

Such arguments, especially when backed up by a few dozen lashes, seemed unassailable: 'Every man was Convinced and how so ever great Our inclination Might be to taste of these Joys and Bliss that seemed More than Mortal all hopes was now given over.'<sup>1</sup> Midshipman Mouat's future after all was in the navy.

We are not to forget the constant trade, attention to the ships, and laborious astronomical work for one purpose or another<sup>2</sup> that went on during these weeks as a less dramatic accompaniment to alarms and excursions and admonitory speeches. At last, after being delayed in harbour a week by contrary winds, the ships got to sea on 7 December. Cook paid a brief visit to Borabora, his only one, to pick up the remains of an anchor lost by Bougainville (any old iron that could be turned into articles of trade was useful to him), and then steered north. He was about to begin on the real exploration of this voyage, the task that had brought him into the Pacific; he was in seas where he had never been before, and Clerke had a rendezvous at latitude 45° N, off the coast of New Albion; because 'the Passage from the Society Isles to the Northern Coast of America is of considerable length both in distance and time', and 'a part of it must be performed in the very depth of Winter when gales of Wind and bad Weather must be expected and may possibly occasion a Separation'. According to George Gilbert, there was indeed a general melancholy abroad: all the pleasures of the voyage, it was thought, being at an end, and nothing ahead but cold, hunger, and every kind of hardship and distress.<sup>3</sup> The Society Islanders knew of no land to the north, they said—which argues a failure in tradition; the prospect was therefore one of a vacant as well as wintry ocean. We are to remember that if on one reckoning Cook was ten months behind his projected timing, on another he was two months ahead. Nevertheless it would have been absurd to remain longer in these islands: his men were well recruited, his ships were in good order and well-provided, and extra time could be profitably used on the coast of America. In fact, as if the heavens were determined to surprise, a few calms and light airs from the wrong direction were the worst they inflicted on this passage, apart from one short gale off a Hawaiian island; and it was not till March, when Cook was already naming the capes of Oregon, that the late winter fell on him in storm and sleet. In the meanwhile

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> e.g. King in his journal, ff. 112v-113, gives a table of no fewer than 145 results of observations to fix the longitude of his observatory at Matavai Bay. No doubt these were lunars. The work involved was prodigious. Cook, summarizing King's results, pays some attention to the matter, p. 254 below.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 245, 256, n. 1 below.

Sighted Oahu JAN 18, 1778  
Depart for N Feb 2, 1778

Sighted Maui NOV 26, 1778  
Killed FEB 14, 1779  
DEPART Kaula MARCH 16, 1779

he had come upon first an island and then an archipelago, and the archipelago was one of his major discoveries.

The island was Christmas Island, sighted on 24 December, uninhabited except for turtles and sea-birds. It had been inhabited once, by Polynesians, like its companions in the scattered Equatorial islands, as the remains of coral limestone grave-enclosures indicate. Two of the sailors nearly died there, from their inability to find their way from one side of the sandy waste to the other—'a strange set of beings, the generality of seamen are when on shore', reflected Cook; a large number of turtles were caught, an eclipse of the sun observed, and another of those seamen's bottles deposited, celebrating *Georgius tertius Rex* and noting the ships' visit, on the last day of the year 1777. Cook departed on 2 January 1778 and on 18 January sighted land again, bearing north-east by east. He was sailing into the Hawaiian group,<sup>1</sup> stretching in a north-west to south-east line, and this one was Oahu. Soon after another appeared to the north—Kauai;<sup>2</sup> and next day a third, west of the second—Niihau. As the wind blew directly off Oahu, he made for Kauai, coming up with it on the afternoon of the 19th. It is a roughly circular island, pushed out at its western end, an island of great hills and ridges and tremendous cloud formations. Canoes came off; the people understood Tahitian. The day following, off the south-west side of the island, he sent the boats to reconnoitre under Williamson, who—the incident has already been referred to—shot and killed a native but was afraid to tell Cook about it until after the ships had left the group. It is not clear from the journals where precisely this happened: it may have been at Makaweli, on the eastern side of Hoanuanu Bay, a little east of

<sup>1</sup> For what it is worth, the quotation may be made, 'I understand they were first seen by Trevenen's worthy & attached friend Ward', from Fenrose, *Memoir*, Appendix, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cook got the name as Atoui (King Atowi or A'tou I, Samwell Atowai), which gives us the nominative prefix plus the old Hawaiian T for K—E Tauai. This brings up the matter generally of the spellings of Hawaiian names in the journals. There is no doubt that the English renderings were sometimes closer to the Hawaiian consonants as then pronounced than the present forms as standardized by a committee of missionaries in 1826. The great difficulty for the committee was choosing between *k* and *t*, *l* and *r*, and *w* and *s*. We can see the process of change in the different renderings of particular names, while noting King's remark, 'It is to be observ'd that among the Windward Islands the K is used instead of the T, as Morokoi instead of Morotol' (and cf. Samwell, pp. 1230-31). While King gives the name of the Hawaiian high chief Kalei'opu'u as Terrecoboo, Law makes it Kirri Oboo, Burney Kerrioboo, Samwell Kariopoo. Most other proper names on the island of Hawaii were spelt with a *k*; invariably with *r* and not *l*, either initially (Rono) or medially (Kerrioboo or Terrecoboo). Even now, standardized spelling is not matched by standardized pronunciation. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, in their *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* (Honolulu, 1957), p. xv, write, 'The sound *k* is replaced by *t* by some speakers sporadically, by all speakers on the island of Niihau, and often in chants; this substitution is not common after a pause.' They point out (p. xxix) that *w* is also sounded as *r*, depending on the vowel it follows. Samwell's rendering of the village name Kaawaloa illustrates this point, as well as the old *r* for *l*, exactly—Kavroa.

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Waimea, off which Cook made his anchorage. The village of Waimea itself lay at the eastern end of the shallow indentation of its bay, about the quite considerable river of the same name; from the beach could be seen across the Kaulakahi channel the long slim line of Niihau, higher and blunt in the north, tapering down to the sea at its south end. Close to the village Cook landed, found good water and trade, the islanders friendly and rather awestruck, the country fertile, the settlements well-peopled. Then the weather deteriorated, and when Cook weighed his anchors on the 23rd to move the *Resolution* further out, the wind and current combined carried him right to leeward of the island, and in the night to the north. On the 24th, thinking at first that he might land on Niihau, he decided rather to stand back to Kauai to make sure of picking up the *Discovery*, and to fill his water at his previous anchorage. Such were the baffling winds and calms and current, however, that though the *Discovery* rejoined him, he could never regain the anchorage, and on the 29th resolved to anchor off the western coast of Niihau. This he did, and Gore was sent ashore both that afternoon and the next morning to look for water and trade for refreshments. The surf rose so much that Gore and twenty men had to be left ashore from 30 January to 1 February, when Cook got them off himself, and 'took a little walk into the island', a poor place compared with Kauai. Here he gave the people the goats, pigs 'of the English breed', and vegetable seeds he had intended for the other island. He meant to land again next day. The *Resolution* dragged her anchor; next day instead, the tedious operations consequent on that over, she was ten or eleven miles to leeward once more. After his previous experience of trying to regain his station Cook decided to waste no more time, although it was good trading weather with little surf (says Clerke), and the *Discovery* having joined him stood away north. This was at noon on 2 February. They had been about the islands for a fortnight—during which Clerke certainly had greater luck with his ship than did Cook.

To the group thus discovered Cook gave the name Sandwich Islands. It is hardly necessary to discuss the theory that he was not the first discoverer, and that because the Spanish galleons had crossed the Pacific backwards and forwards between Acapulco and Manila for two centuries a Spaniard must necessarily have sighted them—the Spaniard thus associated being generally one Juan Gaytano or Gactan, in 1555. The claim was backed up by the existence on old maps in about the position of Hawaii of a set of islands known severally as La Mesa (or Los Monjes), La Desgraciada, and La Vezina; and very respectable persons, like La Pérouse and Alexander

von Humboldt, accepted it. They did not know the history of the maps, on which this group had pushed its way steadily east, according to the rather headstrong deductions of the map-makers, from the Ladrone group. Some of Cook's men immediately assumed, from the bits of iron they saw and the shape of the Hawaiian helmets, or *mahiolo*, that they must have had predecessors, and those Spanish; on the other hand, thought Cook, 'the very great surprise [the inhabitants] shewed at the sight of the ships and their total ignorance of fire arms seemed to prove the contrary'; and could not iron drift ashore in wreckage? The argument from maps could be rebutted from maps; and it had already been written in Anson's *Voyage*, about a captured manuscript chart, that it 'contained all the discoveries which the *Manila* ships have at any time made in traversing this vast Ocean . . . and it is most remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the *Spanish* Navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the *Philippine* Islands and the coast of *California* and *Mexico*; so that from the time the *Manila* ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of *California* . . .'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Spaniards were deprived of the discovery by the very regularity of their route: the Hawaiian islands, spread from latitude 19° to 23°, were well out of line, halfway between the passage west in the steady trade wind of latitudes 10° to 14°, and the return eastwards in the zone of westerlies beyond 30°. Their shipmasters were instructed to note carefully any new discoveries. New discoveries in the middle of the ocean they never made. As for Hawaii in particular, the scholarship of Dahlgrén and the practical enquiries of Stokes seem to remove the matter beyond doubt.<sup>2</sup>

Of all the fortnight spent between Kauai and Niihau, Cook was ashore on only three days, owing to the vagaries of the weather, thrice at Kauai and once at Niihau. The three best observers among his officers, Anderson, Clerke and King, were also ashore, but for quite limited periods. The amount of information gathered about the people is therefore remarkable, though a great deal more was learnt the following year. It was obvious from the first canoes that they were still another branch of the Polynesian race. Cook had in fact come to the northern apex of the 'Polynesian triangle': come once again, too,

<sup>1</sup> Walter's Anson first appeared in 1748. The quotation is from p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> E. W. Dahlgrén, *Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards before their Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778?* (Stockholm, 1916); John F. G. Stokes, 'Hawaii's Discovery by Spaniards, Theories traced and refuted', *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 20 (Honolulu, 1939). For what can be said, briefly, on the other side see Bern Anderson's life of Vancouver, *Sailor of the Sea* (Seattle, 1960), pp. 128-34.

to the question that had assailed his mind ever since, on his first voyage, he had recognized the kinship between the New Zealanders and the Tahitians, and Tupaia had been his interpreter: 'How shall we account for this Nation spreading it self so far over this Vast ocean?' We are still, two hundred years after Cook, entertaining the matter. It is probable that with Hawaii there is no single answer, and that the 'Nation', whatever its remotest origins, arrived at this high and beautiful volcanic group from the south, from the Marquesas perhaps twelve or fourteen hundred years ago, and later, about the twelfth or thirteenth century, from Tahiti. So at least the linguistic and archaeological evidence leads us to infer.<sup>1</sup> Hawaiian tradition too harks back to the south, and a long voyage of heroes, deliberate sailors. Sailors these islanders certainly were when Cook arrived, about their own group, though Tahiti had faded into legend, and outlying islands in the north, Nihoa and Necker, were no longer settled. Cook, it will be noted, on this visit really picked up only the north-west members of the group; among them Kauai, the seat of one of the four 'kingdoms' into which it was divided,<sup>2</sup> had primacy. Niihau was a political appendage; Lehua and Kaula merely rocky islets. Oahu, which was to attain its grand importance and its primacy only in the next century, he had merely sighted; with a more favourable wind it, and not Kauai, might have seen his first landing. Kauai, however, with its cultivated coastal plain, so briefly visited, its sight of green valleys and uplands before the great heights rose up, could give a fair picture, topographically, of the group; and its economically-clothed people a fair picture of the physical characteristics of all the people. Cook faithfully remarks their houses, set in villages and not scattered like those of Tahiti and Tonga; and what he calls their 'Morai'—the 'temple' or *heiau* with its 'oracle-tower' or *lanana'u*, its graves and terribly grinning images—so much more complex than the *marae* of Tahiti with which he was familiar. They practised tattooing, but scantily compared with the magnificent heads of New Zealand, the legs and thighs of Tahiti and Tonga, the whole figures of the Marquesas. Tahiti had its *maro-ara* worked with red or yellow feathers, Tonga its red feather bonnets or *saefae*, but these did not compare with the feather cloaks that in Hawaii made glorious the bays and beaches, giving lustre even to war. They had double canoes, but not the great structures of the Society Islands, or the great and masterly carvings that decorated at prow and stern the

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth P. Emory, 'East Polynesian Relationships', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 72 (1963), pp. 78-106.

<sup>2</sup> Kauai, Oahu, Maui, Hawaii—the last the largest.

important canoes of New Zealand; none the less they were good canoe-builders, and, says Cook, the outriggers of their single canoes 'are shaped and fitted with more judgement than any I had before seen'. Large-scale carving was no part of Hawaiian life, though there were craftsmen who could shape skillfully a decorative kava bowl. Their spears and daggers and clubs were crude by the side of many of the weapons of the South Pacific; their utensils were the simple ones of those who cooked, like the other islanders, mainly in an earth-oven. Their tools were the usual Polynesian ones, apart from their bits of iron, ground down to points or a cutting edge; their musical instruments, mainly of percussion, showed a more unusual ingenuity; the women's song Cook heard 'had a pleasing and tender effect'. There were songs he did not hear, of a merrier cast. He noticed the finely woven mats, and even the bowls used in a competitive game. He noticed, as none could fail to notice at the most casual view, the beauty of the Hawaiian tapa—not so much the basic fabric, in which the women did not excel, as the decorative designs and the dyes, the lightness and freedom and colour of which did indeed excel those of all other Polynesians. Of religion, apart from its obvious reflection in the *heiau*, he naturally could learn nothing; there were the usual Polynesian gods, with a different emphasis of importance, and local elaborations. The high priests had considerable weight with the rulers. Of the order of society and government he could learn nothing: it was a sort of feudal economy, with the great district chiefs, *ali'i ai moku*, or 'kings', *ali'i ai aupuni*,<sup>1</sup> disposing of absolute power over the *maka'ainana*, the common people, and lesser chiefs jealous of their own standing in the hierarchy. More was to be learnt later, though, as in Tonga, the refinements of social and religious structure were beyond easy understanding. Most of the Kauai chiefs were at the time on the other side of the island, and the only one who came visiting, a remarkably sacred personage, was perforce received by Clerke.<sup>2</sup> One observation that Cook committed to his journal has its interest, in view of what was to happen twelve months later: 'No people could trade with more honesty than these people, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or along side the ships. Some indeed at first betrayed a thievish disposition, or rather they thought they had a right to any thing they could lay their hands upon but this conduct they soon laid aside.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *moku*, island or district; *ali'i ai moku*, ruler of a district—lit., a chief who eats (off) a district. Similarly, *ali'i ai aupuni*, a chief who eats (off) a kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> On this very remarkable 'Tamahaoo', or Kumbhana, or Kanoneo, see p. 281, n. 2 below, and notes to King and Samwell.

<sup>3</sup> p. 272 below; and as a commentary, see the note to that passage, and Clerke, pp. 1322-3.

The health of the ships' companies remained good. While the *Resolution* was trying to regain her anchorage at Kauai her quartermaster, Thomas Roberts, died; obviously Cook had been too hopeful in bringing him on from the Cape, already sick. There were men on the sick lists with venereal complaints, allegedly picked up at the Society Islands. Such men were hardly regarded as sick; they were able-bodied enough; one is not too far from the truth in saying that their condition was almost normal for seamen. No responsible man on voyages of discovery but could deplore the fact, least of all Cook. He had done his best to keep the disease out of the islands—with little success, it must be admitted; for one irresponsible fool, in spite of every precaution, could spread havoc. Cook had no illusions about human nature in general or about individual fools, and he had a scepticism of his own: 'It is also a doubt with me, that the most skilfull of the Faculty can tell whether every man who has had the venereal is so far cured as not to communicate it further, I think I could mention some instances to the contrary.' Yet he tried again. Before any landing was made at Kauai he ordered that no women should be allowed in the ships, and that no man with the disease should be allowed out of them. There were stringent commands laid on landing-parties, and none was to remain on shore at night. Hence his dismay at Niuhau, when the surf prevented communication with the shore, and 'the very thing happened that I had above all others wished to prevent'. Nor could he hope for any precaution or co-operation on the native side. The women were not only eager in their advances, they were indignant at a rebuff. What premonition of disaster could such people have? The disaster was apparent when the ships returned.

## §

There is little to say of the passage from Hawaii to the North American coast, which was sighted on 7 March: Cook covers it in a few short sentences of his journal. He made his landfall in about latitude  $44^{\circ} 20'$ —a country 'high and craggy & mostly covered with snow', summarizes Samuel. Winter was scarcely over. The pleasant winds of the last four weeks changed to hard westerly gales, with hail and sleet and haze, and not without reason was the name Cape Foul-weather the first conferred by Cook on that coast. To cling to the land meant extreme danger; nevertheless, sighting it now and again, the ships gradually increased their latitude. Cook was looking for a harbour, and on a day of better conditions, 22 March, thought for a

little he had found one. Night swallowed up a large strait before he saw it, providing a sort of ironical commentary on his own scepticism: 'It is in the very latitude we were now in where geographers have placed the pretended Strait of Juan de Fuca, but we saw nothing like it, nor is there the least probability that iver any such thing existed'. For the strait that did exist, and bears that Spaniard's name, though it does not bisect a continent, at least could have enlightened Cook somewhat about the nature of the coast he was on. On the 23rd he was glad to get off the land again, and only after a week of gales did he come in with the western coast of Vancouver Island, almost at the very entrance to the inlet he called Nootka Sound. Here he was in harbour a full four weeks.

Vancouver Island is built on vast proportions: no one approaching it from the sea, or even flying down its coast, would take it for an island—the scale of the hills behind hills is too great, the snowy mountains inland recede too far, the line of breakers is too long; the very clouds are almost too immense. Spruce and hemlock and cedar cover it, to within a few feet of the sea; the flat points reaching a short way into the ocean are covered, the islets off the shore are covered with trees that seem to spring from solid rock; each individual rock except the smallest seems to have its crown of trees, like some barbaric princess. The tree-clothed sides of Nootka Sound, and of the minor inlets that run off it, north, east and south, fall steep to the water, with only here and there a naked narrow strip of land marching with it, or a larger ledge. Ship Cove, where Cook found anchorage, at the seaward end of Bligh Island,<sup>1</sup> is surprisingly small, its rocky beach perhaps fifty yards long, running back a few yards to where the moss and trees begin—trees of a second growth now, for Cook was not the last to set his axe to the forest, and drifted barkless trunks rub everywhere along the shores of the inlets. It was not indeed a good anchorage, but it turned out good enough. There was ample water and firewood, a spot for the astronomers, illimitable choice of masts and spars. The last was important: not merely did the *Resolution's* foremast need repair but her mizen had to be replaced entirely; and once more there was caulking to be done. A windy and a rainy place this was, none the less interesting; part of a continental coast so very different from that of Cook's other continent, Australia; a harbour so very different from the warm Polynesian bays; with a vegetation so different from the familiar breadfruit and hibiscus and plantain; a people so almost totally different from the brown and flower-decked islanders. It was a people not totally different; for they

<sup>1</sup> See Figs. 9, 10; and Charts L. 4, 5, 6.

Siberia and St Petersburg, and on 26 October stood westward with a southerly wind. His intention was apparently to get through or round the islands in that direction. Changes in the wind, hard gales and snow-storms altered his mind, he turned back, and made south through the Unalga Pass again. There was still a violent storm to weather, in which one of the *Discovery's* men was killed when the main tack gave way. Sails and rigging had been sorely tried, as they were still to be; but the passage south was on the whole pleasant.

## §

The Hawaiian group was sighted on 26 November—not the islands that had been visited before, but the more eastern one of Maui, mountainous, with deep ravines and falling waters, and it was not long before the canoes came off. Cook at once issued an order on two subjects.<sup>1</sup> The first was trade. There was to be no indiscriminate trade: it was to be carried on only by authorized persons, and only for provisions. The second was women. None was to be admitted on board either ship; and there was to be severe punishment for any man infected with venereal disease who had connection with a woman either on board or on shore. Furthermore he adopted a policy that made his men exceedingly restive, at least in the *Resolution*—and there is no reason to think that the *Discovery's* company would be much happier. Normally on sighting an island where he had gone for refreshment he would at once have looked for a harbour, if he had not made straight for a familiar one; the men anticipated early joys of firm land, ample food, and women. Now, as he cruised slowly down the coast of Maui and then round Hawaii, off and on all the while, not just for the last few days of November, but all through December and the first half of January—seven weeks on end—the situation was all too tormenting even for those (as King points out) whose interest went beyond the strictly carnal. Cook had his reasons. He had had no great luck with harbours at Kauai or Nihaui, and had no wish to anchor in another open bay with a great surf on the shore; so, though the weather was often enough boisterous, and the swell heavy, he preferred to remain at sea. 'I have no wre within the Tropicks met with so high a sea as we have had since we have been about these islands; it has never been once down, tho it frequently shifts three or four points, or more', he says.<sup>2</sup> Granted it was unpleasant, he seems to have felt, yet it was safe. At the same time, as

<sup>1</sup> The text of this order will be found on pp. 1534-5 below.

<sup>2</sup> Not in his journal, but in Egerton MS 2117B, 25 December 1778.

long as the canoes came off—and they would come off as long as there was iron—he could control the trade in foodstuffs, ward off a glut, and keep the value of iron from depreciating. On the men's side there was frustration; they were 'jaded & very heartily tir'd'.<sup>1</sup> Was this all they had come from Unalaska for? For once Cook seems not to have handled them well. He forgot that he was still keeping them on a short allowance of food; forgot too how carefully he had prepared their minds at Tahiti for a short allowance of grog. Foolish, conservative, jaded and tired, they were tired also of spruce beer; and here was the captain trying to fob them off with a decoction of sugar cane. He thought it was pleasant and wholesome; they thought it was bad for their healths. They wrote him a letter of protest. Cook, who prided himself on his care for their health, was much annoyed, and addressed them on the subject. They were mutinous and turbulent: certainly he would at once increase the food ration, but as for sugar-cane beer, they could drink it or water, there would be no more grog in either ship, and they could expect no further indulgence from him. The cooper, who started a cask of the beer, was flogged. One begins to suspect that Cook also was a little jaded and tired.

