

Index "Turtles"
Pacific 90, 106-107,
136, 257-61, 631-32,

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

"The Lost Hawaiian Island"
HONOLULU MAGAZINE, NOV. 1983

THE VOYAGE OF
THE ENDEAVOUR

1768-1771

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

J. C. Beaglehole

CAMBRIDGE
Published for the Hakluyt Society
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1955

635n
848, 853,
866, 873,
880, 902,
1080-81,
1157
1236
+ 1772-1775
Resolution &
Adventure

+
1776-1780
Resolution
&
Discovery
(p. 258 Christmas
Is. account)
+
PART TWO

[need
p. 71082]

p. 452-53
VATO A
July 3, 1774
"Near the reef
were seen several
Turtles which occasioned
my giving that name
to the Isle."
2017-1774 =

George,

The volumes for this title were all checked out in the general collection. I got vols 1-3 from the Hawaiian collection (can't get vol 4). Because I could only get for 7 days and I will be gone when they are due, I decided to guess what it is you were looking for. I have gone thru and photocopied all of the ^{pages} references for

turtles that I could find. I also noticed that magnetic declination was mentioned in various spots but not for the Hawaii area.

When I get back from Travel/annual leave, I can check out these volumes again. I just wanted you to have something till then.
Aloha - Sandra 8/7/96

George,

The volumes for this title were all checked out in the general collection. I got vols 1-3 from the Hawaiian collection (couldn't get vol. 4).

Because I could only get for 7 days and I will be gone when they are due, I decided to guess what it is you were looking for. I have gone thru and photocopied all of the ^{pages} references for

titles that I could find. I also noticed that magnetic declination was mentioned in various spots but not for the Hawaii area.

When I get back from Travel/annual leave, I can check out these volumes again. I just wanted you to have something till then.
Moha - Sandra 8/7/96

Abbott-Stout

IN COOK

r (aquatic mammals), Mr N. P. Harding (crustaceans), Mr (coelenterates); by the staff of C. Sawyer; by the staff of the ly Keeper of Botany, and by

istance from Mr H. L. White, Library; Miss Phyllis Mander at princely collector the late Sir the National Gallery of New Ramsay, of Melbourne, I owe ter of Cook in his collection, Roy Michaelis, of Melbourne, Messrs Francis Edwards Ltd., ermit the printing of letters of Nan Kivell, of London, and ne to use manuscripts in their

nd practical help, very present M. and Mme Charles van den and Mr and Mrs M. R. Kellum he deep well of his philological

on Dr R. A. Falla, the Director and Mr J. Morland, members sion, on Mr J. M. McEwen, of ministrator of Niue, Mr Leslie a matters of geography, on Mrs d the officers and charts of the and his assistants in the Alex- tting benevolence, given me the one of my academic colleagues om I note my special gratitude Winston Monk, whose death in 1954 was an equal blow to his country.

s to the printers of this book. g to plan adequately, its very on of type which one would g-suffering patience, care, and n of MacLehose has met the nder the very deepest sense of

J. C. B.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|---------|
| GENERAL PREFACE | page v |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | ix |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS | xiii |
| SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES | xix |
| * | |
| GENERAL INTRODUCTION | xxi |
| INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST VOYAGE | cxxiii |
| NOTE ON POLYNESIAN HISTORY | cbxxii |
| TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION | cxci |
| SUBORDINATE MS SOURCES | |
| (i) Cook's Log | ccxxvi |
| (ii) Other Logs and Journals | ccxxvii |
| (iii) Civilians' Journals | ccxxxix |
| THE PRINTED SOURCES | ccxlii |
| THE GRAPHIC RECORDS | cclxv |
| NOTE ON THE PRINTING OF THE TEXT | ccbxii |
| ON THE ANNOTATION | cclxxiv |
| * | |
| THE INSTRUCTIONS | ccbxix |
| THE JOURNAL | i |
| * | |
| <i>Appendix I: COOK'S LETTERS AND REPORTS</i> | |
| DESCRIBING THE VOYAGE | 480 |
| <i>Appendix II: THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND THE VOYAGE</i> | |
| 1. Transactions of the Royal Society | 511 |
| 2. Morton's <i>Hints</i> | 514 |

Appendix III: COOK'S MS DRAFTS AND VARIANT VERSIONS

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Draft Rules for Trade at Tahiti | 520 |
| 2. Rules for Boat-Parties | 521 |
| 3. First Days at Tahiti | 521 |
| 4. The Circuit of Tahiti | 531 |
| 5. The Poverty Bay Encounter | 534 |
| 6. Notes on New Zealand | 538 |
| 7. Outside the Great Barrier Reef | 541 |

