd and some not; Odiddy who was with us began to be alarm'd and told us that many of the people in our company were of the party we were going against and at last told us that they were only leading us to some place where they could attack us to advantage, whether there was any truth in this or only occasioned by Odiddies fears I will not pretend to say, he however was the only person we could confide in and we regulated our march accordingly; after we had march'd several miles we got intelligence that the people we were going against were fled to the Mountains, but I think we were not told this till I had diclar'd to the Chief that I would March no farther for we were then about crossing a deep Vally bounded on each side with Steep Rocks where a few men with stones only might have cut off our retreat supposing their intention to be what Odiddy had said and what he still abided by; having therefore no business to proceed farther we return'd back in the same order as we went, and saw in several places people¹ come down from the sides of the hills with their arms in their hands, which they laid down² when ever they found they were seen by us, this shews that there must have been some truth in what Odiddy had said, but I must acquit Oree the Chief from having any hand in it. In our return Stopping at a house³ to refresh our selves with Cocoa-nutts two Chiefs brought each of

this kind. This sencible old chief could see (which perhaps none of the others never thought of) that every thing in the Neighbourhood was at our mercy, and therefore took care to secure them by this method which I suppose to be of weight with them. When I returned on board I considered of the Chiefs request, which upon the whole appeared an extraordinary one.—f. 217v. 'Whenoa': *fenua*, the country; presumably it means here the district concerned. Cf. p. 422, n. 1.

¹ . . . who had been following us, . . .—f. 218.

² *laid down*: instantly quitted and hid in the bushes

³ *Stopping at a house*: we halted at a convenient place to refresh our selves with a few Cocoa-nutts which I ordered the people to bring us which they readily complied with; indeed by this time I believe many of them wished us on board out of the way, altho no one step was taken that could give them the least alarm, nevertheless they certainly were. [*sic*, and so G]—f. 218. The printed text reads 'were in terror'.



FIG. 61. View of Pare, Tahiti
Oil painting by Hodges, in the National Maritime Museum



FIG. 62. Portrait heads of Tahitians, by Hodges

(left) Tu. Crayon drawing.—Commonwealth National Library. (right) Potatau, chief of Punaauia. Red chalk drawing.—Mitchell Library, D.11, no. 17

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HUAHINE DINNER

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them a pig and a dog and with the Customary ceremony presented them to me together with some young plantain trees by way of making and ratifying the Peace,¹ after this we continued our march to the landing place where we imbarqued and went on board, soon after the chief follow'd, with a quantity of fruit, and set down with us to dinner, we had scarce dined before more fruit and two Hogs were brought off to the Ship, so that we were likely to get more by this excursion than by all the presents we had made them; it certainly gave them some Alarm to see so strong a party march into the Country and probably gave them a better opinion of our fire Arms, for I had caused the people on our return to the beach to fire several vollies to let the Natives see we could keep up a constant fire for I believe they had but an indifferent or rather contemptable Idea of Musquets in general, having never seen any fired but at birds &c^a by such of our people as used to stragling about the Country, the most of them but indifferent sportsmen and Miss'd generally two Shott out of three, this together with their pieces missing fire, being Slow in charging and before the Natives, all this they no doubt took great Notice of and concluded² that Musquets were not such terrible things as they had been taught to believe.

SUNDAY 22nd. I intended to have Sailed this Morning had not the Chief assured me last night that if I would stay one day longer we should have a large supply of Provisions, he was in part as good as his word for we got more Bread fruit and Cocoa nutts than we could dispence with, but Pigs which we most wanted came far short of our expectations. Going on Shore in the afternoon I found the Chief just seting down to dinner, I cannot say what was the occasion of his dining so late, several people were imploy'd chewing the peper root about a pint of which juice without any other mixture was the first dish and which was dispatch'd in an instant, a Cup of it was offered to me, but the Brewing alone was sufficient,³ after this the chief washed his Mouth with Coco-nut Water and eat of Ripe Plantain and Mahee⁴ of each not a little and lastly finished his repast by eating or rather drinking about three pints Popoe⁵ which is made of Bread fruit, Plantans Mahee &c^a and deluted with Water till it is about the consistence of custard.

¹... another brought a very large hog which he followed us with to the Ship.—f. 218v.