This may have been part of the background to his forthright remarks on canvas and cordage as supplied in the navy—remarks which somewhat outraged Palliser, who was responsible technically as Comptroller of the Navy for supplying them. Cook's canvas and cordage certainly underwent unusual strains; it is unlikely, however, that he did not know what he was talking about. He was stimulated by the constant failures of rigging in both ships as they pitched and rolled to windward of the islands. The *Resolution* leaked again. The *Discovery* needed repair all over. If luck had not been with him, almost as much as at Unalaska, he could hardly have weathered Cape Kumukahi, the eastern point of Hawaii. The ships parted company for thirteen days. It was clear that he could not stay at sea indefinitely. He saw only too clearly that the wretched disease was among the islanders already, and had spread from Kauai. Once he had got round the southern point, Ka Lac, and into the lee of the island, his mind seems to have turned to the possibility of landing for water, and at last to a harbour; but it was not till 16 January that Bligh found anything good enough. Next morning the ships anchored in Kealakekua Bay.

No place in the eighteenth century Pacific has been more fully described for us than this bay, the northern half of which stands for so much in the history of exploration. It has a monument, for men

<sup>1</sup> King's phrase, p. 303 below.

know nothing of his own feelings on the matter. The conclusion seems inescapable that he was being treated as a god, as Hawaiians close to the event said he was. The rationally trained modern mind may have difficulty in accepting this, and once again find an imaginative effort necessary; but if Cook was a ghost in the New Hebrides, why not a god in Hawaii? We are not dealing with minds sophisticated by three hundred years of science. In Kauai a year before it was natural to regard him as an *ali'i 'ai au'iahi*, or an *ali'i kapu*,<sup>1</sup> a chief of such rank that he was paid the supreme respect of *kapu moe*, the prostration before beings in whom there was some tinge of the god; for chiefs of this order of blood were believed to have some virtue beyond that of ordinary men. Nor was the belief peculiar to Hawaii: the Tu'i Tonga was a sacred being; in Tahiti a house into which the *arii rahi* had entered was *tapu* to all persons. Polynesian existence was shot through by this sense of the *tapu*, which made the boundary between the seen and the unseen so dangerous, and life so full of defences as well as observances. With the Hawaiians in 1779 obviously observance had gone beyond that in Kauai in 1778. The reason seems to lie in the period at which the ships arrived off the islands, their leisurely progress round the coasts of Maui and Hawaii, the benevolence and possessions of the *ali'i* who commanded them, and not improbably the presence on Hawaii of a strong body of priests. The period was that called *makahiki*, the season of four months beginning in October or November, when warfare was forbidden and hard work was in abeyance, a season of games and sports beyond the ordinary, and that also of the gathering of taxes. The god of this season was *Lono makua*, 'Father Lono'. Lono, the god elsewhere known in Polynesia as Rongo, Ro'o, 'Ono, was one of the four great gods of the Hawaiian pantheon, the god of light and peace, of the tilling of the earth and the games of peace; and the gathering of taxes, the produce of the earth, was done on a slow progress round the island, the presence of the god being symbolized by a long staff bearing a banner of *tapu* in form much like the square sail of a ship—like the square sails of Cook's own ships. Lono was also, in the legends of Hawaiian antiquity, a divine chief who had worked good for his people, of whom it had been prophesied, as of other gods known to humanity, that he would come again, bearing gifts. And behold—it may have been a spontaneous thought in these Hawaiians, it may have been stimulated by their priests, who were ready with ceremonies—he had come again. The consequences to Cook were

<sup>1</sup> *ali'i kapu*, a *tapu* chief, one of sacred blood, though not necessarily a great ruler.

### Resolution and Discovery

love to raise monuments. It is not large: from Cook Point in the north to Palemano Point south-south-east the direct distance is only a mile and a quarter; from Kaawaloa in the north-western corner of the bay, the seat of Hawaiian royalty, across the water to the modern Napoopoo, the site of the great *heiau* or religious structure Hikiau, is perhaps seven-eighths of a mile. The line of the bay is still as it was, though the land is covered with a thorny growth of *kiawe* or American acacia and other shrubs, standing here and there on the very lava lip that edges the water round to the high steep cliff of the Pali, impassable where it meets the sea, cutting off Kaawaloa from the short beach running on towards Hikiau. A track zigzagged over it, and still does over parts; but imported forage grasses have supplanted the *pili* that grew upon it of old. Earthquakes have sheared off the face of the Pali that Cook saw and narrowed the beach, seismic waves and the surf of hurricanes have beaten up the cliff and spread the beach with stones and boulders; the spring where the ships watered is found with difficulty among the rubbish of fallen branches on the hillside just above; the pond on the flat ground not far away is silted up with the washings of a cloudburst; the *heiau* with pavement restored is clean and empty of emotion, and about it are the galvanized iron booths, green-painted and neat enough, where shell necklaces are sold. There are a few fishermen. The population is gone; the brilliant feather cloaks, the proud helmets, are no more, the canoes that covered the water, the huts and villages of *pili* grass are gone, and the carved figures of the gods. The imagination, with an effort, can bring it all back, or some of it, for a fraction of a second; blotting out the thorn-trees, perhaps, behind the lava lip; can see two ships in the bay, and the innumerable brown figures of women and of men, hear uncomprehended invocations or the echo of shouting. The place, for all the accidents of time, is there, and above it the great mountain, Mauna Loa; the imagination, after all, is not unaided.

While the ships were still outside the bay, their visitors, too many of them, 'betrayed a thievish disposition', and Cook thought fit to show them the use of fire arms with his muskets and four-pounders. We may note his next sentence. 'As it was not intended that any of the Shot should take effect, the Indians seemed rather more surprised than frightened.' The canoes were multitudinous. In the afternoon of the day on which he anchored Cook went on shore and was subjected to the surprising and extraordinary ceremony which King describes in such detail. We can no longer go to Cook for information. He has broken off his carefully rewritten journal, we have come to the end of his log, we have not even any rough notes that he kept; so we

embarrassing as well as advantageous; for while there was no hesitation over bringing him supplies, his movements were rather clogged by ceremonial. We judge that he accepted it philosophically—unlike Clerke, who, accorded also the *kapa moe*, 'disliked exceedingly putting so many people to such a confounded inconvenience', and got the honour withdrawn. Nor did his adorers hesitate to cheat the seamen who came in his train, if they could do so, or even the god himself; but religion is not incompatible with a little looseness of ethics.<sup>1</sup>

There was no question of a long stay in this place such as that at  
<sup>1</sup> There is not universal agreement to this thesis of deity, and the opposing case is put by Sir Peter Buck thus. 'Another popular fallacy associated with Captain Cook is the theory of his alleged deification by the people of the island of Hawaii. The theory that Cook was regarded as a god seems to have been based primarily on the fact that the Hawaiians gave him the name of Lono. However David Malo [*Hawaiian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., Honolulu, 1951, p. 145] stated that the name of Lono was given to Captain Cook because of the resemblance the sails of his ship bore to the tapa of the god. In the course of time, however, Lono the man and Lono the god have come to be identified as the same individual. The popular version is that Cook was thought by the Hawaiians to be the god Lono, returned. A ceremony conducted on a heiau and the acts of prostration before Cook have been accepted as further evidence that he had been deified. These incidents, however, may be interpreted in another way.

'Proper names which had been applied to the gods were given to chiefs, and the ceremony conducted with religious ritual, including offerings of pigs, was also observed in the installation of high chiefs. The prostration attitude, termed *kahe auu*, was given to mortal chiefs of the highest rank, and it is certain that Captain Cook was elevated to the highest rank of chieftainship. On the other hand, the contention that a living man was made a god does not accord with native custom and usage. If he was thought to be a god, why should the heiau ceremony be conducted to make him one? The fact that the Hawaiians eventually killed Cook does not detract from the fact that he was made a high chief, for high chiefs were killed when circumstances demanded. When the Hawaiians took away Cook's body and stripped the flesh from the bones, he was nearer deification than he had been in life, for the Hawaiian custom of deification of selected high chiefs was a post mortem event, not an ante mortem one.'—Buck, 'Cook's Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands', in *Report of the Director for 1944*: B.P. Bishop Mus. Bull. 186 (Honolulu, 1945), pp. 26-7.

One or two remarks are possible on this. If the heiau ceremony was merely that for the installation of high chiefs, in what capacity was Cook being 'installed'? Certainly not as high chief of Hawaii. Malo, like other Hawaiian writers, is silent on any such ceremony of installing, or even honouring, a high chief thus (no final argument, certainly). As by hypothesis he was a god already he could not be 'made' a god, but he could be formally recognized and honoured as a god; and this, it is argued, was the basis of the heiau ceremony. Some of the later reports argue a higher status than that of the highest of high chiefs. The story of Cook's death collected by the missionary William Ellis runs in part, 'We thought he was the god Rono, worshipped him as such, and after his death reverenced his bones'; and again, 'when . . . they saw his blood running, and heard his groans, they said, "No, this is not Rono." Some, however, after his death, still supposed him to be Rono, and expected he would appear again.'—*Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* (3rd ed., London, 1827), p. 120. The last part of the story is borne out by King, p. 561 below. *Mo'i Kahu*, on the other hand, were not expected to appear again, even if they were deified. We also have the remark in King, p. 622, 'As they certainly regarded us as a Superior race of people to themselves, they would often say, that the great Eatona he'i'i with us.' One may add an extract from Colnett, who was at Hawaii in 1791. 'My supply of Powder came very auspicious, they being at war with the other Isles, indeed they have constantly been at war since Captain Cook was kill'd, and also have had a deal of sickness which never before his time afflicted them which they allege to having kill'd him. They made strict enquiry of me, if ever he would come back again, and when I saw him last, I told them: having been constantly in their part of the world, I could not tell, but this I knew,

Tonga or Tahiti: Cook apparently thought only of wooding, watering and provisioning, and of repairing the ships, after which he intended to look for a better harbour elsewhere before standing north again. The observatories however were taken on shore, and installed, like the working party, on a spot conveniently *tapu*-ed for them by the priests, so that the most essential labours could go forward without the continual necessity of chasing away potential thieves or rescuing articles actually stolen. Enough was stolen as it was, though we have only one flogging mentioned as punishment. This good office of the priests also kept off the women, thus no doubt aiding concentration by the workmen much more effectually than the party of marines, dressed in regimentals, and commanded by Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips, could have done. The priests indeed were invaluable, and not improbably it was through their influence, if anything more than the attraction of iron was needed, that the supply of provisions was so plentiful and constant; and indeed, if it was veritably Lono they had welcomed so signally, they had a professional interest in maintaining his prestige. If they had any doubts, their professional interest was even higher. There seemed, so the visitors thought, to be some division of interest between the priests and the chiefs, anyhow in the acquisition of goods, but it is difficult to know how far this impression should be carried. The more splendid gifts in return might come from the king, the *ali'i 'ai auhuni*, when at last he arrived in the bay, but it was the high priest, Kao, who watched over exploring parties and was the centre of general benevolence. The amount of information picked up in these circumstances, in just over two weeks' time, remains astonishing, and it would be churlish in the last degree to lament inaccuracy, for example, in King's account of chiefly relationships, or in the list of plants which Clerke got (no doubt) from the botanist Nelson. During the fortnight the most brilliant occasions were the meetings of Cook and the king of the island, 'Terrecoboo' or Kalei'opu'u or Kalani'opu'u, who had already been on board the *Resolution* off Maui, his rank then unknown; the most solemn one was the burial on the *heiau* of William Watman, who had followed Cook for the voyage out of Greenwich Hospital, and died, and 'was below'd by his fellows'; what might have been a difficult one,

the Spaniards were coming to take their Country from them and make them Slaves. They enquired if Captain Cook had sent them, and how long he would be angry with them, and what they should do to get Captain Cook to entreat his area [ali'i] to send and assist them against the Spaniards. Since I was there in the Prince of Wales, two Volcanoes have open'd on the Lee side of the Isle, which burn'd night and day with great fury and Tremendous Explosion which they say Captain Cook has caus'd.'—*Journal of Captain James Cook aboard the Argonaut*, ed. F. W. Howay (Toronto, 1940), p. 220.



After leaving Bolabola<sup>1</sup> I steered to the Northward close hauled with the wind between the NE and East,<sup>2</sup> hardly ever once having it to the southward of East till after we had [c]ross'd the line and got into North latitude; so that our course made good was always to the west of North and some time no better than NW.

As I had examined into the state of our Provisions at the last islands, I now had a survey taken of all the Boatwain and Carpenters Stores that were in the Ship, that I might be fully informed of the quantity, state and condition of every article, and by that means know how to use them to the most advantage.

Before I left the Society isles I enquired of the inhabitants if there were any islands in a North, or NW direction from them, but I did not find that they knew of any. Nor did we meet with any thing to indicate the vicinity of land till we came to about the latitude of 8° S where we began to see birds; such as boobies, Tropic and Men of War birds, Tern and some other sorts. At this time our Longitude was 205 E.<sup>3</sup> *Mendana*, in his first Voyage in 1568, discovered an island that he named *Isla de Jesus*, in latitude 6° 45' S and 1450 leagues from Callao, which is 200° East longitude from Greenwich.<sup>4</sup> We crossed this latitude near a hundred leagues to the Eastward of this longitude and saw there many of the above mentioned birds which are seldom known to go very far from land.<sup>5</sup> In the night between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> we crossed the line in the Longitude of 20[3° 15'] E; here the variation of the Compass was 6° 30' E nearly.

WEDNESDAY 24<sup>th</sup>. On the 24<sup>th</sup> about half an hour after day break, land was discovered bearing NEBE½E; which upon a nearer approach was found to be one of those low islands so common in this sea; that is a narrow bank of land inclosing the sea within; a few Cocoa nut

<sup>1</sup> We left these Islands with the greatest regret, imaginable; as supposing all the pleasures of the voyage to be now at an end: Having nothing to expect in future but excess of cold, Hunger, and every kind of hardship, and distress, attending a Sea life in general, and these voyages in particular, the Idea of which render'd us quite dejected. — Gilbert, p. 109. — This Morning releas'd the Prisoners out of Irons, and suffer'd them to do their former duties again. — Edgar, 9 December.

<sup>2</sup> AM At 5 made all Sail. By Cap<sup>t</sup> Cook's desire, as the Discovery is the fastest Sailing Vessel, I make all sail every morning at daybreak and run as far as I can ahead till Sunset, when I shorten to an easy Sail for the Resolution to come up; by this means we see a good part of the Sea's we cross during the Night. — Clarke, 11 December.

<sup>3</sup> According to the printed positions, Voyage III, p. 503, this was some time between noon on 16 December (lat. 8° 57' S, long. 205° 5' E) and noon the following day (lat. 7° 30½' S, long. 204° 39' E). The nearest land then would be the atoll Tongareva or Penrhyn, the most northerly of the Northern Cook group, lat. 9° S, long. 156° 03' W (201° 57' E). This would amply account for the birds.

<sup>4</sup> Callao is some 283° East of Greenwich. *Mendana's* *Isla de Jesus*, discovered on 15 January 1568, was probably one of the four northernmost of the *Ellice* Islands, all low atolls, which lie between latitudes 5° 39' S and 7½° S.

<sup>5</sup> The nearest land then would be the rather isolated islands Starbuck (lat. 5° 37' S, long. 155° 56' W) and Malden (4° 03' S, long. 155° 01' W).

trees were seen in two or three places, but in general the land had a very barren appearance. At Noon it extended from NEBE to SBE½E about four miles distant. The wind was at ESE so that we had to make a few boards to get up to the lee, or west side, where we found from 40 to 20 and 14 fathom water over a bottom of fine sand, the least depth about ½ a mile from the breakers and the greatest about one mile. The meeting with Soundings determined me to anchor to try to get some turtle, as the island seemed to be a good place for them and to be without inhabitants. Accordingly we dropped anchor in 30 fathoms, and then sent a boat to see if there was any landing, for the Sea broke in a dreadfull surf all along the shore. When the boat returned the officer who was in her reported that he could see no place where a boat could land, but that there was great abundance of fish in the shoal water without the breakers.

THURSDAY 25<sup>th</sup>. At day-break the next Morning, I sent two boats, one from each Ship to look for a landing place, and at the same time other two afishing; these last returned by 8 o'clock with upwards of two hundred weight of fish. After breakfast they were sent again and I went in another to take a view of the coast and try to land, but this I found wholly impracticable. Towards noon the two boats I had sent to examine the coast returned; the Master, who was in the Resolutions boat reported that about a league and a half to the North was a break in the land and a Channell into the lagoon, consequently there was landing and he had found the same soundings off it as where we lay. In consequence of this report, we weighed, and after making two or three trips, came to again in 20 fathom water over a bottom of fine dark sand; about a mile from the breakers and before the channel leading into the lagoon. Here are two channels, divided from each other by a small island, but they are only fit for boats because it is all shallow water in the lagoon.<sup>1</sup>

FRIDAY 26<sup>th</sup>. On the 26<sup>th</sup> in the Morning, I order[ed] Captain Clerke to send a boat with an officer to the SE part of the lagoon to look for turtle, and Mr King and I went each in a boat to the NE part. I intended to have gone to the very eastern part, but the wind blew too fresh to allow it, and obliged us to land more to leeward, on a Sandy flat where we caught one turtle, the only one we saw in the lagoon. We walked, or rather waded through the water to an island<sup>2</sup> where finding nothing but a few birds, I left it and proceeded to the land that bounds the Sea to the NW leaving Mr King to Observe the

<sup>1</sup> See Chart XLVIII. The small sandy island at the entrance to the lagoon of Christmas Island is now known as Cook islet. The chart shows both anchorages.

<sup>2</sup> This must have been some raised coral patch.

Sun's Meridian al[titude]. I found this land if any thing more barren than the other, but walking over to the Sea coast, I saw five turtle close to the shore, one of them we caught and the rest made their escape. Not seeing any more I returned on board as did Mr King soon after without having seen one turtle. We however did not despair of getting a supply, as some of Captain Clerkes officers had been ashore on the land to the south of the Channel where they caught several.

SATURDAY 27th. In the Morning of the 27th two boats under the command of Mr King, were sent into the lagoon turtling and a party to the Northward on the same service.<sup>1</sup> Captain Clerke having had a party a shore all night, who had turned between forty and fifty, his boat returned laden and had left several behind turned on the sand. In the after noon the party I had sent to the northward returned with six turtle; they were sent again, and remained there till we left the island and had generally pretty good success.

SUNDAY 28th. On the 28th I went ashore in company with Mr Bailey to the isle which lies between the two channels, to prepare the telescopes for observing the approaching Eclipse of the Sun, which was one great indu[c]ement to my anchoring here. About Noon Mr King

<sup>1</sup> Trevenen gives a picture of the consequent nautical high spirits. 'I had this boat to bring off Turtle in all the time of our stay here, & the service was rather a perilous one, for we had to pull into the Lagoon over a very high sea (which, however, never broke) through a narrow passage with which we were little acquainted, & where we could see the bottom under us the whole way. Had any sunken rock projected up a little higher than the rest, we had been destroyed, but luckily we never encountered any. An every side of us swam Sharks innumerable, & so voracious that they bit our oars & ruddier, & I actually struck my hanger 2 inches into the back of one whilst he had the rudder between his teeth. The Boats fishing for Cavallies & etc in Shallow water, carried long pikes to keep the Sharks from the bait. On board the Ships the Sailors caught great numbers, & as these two beings are at constant war with each other, contrived a hundred ways to torment them, sometimes two were firmly lashed together by the Tails and tussled adrift—others had large pieces of board tied under their heads, this is called *Spritsail yarning* them, and hinders them from sinking, so that we saw them floating & vainly attempting to dive, as far as the Eye could reach. Besides turning the Turtle on their backs while they are asleep (the common way of catching them) we took them another way, which afforded us great sport. On the Tide's subsiding there remained no more than a foot water (more or less) on the reef, which extended ½ a mile from the shore, where it was bounded by a higher ridge, but there were many very deep holes in which the Turtle used to remain till the rising of the water again. The water was so clear that we could see them in these, & as all our people swam to perfection, they would dive down & either catch them by the Fins or put them out & then the chase & sport began. We as well as the Turtle dashed thro' thick & thin & very many ludicrous scenes occurred. In deep water they had the advantage, but when there was not more than 6 inches we could come up with them & catch them by the fins, but as often one was not strong enough to hold them, he would be dragged along sometimes up, sometimes down, till others came to his assistance, on meeting a large Pool through which he must be dragged head foremost, perhaps the Turtle would escape & I have seen one, larger than common, thus taken 3 times & at last escape thro' a passage in the reef into the open Sea. This chase was chequered with all the vicissitudes of hope & fear that can enliven any other, & was surely equally interesting, the more so as perhaps our dinner depended on it. In this manner we once caught 42 in 1 an hour.<sup>2</sup>—Note by Trevenen.

returned with one boat and eight turtle, leaving seven behind for the other boat. In the evening sent the same boat with water and Provisions for the people in the other; Mr Williamson went in her to superintend this duty in the room of Mr King who remained on board to attend the observation.

MONDAY 29th. The next day Mr Williamson despatched the two boats back laden with turtle, and a message desiring they might be sent round by sea as there was a landing place on the se side of the island where most of the turtle was caught; the boats going there would save the trouble of carr[y]ing them over the land to the inside of the lagoon as had been done before; the boats were accordingly sent to this place.

TUESDAY 30th. On the 30th in the morning, Mr Bailey, Mr King and my self went ashore on the small island to attend the Eclipse.<sup>1</sup> The morning was cloudy till past 9 o'clock when the clouds dissipated about the Sun long enough to take its altitude to rectify the time by the Watch we made use of, after which it was again obscured till about 30 Minutes past 9 and then we found the eclipse was begun. We then fixed the Micrometers to the telescopes and observed, or measured the un eclipsed part of the Sun's disk; at these observations I continued till about three quarters of an hour before the end when I left off; being in fact unable to continue them longer on account of the awkward position of the telescope (the Sun being nearly on the Meridian) the great heat of the Sun increased by the reflection of the sand. The Sun was clouded at times; but, at the end, it was clear, and was observed by

Mr Bailey } at { [0 26' 3" ] } Apparent time PM  
Mr King } { [0 26 1 ] }  
My Self } { [0 25 37 ] }<sup>2</sup>

Mr Bailey and I observed with the large acromatic telescopes and Mr King with a reflecter. As Mr Baileys telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power I ought not to have differed so much from him as I did, perhaps it was in part, if not wholly owing to a protuberance in the Moon which escaped my notice but was seen by both the other gentlemen.