Appendix IV: EXTRACTS FROM OTHER JOURNALS OF THE VOYAGE

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Anonymous | 549 |
| 2. Molyneux | 551 |
| 3. W. B. Monkhouse | 564 |

Appendix V: THE SHIP'S COMPANY

588

Appendix VI: CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS

602

Appendix VII: NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

642

INDEX

657

ILLU

The approxi
by a fraction i
only to those

Portrait of Capt
Oil-painting in th

1. Detail from M
Australis
2. Mappamundi in
3. World-map by C
4. Detail from the v
Showing Terra Au
Museum, Royal M
5. The South Pacifi
6. Visscher's chart c
With Tasman's tr
MS of Tasman's Jo
7. The South Pacif
centuries
8. Map of the Sou
voyages curieux, 16
Showing the coasts
track in 1642-3, an
9. 'Carte réduite de
gondy
In C. de Brosse, /
pl. IV.
10. The South Pacific
11. A cat-built Whitb
From an oil-paintin
Library, Canberra,
1768 as the *Endeavour*

1770

[July

FRIDAY 6th. D^o Weather. At low water in the PM had hardly 4 feet water under the ship yet could not repair the sheathing that was beat off the place being all under water. One of the Carpenters crew, a Man I could trust, went down and examined it and found three streaks of the sheathing gone about 7 or 8 feet long and the Main plank a little rub'd: this accou[n]t¹ agrees with the report of the Master and others that were under her bottom before. The Carpenter who I look upon to be well skilld in his profission and a good judge of these matters was of opinion that this was of little consequence, and as I found that it would be difficult if not impractical for us to get under her bottom to repair it I resolved to spend no more time about it. Accordingly at High-water hove her off and Moor'd her along side the beach where the stores &c^a lay and in the AM got everything in readiness for takeing them on board, and at the same time got on board 8 tuns of water and stowed in the ground tier in the after hold. In the Morning M^r Banks and Lieut^o Gore with three men went in a small boat up the River with a view to stay two or 3 days to try to kill some of the animals we have so often seen about this place.

SATURDAY 7th. Fresh breezes at SE and fair weather. Employ'd getting on board Coals ballast &c^a and caulking the Ship, a work that could not be done while she lay aground. The Armourer and his mate are still at work at the forge making and repairing sundry articles in the Iron way.

SUNDAY 8th. Gentle breezes at SE and clear weather. Early I sent the Master in a boat out to sea to sound again about the shoals because the account he had given of the Channell before mentioned was to me by no means satisfactory, like wise sent some hands to haul the sain who caught near 80 pound of fish, the rest of the people I gave leave to go into the country.

MONDAY 9th. Gentle breezes in the day at SE and in the night calm. In the PM M^r Gore and M^r Banks returnd having met with nothing remarkable, they were about 3 or 4 Leag^a up in the country without finding hardly any Variation either in the soil or produce.² In the evening the Master returnd having been seven Leagues out at sea and at that distance off saw shoals without him and was of opinion that there was no getting out to sea that way. In his return he touched upon one of the shoals the same as he was upon the first time he was out, here he saw a great number of turtle three of which he caught

¹ A report.

² Banks gives a lively account of this expedition, on which more 'animals of the country' were seen, but which as a kangaroo hunt was quite unsuccessful.

1770]

weighing 791 pound this morning provic before nothing but their respective en board stone ballast first time.

TUESDAY 10th. Wi on board and stow Seven or eight of ti of them came dow soon as I put off in as fast as they coul sea with M^r Molinc gave but a very ba left them which wa they likely to get a would not return; v this mor[n]ing to not be employ'd the

In the AM 4 of ti north side of the h Canoe with outrigg fish &c^a. Some wen not suffer but let ti them, at length tw some things we thro over the other two done before and to landed close to the with them, but Ty arms and come an to them, made the

¹ Banks says that these presumably Green Turtle single species of Green T on this view the name w caught at Endeavour Ri locality was accurately d by Solander (MS Z4, p. 1 captured according to B the former is usually vege the stomachs of the Log sumptive evidence that region has been recogniz the name *Caretta caretta* gi.

weighing 791 pounds.¹ This occasioned my sending him out again this morning provided with proper geer for striking them he having before nothing but a boat hook. Carpenters smiths and Coopers at their respective employments and the seam^a employ'd getting on board stone ballast. This day all hands feasted upon turtle for the first time.