²... as well they might.

³... Odiddy was not so nice and took what I refused...—f. 219.

⁴mahi, baked fermented breadfruit.

⁵popoe.

END
READING

at South. At Day-light preceiving a likelihood of a clear Passage between the Isle and the Breakers we stretched to the West and soon after saw more isles a head and on each Bow,¹ but the Passage seem'd open; at length we found soundings in 45 & 40 fathom a clear bottom, this circumstance greatly lessned the danger sence we now had it in our power to Anchor.² Towards Noon some people came off in Canoes from one of the isles³ bring[ing] with them some Cocoa nutts and Shaddocks which they exchanged for Nails, they shewed us Annamocka or Rotterdam⁴ which at Noon bore distant

Miles, they like wise gave us the names of some of the other Isles and wanted us much to go to theirs.⁵ The breeze freshning we soon left them a Stern.

MONDAY 27th. Gentle breezes and pleasant Weather. In the PM meeting with nothing to obstruct us, at 5 o'Clock Anchored on the North side of Annamocka about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the Shore in 20 fathom water, the bottom Coral Sand, the extremes of the isle extending from s 88° E to sw and a Cove with a Sandy beach s 50° East. As soon as we approached the South end of the isle Several of the Natives came off in their Canoes⁶ one of which asked for me by name, a proof that these people have a communication with Amsterdam; as soon as we had Anchored they came a long side with yams and Shaddocks which they exchanged for Small Nails and old rags.⁷

Early in the Morn the Master and I went a Shore to look for fresh

¹ a head . . . Bow: both to the sw and nw

² Anchor: Anchor in case of a Calm or to spend the night if we found no passage.

³ . . . there were two or three people in each who came boldly a long side

⁴ . . . such are the advantages in knowing the proper names to isles. . . f. 228v. Cook had picked up the name Annamocka (Nomuka) from Tasman, and possibly heard it also when on his previous visit. It was called Rotterdam by Tasman, who was anchored there from 25 January to 1 February 1643, and noted the Tongan name on his chart.

⁵ . . . which they called *Comango*. [Mango, 5 miles south-eastward of Nomuka.]

⁶ Several . . . Canoes: we were met by a number of canoes, laden with fruit and roots, but as I did not shorten sail we had but little traffick with them:—f. 228v.

⁷ as soon . . . rags: These people importuned us much to go towards their Coast, letting us know, as well as we could understand them, that we might anchor there: this was on the sw side of the island where the Coast seemed to be sheltered from South and se winds but as the day was far spent I could not attempt to go in there, as it would have been necessary to have sent first a boat in to examine it. I therefore stood for the North side of the Island. . . . Before we had well got to an Anchor, the Natives came off from all parts in canoes, bring[ing] with them yams & Shaddocks, which they exchanged for Small Nails and old rags. One man took a vast likeing to our lead and line, got hold of it and in spite of all the t[h]reats I could make cut the line with a stone, but a discharge of small Shot made him return it and the others less trickish.—ff. 228v–g. It may be pointed out that there is in this paragraph of the text confusion in Cook's writing, which he cleared up in B. The passage 'As soon as we approached the South end of the isle . . . Amsterdam' should logically precede the sentence which goes before: i.e. he (1) approaches the south end (but does not anchor); (2) goes on to anchor on the north side; (3) after he has anchored the natives come alongside to trade.

water, we were received with great Courtesy by the Natives and conducted¹ to a Pond of Brackish Water, the same I suppose as Tasman Water at.² In the mean time those in the Boat had loaded her with fruit and roots which the Natives brought down and exchanged for Nails and Beads and on our return to the Ship found the same Traffick carrying there. After breakfast I went a Shore with two Boats to Traffick with the People and ordered the Launch to follow to take in Water. The Natives assisted us to roll the Casks to and from the Pond which was about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Mile, the expence of their labour was a bead or a small Nail. Fruit and roots³ were brought down in such plenty that the other two Boats were Laden in a trice, sent of cleared and load a second time by Noon at which time the Launch was Laden also and the Botanizing and Shooting parties all come in except the Surgeon for whom we could not wait as the Water was Ebbing fast out of the Cove.