In the after noon the boats and turtling party at the se part of the

<sup>1</sup> Here happens an Eclipse of the Sun this fore Noon, which Capl Cook, Mr Bailey &c are gone on shore to observe. I should be very happy to assist at it, but am sorry to have occasion to observe that my state of health is such, as to render me totally incapable. — Clarke, King, 1 January, calls the isle 'Eclipse Island'.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are supplied in the MS in a different hand.

island all returned on board, except a seaman belonging to the Discovery, who had been missing two days. There were two of them at first, but disagreeing about which way they should go, they separated and one joined the party after being absent twenty four hours, and very much distressed for want of water; in order to allay his thirst, he killed a turtle and drank of the blood, which gave him great relief, the other man could not drink of it and was of course in still greater distress, for not a drop of fresh water was found on the whole island nor were there any cocoanuts in that part. It was a matter of surprise to every one how these men contrived to lose themselves, the land, over which they had to travel from the sea coast to the lagoon where the boats lay, was not more than three miles a cross, and a plain with here and there a few shrubs upon it and from many parts of which the Ships masts were to be seen; but this was a thing they never once thought of looking for, nor did they know in what direction the ships were from them, nor which way to go to find either them or the party no more than if they had but just dropped from the clouds. Considering what a strange set of beings, the generality of seamen are when on shore,<sup>1</sup> instead of being surprised at these men losing themselves we ought rather to have been surprised there were no more of them; indeed one of my people lost himself in the same place, but happening to have sagacity enough to know that the ships were to leeward, he got on board almost as soon as it was known he was missing. As soon as Captain Clerke knew the man was left behind, he sent a party in search of him. The next morning seeing neither the man nor the party, I ordered two boats into the lagoon to go different ways to look for him. Not long after the party returned with the man and I called the boats back by signal.<sup>2</sup> Having some Cocoanuts and Yams

<sup>1</sup> What appears rather singular is that this Island is not more than 3 Miles over in its widest part, & the Ships constantly in sight of all one side of it, & a part of the other. And only here & there a low shrub growing scarcely so high as a mans head, so that it does not appear scarcely possible for men to loose themselves, in such a place, but a seaman when on shore is in a manner helpless.—Bayly T, pp. 148-9.

<sup>2</sup> The two lost men, Bartholomew Lowman and Thomas Tretcher, the Master it seems had order'd to carry a Turtle from the place where it was Turned, to the Boat, which was 2 or 3 Miles.—Clerke, 30 December.—[30 December] At 6 the Launches Returned with a Load of Turtle, and one of the Missing people who had join'd a party of the Resolutions people that were Turtling to the ss. After having Travell'd 25 or 30 Miles he had been Lost 40 hours and was reduced to the greatest distress and in all probability must have perished had he not Allay'd his thirst by drinking Turkeys blood the Acc<sup>t</sup> he gave of his Comrade was that after having walk'd a Long time in Company, he grew faint and weak and was scarcely able to walk—therefore he found himself under the necessity of Leaving him to his fate. . . . [1 January] the people who were sent in search of the Man return'd, After walking About 14 or 16 miles along the beach they got Sight of him, And on going up to him found he was reduc'd to the greatest distress imaginable he had Just strength enough to move along the beach and his senses so much impair'd that he was scarcely sensible of their Approach to him. however they brought him very well to his

on board in a state of vegetation, I ordered them to be planted on the island where we made the observation and some Millon seeds were sown in another place. I also left on the little island a bottle containing this inscription,

*Georgius tertius Rex 31 Decembris 1777*

*Navis* { *Resolution Jac. Cook Pr*  
*Discovery Car. Clerke Pr*

1778

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1778, I sent boats to bring all the parties <sup>JAN<sup>ry</sup></sup> we had ashore on board and the turtle they had caught. Before this <sup>Tues. 1</sup> was done it was late in the after noon, so that I did not think proper to sail till the next morning. We got at this island, to both ships about three hundred turtle, weighing one with another about 90, or a hundred pound,<sup>1</sup> they were all of the green kind and perhaps as good as any in the world; we also caught with hook and line as much fish as we could consume during our stay. The land animals are Men of war and Tropic birds, Boobies of two sorts,<sup>2</sup> Egg birds, or tern, Curlews, Sand pipers,<sup>3</sup> a small land bird like a hedge sparrow;<sup>4</sup> Land crabs, small lizards and rats. The land in some places produceth a few shrubs and plants, the soil here is light and black evidently composed of decayed vegetables, the dung of birds and sand. There are other places again where nothing but Marine productions, such as broken coral stones, shells &c<sup>3</sup> are to be seen. These are thrown up in long narrow ridges laying in a parallel direction with the Sea coast, not unlike a plough'd field and must have been done by the Sea, though at this time it does not reach some of these places by a mile or more. This is, I think, an incontestable proof that

Sences by giving him some bread and frequent small draughts of weak Grogg: on his recovering a Little they set off on their march which prov'd a very tedious one on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the poor fellows being very much chaf'd and burnt with the Sun which oblig'd them to halt every 10 or 15 Minutes on Captain Cooks hearing of his return the Signal was made to recall the Boats. . . .—Porelock. The acute discomforts of these two wanderers, whom Cook in his simple story thought so typical of the genus *Seaman*, made a marked impact on the less sophisticated journal-keepers. Williamson found the episode worth recounting at some length: see pp. 1945-7 below. Ledyard, with an astonishing use of imagination, made it one of the high lights of the voyage, furnishing the island with deserts, forests, mountains, and ferocious animals.

1 . . . caught 915 Turtle the largest of which Weighed 135 & the smallest not less than 40 or 50.—Edgar.

2 The Common Booby, *Assus infidus*, and the Red-footed Booby, *Sula rubripes*.

3 The Christmas Island Sandpiper, *Actinomyiarchus concinnus* (Gm.), for long considered extinct, until rediscovered in the Tuamotus.

4 Probably the Christmas Island Reed Warbler, *Cooepodestes aquinoctialis*.

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

As we kept our Christmas here I called it *Christmas Island*,<sup>3</sup> I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circuit, it seemed to be of a simicircular form, or like the Moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points and bear from each other, nearly NNE and SW four or five leagues distant.<sup>4</sup> This west side, or the isle at the entrance into the lagoon on which we observed the Eclipse, lies in the Latitude of 1° 59'—'' North, and in the Longitude of 20[2° 30' 0"] East,<sup>5</sup> determined by a considerable number of lunar observations which differed only [7'] from the Time keeper, it being so much less. The variation of the compass was [6° 22½' E].<sup>6</sup> This island, like most others in this sea, is bounded by a reef of coral rock, but it extends but a little way into the sea, without which, on the west side is a bank of fine sand extending a mile without it, on this bank is good anchorage in any depth between 18 and 30 fathoms; in less than the first is too near the reef and in more than the latter too near the edge of the bank. During the time we lay here the wind blew constantly a fresh gale at East, or EBS but except one or two days, we had always a great swell from the Northward which broke against the reef in a

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Christmas Island, with its 900,000 acres, is reputed to be the largest of all atolls in land area. Except for Jarvis Island, 900 miles to the south-west, it is the southernmost of the northern group of the Line Islands, four in number, stretching north-west for 350 miles. When discovered, between this date and 1802, they were all uninhabited, but they had been inhabited in the past; Christmas has its raised rectangular platforms and other coral enclosures, but Cook's men were interested in turtle, not in archaeological exploration.

<sup>5</sup> Lat. 1° 57' N, long. 157° 38' W—i.e. 202° 30' E. The Journal figures are very close; indeed Adin 55/112 has the latitude correct at 1° 57', though its longitude is 202° 45' E.

<sup>6</sup> The bracketed figures are in King's hand. Douglas writes here, 'the dip / North End / of the Needle 11° 54'; with the explanatory note, 'Cap' King has given me the dip'.

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

FRIDAY 2nd. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> at day-break we weighed anchor and resumed our Course to the North,<sup>1</sup> having fine weather and a gentle breeze at East and SE till we got into the latitude of 7° 45' N, Longitude 205 E where we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a NNE and ENE wind, at first it blew faint but freshened as we advanced to the north.<sup>2</sup> We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned, sometimes in greater numbers than at others: and between the latitude of 10 and 11 we saw several turtle. All these arc looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land; we however saw none till day break in the Morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> when an island was discovered bearing NNE<sup>3</sup> and soon after we saw more land bearing North and intirely ditatched from the first;<sup>4</sup> both had the appearance of being high land. At Noon the first bore NNE½E by estimation<sup>5</sup> leagues distant and an elevated hill near the east end of the other bore N½W; our Latitude at this time was 21° 12' 30" N, Longitude 200° 41' E. We had now light airs and calms by turns so that at sun set we were not less than 9 or 10 leagues from the nearest land.

MONDAY 19<sup>th</sup>. On the 19<sup>th</sup> at Sun rise the island first seen bore East leagues distant at least; this being directly to windward there was no getting nearer it so that I stood for the other, and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of WNW and as far distant as an island could be seen.<sup>6</sup> We had now a fine breeze at EBN and I stood for the East end of the second island, which at noon extended from N½E to WNW½W, the nearest part about two leagues distant. At this time we were in some doubt whether or no the land before [us] was inhabited, this doubt was soon cleared up, by seeing some Canoes coming off from the shore towards the Ships, I immediately brought to to give them time to come up, there were three and four men in each and we were agreeably surprised to find them of the same

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> Kauai.

<sup>5</sup> Cook leaves the blank. Douglas notes, 'On Cap' King's Authority eight or nine'.

<sup>6</sup> Niuhau.



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

<sup>1</sup> Kaula.  
<sup>2</sup> Lehua, nothing more than a rocky islet half a mile off the northern point of Nihaou.  
<sup>3</sup> Nihaou. In Cook's rendering of the names of these islands we have the initial in each case, A, O, and E corresponding to the nominative article O in his Oahuistic. The *r* of Atoui and the *r* of Orré-koua are undoubtedly more authentic, for the north-western Hawaiian pronunciation of that time, than the modern *k* and *l*; just as it is pretty certain that other English renderings, on this voyage, of Hawaiian words are closer, in consonantal sounds, to the eighteenth-century language than those standardized in the nineteenth century. Cf. Sauerwell (pp. 1230-31): 'these people constantly make use of the *T*, where the others use the *K*, such as in the name of the Island Atouai which is called Akouai at Oou-wahée (Hawaii)'.  
<sup>4</sup> Cook's strict attention in his journal to the business of discovery is now causing him to omit some matters of ship's detail which we find interesting, as the three following extracts show us. . . . at 10 AM Departed this Life. Tho<sup>s</sup> Roberts' Quarter Master. He had not done a week's duty since his Departure from England, His Compliment was y<sup>e</sup> Droopy; He had been tap'd four times, y<sup>e</sup> Ship's Company remarkably healthy, not a Man in y<sup>e</sup> Sick List, after an Absence of 18 Months from England.—Watts, 27 January. 'It is rather remarkable that a great many of our people have been affected with the Yellow jaundice since our arrival at these Islands—but they are all recovering very fast; Otherwise we are all in good health. The Resolution is the same having scarcely a man on the sick list. . . . [Roberts] got wet & caught [cold] which threw him into a Fever & kill'd him.'—Bisby [T], p. 76. . . . on the night of the 27<sup>th</sup> the Sergeant of the Marines fell Overboard, he was a little in liquor & laid himself down to Sleep upon the Gangway; the Ship had not much way thro' the water, & we toss'd overboard a pole that had a ball at our end & curks near the Middle, & a Shot at the other end; this machine was sent on board to us at long reach, & it was placed conveniently to be thrown overboard instantly; he got hold of this & kept the ball ringing, till a boat was hoist out which peck'd him up & also the machine; that this is a useful thing the present instance prov'd, but it does not answer all the purposes the bussane lanceator meant it shou'd. The circular Curks near the middle were sufficiently

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

FRIDAY 30<sup>th</sup>. On the 30<sup>th</sup> I sent Mr Gore ashore again with a guard of Marines and a party to trade with the Natives for refreshments; I intended to have followed soon after and went from the Ship with that design, but the surf had increased so much, that I was fearful if I got ashore I should not get off again as really happened to the party large & extended, for a man to sit upon, which by the Shot sinking & keeping the Pole upright, it was supposed he might easily do, & the motion of the Waves would then ring the Bell; but our most expert swimmers cou'd never sit upon the Corks, in attempting it they always upset the Pole; the only way to use it, was by holding any part by the hand, as if an Oar had been in the water: & by shaking it the Chapper of the bell would Strike.—King, 27 January.  
 Neither Chart IV nor its engraved copy marks the anchorage, but from their bearings and other indications it seems to have been not far from Leuhi Point, towards the now disused village of Kamalino—or rather perhaps off a village a mile or two south of that. We must remember that Cook's distances are estimates. The SE point of the island is Cape Kawadhoa, 'the other extreme' must have been the little ledge, the most western point of the island, just north of Kamalino, which itself lies in lat. 21° 50' N, long. 160° 15' W. The 'peaked hill' was Kawawone, 200 feet. The 'island Otaoua' was the bare and rocky islet Kaula, more like 6 than 7 leagues from Cook's position. High mist anyhow have landed not far from Kamalino. There are no permanent fresh water streams on the island.  
<sup>1</sup> On C Clarke's coming on board & perceiving by some inside in getting the Canoes out of this way, that he was a Chief, those on board crouch'd down & did not rise till they were told so to do, after staying on board some time many shou'd permission to leave a lock of their hair on the deck after which they all left us.—King, 29 January. The lock of hair was for 'remembrance'.

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

<sup>1</sup> The Hawaiians, alone among Polynesiens, produced salt from sea-water by means of properly-constructed salt pans.

<sup>2</sup> . . . the Surf broke so violently on the shores, that Mr Gore & the Marines did not venture to come off in the boats that were sent for them, & for what they had purchased, most of which was lost & spoilt in getting into the boats; the Captain was very uneasy at their staying on shore, being apprehensive, that his endeavours in handling any communications with the women would be now frustrated. . . .—King.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. hoops.

of the valley where I landed, called to the men with me, on which the Chief began to mutter something like a prayer and the two men with the pigs continued to walk round me all the time, not less than ten or a dozen times before the other had finished. This ceremony being ended, we proceeded and presently met people coming from all parts, who, on the men with me calling to them laid down till I was out of sight.<sup>1</sup> The ground over which I walked was in a state of nature, very stony and the soil seemed poor; it was however covered with shrubs and plants, some of which sent forth the most fragrant smell I had any were met with in this sea. After the water casks were filled and got into the boat, and purchasing from the Natives a few roots, a little salt and salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island again the next day. But about 7 o'clock in the evening, the anchor started and the Ship drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out it was some time before the anchor was at the bows, and then we had the Launch to hoist up along side before we could make sail, so that at day-break the next morning we were three leagues to leeward of our last station. And foreseeing that it would require some time to recover it, more at least than I chused to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us<sup>2</sup> which was done about Noon when we stood away to the Northward. Thus after spending more time about these islands than was necessary to have answered all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our Water, and got from them such a quantity of refreshments as the inhabitants were able and willing to supply us with. But as it was we procured from them full three weeks provisions and Captain Clerke got roots sufficient for two months or upwards.<sup>3</sup>

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

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

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

These five Islands, *Atoua*, *Enekeceou*, *Orréhoua*, *Otaoua* and *Wanawau*, names by which they are known to the Natives, I named *Sandwich Islands*, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. They are situated between the Latitude of 21° 30' and 22° 15' N and between the Longitude of 199° 20' and 201° 30' East. *Wanawau*, which is the Easternmost and lies in the Latitude of 21° 36' we knew no more of than that it is high land and inhabited. *Atoua*, which is the largest,<sup>1</sup> is about leagues in circuit, it is, as I have already observed also high land and without wood, except what may be in the Mountains which we had no opportunity to examine. This island produceth all the sorts of fruit and roots that are found at Otaheite or any other of the South sea islands, but nothing seemed to be in great plenty, but Potatoes, which are the largest I ever saw, some being as big as a man's head. They have a sweet taste but are not so farinaceous as our best potatoes; perhaps many of those we got were not come to their full perfection. I am told these potatoes are very common in Virginia and other parts of North America and known by the name of spanish potatoes.<sup>2</sup> The Tara or eddy root, is also in tolerable plenty and the best I ever tasted. The tame Animals are hogs, dogs and fowls, all of the same kind as at Otaheite and equally as good. We saw no other wild animals than rats,<sup>3</sup> small lizards and birds; but as we did not penetrate into the country, we neither know in what plenty nor variety they may have of the latter. The road or anchoring place is on the sw side of the island about 6 Miles from the west end, before the Village of *Wynoa*.<sup>4</sup> So far as we sounded we found the bank all a fine grey sand and free from rocks, except a little to the Eastward of the Village where there spits out a shoal on which are some rocks and breakers, but they are not far from the shore. This Road would be intirely sheltered from the trade wind did not the height of the land, over which it cannot blow alter its direction and make it follow that of the coast; so that it blows at NE on the one side of the island and at ESE or SE on the other, falling obliquely upon the shore. Thus this road, tho' situated on the lee side of the island, is a little exposed to the trade wind, but for all this it is not a bad place.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oahu is larger than Kauai, but Cook saw nothing of Oahu beyond a glimpse of coast-line.

<sup>2</sup> He refers of course to the 'sweet potato', *Annona* or 'ula, which was widespread in the Americas, and must have come thence to Polynesia. Its name in north Peru is *Anno*. The first European to see it were the Spaniards in the West Indies about 1492, and its name there was *batata*; the first reference to it in O.E.D. as the 'Spanish potato' is dated 1599. It is rather curious that Cook, who had been eating *Anno* since 1769, seems to treat them now almost as something new.

<sup>3</sup> The only other mammal to be found in Hawaii was a bat. The rat is still extant—*Rattus haowianensis*.

<sup>4</sup> Waimea.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 272, n. 3 above.

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

*Orréhoua*, is a small elevated island lying close to the North side of Enekeceou, and *Otaoua* is another small elevated island lying 4-5<sup>4</sup> leagues from the SE point of *Enekeceou* in the direction of S 69° W. They tell us it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants.

Besides these five islands, we got some information of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood of these, called *Tamimata papapa*.<sup>5</sup>

I have already observed that these people are of the same nation as the people of Otaheite and many others of the South sea islands, consequently they differ but little from them in their persons. These have a darker hue than the generality of the Otaheiteans, which may be owing to their being more exposed to the Sun and wearing less cloathing. How shall we account for this Nation spreading it self so far over this Vast ocean? We find them from New Zealand to the South, to these islands to the North and from Easter Island to the Hebrides; an extent of 60° of latitude or twelve hundred leagues north and south and 83° of longitude or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues east and west, how much farther is not known, but we may safely conclude that they extend to the west beyond the Hebrides.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note by Douglas for insertion of words before 'Atoua': 'Cap<sup>t</sup> King's addition / the anchoring place at'.

<sup>2</sup> In modern Hawaiian, *pa'akai*.

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

<sup>4</sup> Cape Kawahope is a hill about 550 feet high, steep to the sea.

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

<sup>6</sup> See p. 604, n. 4 below.

<sup>7</sup> This was of course a subject that kept on nagging at Cook, and not unreasonably. He had already given his sentiments on it, briefly, in recording his call at Atou on the present voyage, p. 87 above. He had first asked himself the question, or at least first recorded it, on leaving New Zealand in April 1770—1, p. 268. In the New Hebrides he thought he had seen some likeness between the *Tanasee* and the *Tauigana*, though he proceeded so doubtfully—II, p. 503 and p. 504, n. 1. He may now almost be said to foreshadow the 'Polynesian triangle'—with its western side thrown a good deal out of line, certainly. The Hawaiian group was traditionally settled from Tahiti.



did by 8 O'clock, & we suffered them to make fast to the Ship. Although during the Night we stretched from the Land, yet these good natur'd and unsuspecting people had no apprehensions of their safety.

We were truly sorry to find that three of our Guests, (we had now 10 or 12 on board) had the Venereal disease; in one of them it had broke out in the Groin, & in some parts seem'd heal'd, but in other places the Morbid matter was issuing out, this person had an emaciated countenance, haggard eyes, & it was a pain to him to drag along his body; the two others were recent, one of them was a very deform'd man, a high protuberance before & behind with long thin legs & thighs, he was very merry under his Misfortunes, & indeed the others could not be made to attend the Doctors advice, but shew'd the same inattention & levity as their brethren to the Southward even in a matter that was of such moment to them: they had however medicines given, & they readily comprehended the manner they should be us'd.

These people call the Island we saw at one to the sbz. Owhyhe. In the morning, we Observ'd that a current had set us considerably to Windward; at 8 AM the Extreams of O'whyhes 3° w & 32° e, the Extrem of Mowee 51° w to 57° w, distant from its east point 4 or 5 Leagues. We had now leisure to examine these people concerning the Number of Islands within their Knowledge: Owhyhe for which we are now steering & is the last Island to the East: to the Westward of which they mention'd Mowee, Morokoi, Ranai, Kahorowa, Morokeeng, Waáhooh, \* Atoui, \* Neeneehow, \* Orahooa, \* Taúri, \* Mopoopapaha, <sup>1</sup> of these they represent Owhyhe as the largest & govern'd by Taíree aboo. <sup>2</sup> The Chief of Mowee is named Taheteetece, <sup>3</sup> who has also under his subjection the four smaller Isl<sup>ts</sup> that follow in the Catalogue. Waáhooh a small part of which we saw in January, (as also those mark'd with an Asterisk) own Puechoranace <sup>4</sup> for its head. Atoui & the rest which we have before visit'd is govern'd by Teeavee. <sup>5</sup> In the Names & Numbers of these Islands with their Chiefs & Kings we could hardly be mistaken, as we had opportunities of putting the same Questions to several of them, & of corroborating their accounts

<sup>1</sup> The modern forms of these island names, except for the last, are Mauti, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe or Kahulani (off the south-west part of Maui), Molokini (a quite small islet between Maui and the northern point of Kahoolawe), Oahu, Kauai, Nihoa, Lehua (a rocky islet off the northern point of Nihoa), Kauai (an islet about 20 miles west of Nihoa). \* Mopoopapaha' is a problem to be attacked hereafter.  
<sup>2</sup> Kahani'opu'u.  
<sup>3</sup> Fekihohokani.  
<sup>4</sup> Kahakiki.  
<sup>5</sup> Keawe—who was, however, only a boy. See pp. 506, 516, n. 7, 1224 below.

with what we had heard & knew from our visits to the Leeward Islands.

As our Guests perceiv'd that we were not returning to Mowee, they left us & returned to that Island, telling us that we should meet with good People & plenty of refreshments at Owhyhe. At Noon Lat<sup>d</sup> by Obs<sup>ns</sup> 20° 43' N, Long: by TK 204° 15' East & Long by Lun<sup>r</sup> obs<sup>ns</sup> 204° 45' E. The West ext<sup>m</sup> of Owhyhe in sight 57° w, the Extreams of Mowee N 72° w & S 72° w, the nearest part 6 or 7 Leas<sup>s</sup>.

2d. The first & middle parts fresh breezes with some showers of rain, the latter Little wind & fair. Wind e to sbz. We stood in for the Island of Owhyhe till 3 PM when we were within 3 miles of the Shore, the West ext<sup>m</sup> of the Island bearing sw½w & the east ext<sup>m</sup> sbz½e. We stood off shore till 3 AM & then in again till ten, when we laid too, & sometimes stood off & on, to trade with the Natives. At 8 Long by TK = 203° 49' East, Lat<sup>d</sup> 20° 19' N, Owhyhe Extending from 54° E to 570½° W, offshore 3 or 4 miles, Mowee N 38° W to N 78° W. At Noon Lat. 20° 22' N, ext<sup>m</sup> of Owhyhe S 67° E & S 85½° W, off shore 2 miles.

The part of Owhyhe we now have in view is equally as fruitful as what we saw off Mowee; the part that is to the W<sup>ward</sup> of us is low land, & seems entirely cultivated, the Eastern part is also a level & rather low land, but between these Extreams is a space, & which is the Nearest to us, that differs from the Extreams, & will answer to the description we have given of the high cliffy coast of the N<sup>W</sup> part of Mowee, from these also are falls of water, & the inland country rises gently at first but afterwards abruptly to a mountain, which is broken at the top, <sup>1</sup> which must be very high, since we think we can discern a good deal of Snow upon it, some say the appearance is only Clouds hanging on the top, & is also cut into deep Glens. The high Coast is here much more rugg'd & broken than that at Mowee, & deceives one in expecting shelter'd places round their projecting points; The Natives were shy in their first approaches, & we saw in many parts upon the Shore, pieces of white Cloth flying, as we suppos'd mean[t] for emblems of Peace, as had many of the Canoes: this made the Captain hoist our King Georges Ensign; They were exceedingly happy in being suffer'd to come on board, & were very humble & humiliating in their outward actions. For the smallest trifles, they ask'd for hatchets & long nails, but very readily took very moderate prices for their Goods, which was the same as at Mowee. Many of those who came off were mean looking People,

<sup>1</sup> Presumably he refers here to Mauna Kea.

many of these good Folks both Men and Women about the Ship miserably afflicted with the Venereal disease, which they accuse us of introducing among them during our last visit, they say it does not go away, that they have no Antidote for it, but that they grow worse and worse, explaining the different symptoms in the progress of the disorder till it totally destroys them.<sup>1</sup> Captain Cook did take such preventive methods as I hop'd and flatter'd myself would prove effectual, but our Seamen are in these matters so infernal and dissolute a Crew that for the gratification of the present passion that affects them they would entail universal destruction upon the whole of the Human Species—however this was by no means left to their feelings, there were no Women suffer'd onboard the Ships, nor was any Man in the least suspected to be tainted upon any account suffer'd out of them, and the most severe punishment was denounc'd to any Person detected in any meretricious connections with the Women, but all would not do, this irretrievable mischief was by some means effected. That it should rage more violently, and its dreadful Symptoms operate more expeditiously here than at the Friendly or Society Isles I suppose may be attributed in a great measure to the quantity of Salt these People make use of in their customary diet, besides which, they cure both Meat & fish very well with this salt, and these constitute a great part of their ordinary Aliment. It certainly is a most unfortunate and ever to be lamented incident, here's a most miserable curse entail'd upon these poor Creatures which never can end but with the general dissolution of Nature.—Our Watering Party & Carpenters go on with all expedition.

THURSDAY 4th. Fresh breezes Easterly with some passing showers of rain. In the morning I was visited by an elderly Lady whose name was Tu'mutta'ah'ra<sup>2</sup> and her daughter with a very numerous retinue, to whom great respect and attention were paid by all the Natives in and about the Ship; She asserts and of course Her Attendants corroborate that she is now Queen of this Isic of A'tou'i, that Ta'ma'ha'no<sup>3</sup> the Man who sway'd the Sceptre when we were last here was a Usurper and had then taken the Crown from Her by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Law: 'We Heard today also for Certain as it was Confirmed afterwards by many of the Natives that when we were here the Last Time we gave them the Venereal Disease they said they had a Method of Curing it but it was a Long Time first. Just before leaving the island Roberts (14 March), registering his sorrow 'that these, poor innocent people, universally accuse, and condemn us' for the heinous guilt, remarks that most of the crew had now contracted it from the women.  
<sup>2</sup> Kamakuhalei. See Samwell, p. 1224 below, and nn. 1, 3-4 on that page. But elderly? Perhaps in an eighteenth-century estimate. Ellis (II, p. 134) describes her as 'short and lusty, about 40 years of age'.  
<sup>3</sup> The alternative name for the chief better known in Hawaiian history as Kamehameha.

force, but that her Party had of late prevail'd, drove Ta'ma'ha'no and his Adherents to the Mountains and resettled Her upon the Throne. By these Peoples account the last Battle fought between these belligerent Parties was on the last of February, which was the day before our Arrival among them; this action terminated so much in disavow of Ta'ma'ha'no and his party that they were beat totally off the Field of Battle, where they left dead 3 Arees and twenty three Men, whilst the Party of the Queen only lost a single Man. The principal Man that attends her Majesty, whose name is Tay'o, and who I find is at present her Generalissimo and Galant,<sup>1</sup> has a wound through the back of his right Hand which he asserts he received in this action, it is quite green and clearly the work of a Spear. Her Majesty made me a present of some fish Hooks which she assur'd me were made of the Bones of Terre'oboo's father, who was killed in a descent he made upon Wou'a'ho'o where his party were routed. They have many of them Human Bones which they keep as trophies of their prowess & success. Her daughter had a curious Fan or Fly flapper compos'd of a bunch of Feathers made to adhere to a Human Bone as a Handle; the feathers were very fine & the Handle curiously wrought with Tortoise shell, which made it a pretty piece of furniture enough. The history they give of this Bone is, that it was the Arm of an Aree of Wou'a'ho'o who was kill'd in battle by this Tay'o and this was one of his Trophies.<sup>2</sup> I made the old Lady some presents with which she seem'd much pleas'd & return'd to the Shore very happy. We have now abundance of Trade & good fellowship with these honest Folks, they all behave perfectly socially and just. The Carpenters hard at work caulking.

FRIDAY 5th. Winds Easterly with fresh breezes and in general fair Weather with some passing showers. In the Morning all the Boats watering. This fore Noon I detected one of the Arees making free with some Iron that he thought lay convenient for a removal, the poor fellow could not resist the temptation, he was exceedingly abash'd and frighten'd at being detected, and offer'd a very fine red Cloak he had on as a ransom for his pardon; he appear'd so hurt and dejected I freely forgave him, and only wish'd those sensations were the effect of shame rather than apprehension, however I led him to

<sup>1</sup> This man was Kai'en or Ka'okulani, who had recently become Kamakuhalei's third husband. He was a half-brother of Kabeiki of Maui.  
<sup>2</sup> This was a very honourable way to treat the bone of a departed friend or enemy. Beck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*, p. 580, figures a large *hohihi*, the handle of which contains the right shin bone of Kamehameha, killed in battle against Kamehameha in 1793, and so honoured by the victor. One may perhaps call this a link with Cook, and it can be seen in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Sketches we have made of it which I hope will soon follow this account.<sup>1</sup>

*Latitude and Longitude of the body of each Isle*

O'why'he	19.36	North	204° 27'	East
Mow'wee	20.50		203.40	
Morokinne	20.40		203.32	
Tah'hoorowa	20.35		203.28	
Ranai	20.52		203.08	
Morotai	21.10		203.03	
Wou'a'how	21.31		202.14	
A'tou'i	22.04		200.19	
O'Nee'how	21.54		199.52	
Or're'houa	22.02		199.50	
Ta'oo'ra	21.43		199.37	
Anchoring place at A'tou'i	21.56½		200.20	
— at O'nee'how	21.49½		199.47	
The Bay we Anchored in at the Isle of Wou'a'hou	21.43		202.08	

*Astronomical and Nautical Remarks*

Latitude of Cara'ca'coo'ah Bay	19° 27' 45" N
Longitude by the Mean of 121 sets of Lunar Observations	204.00.00 E
Longitude by the Time Keeper at the Greenwich Rate	214.30.30 E
Variation of the Compass	7.48.00 E
Dip of the Magnetic Needle	41.05.30 North end
High water at 3 <sup>h</sup> .44' PM on the full and change days, the Tide then rose 2 <sup>h</sup> .7 <sup>m</sup> .	

*An Account of Plants at these Isles<sup>2</sup>*

Allettris<sup>3</sup>

Anonnum<sup>4</sup> Ginger

<sup>1</sup> Follow this account: an indication that this was the journal entrusted to Major Behm, together with Cook's journal, by Clerke for forwarding to the Admiralty, when Behm was on the point of leaving Kamachika in the following May.

<sup>2</sup> The form taken by this 'account' convinces me that it is a list handed over to Clerke by Nelson, the botanist; certainly it can owe very little to Clerke's personal observation or knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> *Alettris* or *Dracena*, i.e. *Pisonia avoca*, Hawaiian *Haba-pepe*.  
<sup>4</sup> This might be either or both of two gingers, both formerly called *Anonnum*, and both frequent enough about Kealahakua Bay: *Zingiber zerumbet*, Haw. 'Awapuhi; and turmeric, *Curcuma domestica*, Haw. 'Olena.

The Candle Tree of The Friendly & Society Isles

1779]	Alearies <sup>1</sup>	Artocarpus <sup>2</sup>	The Bread-fruit Tree
	Bombax <sup>3</sup>	Bombax <sup>3</sup>	Silk Cotton Tree
	Borassus <sup>4</sup>	Borassus <sup>4</sup>	Palm Tree
	Gala <sup>5</sup>		African arum or Tarrow
	Copparis <sup>6</sup>		Caper Bush
	Cassia <sup>7</sup>		Wild Sena
	Cocos nucifera <sup>8</sup>		Coco-nut
	Convolvulus <sup>9</sup>		Four species, one is the Sweet Potatoe Bind-weed
	Cucurbita <sup>10</sup>		Gourd
	Epilobium <sup>11</sup>		Willow herb
	Euphorbia <sup>12</sup>		Burning thorny Plant
	Dioscoria <sup>13</sup>		Yams
	Arundo <sup>14</sup>		Bamboo Cane
	Guilandina <sup>15</sup>		Nicker Tree
	Hibiscus <sup>16</sup>		Syrian Mallow
	Jatropha <sup>17</sup>		Cassava
	Indigofera <sup>18</sup>		Indigo
	Morus Papyrifera <sup>19</sup>		The Chinese paper Mulberry Tree

<sup>1</sup> *Allettris volucrosa*, Haw. Kukui.

<sup>2</sup> *Artocarpus incanus*, Haw. 'Ulu. But the breadfruit was not the staple food in Hawaii it was in other parts of the ocean, such as Tahiti.

<sup>3</sup> *Kokia dryobalanis*, Haw. Koki'o. Nelson certainly collected this, as we know from a herbarium specimen. The Bombacaceae is a newly related family.

<sup>4</sup> Doubtless *Pritchardia* sp., Haw. Loulu, which like *Borassus* has palmate-shaped leaves, and is endemic to Hawaii. *Borassus* was a post-Cook introduction to the islands.

<sup>5</sup> *Calceolaria eschiquiana*, Taro, Haw. Kalo. It was formerly called *Calceolaria eschiquiana* or *Arum eschiquianum*; the calla is a family member.

<sup>6</sup> *Capparis zosterifolia*, Haw. Matiaelo.

<sup>7</sup> *Cassia goniochauffi*, Haw. Kalomasa.

<sup>8</sup> *Cocos nucifera*, Haw. Niu, as elsewhere in Polynesia.

<sup>9</sup> The 'four species' reported here were probably (1) the sweet potato, *Bombax tuberosa*, Haw. 'Uala (of which there were very many ancient varieties); (2) the beach morning-glory, *L. per caput*, Haw. Pohuehue; (3) *L. congesta*, Haw. Kooli'awa; (4) *L. striata*, Haw. Kooli'ua, formerly used for bedding house parts together. There were many other species of *Bombax* and related genera in the islands.

<sup>10</sup> *Cucurbita lagenaria*, Haw. Ipu or Hie.

<sup>11</sup> The epilobium was not in Hawaii in Cook's day. The plant was the primrose willow, *Jussiaea suffruticosa* var. *ligustrifolia*, not a native, but present before Cook, and common.

<sup>12</sup> No native Hawaiian *Euphorbia* is thorny. The Crown of Thorns, *Euphorbia spinescens*, is very thorny, but it is an importation from Madagascar. Possibly Clerke means the 'tree lobelia' *Croton solanaceus*, Haw. 'Oha-lepau, which is very thorny. Its prickles would certainly burn.

<sup>13</sup> *Dioscorea alata*, Haw. Ulu.

<sup>14</sup> *Casuarina stricta*, Haw. Kakaheka, a thorny vine.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *Hibiscus siliacus*, Haw. Hui; but there were many species of *Hibiscus*.

<sup>16</sup> *Taraxacum officinale*, Haw. Pia; the 'Polynesian arrowroot', the grated tubers of which provided a sort of starch, very agreeable when properly prepared.

<sup>17</sup> *Jatropha gossypifolia*, Haw. 'Iniko or Koku (blue).

<sup>18</sup> *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Haw. Wauke.

Musa<sup>1</sup>  
Oxalis<sup>2</sup>  
Potiveria<sup>3</sup>  
Rubus<sup>4</sup>  
Saccharum<sup>5</sup>  
Sida viscosa<sup>6</sup>  
Sophora<sup>7</sup>  
Urena<sup>8</sup>  
Lapsopermum<sup>9</sup>

The small red Apple of Otaheite, besides the papa<sup>10</sup> called so by the people of Otaheite, the leaves of which they make their Sails; about twenty different species of Ferns, and fifty or sixty sorts of Trees and shrubs that I knew nothing of.

Upon the eminences that are covered with wood, the soil is made rich from the continual fall of leaves and rotten timber, but naturally is very barren.

The birds of these Islands are as beautiful as any we have seen during the Voyage, and are numerous though not various. There are four which seem to belong to the Trochili or Honey-Suckers of Linnæus, one of which is something larger than a Bullfinch; its colour is a fine glossy black, the rump, vent, and thighs deep yellow;<sup>11</sup> another is of an exceeding bright Scarlet colour, the wings and tail black;<sup>12</sup> a third which seems to be either a young bird or variety of the foregoing is variegated with red, brown and yellow;<sup>13</sup> the fourth is entirely green with a tinge of yellow.<sup>14</sup> There is a species of Thrush

<sup>1</sup> *Musa* spp., though generally referred to as *Musa sapientum*, Haw. Maia. There were many different sorts, both cultivated and wild—older Hawaiians know about fifty. These have been crowded out, in the main, by the so-called 'Chinese banana' introduced from Tahiti in 1855.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxalis corniculata*, Haw. 'Ihi.

<sup>3</sup> The copyst seems to have fallen down: his 'wood' should be 'weed' *Phytolacca sandwicensis*, Haw. Popolo-kumai, or Hawaiian Pokeberry.

<sup>4</sup> *Rubus hawaiiensis*, Haw. 'Akala.

<sup>5</sup> *Sida fallax*, Haw. 'Ilima. The small yellow flowers were used in lei.

<sup>6</sup> *Sophora chrysophylla*, Haw. Mamanu: a tree that grew 20-40 feet high, its timber used in house construction and for the runners of sleds.

<sup>7</sup> *Urena* was probably not in Hawaii in Cook's time; *Urena* was. One may identify as *Urena sandwicensis*, Haw. Opuhe; its bark was tough, and used for fishing nets.

<sup>8</sup> *Euphorbia zosterocarpa*, Haw. 'Ohi'a or 'Ohi'a-'ai, mountain apple.

<sup>9</sup> *Papa* means 'flat surface', or 'sheet', hence 'sail'. It is not a plant name. The leaves were those of the *Pandanus santonisensis*, Haw. Haha.

<sup>10</sup> This description leaves us a little in doubt as to which particular bird it applies to; but probably the Mamo, *Dryobates pacificus* (Gm.), which was collected on the voyage, is the one meant.

<sup>11</sup> The 'Iwi, *Vestiaria coccinea* (Forster).

<sup>12</sup> This description most nearly fits the young 'Iwi, which has a little red on the back, with black wings and tail, and yellow, olive-brown and grey on the belly, gradually masked by a light, brilliant red as the bird grows older. The young Apapane, also found on Hawaii and in the same general region, prior to acquiring its dark blood-red plumage is more sooty-grey than yellow brown.

<sup>13</sup> The Amakihi, *Lewypterus (Gm.)*.

with a grey breast,<sup>1</sup> and a small bird of the Fly-catcher kind;<sup>2</sup> a Rail with very short wings and no tail, which on that account we named, *Rallus ecaudatus*.<sup>3</sup> Ravens are found here but they are scarce, their colour is dark brown inclining to black, and their Note is different from those of Europe.<sup>4</sup> Here are two small birds both of one Genus, that are very common; one is red and is generally seen about the Coconut Trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence, the other is green; the tongues of both are long and ciliated or fringed at the Tip.<sup>5</sup>

A Bird with a yellow head, which from the structure of its beak, we called a Parroquet, is likewise very common;<sup>6</sup> it however by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the *Loxia flavicans* or yellowish Cross-bill of Linnæus.

Here are also Owls,<sup>7</sup> Plovers of two sorts, one very like the whistling Plover of Europe,<sup>8</sup> a large whitish Pigeon,<sup>9</sup> a bird with a long tail whose colour is black, the vent, and feathers under the wings (which are much longer than is usually seen in the generality of birds except the bird of Paradise) are yellow,<sup>10</sup> and the common water, or darker Hen.<sup>11</sup>

## [KING]

Better than three months & a half (that we [have] been amongst this Group [of] Islands) is one would suppose a length of time sufficient, to enable a person, to give an equally good account of their produce, & of the Nature of their Inhabitants, as of other places we have visit'd, particularly as we may be said to have a great advantage in knowing something of their Language: but if I am not deceiv'd our information in these matters will not be equal to what it might be expect'd in such a length. There are however two Circumstance[s], which will not make this appear extraordinary: The loss of our Linguist Dr Anderson, from whom we received our best information, & who him-

<sup>1</sup> Amaui or Omao, the Hawaii Thrush, *Phosinotus obscura* (Gm.).

<sup>2</sup> *Elepaio*, *Chasiophaps sandwicensis* (Gm.).

<sup>3</sup> This rail, *Pennisia sandwicensis* nelsoni Dole, is long extinct.

<sup>4</sup> The Alala, *Corvus fregatus* (Gm.).

<sup>5</sup> Probably these two small birds are the male and female Akapa, *Lewypterus* (Gm.); the male of which is reddish, the female dark green on the back, yellow-green on the belly.

<sup>6</sup> The O'u, *Fuliginosa palmarum* (Gm.).

<sup>7</sup> The Pueo, *Aio flammeus sandwicensis* (Bloxiom).

<sup>8</sup> This last was probably the Ulili or Wandering Tattler, *Heteroscelus incanens* (Gm.); the other might be the Kolen or Pacific Golden Plover, *Pluvialis dominica fulva*.

<sup>9</sup> There was no Hawaiian pigeon; the bird was in all probability the White Tern, *Gygis alba emula* (Gm.), which has often been mistaken for a pigeon in the woods or among coconut palms.

<sup>10</sup> The O'o, *Molus nelsoni* (Merrem).

<sup>11</sup> Probably the Ake or Muthien, *Gallinula chloropus sandwicensis* Streets, which we know was collected.

Turtle, Atlantic - 736, 750; Pacific, 90, 106-7, 136, 257-61, nn, 631-2,  
635n, 848, 853, 866, 873, 880, 902,  
1080-81, 1157, 1236

self was best able to give an account in many branches, of which we who remain are ignorant. The other is the length of time we Cruised off Owhyhe, so that we had not more than a fifth part of the above time on shore, had little leisure to get information & no opportunity of observing & enquiring into many things. As for myself where I have related of their Arts, Customs &c on our first Discovery of A-tou I, in the beginning of last Year, having then the Advantage of Mr Andersons communications, I find no reason to alter, & am little able to enlarge on them;<sup>1</sup> but as we have considerably increased the Group some new Matter may be collect'd.

To the 5 Islands then discover'd we have now added 5 more to windward of them, all of which go under the general appellation of Sandwich Islands. Their particular names beginning with the Eastermost are as follows: Owhy-hee, \* Mowee, \* Morotinne or Morokinne, Kahowrowee or Tahowrowee, Ranai or O'ranai, Moro-oi or Morokoi, Wo'ahoo\* or O'ahoo, A-tou I or Tou'I & sometimes Koue I, \* Neehechow\* or Oneehow, Orahooa or Racoa, Teura.

It is to be observ'd that among the Windward Islands, the K is used instead of the T, as Morokoi instead of Morotoi.<sup>2</sup> Those mark'd \* from their size & Consequence deserve only<sup>3</sup> a particular description. Morotinne is too small to deserve the name of an Island, & that as well as Teura are uninhabited. To the wsw of Teura, they visit a low sandy Island for Sea birds & Turtle call'd Modoo-papapa or Somodoo papapa.<sup>4</sup> I never heard they had any knowledge either from intercourse or tradition of other Islands or land than these enumerated.

▷ WHYHEE.<sup>5</sup> The Eastermost & much the largest of these Islands is

<sup>1</sup> What information King then collected is adequately covered in Cook's journal for that period, and the notes supplied thereon.

<sup>2</sup> But apparently not, at that time, the L instead of R.

<sup>3</sup> Their mark'd . . . only, at first blush syntactically puzzling, is equivalent to 'Only those marked . . . deserve'.

<sup>4</sup> This 'low sandy Island' is quite baffling, though the name was picked up both in 1778 and 1779. Cf. p. 522 below. [Ko]=moa or moa papa is literally the low, or flat and smooth sand. Chariton, 15 March, renders the name Conneveoopapappa, which at least is right; Burney, same date, Tonooopapappa. There is a large isolated rock about four feet high, call'd Kaukannau, standing near the middle of a shoal about 2½ cables offshore (Nihau about a third of the way up its eastern coast, which has been suggested; but it is none of the description, and though it might attract sea birds, would certainly not attract turtle. Dr Estory suggests that, as Nihou was known to the historic Hawaiians and frequently visited by them, Moku Papapa may have been an alternative name for this land. Although Nihou is not low or flat, papa could have referred to the strain exposed in the great cliff walls. But then what becomes of our compass-direction? Nihou is certainly at wsw of Kaula, but a few extensions of the main Hawaiian chain, lat. 23°03' N, long. 61°55' W. Clerke, it will be seen (p. 1321 below), but Clerke alone, once (and then only after the first visit to the group), reports the island as 'away to the NW'.