TUESDAY 28th. In the PM the Launch could not go for Water as there was no getting into the Cove⁴ where we landed before and where we took it off, but without the Cove⁵ is a very good landing place at all times of the Tide, here some of the Officers landed after dinner, where they found the Surgeon strip'd of his Gun, he having come to the landing place some time after the boats were gone, got a Canoe to bring him on board but he had no sooner got into her than a fellow snatched hold of the gun and ran of with it, as soon as I heard this I hasten'd ashore for fear our people should take such steps to recover the gun as I might not approve. I took two boats with me and landed at the place above mentioned,⁶ the few people

¹ and conducted: after I had distributed some presents amongst them I asked for water and was conducted . . .—f. 229.—'The Captain & Master went on shore in search of water & were rec'd by the Natives in a very friendly manner, these Islanders are very courteous yet very light fingered, tho' in other respects without any ill intention. . . .—Harvey.

² This must have been so, though Tasman says the water was fresh, and his estimates of distance are considerably greater than Cook's. The island has no really fresh water, apart from rain water; but only this pond, another not far from the south coast, and the 'Salt Water Lake' or lagoon to which Cook refers below (pp. 448–9). The pond water seeps in from the sea, as in all Tongan ponds (so that digging for water is useless). There are no people living in the vicinity of Cook's pond now: it is surrounded by the usual island undergrowth, and coconuts, taro, yams, manioc and bananas all gone wild.

³ . . . especially Shaddocks and yams.

⁴ . . . with a boat from between half Ebb to half Flood

⁵ . . . near the Southern point

⁶ as soon as . . . mentioned: [deleted he followed him but it was to no purpose. As soon as I was informed of this and heard that the officers had taken some of the Arms out of the boat with them I hastened on Shore lest they should take any step to recover the gun I might not approve of.] after which no one would put him on board, but would have striped him as he imagined, had he not presented a Tooth-pick case which they no doubt thought was a little gun. As soon as I heard of this I landed at the place above mentioned . . .—f. 229v.

that were there fled at my approach; here I left the Boats and went in Search of our people whom I found down near the beach in the Cove where we had been in the Morning with a good many of the Natives about them, they had taken no step to recover the gun nor did I think proper to take any because I was displeased with the occasion of its being lost, but in this I was wrong and only added one fault to a nother; my Lenity in this affair¹ and the easy manner they had obtained this gun which they thought secure in their possession encourag'd them to commit acts of greater Violence² as will soon appear. When the Natives saw no one Molested them on account of the robbery they carried their fruit &c³ to the Boats, so that by the evening they were pretty well Laden and we all return'd on board.

Early in the AM Lieut^t Clerke and the Master with 14 or 15 men went in the Launch for Water, I did intend to have followed immediately in a nother boat, but rather unluckily refered it till after breakfast. The Launch was no sooner landed than some of the Natives gather about her, behaving in so rude a manner that the Officers were in some doubt if they should attempt to fill Water, but as they expected me a Shore they got the Casks out of the Boat and with a great deal of difficulty got them fill'd and into the Boat again, in the doing of which the Lieut^t had his gun snatched from him and carried off. Several of the people were strip'd of one thing or another and some of the Coopers tools were taken away, Our people only firing one or two Musquets which did no execution, all the time being unwilling to kill any of them if it could be avoided: I landed just as the Launch was ready to put off when M^r Clerke made me acquainted with the above circumstance.³ I quickly came to a resolution to oblige the Natives to make restitution and for that purpose ordered all the Marines to be sent on shore⁴ and in the mean time remained with one boat, many of the Natives remained about me and behaved with their usual Courtesy, but I made them so sensible of my intention that M^r Clerk's Musquet was presently brought me, but they

¹ because . . . affair: [deleted because I was displeased with the occasion of its being lost,] but in this I was wrong [deleted and only added one fault to a nother; my Lenity in this affair] . . .—f. 229v. Cook's deletions here, as well as those specified in the previous note, seem to be designed to protect his officers from any possible blame.

² commit . . . Violence: proceed in these tricks

³ Our people . . . circumstance: and all this was done as it were by stealth, for they laid hold of nothing by main force. I landed just as the Launch was ready to put off; The Natives who were pretty numerous on the beach, as soon as they saw me, began to fly, so that I suspected something happened; I however prevailed on many to stay and M^r Clerke came and informed me of all the preceding circumstances.—f. 230.