<sup>5</sup> Hawaii. For the convenience of the reader unused to Polynesian names I put these land names once more into modern Hawaiian.

of a triangular shape, & nearly equilateral, the Angular points making the NEast & So extremities. The Latitude & Longitudes of which points are: of the North point Lat<sup>d</sup> [20°17' N], Longitude [204°02'] E; the East point Lat<sup>d</sup> [19°34' N] Long: [205°06' E]; & the S point Lat [18°54' N] Longitude [204°15' E].<sup>1</sup> It[s] great[est] extent (which is nearly in a N & S direction) is 27½ Leagues, & from East to Wt 24 leag<sup>s</sup> or about 230 miles in circumference.<sup>2</sup> It is divided into Six large districts, the appearance of which as we saild along them I shall now describe.

On the NE side is Amacooa<sup>3</sup> & A-heedoo or O'heeroo,<sup>4</sup> the Snowy mountain which makes in 3 peaks & is call'd Mouna Kaa<sup>5</sup> (or Mountain Kaa) separates them. The former is Clifty towards the Sea, rises high & abruptly, & once deceiv'd us into the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, but a low Valley connect'd it with another high head,\* down those Cliffs fall many very beautifull Caskades.<sup>6</sup> The Country which for a considerable distance has but a gentle ascent, seems fully cultivated, & a number of Villages interspers'd. The Deep Glens that are frequent take off from the general beauty of the Landscape; nearer the foot of the Mountain the land rises abruptly, & the lower part is cover'd with Wood.

Aheedoo, to the Seward of Amacooa, has its beech of a Moderate height & even the Interior parts are not so broken into Glens as the other District: it rises very gradually, & its S part extends far into the Island. Its Cultivation & Villages are equal to Amacooa: Off these two districts we cruised for almost a month, & whenever we came near enough the Shore, never fail'd of being surrounded with Canoes that brought us all kind of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy Sea & swell upon this side of the Island, from which, & having no moderate Soundings & observing off A-hee-doo foul Ground, we never went nearer than 2 or 3 leagues to the latter District; Otherwise we should have doubtless had a greater number of the Natives to Visit us; those who ventured off, from their black, small, & mean appearance, were only Servants, sent by their Masters to Sell things. Their humiliating behaviour & dull parts shew'd that equality in condition was not the happiness of this Island.

<sup>1</sup> The figures in square brackets are omitted in the MS, and are here supplied from Voyage, III, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> The printed version, *ibid.*, alters these figures to 28½ leagues North and South, and 'about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles, in circumference'.

<sup>3</sup> Hannata.

<sup>4</sup> Hilo.

<sup>5</sup> There are so many bluff heads on this coast that the hoped-for harbour is difficult to pitch on; it is just possible that Waipio, where the ships were closest to the shore, indicated.

<sup>6</sup> We had at one time a view of 14 fine Cascades falling from a great height, some into the Sea, & others on the rocks. At the same time nothing could equal the beauty & verdure of the adjacent parts, & the picturesque disposition of the higher hills. —Trevesen.

On the *se* sides are the districts of *Opoona* & *Kāoo*.<sup>1</sup> The East part of the former is flat, covered with Coco nut trees, & the land far back is of a Moderate height. As well as we could judge this is a very fine part of the Island, perhaps the best. *Terrecoboo* has one of his residences here.

On the *sw* extremity of *Opoona* the hills rise abruptly from the Sea side, leaving but a narrow border, & although the sides of the hills have a fine Verdure, yet they do not seem Cultivated, & when we sail'd pretty near & along this end of *Opoona*, we did not observe that it was equally Populous with the Eastern parts; before we reached the East point of the Island, & all along this *se* side the Snowy mountain call'd *Rōá* (or extensive) is very conspicuous. It is flatish at the top or make[s] what we call Table land. The top of which only, had Snow always on it, although we once saw a third part down its sides slightly cover'd, the greatest part of which in a few days disappear'd; but the Snow that fill'd up the valleys between the peaks of *Rōá* seem'd a perpetual bed. It appear'd to remain always some way down its sides: I should imagine we saw the Snow for a[]most half a mile from its top. By knowing the line of Snow in this Latitude one might easily Calculate the height of the hill, & on allowing the Constant line of Snow here to be a quarter of a Mile, as some differe should be made for the time we saw it, Upon any supposition it will be higher than the Peak of *Teneriff*.<sup>2</sup>

We now come to *Kāá*,<sup>3</sup> which has for its bounds half of the *se* beech, & all the *s* neck. It is not only by far the worst part of the Island, but as barren waste looking a country as can be conceiv'd to exist in the Neighbourhood of a fine one, & this owing to the ravages of a Volcano, which we suppose to have formerly existed on Mount *Kea*,<sup>4</sup> since we could discern black Streaks coming from the Mountain even down to the Seaside. But the *s* neck seems to have undergone a total change from the Effect of Volcanos, Earthquakes &c. By the *se* side were black honey combd rocks, near the *s* extremity were hummocks of a Conical Shape which appear'd of a reddish brown rusty Colour, & we judg'd them to consist of Ashes. The *s* extremity, which projects out, has upon it rocks of the most Craggy appearance,

<sup>1</sup> *Puna*, the south-eastern part of the island; *Kau*, the south-western.

<sup>2</sup> Almost 1500 feet higher. The reliance of sailors on the Peak of *Teneriff* as a standard of immense number of them knew.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. 'Kāoo' or *Kau*. King, or his copyist, plays strange tricks with this name, which becomes in later paragraphs *Koa* and *Kao*—as if he were still struggling with the names of the two priests. But there is no possibility of confusion, and I leave the text unaltered.

<sup>4</sup> This must be a mistake for *Roa*. It is *Mauna Loa* that is the dominant feature of *Kau*, its lava-flows descending almost to the sea. *Maunua Kea* dominates the north-eastern side of the island.

lying very irregularly, & of most curious shapes, terminating in Sharp points; horrid & dismal as this part of the Island appears, yet there are many Villages interspersed, & it Struck us as being more populous than the part of *Opoona* which joins *Koa*. There are houses built even on the ruins we have describ'd. Fishing is a principal occupation with the Inhabitants, which they sold to us, & we also had a very plentiful supply of other food when off this *s* end. No Ground could be got within a Cables length of the Shore with 160 fath of line.

We now come to the West side, where are the districts of *A-kona* & *Ko-harra*.<sup>1</sup> The part of *A-kona* joining to *Koa* partakes of its nature. Its *n* part is highly cultivated & very populous. In the Middle of this district is *Karakacooa* bay; In the General Chart it is represent'd deeper, & the appearance of being a more sheltered harbour than what it really is; but a Sketch which is added will shew sufficiently exact its figure & dimensions.<sup>2</sup> The points that form it bear from each other *sebs* & *nwbn*, variation allow'd, at 1½ mile distance, the bay bends about a mile deep. On the *n* side is a high steep hill rising perpendicularly from the Sea.<sup>3</sup> On the low *n* barren point is the Village call'd *Kowrowa*. The Sandy beech forms the West side, behind which is a grove of Coco nut trees & a pond of indifferent water; on the *n* side of this beach lies a Village, & the Well we water'd at, which is close to the Sea & under the high hill. At the other end of the beach is the *Morai*, or *Ohekecow*.<sup>4</sup> A field of *Taboo'd* ground separates the *Morai* from a Village to the *s*, or rather a continued range of Stragling houses in that direction.

The Journey that was made towards the Snowy Mountain *Roa*, an account of which has been already given, will be a sufficient description of the Nature of the Inland parts of this side of the Country, which have undergone a great alteration by Volcanos or Earthquakes. I do not know whether the appearances they observ'd are at all singular or very Common, & which are first the parallel direction of the Woods to the Sea, & secondly, the great difference in the Nature of these woods, for when they first enter'd the Main [wood], at about 6 or 7 miles from the Sea Shore, they found it for three miles compos'd of Tall stout trees, growing on a good rich Soil, this was follow'd by an equal extent of dwarfish trees G[r]owing on a very poor Soil, & which was remarkable stoney; they came again to a Wood like the first; & lastly to still smaller trees & poorer Soil.

<sup>1</sup> *Kona* and *Kohala*. The chart extends the latter district considerably too far south.

<sup>2</sup> A blank space in the MS here seems to indicate that King was at a loss for an adjective.

<sup>3</sup> Chart LV.

<sup>4</sup> *Hikinu* was the name of the 'Morai' or *Keau*.

Before they enter'd the first Wood, they also observ'd Arms or branches, stretch towards the Sea side, in a direction at right Angles to the Main wood, & that these reach within a Mile or two of the beach, these Arms separated the great Plantations which has been observ'd to be 4 or 5 miles broad, & which are again divided into Small fields by stone hedges. The Soil was good, the Space that separated these Plantations from the entire Lava, or burnt Cindery surface, which extends two or three miles inland from the beach, is Planted with Breadfruit trees & Plantains; Wild or horse Plantains grow some distance into the first Wood. The prevailing productions of the above Plantations is Tarro (Eddy) & which in all other Islands is only plant'd in very wet ground, & where a great part is always coverd with water. These can only be water'd from the heavens, the Earth about them is so contriv'd as to retain about their roots whatever moisture falls; they are the best tasted tarrow we have seen.<sup>1</sup> The Sweet Potatoe grows any where, a great part of the ground about the Villages yield them.

The high Steep hill which makes the N side of the bay, & which connects with a Wooded Arm, has its rocks of a very different appearance from the other rocks, that are every where scattered; from whence one would conclude that these Arms of Wood, as well as this hill has not been changd by the Volcano, or at least not at the same time, or in an equal degree.

Four Leagues to the N of Karakacooa bay, is another which they represent as equally good, & thereabouts the Country is less hurt by the Lava. The King has here another Residence.

We now come to *Ko-Harra* the nw & last district. It is bounded by two tolerable high hills,<sup>2</sup> & the Coast forms a very extensive bay call'd *Toe Yah-Yah*,<sup>3</sup> In the bottom of which is foul Corally ground, & there was no approaching it; In the head of the bay as far as we could judge distant

the Country lookd tolerably, but the side is partook of the same nature as Kao, & along the N side of the bay close to which we Saild, It is very little Cultivated, & we saw but few houses; the Peoples appearance shewd that they were the lowest Class that inhabited them.

**MOWEE.**<sup>4</sup> This Island bears nw from the N point of Owhyee 8 leagues dist. A low Isthmus separates it into two circular high Penin-

<sup>1</sup> Capt. King, had he remarked it, would certainly have thought it worthy of notice that the inhabitants are at great pains in watering these roots. — Trevenen.

<sup>2</sup> Going on Chart I.V, the two hills Clerke means are probably *Puu Hualalaj*, 8,269 feet, about the middle of the western coast, and *Mount Kohala*, 5,505 feet, at the north-western end of the island; both these heights may be reckoned 'tolerable'.

<sup>3</sup> *Kawaihae Bay*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mauu*.

sulas, the Eastermost being as large again as the Westermost one. Its figure is not much unlike Otaheite, nor do they differ greatly in size. The length of Mowee (being East & West) is 15 leagues, the greatest breadth of the East Peninsula (NE & SW) 8½ Leagues, & which is call'd *W/ha'-madooa*.<sup>1</sup> Its NE side being the first land we saw on coming down to these Islands has been Particularly describ'd at the time; It has a Strong resemblance to the NE side of Owhyhe, & appears no way inferior to it.

We were too far distant to say any thing of its SE part, round which points the Indians say there is a good bay call'd *Wamoor*,<sup>2</sup> but no fresh water in it; Although the Indians said that our boats could go somewhere without the bay, & return loaded with good water by the time they were hungry. On the S part of the Isthmus the Coast forms a much deeper bay than it does on the N side, on the NW side of which the Indians mentiond another harbour, call'd *Reepo Reepo*.<sup>3</sup>

*Owhyhooko*<sup>4</sup> or the West Peninsula, the SW side of which we were only near, has a very rude & wild appearance. The land is cut into deep cavities, & the hills rise in all forms & directions, many to Spiral tops; the Steep sides of these hills & the hollows are wooded, & we observ'd the Breadfruit tree to be numerous; but the surface toward the Tops have neither Shrubs or Grass, but look of a reddish brown Cast, towards the West extremity the land falls low, is Coverd with Coco nut trees & looks very Pleasant.

**T'A'OROWA**<sup>5</sup> is a Small Island lying off the SW part of Mowee from which it is dist 3 leagues, Its Greatest length (E & W) 4 leag<sup>s</sup>, & breadth 1½. It has no wood on it, seems a sandy poor soil, & is altogether a poor Island; between it & Mowee lies *Morotimnee*.<sup>6</sup>

**MOROTO**<sup>7</sup> Is only 2½ leagues distant from Mowee in a WNW direction, its greatest dimensions is in Longitude, & 10½ leagues, & in Latitude 5 Leagues. We were only near enough its western part, to form any Judgment of its produce. This part was low (the rest appearing to us high at a distance) free of wood, & struck us as having

<sup>1</sup> *Hanaku* or *Hamakuloa*, a district name in Maui as well as in Hiawaii, not the whole eastern division of the island. It was the north-western part of this division.

<sup>2</sup> Just possibly this name corresponds, is a thoroughly garbled form, to *Manawaimui*: it is otherwise unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The bay is *Maalaea Bay*; the 'harbour', an anchorage rather, is *Kalepolepo*, and it is on the south-east rather than the north-west side of the bay. Clerke's rendering argues that the old name might be more accurately spelt '*Kaipolipo*'; nevertheless it is *Kalepolepo* in all old Hawaiian texts.

<sup>4</sup> *Waikuku* is a place at the bottom of the northern bay forming the low sandy isthmus, not the whole western peninsula. It was the scene of a desperate two-day battle between *Kalan'opu'u* and *Kabekili* during *Kalan'opu'u*'s attempt to conquer Maui, in which he was utterly defeated.

<sup>5</sup> *Kaboolawe*.

<sup>6</sup> *Molokini*.

<sup>7</sup> *Molokai*.



a Striking resemblance to Neeneehow,<sup>1</sup> & we were told that its production also was principally in Yams; On its s & nw sides the Coast formed bays that Promised good Shelter from the prevailing winds.

RANAIA<sup>2</sup> Is about 3 leagues distant from Mowee, & Morotoi, & lies sw of the passage between these Islands; It is of a roundish figure, & about 11 leagues in Circumference. Its s part is Clifly & rugg'd, but many parts of the Island look'd very Pleasant, & the borders seem'd full of Villages.

WOA' HOO.<sup>3</sup> We saw this Island the beginning of last year, but only just as a high lump, We this Time sail'd along its NE & NW sides but saw nothing of the Soern part. What we did see of this Island was by far the most beautiful country of any in the Group; particularly the Neck that Stretches to the N<sup>o</sup>ward: & its nw side. Nothing could exceed the verdure of the hills, nor the Variety which the face of the Country display'd. It[s north-eastern] parts<sup>4</sup> were clifly, & rugg'd to the Sea side, but the Valleys look'd exceedingly pleasant, near the N point we were charm'd with the narrow border full of Villages, & the Moderate hills that rose behind them; but as we came more into the bay which the n & West extremity forms, the low land extended far back, & was highly cultivated. Where we Anchor'd was a charming Landscape.

The only objection to making this Spot the most preferable place, to any we have seen, is that in the bite of the bay, or to the sw of the Anchor[ing] place, we found rocky foul ground a great distance off shore. Should the Ground tackling of a Ship be indifferent, & the wind blow strong from the N, to which the place is intirely open, there might be danger; but with good cables, as the ground opposite the Valley (thro which the river flows) as well as higher, near the North point, is a fine Sand & regular sounding, there can be little danger:<sup>5</sup> We were very sorry to leave this Charming Island, after the few hours we were at Anchor off it. We did not see many of the Natives, as they were fully employ'd in prosecuting a War for the possession of Morotoi, on which Island their forces actually were.

Woahoo lies to the wnw of Morotoi at about 8 leas. We are only able to give its dimensions from e to w, which is 11½ leags. Its figure

<sup>1</sup> Niuhau.

<sup>2</sup> Lanai.

<sup>3</sup> Oahu.

<sup>4</sup> I conjecture 'north-eastern'. The MS is here defective, reading 'It parts parts'.

<sup>5</sup> I have here ventured to amend the text, which in the original runs, '(as the ground opposite, (through which the river flows, the Valley, as well as higher, near the North point [sic], is a fine Sand & regular sounding,) there can be little danger!': The parentheses may have been inserted later, to mark the confusion, though now they add to it; and the offending lines are bracketed in the margin.

is remarkable, from the Neck that runs out to the N, so that it has some resemblance in our Charts to a bottle,<sup>1</sup> the bottom of which we did not see. The N point being most conspicuous in Lat

1. on<sup>de</sup>

E.

There only remains amongst the 5 large Islands, A-tou I<sup>s</sup> to describe; & this has been already as well done as I am capable of doing, for we saw no more of it than then, that is not the N part. Neeneehow,<sup>2</sup> Orohooa,<sup>3</sup> Taooa,<sup>4</sup> & what we did not see, Modoo-papapa,<sup>5</sup> have been also before mention'd.

The Differences in Colour, form, height, & in natural dispositions, between the Natives of the Different Island[s], are so trifling, that it would be repeating the same Words, to describe them under these heads seperately: The Inhabitants of Owwhyhee & A-tou I are those we were most conversant with, & being the Extremes of the larger Islands will include the intermediate ones; yet amongst these (we shall consider them as one People) to mention the trifling difference, one would say, those of A tou I are in general fairer than the Inhabitants of Owwhyhee; & perhaps from its Government being less firmly establish'd, there appears a greater equality of Condition, & from the same cause, they are more inclinable to be Insolent; The Chiefs here are also much less adicted to drinking Kava, & from that Circumstance are a much more Personable race of People.

Atou I is the Huaheine of the Society Isles; for it has been observ'd by those in the first Voyage's that the Huaheine Chiefs were little addict'd to Kava drinking, the Inhabitants a fairer set of People, & also more impertinent.

There is a very great Variety both in Colour & shape of these Natives; the lower Class, particularly those we saw off Kao,<sup>7</sup> are very tawny, thin, & small mean looking people, which doubtless arises from their constant exposure to the heat of the Sun, their being mostly employ'd in fishing or other hard labour on shore, & to their spare diet. But the figure of the better sort of people is very different, whose colour is a shade fairer than the Friendly Islanders, & darker than the Chiefs of Otaheite, but I think exactly the Teint of the New Zealanders.<sup>8</sup> There is no classing them as to the form of their features or Stature, which has a Sufficient diffes to render it the more agree-

<sup>1</sup> A very odd bottle, to be sure, on Chart LV—perhaps a leathern bottle?

<sup>2</sup> Kauai.

<sup>3</sup> Niuhau.

<sup>4</sup> Lehua.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. the district of Kau, Hawaii.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 604, n. 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> I have already observ'd that these People in Colour resemble the new Zealanders, that there is a great variety in their features, & no strong Characteristic mark; they have not the levity of the Otaheiteans, or the Gravity often seen amongst the Friendly Islanders; yet they are not so personable a people as either of these. . . .—King, 2 February 1778.

any, but left them & retir'd to his Cottage: the people gave them to understand that he had been a great Chief & Warrior; but now never left his Cottage.

I have already mention'd in a former account, the Quadrupeds & fishes, to which we have no more to add: but we have seen a greater Variety of birds. To the Crimson colour'd one,<sup>1</sup> we had now brought to us a dark green bird of the same size & shape, its bill being black.<sup>2</sup> A black bird, with a bunch of Yellow feathers upon the breast & rump, these are the size of a black bird & have a long curv'd bill.<sup>3</sup> A small pale green bird, & another with dirty mixt feathers, both the size of a linnet, with a similar bill.<sup>4</sup> These birds they brought to us alive; We had also brought to us by the Natives a dull & dark green colour'd dove;<sup>5</sup> Ravens were also seen,<sup>6</sup> & some of these were kept about their houses, & they had some superstitious notions about them, for they call'd one an Eatooa. They had Geese<sup>7</sup> tame, but we oppos'd them taken when young, as we did not ever see them at their houses.

In the Animal Kingdom, in birds only these Islands differ from others in the South Sea. Whether there is also a variety in the Vegetable creation I cannot say.

The Timekeeper by equal altitudes from 19 Janv to 2 Febr its daily loss on mean time was found to be 7", but as it gradually continued losing from 5" to 9", & the last rate being found to agree better with Lunar Observations made at A'tou I, that was assumed as its true rate & on the 3<sup>d</sup> of Febr to be losing on mean time 14<sup>h</sup> 41' 1,1". Its Long that day by Greenwich rate will be 214° 30' 30", by the rate found at Oonalska 203° 34' 15", the assum'd true Longitude being 204° 00' E (Lat 19° 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' N).

The Following Observations were made with the Astr<sup>l</sup> Quadrant for determining the Latitude of the Observatory in Karakacooa bay Owhyhe.

<sup>1</sup> The Apapane, *Himantopus mexicanus* (Gm.).

<sup>2</sup> The Akaohiki, *Lophyrus virens* (Gm.).

<sup>3</sup> The O'o, *Alcedo volucris* (Merrem).

<sup>4</sup> The first is probably the Olive-green Creeper, *Lophyrus maculata nana* (Wilson); the second the Elepano or Flycatcher, *Chamaea amabilis* (Gm.).

<sup>5</sup> There is no green dove in Hawaii, writes Mr Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., and I know of no green bird which might be confus'd with a dove. The largest 'dark green colour'd' bird it was collect'd by Cook's voyage is the Hawaii 'Akialoa, *Hemiphysalis obscurus* (Gmelin), and its being call'd a 'dove'.

<sup>6</sup> The Alala, *Circus hawaiiensis* (Gm.).

<sup>7</sup> The Nene or Hawaiian Goose, *Branta (Nyrocyta) sandvicensis* (Vigors).

Time	Names of Stars	Zenith Dist. Correct'd	Latitude
1779			
Janv 21	Sun	39° 27' 29"	19° 27' 52.6"
22	—	39 13 55.5	19 27 45.8
30 <sup>th</sup>	—	37 13 34.8	19 27 49.8
	Rigel	27 56 15.2	19 27 53.7
	κ Orion	29 13 31.9	19 27 47
	Sirius	35 53 26.2	19 27 47
	δ Centaur	68 57 11.8	19 28 04.9
	δ Croz	76 58 46.3	19 27 52.9
	α Croz	81 19 57.4	19 27 48.3
	γ Croz	75 19 56.1	19 27 49.6
	ε Centaur	71 47 36.5	19 27 55.3
	ο Centaur	78 45 29	19 28 04.7
	α Centaur	79 22 24.4	19 27 42.6
	Spica Virginis	29 27 47.1	19 27 44.3
	γ Ursa Maj	35 26 55.5	19 28 19.4
	3 Ursa Maj	36 36 12.3	19 28 36.9
	ε Ursa Maj	37 41 14	19 28 23.6
	B Ursa Maj	55 34 37.8	19 28 42.8

The Error of line of Colimation was found to be + 1. By a mean of the above 18 Results the Latitude of the Observatory is 19° 28' 00" N. MONDAY MARCH 15. Light Winds & fair W<sup>z</sup>. AM at 7 Weigh'd & Sail'd for the Island Taoroa, to the sw of Which the Natives say there is a Small Sandy Isl<sup>d</sup> with Plenty of Turtle on it call'd Tumata Papapa; though much care had been taken in Sounding round the Ship, the small bower came in much rubbd 20 f<sup>m</sup> from the Anchor. At Noon the Island Taoroa s 48 w dist 3 Leagues, Anchoring place N 63° E 9 Miles, the Expts of Nee-nee-how N 42° E to E<sup>N</sup>. Lat obs<sup>d</sup> 21° 47' N. Long by TK at 4<sup>h</sup> 39' PM 199° 50' 40".

In the Morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> Mr Bligh (Master) went with the Pinnace & Cutter to the nw side of the Isl<sup>d</sup> to look for a more convenient & less expos'd anchoring place, found that the w point made the s point of a bay, where were regular Soundings & a fine sandy bottom, good anchorage in 18 f<sup>m</sup> not a mile from the beach, the points lay

<sup>1</sup> One canoe belonging to some Atoni Chief arriv'd with us till Sunset, and then went towards the Island Outoum which was 4 miles distant to the se. their business, they told us, was to catch red birds, and that next day they intended going to Tomongooapapa for Turtle. —Burrey M. This clear statement of intention makes the Tumatapapapa problem even more baffling. Cf. p. 604, n. 4, and the entry from Clerke following the present one.

nearly n<sup>r</sup> & s<sup>w</sup>, in which direction are 7, 8 & 9 fms, Beach steep to & a small surf on it. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a Mile to the East of a Village are 4 small wells of good water, the road to it level, & fit for rolling Casks, which partly removes the inconvenience of the distance; he also determined Orahooa to be an Island.

## [CLERKE]

TUESDAY 16<sup>th</sup>. About 4 this afternoon, we were overtaken by a stout Canoe with 10 Men going to Ta'oo'ra to get feathers for my good friend Queen Tu'mutta'ah'ra—this Ta'oo'ra is a small high Isle breaking off in most places in high perpendicular brown Cliffs—it is uninhabited and by these Peoples Account is the residence of a great quantity of Birds, some they say are very large, these I suppose are the Albatrosses of which we have seen several this Afternoon. The feathers of the Tropic<sup>k</sup> & Man of War birds are what they chiefly collect for their business, which are to make fly flappers—decorate staffs of state &c. &c. At 5<sup>h</sup> 02' Longitude by the Time Keeper 199° 37' 45" E, Latitude 21° 46' N. Ta'oo'ra bore 59° E distant about a League, so that its Latitude is 21° 43' N & its Longitude 199° 37' 45". At 6 in the Evening the S End of O'nee'how N 66<sup>h</sup> E and Ta'oo'ra S 70° E 4 or 5 Miles; in 1<sup>st</sup> Reef topsails; at 8 haul'd our Wind and spent the Night upon our Tacks, with an intention in the Morning to look for an Isle which these People give an account of and call Tummata pa'pappa they describe it as a very low sandy Key to which they sometimes go to catch Turtle by which they say it is very much frequented, in their passage to it they lay a Night at Ta'oo'ra and very easily paddle there in the course of the following day—by the best accounts I could get from the People at O'nee'how I conclude it to lay about s<sup>w</sup>bw from Ta'oo'ra. In the Morning at daylight Ta'oo'ra bore N 58° E about 5 leagues; bore away, made all sail, run s<sup>w</sup>bw and made the Discovery's Sig<sup>l</sup> to spread upon the Starboard Beam at 4 Miles distance; at 19<sup>h</sup> 17' Longitude by Kendal 199° 16' 26", Lat<sup>de</sup> 21° 34' N. At 8 Ta'oo'ra N 60° E 7 or 8 Leagues. We have this fore Noon moderate Breezes with tolerably fine Weather but can see nothing of this good Sandy Isle. Course WSW. Dist. 60 m. Lat. 21° 27' N. Long. Acc. 198° 53', Watch 198° 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ', Obs. 199° 01' E.

WEDNESDAY 17<sup>th</sup>. We stood on s<sup>w</sup>bw this afternoon keeping a very good look out for Tummata Papappa till  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 when being well assur'd we must be past it or to the Westward of it, I made the Discovery's sig<sup>l</sup> to join comp<sup>y</sup> and brought too till she came up. I appre-

hend we left it to y<sup>e</sup> Soward. I wish'd much to have seen it as it would have completed the Group, this being the only one of this range of Isles we have not seen and I flatter myself settled in its due situation. At 4<sup>h</sup> 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' the Longitude by T:K: 198° 28' 34" E, Lat<sup>de</sup> in 21° 22' N. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 the Discovery having join'd, in 1<sup>st</sup> reef Topsails and made sail. A great many Noddies & Boobies about, one was caught on board in the Evening. At 6 Out Reefs and made all sail. A Large Swell from the N<sup>e</sup> today. Employ'd overhauling the Cabies, Hawser & Cordage in the Held which are very wet from the Leaks about the Wale, found a leak on the Larboard side of the Cole Hole forward which we must look into the first opportunity, as it admits a great deal of Water when the Starboard Tacks are on board. Course S 85° W. Dist. 104 m. Lat. 21° 18' N. Long. Acc. 197° 02', Watch 197° 07', Obs. 197° 13' E.

THURSDAY 18<sup>th</sup>. [PM] Carried away the Main Topsail Tye; fix'd it again. [AM] At 8 set the Studding sails and made the Discovery's sig<sup>l</sup> to make more sail. We have still the N. Eerly Swell. Employ'd making Nippers, Plats & spinning Spun yarn. Course 87° W. Dist. 108 m. Lat. 21° 02' N. Long. Acc. 195° 07', Watch 195° 33', Obs. 195° 39' E. Var. 10° 03' 40" E.

FRIDAY 19<sup>th</sup>. In the Evening a vast Number of Men of War Birds, Boobies & Noddies about the Ship. At 6 haul'd down the Studding sails. In the morning at day light made all sail. Unbent the Fore Topsail and bent the Old one; fine pleasant Wear today. People making spun yarn and picking Oakum. Course W 1° S. Dist. 60 m. Lat. 21° 09' 30" N. Long. Acc. 193° 57', Watch 194° 24', Obs. 194° 30' E. Var. 9° 09' 40" E.

SATURDAY 20<sup>th</sup>. We have a number of Man of War birds & boobies about us, I have not the least doubt but that we are in the neighbourhood of some Isle, the residence of this fowl but notwithstanding the utmost exertion of our ocular faculties we have not been able as yet to find it out.<sup>1</sup> In the Night a Net that was towing astern with some corn'd meat to freshen was tore to pieces and its contents taken away—in the Morning a Shark was caught which on being open'd the Meat was found in his Maw. We have a vast number of Sharks about us today, Carpenters repairing the Boats. People making up Junk.

<sup>1</sup> From the position of the ships at that time, or later, on 29 March, when Clerke recurs to the subject, no exertion of the ocular faculties would have revealed an Isle. But there were in that part of the ocean, though beyond sight, a number of dwelling-places for oceanic birds. Apart from Nihoa and Necker, the north-western outliers of the Hawaiian group, these were in the area between (roughly) longitudes 168° and 177° W, and latitudes 23° and 28° N, French Frigate Shoals, Gardner Island, Laysan, Lisianski, Pearl and Hermes Reef, and Midway.

Course WSW. Dist 44m. Lat. 20° 52' N. Long. Acc. 193° 14', Watch 193°, Obs. 193° 36' E.

SUNDAY 21st. In the Evening haul'd down the studding Sails. At daylight made all sail. Very fine weather today. We catch plenty of Bonetta with the Hooks of the friendly Isles quite bare, wholly devoid of any Bait whilst nothing that we can devise to put to our European Hooks will allure a single fish near them. People working up Junk, Carps<sup>as</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> B<sup>e</sup>. Course WSW 4W. Dist. 66 m. Lat. 20° 38' N. Long. Acc. 192° 04', Watch 192° 23', Obs. 192° 29' E. Var. 11° 00' 20' E. Dip N Point 41° 25'.

MONDAY 22nd. We have fine pleasant Weather today. The Carpenters repairing the Boats. People Exercising at Small Arms & picking Oakum. Course S 78° W. Dist. 78 m. Lat. 20° 27' N. Long. Acc. 190° 43'; Watch 190° 55', Obs. 191° 01' E. Var. 11° 24' 10' E.

TUESDAY 23rd. Fresh Gales & squally with showers of rain. Split the Main Top Gall<sup>t</sup> sail; bent another. Carried away the Larboard Main Tops<sup>l</sup> sheet, splic'd it again. Upon examining the Best Bower Cable we found it in many places about y<sup>e</sup> outer part so bad as to be by no means trustworthy, so was oblig'd to cut 40 fathom off it which to us at present is a heavy misfortune. Carried away y<sup>e</sup> studdings<sup>l</sup> boom. We see many Men of War Birds & Boobies about. Course S 78° W. Dist. 112 m. Lat. 19° 58' N. Long. Acc. 188° 47', Watch 188° 38', Obs. 188° 44' E.

WEDNESDAY 24th. [PM] At 6 haul'd down the Studding Sails & reef'd the Fore & Mizzen Tops<sup>ls</sup>. At daylight made all sail. This fore Noon reef'd New Fore and Fore Topsail Braces, Main topsail Braces, Fore & Main Topsail Lifts. It is necessary now to get strong Gear about us, as we must shortly visit very different Climes to those we have been running about in for some months past. Fresh Breezes & fair Wen<sup>s</sup>, the Sailmakers repairing Sails, Carpenters the Boats, and the People working up Junk & picking Oakum.<sup>1</sup> Course S 89° W. Dist. 128 m. Lat. 19° 56' N. Long. Acc. 186° 31', Watch 186° 16', Obs. 186° 22' E. At N<sup>o</sup> Observations with the dipping Needle gave y<sup>e</sup> inclination of the N Point 58° 27' 30".

THURSDAY 25th. AM at daylight set the Studding Sails. This Fore Noon saw several Men of War Birds about. What with these Birds and the Bonetta's, Albecores &c, with which this part of y<sup>e</sup> Ocean abounds the poor flying Fish are most miserably harrass'd: the Fish

<sup>1</sup> A swell from the sun which we have had more or less, since we have left the Islands the Ship rolls & strains very much in the hull.—King.

chase them till they take to the Air for safety when they are darted upon with amazing velocity & taken by these Men of War Birds. At Noon little Winds & fair. Carpenters repairing Boats. Course N 89° W. Dist. 87 m. Lat. 19° 58' N. Long. Acc. 184° 58', Watch 184° 28', Obs. 184° 34' E.

FRIDAY 26th. At 6 in the Evening haul'd down the studding sails. At daylight made all sail. At 9 saw the appearance of Land bearing swb<sup>w</sup> which we made for. Saw Many Men of War Birds & boobies. The Weather fine & pleasant today. Carpenters repairing the Boats. People working up Junk. Course S 79° W. Dist. 53 m. Lat. 19° 48' N. Long. Acc. 184° 03', Watch 183° 22', Obs. 183° 28' E. Therm. 80° Air, 76° Surface.

SATURDAY 27th. [A page and a quarter of observations and calculations, mainly for Longitude.] At 6 PM Haul'd in the studding sails, found that our suppos'd land was nothing more than a Haze Bank. In the Morning at daylight made all sail. We have fine pleasant Weather now but our breezes are very tardy. Got all the spare sails up to Air. Carpenters repairing the Boats. Course N 88° W. Dist. 53 m. Lat. 19° 48' N. Long. Acc. 183° 07', Watch 182° 22', Obs. 182° 39' E. Ther. 84° Air, 78° Surface. Dip 37° 21½'. Var. between 5 & 6 PM 12° 38' 50" E.

SUNDAY 28th. At 6 in the Evening haul'd down the Studding Sails. At daybreak set them again. A Number of sharks about the Ship, & many Men of War Birds. The Weather fine & pleasant but sea breezes very Tardy. Carpenters repairing the Boats. Course N 68° W. Dist. 46 m. Lat. 20° 26' N. Long. Acc. 182° 32', Watch 181° 40', Obs. 181° 48' E. Therm. 81½ Air, 77½ Surface.

MONDAY 29th. At 6 [PM] haul'd down the studding sails. At daylight made all sail. We have a Number of Men of War Birds, Boobies, Noddies &c about us; We are certainly in the neighbourhood of Isles of some kind or other, but we cannot make them out. Our breezes are so light we make but poor way of it. I think they are remarkably so, our Latitude & y<sup>e</sup> situation of y<sup>e</sup> Sun consider'd. Carpenters about the Boats. Course N 76° W. Dist. 41 m. Lat. 20° 15' N. Long. Acc. 181° 40', Watch 180° 58', Obs. 181° 04' E. Therm. 88° Air, 78° Surface.

TUESDAY 30th. At 6 PM haul'd down the Studding sails. A Vast

<sup>1</sup> This Afternoon saw a Turtle.—Burney M. 28 March.—We had met, for some days past, several turtles, one of which was the smallest I ever saw, not exceeding three inches in length.—King, Voyages, III, p. 174. Obviously this last was an infant, not far removed from a hatchling; it might have been any one of five different kinds of marine turtle found in the Pacific.

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but Capt. Cook waved to him to bring them on board the Resolution which he did, tho' one of the Deserters endeavoured to prevent him as they wished to go immediately to their own Ship. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook sent his first Lieut. with them in a boat to the Discovery, where the Gunner's mate was punished with two dozen Lashes & after that was released upon the Ship's Company petitioning in his Favour. The Midshipman was turned before the mast & kept in Irons till we left these Islands. On their arrival the Indian Prisoners were immediately released from the Discovery to their great Joy, and Crouds of People were assembled on the Beach to welcome them on Shore. The Plan of these two Adventurers was to have gone first to Uahcine & from thence to Otaheite, but having got round Otahah, they could not get through a reef which surrounds the Island & so were obliged to bear down to Bola bola, where the old King Opoonce received them kindly and gave them every Assistance they wanted; from hence they proceeded to a small Island to leeward of Bola bola called Tubai,<sup>1</sup> where Opoonce sent after them by Oreo's desire & there they were taken & brought back to Bolabola; they had one pistol with them, the Indians seized upon them while one was asleep & the other standing Sentry over him, which they did alternately having some Suspicions all along of what now happened to them. Finding it would be in vain to resist they went with the Indians quietly to Bolabola where Oreo was waiting to receive them.

After this we lived upon a friendly footing with the Inhabitants as if nothing had happened, Oreo himself being perfectly reconciled to us; he was much esteemed by all of us being an honest well meaning Man of an affable disposition and of an active Turn. We lay in this Harbour till Sunday Dec<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> when we set sail for Bolabola being accompanied thither by Oreo & some other Chiefs. We took our leave of our Otaheite Sweethearts & loaded them with Presents, they were so attached to us that they parted with us much against their Inclinations. A few days before we sailed no one was permitted to go ashore except upon Duty, this was always the Case upon leaving every one of these Islands. Two of us bathing along side the Ship during this time took it in our heads to swim ashore and meeting some Chiefs among whom were Tainamai and her Husband, we made them believe that we had deserted the Ship & meant to stay behind on the Island; but this they would by no means allow and told us to go back to the Ship, being unwilling to be again engaged in such a troublesome affair as they lately had upon their hands, however they dressed us after their fashion & suffered us to walk about a

<sup>1</sup> Tupai, now known generally as Motu Iti.

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Hobart Society

*The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*

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CHRISTMAS ISLAND

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mile into the Country, after which we returned & swam on board again.

MONDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>. About noon we were off the Entrance of a fine Harbour on the west Side of Bola bola, but the Tide of Ebb made so strong that we could not work in. We brought the Ship to while Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook went ashore with Oreo and the other Chief to enquire after one of Bouganville's Anchors which we were told was in the Possession of Opoonee, having been brought here from Otahcite; and as they could make nothing of it themselves an offer was made of it to Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook, who now beginning to grow short of Iron, having expended so much among these Islands, thought it an Object worth the trouble of going ashore for. In return for it he gave Opoonee several Hatchets, Beads & other things with which the old King was much pleased. At six o'Clock the Boats returned with a piece of an old broken Anchor, we then made Sail and soon after lost Sight of Bola bola. Several Canoes came off to us while we lay to with Girls, Cocoa nuts & other Fruit. Bolabola seems to be a very fruitful fine Island. Before night we passed in Sight of Mawrooa<sup>1</sup> and Tubai two small Islands.

Having now bid adieu to the Society Islands we stood to the Northward and on the 22<sup>d</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> crossed the Line.

WEDNESDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>. At half past seven this morning we discovered Land to the NE which proved to be a low sandy Island with many Lagoons on it;<sup>2</sup> about five o'Clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor to leeward of it in Lat. 1°58' N. & Long. 202°32' East.

THURSDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>. This Morning Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook went ashore to examine this part of the Island & its Produce, and returned in the afternoon after finding it composed of nothing but the Coral Rock & Sand with a few Bushes growing here & there & three or four blighted Cocoa nut trees, no water upon it; it was full of Birds among which were the Man of War birds, Tropic birds & another kind which we called the Egg bird, from the great Number of their Eggs we found. There was likewise a small Land bird here & some rats, however to recompence us in some measure for the barrenness of the Land we found the Sea full of fish, & boats were sent in shore to catch them which they did in great plenty; these consisted chiefly of the red Fish,<sup>3</sup> the Sharks came about the boats in great Number & carried away many of the fishing Lines.

Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook observed the old laudable Custom of keeping Christmas & dedicated this day to feasting & mirth; while he was at Dinner

<sup>1</sup> Mawpiti.

<sup>2</sup> Christmas Island.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot identify 'the' red fish.

LIBRARY OF  
GEORGE H. BALAZS

and Hunger as to be hardly able to stand, however after taking a little refreshment which they had brought for him he made shift to walk to the Boat, he continued ill on board the Ship some time after.

We staid here catching Turtle till Friday the 2<sup>d</sup> of January 1778 when we got under sail early in the Morning and stood to the Northward & before noon lost Sight of the Land. The Two Ships between them procured near two hundred green Turtle from 50 to 200 weight, which afforded us excellent refreshment just at the time that the fresh Pork we had brought from the Society Isles was finished & we had served out one day's Allowance of Salt Meat. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook called the Island, Christmas Island, and a spot on which we had met with great number of Turtle was called Alderman's Point; The largest Extent of the Island is about 7 Leagues.

SUNDAY JAN<sup>y</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>. Arriving in N. Lat. 21° 14' without any material occurrence since we left Christmas Island, At day light this Morning we discovered high land bearing NEBE for which we stood all day.

MONDAY JAN. 19<sup>th</sup>. This Morning We drew near the Land which we found to be a large Island,<sup>1</sup> this appearing to us to be a new Discovery excited our Curiosity much, expecting to meet with a new Race of People distinct from the Islanders to the Southward of the Line; we were sometime in Suspense whether it was inhabited or not, however on approaching near to the se end of the Island our doubts were cleared by the appearance of several Canoes paddling towards us. When they came near the Ship they shouted to us & we answered them & made signs for them to come along side which in a short time they did. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook gave them several things such as red Cloth, Nails &c. with which they seemed highly pleased & gave him some of the Cloth they had about their waist in return; we were somewhat surprized to find their Language to be much the same as that of Otaheite, by our little acquaintance with which we made ourselves pretty well understood by these People. We enquired of them about the Produce of the Island and they told us there were plenty of Hogs, Fowls, Breadfruit, Sweet Potatoes, Plantains, Sugar Canes & Cocoa nuts ashore, some of which they held up to us in their Hands. We perceived that every Canoe had some Stones in them on first coming to the Ship, but finding we behaved as friends towards them the generous Indians laid aside all suspicions and threw the Stones into the Sea, & many of them at our desire ventured on board where they expressed the utmost Astonishment at the many strange Objects which all at once presented themselves to their view. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook

<sup>1</sup> Kauai. It was the second island seen: Samwell runs Oahu and Kauai together.

he received a Note from Capt<sup>n</sup> Clerke acquainting him that some of the Discovery's Gentlemen walking ashore had met with some Turtle on the Beach which they had taken. This was a welcome piece of News & gave us a better Opinion of the Island than what we had hitherto entertained.

FRIDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>. This Morning the Boats of both Ships were sent to different parts of the Island in search of Turtle & returned in the afternoon after having met with pretty good Success.

SATURDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>. The Boats of both Ships were sent in search of Turtle & as some had to go to distant Parts of the Island took Provisions with them for two or three days, intending to lie ashore & take the Turtle in the Night.

MONDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup>. About noon the Discovery's great Cutter, which had been these 2 days past catching Turtle within the Lagoon, returned to the Ship having left behind them 2 of the people who had strayed from the Boat & had not been able to find their way back again as it is supposed. When they came away one of our Boats was turtling near the same place, but as it was probable the Stragglers might loose their way and perish for want of water, as the weather was exceeding hot, Capt<sup>n</sup> Clerke sent a midshipman<sup>1</sup> & three men ashore in search of them.

TUESDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup>. The Discovery's Launch which had been sent for Turtle came on board in the Evening & brought with her one of the Men who had fallen in with our people in the forenoon; the Midshipman got intelligence from him of his Companion whom he had left the Evening before unable to walk further, they had mistaken their way in bringing Turtle across from the Sea Beach to the Boat, and had been in the utmost Distress for want of Water. After trying several times in vain to procure water by digging wells in the sand, they had recourse to drinking the Turtle's blood, flowing out of the wound they cut in his Throat, which instead of quenching their Thirst made them sick; they found most benefit by plunging themselves frequently into the Sea, the Heat of the Sun striking directly on the Sand being excessive.