⁴ to be . . . shore: to be armed and sent on shore. M^r F. and his party being gone out into the country I order'd two or 3 Guns to be fired from the Ship in order to alarm him, not knowing how the Natives might act on this occasion . . .—f. 230.

made use of many excuses to divert me from insisting on the other. At length the Marines arrived which gave them some alarm in so much that some fled but I prevailed on the greatest part to stay; the first Step I took was to seize on two Large double Sailing Canoes which were in the Cove, one fellow making some resistance I fired at him with Small Shott which sent him limping off, the Natives now convinced I was in earnest fled to a man but on my calling to them several returned and presently after the other Musquet was brought¹ and that moment I ordered the Canoes to be restored to Shew the Natives it was on that account only they were detained, the other things we had lost being of little or no Value.² By this time the Launch was a Shore for a nother load of Water and we were permitted to fill the Casks without one Man daring to come near.³ I ordered her to be hoisted in as soon as she was clear as the water we got was not worth the trouble it gave us. Returning from the Watering place we found some of the Natives collected together near the beach from whom we understood that the Man I had fired at was Matte (dead). I treated the Story as improbable and demanded of one of them, a man who seemed of some consequence, the return of a adze which had been taken from us in the morning and told him to send for it, accordingly two men were dispatched, but I soon found that we had quite misunderstood each other for instead of the Adze the wound'd man was brought on a board and laid down at my feet to appearance dead, but we soon found our mistake⁴ and that tho he was wounded both in the hand and thigh neither the one nor the other were dangerous. I however sent⁵ for the Surgeon a Shore to dress his wounds, in the Mean time I addressed my self to several people to have the Adze return'd,⁶ especially to an elderly woman who had always a great deal to say to me from my first landing, but upon this occasion she gave her Tongue free liberty, not one word in fifty I understood, all I could learn from her Arguments was that it was mean in me to insist on the return of so trifling an article, but when she found I was determined She and 3 or 4 more Women went away and soon after the Adze was brought me, but I saw her no more which I was sorry for as I wanted to make her a present on account of the part she seem'd to take in all our transactions, private as well as publick, for I was no sooner return'd from the Pond the

¹ . . . and laid down at my feet

² . . . I was the more indifferent about them

³ . . . except one Man who had befriended us during the whole affair and seemed to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen.—f. 230—ov.

⁴ but . . . mistake: I was much moved at the Sight, but I soon saw my mistake . . .—f. 230v.

⁵ I however sent: I therefore desired he might be carried out of the Sun and sent

⁶ . . . for as I had now nothing else to do, I resolved to have it.

first time I landed than this woman and a man presented to me a young woman and gave me to understand she was at my service. Miss, who probably had received her instructions, I found wanted by way of Handsel,¹ a Shirt or a Nail, neither the one nor the other I had to give without giving her the Shirt on my back which I was not in a humour to do. I soon made them sensible of my Poverty and thought by that means to have come of with flying Colours but I was mistaken, for I was made to understand I might retire with her on credit, this not suteing me niether the old Lady began first to argue with me and when that fail'd she abused me, I understood very little of what she said, but her actions were expressive enough and shew'd that her words were to this effect, Sneering in my face and saying, what sort of a man are you thus to refuse the embraces of so fine a young Woman, for the girl certainly did not [want] beauty² which I could however withstand, but the abuse of the old Woman I could not and therefore hastned into the Boat, they then would needs have me take the girl on board with me, but this could not be done as I had come to a Resolution not to suffer a Woman to come on board the Ship on any pretence what ever and had given strict orders to the officers to that purpose for reasons which I shall mention in a nother place.

When the Surgeon arrived he dress'd the mans wounds and let him blood and was of opinion he was in no sort of danger as the shott had done little more than penetrate the Skin. In the operation some poultice was wanting, the Surgeon ask'd for ripe Plantains but they brought Sugar Cane and Chewed it to a poulp and gave him it to apply to the wounds, this being more of a Balsamick than the other shews that these people understand Simples.³ After the mans wounds were dress'd I gave him a Spike Nail and a Knife which to them was of great value, his Master or at least the man who seem'd to own the Canoe took them, most probably to himself. It was rather unlucky this man did not belong to the Isle, but had lately come in one of the two Sailing Canoes from a nother isle in the Nighbourhood. Matters being once more put in order we all return'd on board to dinner.