WEDNESDAY DEC<sup>r</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>. Today about Noon the other Man was brought on board the Discovery, the midshipman came up with him soon after he got intelligence from his Companion & found him lying down near the water side, as soon as he saw his old Shipmates he burst into Tears. He was so harassed with the Heat of the Sun, Thirst

<sup>1</sup> Hollanby.

treated them with much kindness and made them several Presents, they were somewhat surprized at seeing our Turtles, took them up & shewed them to the Canoes about the Ship & told us that they caught some of them about this Island; they were quite naked except a narrow Slip of Cloth tyed round the Waist. We soon found that like the rest of the South Sea Islanders they were inclined to thieving & that Iron was their principal Object; one man got seated on the taffarel and endeavoured to get the Clamp that secures the Driver boom loose, having first very cunningly drawn an old Sail over him which happened to be at hand, but notwithstanding all his address he was detected on which he immediately left off seemingly as unconcerned as if he had been doing an indifferent Action. Drawing near the Land we bore away along the South Side of the Island in search of a Harbour, keeping at the Distance of about 2 miles off shore; the Ship was followed by a great number of Canoes and the whole Island seemed to be in motion, a prodigious Croud of Indians assembling from all parts & running along shore a Breast of the Ships; we passed several small Towns situated on large open plains near the sea side behind which the high Land rises covered with wood. Having run a considerable way to leeward without meeting with a Harbour, towards night we hauled upon a Wind off shore & stood off & on till Morning. They brought but few things off to us to day, their whole attention being taken up in looking at us, they brought off several small Pigs no bigger than Cats which made us dubious as to getting any tolerable Supply of Provisions here, but these we afterwards found are what they always present to Strangers as a token of Friendship at the first Meeting.

TUESDAY JANRY 20<sup>th</sup>. Early this morning we made Sail in shore, and while the Ships lay off and on Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook sent Boats in shore to look for a landing and an anchoring place for the Ships under the Command of the third Lieutenant with the Discovery's large Cutter.

At 8 o'Clock the extremas of the large Island from N 53°00' West to N 89° 22' East and distance off shore about 2 miles, a small Island N 83° west<sup>1</sup> and the Extremas of another Island from South 79° West to South 85°30' West.\* Our Latitude today at noon was 21° 54' north.

About 3 o'Clock the Boats returned after having found good Anchorage. The Pinnace on trying to land was attacked by the Indians, some of whom endeavoured to overset her in the Surf, others to haul her ashore and some of them boarded her, so that our people were in danger of loosing the Boat if not their lives, which

\* Lehua.

\* Niibua.

obliged the Lieut<sup>t</sup> to shoot one of them when the rest immediately fled taking the dead body of their Countryman away with them. They were much astonished at the report of the Gun, the officer finding there was no landing here without bloodshed made no further Attempt but came off to the Ship with the report of a good anchoring place, on which we bore away for it and about four o'Clock we came to an anchor in about 21 fms<sup>s</sup> water, sand & mud bottom, at the distance of two Miles from the Shore.<sup>1</sup> We were surrounded by a great [number] of Canoes which brought us Hogs, Fowls, sweet potatoes and Plantains for which we gave them small nails & adzes.

WEDNESDAY JANRY 21<sup>st</sup>. This morning Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook went ashore in the Pinnace at an Indian Town with the Launches of both Ships for water with a large party of Marines for a Guard. On his landing the Indians who were collected together in great numbers all prostrated themselves on their faces before him & suffered our People to fill the water Casks out of the River without any molestation. Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook accompanied by the Surgeon walked about a mile up on the Banks of the River & was pleased with the friendly behaviour of the Natives, who treated him with much kindness & paid him the highest respect by prostrating themselves before him wherever he went. The Young Women, who were in general exceeding beautiful, used all their arts to entice our people into their Houses, and finding they were not to be allured by their blandishments they endeavoured to force them & were so importunate that they absolutely would take no denial. However there had been Occasion but for small Intreaty, had it not been for the severe Injunction Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook had given this day against our having any intercourse with the Women of these Islands, as there were several of our people on board under Cure for the Venereal Disease which they had caught at the Society Isles: a List of them and of those who had been but lately cured was delivered by the Surgeon to Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook, who gave strict orders that none of them should go on shore & that no women should be admitted into the Ship. He likewise sent the same orders to the Discovery and took every precaution that human foresight could invent to prevent our contaminating an innocent People with that greatest plague that ever the human Race was afflicted with; whether they were free from it on our coming among them is more than we know, certain it is that we saw no Signs of it, nor did any of the people of either Ship contract it here, tho' it was known that some of those who were on shore had intercourse with the Women notwithstanding the Care that was taken to

<sup>1</sup> In Waimea Bay.



prevent it, and we learnt that some of the Women had found means to get on board the Discovery tho' not one did into the Resolution. Today we had a great number of Canoes about the Ship with Hogs, Fowls, sweet potatoes & plantains to sell, as well as many articles of manufactures such as Spears, Cloth, red feathered Caps & Cloaks &c. There came likewise many young women alongside who used lascivious Gestures and wanted to come into the Ship and seemed much chagrined on being refused; they seem to have no more Sense of Modesty than the Otaheite women, who cannot be said to have any. The full allowance of Grog which was stopped at Otaheite was again served to the People at [this] place. In the afternoon Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook returned on board and the Launch brought a load of Water.

FRIDAY JAN<sup>Y</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup>. At 7 o'Clock this Morning we weighed our anchor, intending to shift our birth as we had come to in foul ground, but the Wind dying away and the Current setting strong to the Westward we fell to leeward of the good anchoring Ground and were obliged to stand off shore. We endeavoured to turn to windward for several days but in vain, being never able to recover our old anchoring Place, during this time we had some Canoes come off to us daily with Provisions & other things to sell. While we were cruising off and on the Island the King of the Island whose name is Toomahana<sup>1</sup> came on board the Discovery in great State attended by many of the Chiefs of the Island; he made Capt<sup>n</sup> Clerke a present of a curious Kava Bowl, the Captain gave him several things in return with which Toomahana was well pleased. His attendants were so careful of his person that they would not suffer him to trust himself on board but clung round him & hindered him from getting any further than the Ship's Side.<sup>2</sup> We learned that the name of this Island is Atowai & that to leeward of us Neehaw. Finding it impracticable to recover our old Birth at this Island We bore down

JAN<sup>Y</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> for the latter where we anchored the next day, Jan<sup>Y</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> in 33 fms Water fine sandy bottom distance off shore about 2 miles; some Canoes came off to the Ships & our boats were sent on shore to look for a good landing place and to trade with the Natives. We have light breezes & fine weather, the Therm<sup>er</sup> from 74° to 77°. The Boats returned in the afternoon after having found an indifferent Landing and procured a few yams from the Indians for nails &c. The first Lieut. with some more people staid on shore to attend the market & purchase Hogs and other Provisions from the Natives & took up his Residence in one of their Houses.

<sup>1</sup> Cook's Tamahano—Kumahana or Kanencoo.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 1297, n. 3 below, where more is said on Kanencoo's rank.

JAN<sup>Y</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>. Boats were sent on shore to bring off the Provisions but the Surf ran so high that it was with much danger that the people landed. The natives brought Hogs, Yams, Sweet potatoes and Salt to market & Canoes brought off the same Articles to the Ship to sell. An old woman named Waratoi<sup>1</sup> whom we supposed to be mad lived with our people all the time they were on shore; she performed daily some religious Ceremonies as we supposed them to be, & offered Up some small pigs as Sacrifices for some purpose, and used many Extravagant Gestures like the Thracian Priestesses of old as if possessed with some fury; this woman had much Influence over the Indians & was of some use to us in causing them to bring Provisions to Market &c. However her Function which we supposed to be that of a Priestess was no bar to the Performance of her Devotions at the Temple of Venus, for like the rest of her Countrywomen she scrupled not to grant every favour to our people, tho' with no mercenary View as she would take nothing from them in return. Indeed we found all the Women of these Islands but little influenced by interested motives in their intercourse with us, as they would almost use violence to force you into their Embrace regardless whether we gave them any thing or not, and in general they were as fine Girls as any we had seen in the south Sea Islands. To day we had dark cloudy Weather with showers of Rain.

SUNDAY FEB<sup>R</sup>Y 1<sup>st</sup>. Strong gales & squally Weather. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook went ashore to day & brought off all the People; on their coming away the old Priestess performed various Ceremonies & killed several small Pigs by striking their Heads against a Stone, which were intended as Tokens of Friendship towards us & the Indians seemed to regret much our leaving the Island so soon. They behaved all the time in a very peaceable & friendly manner. About 7 o'Clock in the afternoon we drove from the Bank having strong Gales with a heavy Swell, on which we immediately weighed our anchor and stood out to sea leaving the Discovery behind us, she made lights to us during the Night.

MONDAY FEB<sup>R</sup>Y 2<sup>d</sup>. In the afternoon the Discovery joined us & we stood to the northward & Eastward for the Coast of America. This morning the Indians finding the Ships going to leave them, brought a great quantity of Yams to the Discovery & she bought enough to serve the Ship's Company instead of bread for ab<sup>o</sup> 2 Months. As we came to these Islands again the following Year & staid a much longer time among them than we did now, I shall reserve a description of them & of the Inhabitants till that period & only observe that

<sup>1</sup> Walako'i. Samwell has more to say of her later.

we saw five of them and touched at 2, namely *Atowai* & *Neehaw*. Another large Island we just saw to Windward is called by the Natives *O'ahoo*,<sup>1</sup> two small Islands or Hummocks which are uninhabited & lie one close to *Neehaw* called *Orohooa*,<sup>2</sup> the other a short way to leeward called *Taira*,<sup>3</sup> the Indians informed us of another Island called *Modoo papappa* which we did not see. Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook called the whole Cluster Sandwich Islands in Honour of Lord Sandwich first Lord of the Admiralty.

FEBRUARY 3<sup>rd</sup>. Moderate breezes & fine Weather, standing to the northward with the Wind *ebn*. Lat. 23° 2'. Therm<sup>r</sup> 71 to 75.

WEDNESDAY FEB 4<sup>th</sup>. Fair Weather & moderate Breezes. Lat. 24-31.

THURSDAY FEB. 5<sup>th</sup>. Standing *nbe* with the Wind from *y<sup>e</sup>* East with fair Weather, Therm<sup>r</sup> 71 to 74. Lat. 26° 7'.

FRIDAY FEB. 6. Fine breezes & fair Weather, a Swell from the N. Lat. 27° 41'.

FEB. 7	Course	Wind	Therm <sup>r</sup>		Lat.
	NNW	NE	70-73	Cloudy with passing Showers	28.54
8	NNE	East	69.72½	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & cloudy	30.19
9	NE	South	69-73	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & hazy W <sup>r</sup>	31.0
10	NE	South	62.71	Hazy W <sup>r</sup> with rain, light breezes	31.21
11	ENE	North	57½.60	Fresh breezes & fine W <sup>r</sup>	30.57
12	<i>ebs</i>	NNE	56.60	Squally W <sup>r</sup> with passing Showers	30.10
13	NW	NE	58.60	Squally w <sup>th</sup> some rain	31.21
14	NNW	Calm	59½.61½	Light airs inclin <sup>ble</sup> to calm	31.34
15	NW	NNE	58½.61	Fresh Breezes & squally W <sup>r</sup>	32.27
16	<i>nbe</i>	East	56.58½	Fresh Breezes & cloudy W <sup>r</sup>	—

1 Oahu.

2 Lehua.

3 Kaui.

17	NNE	East	55-57	Cloudy W <sup>r</sup> with drizzling rain	Lat. 34.53
18	North	ENE	52½-55½	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & fair W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 36.20
19	<i>nbe</i>	<i>ebs</i>	50-55½	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & cloudy W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 37.27
20	NE	SE	52-58	Light Winds & clear W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 38.8
21	NE	South	51½-57½	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & fine W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 39.8
22	NE	SE	52½-56	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & fair W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 40.16
23	NE	SE	51.54	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & cloudy at Night & heavy Dew	Lat. 41.14
24	NE	SE	50.52	Mod <sup>te</sup> Breezes & thick foggy W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 41.41
25	NE	<i>ebs</i>	49-51	Mod. Breezes & foggy W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 42.30
26	NE	<i>ebs</i>	49-52	Fresh Breezes & cloudy	Lat. 43.16
27	ENE	<i>ebs</i>	49½-51	Fresh Breezes with flying clouds saw a Gull	—
28	ENE	<i>ebs</i>	48-49½	Mod. Breezes & cloudy W <sup>r</sup>	Lat. 44-20

MARCH	Course	Winds	Therm.	Lat.	
1	NE	<i>nbe</i>	49-50	44-53	Mod. Breezes with small Rain
2	NE	SE	49½-55	44-52	Calm for the most part
3	<i>ebn</i>	<i>nbe</i>	45-48	44-34	Mod. Breezes & hazy W <sup>r</sup> Saw a Diver
4	ENE	North	45-48½	44-4	Mod. & cloudy W <sup>r</sup>
5	ENE	North	48.50	—	Fresh Breezes & cloudy W <sup>r</sup>
6	NNE	NW	47-49	44-10	Light airs & hazy W <sup>r</sup> . Saw a piece of drift wood
7	NE	NW	45-49	44-30	Some sea weed & some Divers, water green & muddy

At ½ past seven this Morning we saw the Coast of America bearing NE, the Extreams of it from NNE to ESE, off shore about 8 Leagues. Sounded & found Ground at 95 fathoms. This Land is high and

Resolution. This part of the Island which the Natives call Opoona<sup>1</sup> has the most fertile & pleasant appearance of any place we have seen at these Isles, being almost entirely covered with Groves of Cocoa nut & other fruit Trees, among which on small green plats stand their Houses near the Sea side. Many people collected on the Beach to look at the Ship. Lower down to leeward of the point are several large streams of Lava. Our Indian Guest does not want to go ashore tho' he has now an Opportunity, he says that the people on this part of the Island will beat or kill him; however a short time afterwards he packed a few things together which had been given to him and went ashore of his own accord, which made it look strange considering what he had told us a little while before, but these Indians frequently take it in their Heads to endeavour to impose some idle stories upon us, and that to answer no other purpose that we can possibly guess at, except to gratify the strong propensity they have to lying. Many such circumstances as these might be brought to disapprove of that facility with which some people frame Stories from the relation of Indians about their Policy & wars with other Islands, when, setting aside the passion Indians in general have for amusing us with their lying Tales, the futility of all such relations must appear very glaring to any person who reflects the least upon the matter, from our total Ignorance of their Language. About 2 o'Clock in the Afternoon we saw some appearance of a Harbour, upon which we brought the Ship to & sent the great Cutter ashore to examine it. Many Canoes came off to us. They did not bring much Provision but a great number of beautiful young Women. They sold us a few Bonetas.

The Land hereabouts has no Trees on it being almost entirely covered with Lava. About 5 o'Clock the Boat returned having found no Harbour. We stood off and on all Night.

JAN 6<sup>th</sup>. Running down along shore before the Wind; no Canoes came off to us nor could we on account of the distance see any Houses. This part of the Island is mountainous & entirely bare of Trees, with large Patches here & there covered with streams of Lava extending from the Hills to the Sea. About 11 o'Clock we got round a point where we found a fine Bay called by the Natives Ataw.<sup>2</sup> As we were standing into it to come to an anchor we saw the Resolution from the Mast head to leeward of us; we immediately bore down upon her with a fine Breeze and about 2 o'Clock came up with her lying to about three Miles off Shore trading with the Indians. We hoisted one of our Boats out which was sent on board of her: we learned that

<sup>1</sup> Puna.<sup>2</sup> Kau.

she came round the east point of the Island the Morning after we parted from her and was very near being on shore on the point, they had been the day before in the Bay where we were going to anchor when we saw them, but found no sounding there. Capt<sup>a</sup> Cook was on shore to day, the people behaved very friendly. This part of the Country is called Atona,<sup>1</sup> is a ragged barren place almost entirely covered with Lava, there are but few Houses here.

This afternoon we had a great number of Girls on board.

JAN. 7<sup>th</sup>. The Ships lying to all day at the distance of four or five Miles off shore trading with the Indians. They bring us large Hogs in great numbers & a great quantity of salt, much pork already salted in both Ships. The Girls lye on board the Ships very willingly & some stay on board two or three days while we cruize off & on the Island. They bring us plenty of breadfruit.

JAN 8<sup>th</sup>. The Ships lying to in the same place we were at Yesterday trading with the Natives, we bought a Turtle of them to day of that kind called yo Loggerhead.

SATURDAY JAN 9<sup>th</sup>. A rainy day & the ships being a considerable distance off shore but few Canoes visited us.

SUNDAY JAN 10<sup>th</sup>. The ships continue far from the shore, two or 3 Canoes came off to us, many Girls on board. In the afternoon they all assembled upon deck and formed a dance; they strike their Hands on the pit of their Stomach smartly & jump up all together, at the same time repeating the words of a song in responses, their Manner was upon the whole more like that of the New Zealanders than that of the Otaheiteans.

MONDAY JAN 11<sup>th</sup>. The ships having drifted with a Current a considerable Way to windward of the place where the Girls had come on board, some canoes came from that part of the Island this Morning to fetch them off and they all went on shore; these were all the Canoes that came off to us to day.

JAN 12<sup>th</sup>. So far off shore that no Canoes came off to us.

JAN 13<sup>th</sup>. Standing along shore under an easy Sail. Some Canoes came off to us, they bring us but few Hogs their chief Trade now being Salt, which they have wrapt in large rolls made of the rind of the plantain Tree.

THURSDAY JAN 14<sup>th</sup>. But few Canoes about us to day.

<sup>1</sup> Kona.

Channel between the reefs. I'm very happy that we at last part with these good People upon the most amicable Terms. We have far'd most sumptuously among them & now our Ships are as full of Hogs, Plantains &c. as they will hold. My young Friends all of them made me repeated Visits between the time of their dismissal & our departure, which clearly evinced they by no means lost their confidence in us, but plainly saw the disagreeable necessity we were under of taking some such Step, and that nothing but such an unhappy necessity cou'd induce us to shew them the least shadow of an incivility. My friend Poo'to'a in particular was frequently on board to the last Minute, and made me many presents of Hogs &c.<sup>1</sup>

HAWAII, JANUARY 1778

[P.R.O. *Adm 55/22, ff. 130v-131r*]

Our Stay among these our new acquired Friends, was too short to attain that knowledge of them I cou'd sincerely wish to have; but what I cou'd acquire I will relate as concisely as I can. As I before observed, in respect to Person they are not at all remarkable one way or the other; their Hair (which I believe is always originally black, but which by some mode of dressing, they render of various Colours, like our Friends at Amsterdam &c) the Men wear generally long, hanging in ringlets about their Shoulders; the Women, who are rather masculine, and by no means to be compared with the Oraheite Damsels, have an ugly fashion of cutting their Hair short behind, almost as close as tho' it was shaved, and letting it grow long before, which gives them a strange savage Appearance. The Men seldom wear any farther Cloathing than the Marrow; the Women, a little piece of Cloath about the middle, which falls down like a short Petticoat. Their Cloath is composed of the same Materials, as at the Friendly and Society Isles, but differently manufactured; it is here made much stronger and firmer, than I ever before saw it: but these People excell most, in the art of dyeing; they dye in a variety of fashions, some of them in my Opinion beautiful; their colours are clear and good, and the being wet takes no effect upon them. Besides this Cloath, they have Cloaks and Caps of Feathers of various kinds; the Cloaks about the size, or somewhat smaller than our Ladies short Cloaks or Capuchins; the Caps are more like our light Horsemen's Caps than any thing I remember to have seen among us; the groundwork of the Cloak is Net-work, to which the Feathers are made to adhere by Threads with great art and nicety; the most striking of them, I think, are those composed of the red & yellow Feathers; these, at a little distance, very strongly resemble a red cloath Cloak, richly ornamented with broad gold Lace; their other Cloaks are of various Colours, just as fancy at the time directs. The Groundwork of the Cap is Basket Work, made in a form to fit the Head, to which the

<sup>1</sup> Clerke, curiously enough, says nothing of the counterplot to seize Cook and himself on shore.—Cook, pp. 249-50 above; King, pp. 1368-9 below.

Feathers are secured in the same manner as to the Net of the Cloaks: these Caps & Cloaks are quite a new manufacture to us, have a beautiful & pleasing Appearance, and I think are altogether very ingenious & pretty.

The Soil of these Isles, what we saw of it, in its natural State appears but poor, producing nothing more than a coarse Grass, but in their various Plantations of Sugar Cane, Yams, Potatoes, Plantains and Tarrow (where of course it must have had some Cultivation) there was all the appearance of a luxuriant and most plentiful return for the Labour bestowed upon it; the vast abundance of these things they had about them sufficiently evinced the fertility of the Soil, in the production of these particulars at any rate. Their Houses are all thatched; they are just like one of our Barns, cut off immediately below the Eaves, and set upon the Ground, some few of them are raised a foot or foot & half by Posts at each Corner; but the generality of them stand upon the Ground as it were upon their Eaves; they are thatched very strong & thick, having a small door, which makes them much warmer than I shou'd suppose conducive to either convenience or Health in this Climate, but most probably they may have very good reasons, to which we are altogether Strangers; however, here the different families, with their Hogs and Dogs, live in a very sociable manner together. Their Canoes are exceeding good Boats, inferior to none but those of the Friendly Isles, which I suppose some of the best Canoes in the World. These People handle their Boats with great dexterity, and both Men and Women are so perfectly masters of themselves in the Water, that it appears their natural Element; they have another convenience for conveying themselves upon the Water, which we never met with before; this is by means of a thin piece of Board about 2 feet broad & 6 or 8 long, exactly in the Shape of one of our bone paper cutters; upon this they get astride with their legs, then laying their breasts along upon it, they paddle with their Hands and steer with their Feet, and gain such Way thro' the Water, that they wou'd fairly go round the best going Boats we had in the two Ships, in spite of every Exertion of the Crew, in the space of a very few minutes. There were frequently 2 and sometimes 3 upon one of these peices of board, which must be devilishly overballasted; still by their Management, they apparently made very good Weather of it.

This group of Isles consists of 5, which we saw; the Natives tell us of another, away to the NW,<sup>1</sup> which they call Tummata-papappa; this however we have only their word for; these 5 extend from 21° 22' to 22° 03' of N Latitude, and from 159° 15' to 201° 28' of E Longitude, by the mean of many Observations. We know of no absolute Harbour among them; the Resolution was so unfortunate in driving from both Anchoring Places, and being unable to recover them, we did not get that Intelligence we otherwise might have done. The Roadsted off A'towi, where we first anchored, in my Opinion is a very safe Place to stay any term of time you cou'd wish: in the 1<sup>st</sup> place we lay in 21 fathom, 2 miles distant from Shore, with a fine

<sup>1</sup> This is the only reference I have come across to the direction of 'Tummata-papappa' being to the north-west.