*I now was informed of a circumstance which was observed on board: several Canoes being a long side when the great guns were

¹ by way of Handsel: as a preliminary article

² 'It has always been suppos'd that Cook himself, never had any connection with any of our fair friends; I have often seen them jeer and laugh at him, calling him Old, and good for nothing.'—Elliott Mem., f. 29.

³ Dr John Martin, who did the writing of Mariner's *Tonga*, devoted an appendix to Tongan medical practice, but it has more about surgery than 'simples'.

fired in the morning they all retired but one man who was bailing the Water out of his canoe which laid a long side directly under the guns, when the first gun was fired he just looked up and then quite unconcerned continued his work, nor had the second gun any other effect upon him, he did not stir till the Water was all out of his Canoe and then paddled leasuerly off. This Man had Several times been observed to take fruit and roots out of other Canoes and sell them to us, if the owners did not willingly part with them he took them by force, by which he obtained the appellation of Custom house officer. One time after he had been collecting tribute he happened to be lying along side of a sailing canoe which was aboard, one of her people seeing him looking a nother way or attentively imployed about something or another, took the oppertunity to lighten the Canoe of part of her burthen and then put off and set their sail, but the man preceiving the trick they had played him, darted after them and soon got on board, beat the man who had taken his things which he not only now brought a way but many more which he took from the people in the Canoe. This man had likewise been seen makeing collections on shore at the trading place. I remember to have seen him there and on account of his gathering tribute, took him to be a man of consequence and was going to make him a present, but some of the people present would not let me, saying he was no Areeke, that is Chief. He had his hair allways powdered with some kind of white powder.¹

Both M^r Cooper and my self being on shore at Noon, M^r Wales could not wind up the Watch at the usual time and as we did not come on board till late in the after noon it was forgot till it was down. This circumstance was of no consequence as M^r Wales had had several al[t]itudes of the sun at this place before it went down and also got some after.*—f. 231—IV.

WEDNESDAY 29th. Having got on board a plentiful Supply of roots and some fruits I resolved to sail as soon as we got any Wind for at present it was Calm. In the evining I went a Shore in Company with M^r F. and some of the officers, they made a little excursion into the isle but I did not quit the landing place, the Natives were every were very submissive² and obligeing so that had we made a longer stay its probable we should [have] had no more reason to complain of their conduct; while I was now on Shore I got the names of Twenty Islands which lay between the NW and NE, some of them in Sight.

¹ The lime of powdered coral: *lahei*, to lime the hair if you were a commoner, but *pene-pene* if you were a chief.

² *submissive*: courteous

Two which laid most to the West were remarkable on account of their great hight, in the most westernmost we judged was a Vulcano by the Continual Column of Smoak we saw assend from the center of the isle, to clear up this point it was necessary we should approach them nearer, accordingly at day-light in the Morning got under Sail with a light breeze at West and Stood to the Northward for these isles, but the wind scanting carried us among the low Islots and Shoals which lie north of Annamocka so that we had to ply to windward. At Noon the middle of Annamocka bore $s\frac{1}{2}E$ distant 9 Miles and was at the same time close to one of the islots, those we had in Sight extended from $N\frac{1}{2}W$ to $SEBE\frac{1}{2}E$, and were Sixteen or 18 in Number, the two high Islands bore from NW to $NNW\frac{1}{2}W$. Lat Ob^d $20^{\circ}6'$ s. A great Number of Canoes kept about us all the forenoon; the people in them brought for Traffick Various sorts of Curiosities, some roots, fruits and fowls but of these not many; they took in exchange small Nails and Pieces of any kind of Cloth. I believe before they went away they striped the most of our people of the few Clothes the Otaheite Ladies had left them for the Passion for Curiosities was as great as ever.