&c, had their dinners sent to them, which dinner was conveyed in a Pewter Tureen: one of the Midshipmen took these matters on shore, and upon landing, gave the Tureen to an Indian (who accidentally was standing gaping by) to carry to the Officers, and troubled himself no farther about it; the Indian finding himself so easily possess'd of what I suppose he deemed a pretty piece of furniture, set off with it into the Country; where, upon examining the Contents, they found it to be roast Pork, which that they might make the most of the Prize, they brought down and sold to the Seamen who were watering; the Johns knew nothing of the Tureen business, but relishing the Pork very well, they swore, damn their Eyes, they cou'd not tell how it was, but these wild Fellows had found out a way to roast Pork, as well as People cou'd in England.

In respect to the Police of these People, I believe it is just the same as at the Friendly & Society Isles, where most probably the Aree's have some determined mode of adjusting matters among themselves; but I believe the immediate pleasure of the principal People is the Law of the inferior subjects in general, and that they drive them about as they please, even to destruction, and are cognizable by no court of Justice, nor any thing else.

NOOTKA SOUND, MARCH-APRIL 1778

[P.R.O. *Adm* 55/22, ff. 154-86]

We arrived in this Sound on Sunday the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, and continued here till Sunday the 26 of April; which time we had the good fortune to spend in social intercourse with the Natives. Now and then some little cabals wou'd interfere among us, owing to these good Peoples making too deep depredations upon the boundaries of honesty; but never so violent as to occasion the least mischief to either party, or even to give any considerable interruption to our wonted Sociality.

The Land about this Sound makes in very high Hills, the declivities of which slope into the Sea, where the Shores are very steep & rocky: the Soil in general is rocky, which is apparent in many places, even upon the Tops of the Hills; but it is so well cloathed with Earth, as to produce vast abundance of excellent Timber; indeed, the whole face of the Country is cover'd with it, both Hills & Dales. The wood in general is Fir, there are different kinds of it, and such a variety of Sizes, that in going a very inconsiderable distance, you may cut Sticks of every gradation, from a Main Mast for your Ship, to one for your Jolly Boat; and these I suppose as good as are to be procur'd in any part of the World.

The Natives here, I think fall short of what is deem'd the middling Size, and are in general flat featured; they are exceedingly ill made, having large Knees, contracted Calves and protuberant Ancles: this deformity of the Limbs, I suppose to be owing to a pernicious custom they have of sitting upon their Legs, and the spending so much of their time in that attitude; hence I conclude these People seldom leave the Waterside, but live a great deal in their Canoes and supply themselves with the principal

clear Bottom of Sand and Mud all around us: in the next place, you are well shelter'd from the Nor'ly & NW'ly Winds, which are the only Gales that can blow strong in this part of the World. The S'arly Winds blow on shore, but they can't possibly have scope enough between this and the Trades to be at all boisterous; they doubtless have the Trades themselves pretty constantly  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Year. The Surf sometimes renders a communication with the Shore rather troublesome, but I believe this is not often the case, and in a stay of any time wou'd be of no manner of consequence. Our second anchoring place off O'nechow, I cant say much for; we were by no means so well sheltered as at A'toui, and our communication with the Shore much more precarious, being more exposed to the effects of the Surf. We cou'd get no Water here (at O'nechow) nor is there I believe a stick of Wood upon the Island, but the Natives supplied us most plentifully with excellent Yams (which are the best Roots that can be carried to Sea, as they keep superior to any other) and with such Quantities of Salt, that at leaving this Isle I had more on board than when I left England, nearly all of which was expended. At A'toui, as I mentioned in the course of the Log, we filled our Hold with excellent Water, and our Decks with fat Hogs & sweet Potatoes; had we wanted Wood it wou'd have been a troublesome Job, as we must have fetched it from the Hills, which are a good distance up the Country; but Fuel might be got if absolutely necessary. All the time we lay here, we observed a Current setting constantly to the Westward. At O'nechow the Tides were strong and regular; by the best Observations we cou'd make, we supposed the Tides to rise about 3 Feet; the Flood to come from the Westward; the time of high Water at full and change of the Moon, nearly about Noon.

The Weapons of these People are Spears about 8 or 10 feet long, very nicely polished and curiously jagged at the End, and Slings for Stones: I see no Scars of Honour about them, nor do they at all talk of any molestation from any Quarter, so that I believe the troublesome Science of War is not much studied by them.<sup>1</sup>

A'towi has all the appearance of being vastly populous; I believe they are very numerous: O'nechow appears a Colony in its infant State, there are but few people there, who look after the different Plantations; these People told us their Superiors lived at A'towi. They did commit some Thefts, tho' but few, but in general were very honest fair Traders; there was once a Number of them on board when we got our Hammocks up; two or three of them immediately laid hold of the first that came in their Way, and were handing them into their Canoes alongside; upon being stop'd by our People they by no means seem'd alarmed, as tho' detected in a Theft, but rather surprised and hurt by our illnature, that we wou'd not spare them a few, of what we apparently had so many.

There was one Stroke they played which I readily gave them Credit for; some of the Officers who were on Shore, looking after the watering Party

<sup>1</sup> A bad misjudgment.

Preface

Cook's own documentation ceases a month before his death. Clerke succeeded Cook, but was a dying man - died 6 months later. Gore succeeded Clerke, but could not write.

Lt. King completed the account in a whole third volume. This journal (PI:II) is a composite.

Clerke gives up, among the ice, to Bunnery.

Cook killed Feb 14, 1779

Idea Page 1605

Kaula Islet  
(Otaoora; Taura)

ecnoo	bad								
mance	fine								
mee-c	Do								
waw-whe	to go away								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tahe rooa doroo	ha rema onoo	heidoo varoo	civa oome						
aw-whca?	where?								
hare-hea	where are you going?								
source etc	I dont know								
Uta	the Shore								
Hekai	the Sea								
Pakai	Salt								
Er-aw	Wood								
Necoo	cocoanuts								
To	Sugar Cane								

The following is a song they repeat in responses when dancing<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Aw ara hea aw ara hea
- 2 Paw hada de aw hea ai ca
- 1 Epooa pana noa to-o-eeo
- 2 Herei meio epana waw
- Too ete neaw ete ete pooe
- 1 Mai here eterooa c wecrenaw
- Aweere ta-ah wero-ei to poot-ea Panahai

Another song very common among them<sup>2</sup>

Hecooe hecooe hecooe avarce-e  
Madoodoo ahe perawmai oe maitai roa awanc-ei  
Panahai

These Islands are twelve in Number seven of which are inhabited and the rest not:

<sup>1</sup> This song is metaphorical:

Ai la ihaa, ai la ihaa  
Pohaka ke 'ani, shes ai ei  
I paus paus no ka 'io;  
Hole mai 'oe i paus 'ae;  
Au e ka m'au i ka pa'o e  
Mai hele i ka hoo weliweli  
'Awili ka'a wili ka puka paus ai.

<sup>2</sup> He ule, he ule, he ule a uulaa e,  
Mai ka, ka ule;  
Pala mai 'oe meika'i laa eam'e'i;  
Paus ai.  
Ule is penis.

Onwyhee	Governed by Kariopoo
Mowee	Governed by Taheteere
Morotai	
Oromai	
Kahorawe	} uninhabited
Morokee	
Oahoo	Governed by Percehoranee
Atowai	} Governed by Teeave
Neehaw	
Orohooa	
Taura	} uninhabited
Modoopapappa	

MONDAY MARCH 15<sup>th</sup>. At seven o'Clock in the Morning we set sail from Neehaw & stood to the westward for Modoopapappa; we had a number of Canoes about us when we sett off & our old Acquaintance Waratoi took her leave of us. She had a large Pahowa or iron Dagger given to her, & some Tois were given to the young Chief Pooneotona who came to bid us farewell. About ten o'Clock all the Canoes left us. We have light winds all day; in the afternoon a Canoe with seven Men in her came alongside & asked us for some Seeds to plant, & a few Melon seeds were given to them which they said they would sow at Neehaw. Between five and six o'Clock we were abreast of the small Island Taura distant 3 or 4 miles, it is a little high Hummock covered with Grass at the top, the sides rocky and perpendicular, it is about a Mile or something more in Circumference, the Indians told us that they often came here to catch birds.

TUESDAY MARCH 16<sup>th</sup>. We stood upon a wind in the night under an easy Sail & in the Morning the Ships spread to look out for Modoopapappa. About six o'Clock in the afternoon they joined again having seen nothing of these Islands, and Steer wbs with the Trade Wind to run down our Longitude, our next Rendezvous being the Harbour of St Peter and Paul in Kamtschatka, from whence we are to proceed to the Northward to examine a narrow space between the two Continents which was left unexplored last Year, tho' we have sufficient Reason from the shallowness of the Water, no Current & other Circumstances that there can be no Passage between them, which was the Opinion of Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook & the officers of both Ships;<sup>1</sup> yet he himself had he lived intended to go to the Northward again this Summer

<sup>1</sup> Cook gives no such opinion in any extant writing. He suspected the existence of land 'to the north' (pp. 421-2), 'more land in the frozen sea than as yet we know of. . . and that the Polar part is far from being an open Sea' (p. 1532); but that is different from believing that the continents of Asia and America were joined by anything more than ice. This was a belief later urged by Burney.

speak from himself, I think he was rather too positive, these women are as fond of attention & flattery, & being danced after as any woman in Europe, & I can take upon me positively to assert that C. Cook was mistaken, & that they are conceitable. The 25<sup>th</sup> Sent the Observatory on shore w<sup>th</sup> a party of Marines under y<sup>e</sup> command of Lieut<sup>t</sup> King, sent y<sup>e</sup> launch w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> two Cows to Oparre y<sup>e</sup> residence of Otoo, & where he had a fine Bull, given him by the spaniards, here we again heard of y<sup>e</sup> illiberal abuse bestowed on us by those people, all which the natives seemed much to credit, telling us that their common men were much better dress'd than even Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook, and that all the Officers were exceeding fine, that y<sup>e</sup> spaniards gave them every thing they wanted, but that if any thing was taken from us by them, every body was seized upon that we could lay hold of & some probably kill'd, upon the whole we seem to have very little share of their esteem, while the spaniards have in one voyage got the total possession of their affections. The 26<sup>th</sup> The Discovery's main mast being sprung was got on shore, & our Carpenters sent to assist them; several of y<sup>e</sup> natives came on board & told us that two large spanish Ships were at Oaitipaha, & that they were coming round to Matavai bay, C. Cook not knowing what there design might be, order'd me to go in the cutter, taking a petty Officer w<sup>th</sup> me, & keep along shore as much as possible, (giving me a draught of y<sup>e</sup> island for my guide) that I might not be seen by them. I took w<sup>th</sup> me a chest of arms & put my commission in my pocket, lest their intentions should be hostile, & if they got sight of me they might be induced to send after me, we got in y<sup>e</sup> Evening to Ohidea, the place where Mr Bourgainville anchor'd, & is the residence of Orette, then on a visit to Capt<sup>n</sup> Clerke, from this place I could very clearly discern with my telescope that there was no ship at Oaitipaha but y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen with me not being so well satisfied I was determined to leave no room for after reflections, therefore gave orders for y<sup>e</sup> Sentries for the night, & in the morning by day light set off for Oaitipaha where we were received w<sup>th</sup> a great share of Affection by y<sup>e</sup> young Chief (a boy about 12 or 13 years of Age); he was very particular in his Enquiries of our coming so far from the ship, I told him it was to see if the spaniards were there, as we had been inform'd, at which he seem'd much surpriz'd, & said, if they had been there he hoped we would not kill them & that the spaniards must not kill us, as we were both friends to him; I assur'd him we were good friends to the spaniards, & that I only came to visit them had they been there, with which he seem'd well pleas'd & ask'd me to his house, where I went with him, he wanted me much to stay the night, & order'd a hog to be kill'd & dress'd, but as I had no time to spare being then leagu'd from my ship & no wind I took my leave, giving him a piece of red feathers for which he was very grateful, & order'd the boat to be fill'd w<sup>th</sup> cocoa-nuts, when we got to the water side he desired some musquets might be fired w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he was much satisfied: at parting he threw his arms ab<sup>t</sup> my neck, & kiss'd me w<sup>th</sup> great affection & seem'd very sorry at our so soon leaving him. this young boy is full as despotic as Otoo, & altho' Otoo has y<sup>e</sup> title

of King, w<sup>ch</sup> this young man can never have,<sup>1</sup> he pays no Submission to Otoo, & are often at war with each other nor has Otoo ever been able to conquer this part of y<sup>e</sup> island.—At 8 In the morning of y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> We departed for our Ship where we did not arrive until 12 at night of y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> after y<sup>e</sup> most disagreeable day & night I had ever pass'd, y<sup>e</sup> first being a dead calm & a scorching sun, & y<sup>e</sup> latter a contrary wind w<sup>th</sup> hard rain, & so dark as not to be able to see the land. On my going to Oaitipaha I had an opportunity of observing the correctness of C. Cook's chart of y<sup>e</sup> island, it is astonishing w<sup>th</sup> what accuracy the most minute rock is laid down; from this time we were employed in getting y<sup>e</sup> ship ready for sea, nothing else material happening, but y<sup>e</sup> punishment of W<sup>m</sup> Doyle on the 10<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> from a complaint made against him by Otoo, & J<sup>n</sup> Allen (Marine) & J<sup>s</sup> Dermot (landsman) w<sup>ch</sup> 12 lashes for theft on y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>.

## CHRISTMAS ISLAND

[*Adm* 55/117, f. 800-81]

[DECEMBER 1777] 26<sup>th</sup>. Some boats were again sent to catch fish, & others to examine y<sup>e</sup> lagoon; Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook went on shore this morning & caught a few turtle. 27<sup>th</sup>. Lieut. King w<sup>th</sup> two of y<sup>e</sup> boats was sent across y<sup>e</sup> lagoon to examine y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>o</sup> side of y<sup>e</sup> island, they met w<sup>th</sup> some difficulty in crossing from y<sup>e</sup> number of shoals, which they were oblig'd to track y<sup>e</sup> boat over, they stay'd there that night & turn'd 15 turtle, the next day before noon Mr King return'd w<sup>th</sup> what turtle he had caught, leaving some hands behind him to turn more turtle, he told the Capt<sup>n</sup> what distress they had been in owing to y<sup>e</sup> want of water, what little they had carried w<sup>th</sup> them being expended & not being able to find any on the island, I instantly receiv'd orders to go to y<sup>e</sup> place from whence Mr King had come, taking w<sup>th</sup> me two days provisions, on my Arrival there I found the people that had been left in a most famishing condition & every part of them that was expos'd to y<sup>e</sup> sun scorchi'd & blister'd; as soon as they were all refresh'd, I cross'd over to y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>o</sup> shore, it being near y<sup>e</sup> time of the turtle's landing, the road is about 3 Miles over, & exceeding bad walking, having a lake near  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile wide to wade thro', & so deep as to take one up to the waist, & y<sup>e</sup> land mostly cover'd over w<sup>th</sup> a kind of clinker, resembling that w<sup>ch</sup> comes from a blacksmith's forge, or like y<sup>e</sup> lava I have seen thrown out of Mount Vesuvius;<sup>2</sup> & those parts that were free from this cinder, were so undermin'd by y<sup>e</sup> land Crabs that had burrow'd there, that we were in danger of our limbs every step we took; by y<sup>e</sup> time we reach'd y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>o</sup> shore it was dark, & the beach cover'd w<sup>th</sup> turtle, we turn'd & found two small ones which had been kill'd not above an hour, & only y<sup>e</sup> blood taken from them, we naturally concluded some of y<sup>e</sup> Discovery's people had lost themselves & must be in great want, I therefore ordered some of

<sup>1</sup> The title Vehiatua was much more important than any title of Tu's, who was 'king' (as has been frequently pointed out) only in the minds of the visitors.

<sup>2</sup> Christmas Island is coral, not volcanic; but parts of the surface of the island consist of a hard pan of calcium carbonate, and this, together with bits of coral blackened by exposure to the weather, may have given him his impression of 'clinker'.



our people to walk different ways & now & then to halloo & make a noise, but by no means to go off the beach lest they also should lose themselves, after an hours absence the people return'd without success, we haul'd all the turtle above high water mark & each man taking one upon his back cross'd over to our boat, taking w<sup>th</sup> us also the two dead turtle, which we dress'd for supper: In y<sup>e</sup> morning of y<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Inst as we had risen, I was surpriz'd w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> appearance of y<sup>e</sup> Master & one of y<sup>e</sup> mates of y<sup>e</sup> Discovery, who had lain within one hundred yards of us & had seen our fire, but mistook it for that meteor call'd Ignis fatuus, or Jack w<sup>th</sup> a Lanthern, they were in a most distress'd situation, they inform'd us of two of their men who had been lost the day before which two men had kill'd y<sup>e</sup> turtle we found y<sup>e</sup> preceding evening, after they had refresh'd themselves I sent the turtle we had got down to y<sup>e</sup> Discovery's boat, not having provisions for both boats crews, & desir'd y<sup>e</sup> Master of y<sup>e</sup> Discovery to go on board his ship, first calling on board y<sup>e</sup> Resolution & acquainting C<sup>t</sup> Cook that there was a very convenient place for y<sup>e</sup> boats to come in at where the turtle came on shore, & where they might lay in safety until we should get enough turtle to load them, & which would be attended w<sup>th</sup> less fatigue to y<sup>e</sup> people & hurt to y<sup>e</sup> turtle: having dismiss'd the Discovery's boat, I set off for a load for our own boat, when we got to y<sup>e</sup> beach it was low water, therefore whilst y<sup>e</sup> people were carrying down y<sup>e</sup> turtle, I saunter'd along y<sup>e</sup> rocks & had got near  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from our people when I observ'd at a great distance something moving along y<sup>e</sup> beach at a very great rate, I imagin'd it to be one of the lost men, but could not be certain, I ran back to our people, got some bread & water w<sup>th</sup> a small quantity of Rum in it & then went to meet him when I got up to him he drop'd down, & was unable to speak, but made signs for something to drink, I held y<sup>e</sup> cocoa nut shell to his mouth w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Rum & water, not suffering him to drink much, only to wash his mouth; when he had a little recover'd himself, I gave him some bread to eat, & in a few minutes he was enabled w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> assistance of my Arm to walk to where our people were. Soon after both launches from each Ship came into y<sup>e</sup> creek for turtle, & bro<sup>d</sup> orders for me to return on board, after I had loaded & dismiss'd the launches, on board of which I sent y<sup>e</sup> man that had been so long lost, I was returning to y<sup>e</sup> boat which I had left in y<sup>e</sup> lagoon, but observing two people coming along y<sup>e</sup> beach towards us, I waited their arrival, & found them to be Mr Hollamby Midshipman, & y<sup>e</sup> Armourer of y<sup>e</sup> Discovery going in quest of the lost men, I told them of our having got one of them, & the melancholy account he had given of himself & y<sup>e</sup> other before they parted; we made what Enquiry we could about y<sup>e</sup> other man, but could only learn that he had struck in land to seek for water, & that he himself was determin'd to keep y<sup>e</sup> beach as long as he was able to walk, after we had replenish'd Mr Hollamby's water & bread they set off to seek y<sup>e</sup> man & we to our boat, I had the greatest hopes of y<sup>e</sup> success of their undertaking from a long acquaintance & knowledge of Mr Hollamby's great humanity, strength of constitution, & perseverance. Before I left y<sup>e</sup> beach I had a large fire made

& pil'd some Stones near it on y<sup>e</sup> top of which I left a bottle of water, this I had also done in y<sup>e</sup> center of y<sup>e</sup> island, & a third near the lagoon, which last prov'd most welcome to Mr Hollamby & his party, they having expended all they carried w<sup>th</sup> them, being so long detain'd in y<sup>e</sup> sun, & the fatigue of carrying the man; they had found him almost dead, he had several times tryed to drink the blood of birds & even his own urine, but could not swallow either, & having met with a pool or bason of clear water he went into it w<sup>th</sup> his cloaths on, in hopes of refreshing himself, but unluckily this water to which he had been invited by its transparency, proved no other than a pool of strong brine, by which his limbs, & cloaths became so stiff that he was hardly able to crawl out, & in this condition he was found. 30<sup>th</sup> In the morning not knowing what success Mr Hollamby had met w<sup>th</sup> two boats were sent under y<sup>e</sup> command of Lieut: King in search of y<sup>e</sup> Man, but they had not long been gone, before Mr Hollamby made his appearance w<sup>th</sup> the unfortunate Man. In y<sup>e</sup> Morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January We sail'd in Company w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Discovery. The Extent of this Isle from N<sup>o</sup> to S<sup>o</sup> is about 10 Miles, but from East to West we know little of it & from what we could judge of its shape it resembled a Crescent more than anything else I can compare it to.

## KAUAI AND NIIHAU

[Adm 55/117, ff. 86-6v]

[JANUARY 1778] 20<sup>th</sup>. At 6 this Morning stood in for y<sup>e</sup> land, & several of y<sup>e</sup> natives came on board, when one of them with great dexterity slid away w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Butcher's cleaver, & got into his Canoe before he was perceiv'd; our boats were then hoisting out, Capt<sup>n</sup> Cook order'd me to take y<sup>e</sup> Pinnace arm'd & pull round to y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> ship in order to intercept the canoe, but y<sup>e</sup> fellow perceiving us coming round the ships bow immediately made for the shore, & finding that with y<sup>e</sup> help of our Sails we came up w<sup>th</sup> them pretty fast shew'd a cunning & sagacity that I little expected, holding up to us a pig & some potatoes which [they] threw over board, expecting we should stop to pick them up; they also endeavour'd to get to windward of us, which would have render'd our sails useless, when just as we got near them, it fell calm, therefore to prevent their landing & getting off clear, I fired a shot ahead of them which was follow'd by a volley from the Discovery's boat, & by several shot from our own boats crew, notwithstanding I had given strict orders for no person to fire without my particular directions; the indians were so much frightened that they all leap'd overboard & got on the rocks, we then got hold of the Canoe but y<sup>e</sup> cleaver was gone, & the natives, not finding themselves hurt, began to pelt us with stones, this was what I had foreseen, & was the reason why I had given such particular orders not to fire; as I was directed to land if I could, & wishing to avoid any disturbance w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> natives I made signs to them to come for their boat, & then row'd down to leeward to seek a landing place; by this time our cutter had joined us w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Master in her, whom I strictly order'd not to fire on any account with-