→
END
READING

THURSDAY 30th. The Wind being contrary and but little of it the after noon and night was spent in plying with the precaution necessary to such navigation. In the Morning Stretched out for the high Islands having the Advantage of a gentle breeze at wsw. Day no sooner dawned than we saw Canoes coming from all parts, their Traffick was much the same as yesterday or rather better, for out of one Canoe I got two Pigs which were Scarce Articles with them.¹

[JULY 1774]

FRIDAY 1st. Gentle breezes and Clowdy Weather. At 4 o'Clock in the PM we reached the two high Islands, the Southermost and the one on which the Vulcano is or is supposed to be is called by the Natives Amattafoa² and the other which is round high and Peaked

¹ 'All this Morning a great many Canoes from the various Low Isles in the Neighbourhood trading and bartering for any trifle in the World—it is fairly the trifling Market—Our People give them old rags in exchange for small Doves—Bows—Arrows &c. &c which are absolutely as worthless as the Rags themselves.'—Clerke.

² Tofua. Forster got the name exactly, 'Tofooa'. 'Amattafoa' is a puzzle, and modern Tongans can cast no light on it. J. R. Forster (*Observations*, p. 525) says Cook got it from Tasman (Dalrymple's *Collection*, II); but then where did Tasman get it from? Wales and Gilbert both use the form 'Mattafoa', which suggests they had heard the name independently, and that the Cook-Tasman initial A was the nominative prefix. The Tongan word most similar is *hamatefua*, for a single sailing canoe with outrigger—a word which would most probably have been heard, both in 1643 and 1774; but confusion seems unlikely. The possibility that the island once had the same name as the canoe breaks down

Oghao.¹ We pass'd between the two, the Channell being two Miles wide, safe and without soundings; both are inhabited but neither of them appeared firtille, they lay from Annamocka $NNW\frac{1}{2}W$ Distant 11 or 12 Leagues. Amattafoa which is the largest of the two is about 5 Leagues in Circuit. Unfortunately the Summit of this isle during the whole day was covered with heavy clouds, so that we were not able to verify whether or no the Smoak we had seen was occasioned by a Vulcano or the burning of the Country, for we could see that great part of the Brow of the Hill had been consumed by fire, this divided our opinions and nothing determined.² While we were in the Passage between the two Isles we had little wind, which gave time for a large Sailing Canoe which had been chasing us all day to get up with us as well as several others with Padles which had been thrown a Stern when the breeze was fresh, several of these people came on board the Ship, these as also the others along side continued to exchange articles as usual. I had now an oportunity to verify a fact which before I was in doubt about which was whether or no their great sailing Vessels put about in changeing Tacks or only shifted the sail and so proceeded with either end foremost, the one now by us worked in this Manner, the Sail is Latteen, extended to a Latteen yard above and the foot to a Boom, the yard is slung nearly in the Middle or upon equipoise, so that when they want to change Tacks have only to³ ease of the sheet and bring the heel or Tack end of the yard to the other end of the Boat and the sheet in like manner: there are notches or sockets at each end of the Canoe in which the end of the yard fixes, in short they work just as the Vessels at the Ladrone Islands described by Lord Anson; when they want to sail large or before the wind the yard is taken out of the Socket and Squared. But all thier Sailing Vessels are not rigged to Sail in this manner, some and those of the largest size are rigged so as to be obliged to Tack. They have a very Short⁴ Mast which steps on a kind

before the Wales-Gilbert rendering. Taking a very long shot, one may suggest that the volcanic island had an earlier, or alternative, name, made up of the addition of *maa*—burnt, scorched—to Tofua (though the Polynesian adjective normally follows, not precedes, the noun). The name Tasman got for Kao, it may be noted, was 'Kaybay'.

¹ Kao. It rises to 3,380 feet, in a very beautiful cone frequently obscured by cloud—the sign, according to the local experts, of a northerly wind; it is clear for a southerly. Cook seems to have had a good view.

² *verify . . . determined*: determine with certainty whether there was a Vulcano or no, but every thing we could see concur'd to make us believe there was.—f. 232a.—Tofua is an active volcano, 1,660 feet at its highest—not particularly 'remarkable on account of' its 'great height' (entry of 29 June) except in comparison with the flat islands to the east; the crater is in the middle of the island, and contains a fresh water lake.

³ *when . . . to*: when they change tacks, they throw the Vessel up in the Wind . . .—f. 232.

⁴ *a very short*: a short, but pretty stout