TUESDAY 10th. Winds and weather as yesterday. Employ'd hoisting on board and stowing away the ground tier of water. In the PM saw Seven or eight of the Natives on the South side of the River and two of them came down upon the sandy point opposite the ship but as soon as I put off in a boat in order to speak with them they run away as fast as they could. At 11 oClock M^r Banks, who had gone out to sea with M^r Molineux the Master, returned in his own small boat and gave but a very bad account of our turtle catchers. At the time he left them which was about 6 oClock they had not got one nor were they likely to get any, and yet the Master was so obstinate that he would not return; which obliged me to send M^r Gore out in the yawl this mor[n]ing to order the boat and people in, in case they could not be employ'd there to some advantage.

In the AM 4 of the natives came down to the sandy point on the north side of the harbour having along with them a small wooden Canoe with outriggers in which they seemd to be employ'd striking fish &c*. Some were for going over in a boat to them but this I would not suffer but let them alone without seeming to take any notice of them, at length two came in the Canoe so near the Ship as to take some things we throw'd them, after this they went away and brought over the other two and came again along side nearer then they had done before and took such trifles as we gave them. After this they landed close to the Ship and all 4 went a shore carrying their arms with them, but Tupia soon prevaild upon them to lay down their arms and come and set down by him, after which more of us went to them, made them again some presents and stay'd by them untill

¹ Banks says that these three turtles were captured with the boat hook. They were presumably Green Turtles, *Chelonia* sp. Some herpetologists maintain that there is but a single species of Green Turtle, with a world-wide tropical and sub-tropical distribution; on this view the name would be *C. mydas* (Linn). Banks indicates that most of the turtles caught at Endeavour River were Green Turtles, and a specimen of this species from that locality was accurately drawn by Parkinson. This specimen may also be the one described by Solander (MS Z4, p. 125) since he says that it was figured. Two Loggerheads were also captured according to Banks. Of the two genera of Loggerheads, *Lepidochelys* and *Caretta*, the former is usually vegetarian, at least in the Indian Ocean, so that as Banks reports that the stomachs of the Loggerheads examined contained nothing but shells, there is presumptive evidence that they were specimens of *Caretta*. The *Caretta* of the Indo-Pacific region has been recognized as a subspecies different from that of the Atlantic Ocean under the name *Caretta caretta gigas* Deraniyagala.

dinner time, when we made them understand that we were going to eat and ask'd them by signs to go with us, but this they declined and as soon as we left them they went away in their canoe. One of these men was some thing above the Middle age, the other three were young, none of them were above 5½ feet high and all their limbs proportionally small; they were wholly naked their skins the Colour of wood soot or a dark chocolate¹ and this seem'd to be their natural Colour, their hair was black, lank and crope'd short and neither woolly nor frizled nor did they want any of their fore teeth, as Dampier has mentioned those did he saw on the western side of this Country.² Some part of their bodies had been painted with red and one of them had his upper lip and breast paint[ed] with streakes of white which he call'd *Carbanda*:³ their features were far from being disagreeable, the Voices were soft and tunable and they could easily repeat many words after us, but neither us nor Tupia could understand one word they said.

WEDNESDAY 11th. Gentle land and sea breezes. Employ'd airing the bread,⁴ stowing away water stores &c⁵. In the night M^r Gore and the Master returned with the long-boat and brought with them one turtle and a few shell fish, the Yawl M^r Gore left upon the shoal with Six men to endeavour to Strike more turtle. In the morning four of the natives made us another short visit, 3 of them had been with us the preceeding day and the other was a stranger. One of these men had a hole through the Bridge of his nose in which he stuck a piece of bone as thick as my finger, seeing this we examined all their noses and found that they had all holes for the same purpose, they had likewise holes in their ears but no ornaments hanging to them, they had bracelets upon their arms made of hair and like hoops of small cord; they some times must wear a kind of fillet about their heads for one of

¹ or . . . chocolate not in M.

² In *A New Voyage round the World* (first published 1697), Chapter XVI (ed. Masefield, I, p. 453), Dampier took a very low view of the Australian aboriginals, 'the miserablest People in the world. . . They have great Bottle Noses, pretty full Lips, and wide Mouths. The two Fore-teeth of their Upper jaw are wanting in all of them, Men and Women, Old and Young; whether they draw them out, I know not: Neither have they any Beards'. He adds that they were coal-black in colour and their hair 'black, short and curl'd'. In Chapter III of his *Voyage to New Holland* (1703; ed. Masefield, II, p. 440) he notices the white pigment which Cook goes on to mention, and has mentioned at Botany Bay.

³ Evidently Cook's rendering of *kapan-da*, 'marks-with'. The white streaks (cf. p. 312 above) were pipeclay; the red paint was an ochre.

⁴ Two entries in the log, Add. MS 2788³, enlarge on this: 10 July, ' . . . In the AM open'd and air'd some Casks of bread, a part of each we found but in a bad condition and yet bad as it is we shall be oblig'd to eat it.'—13 July, 'In the PM got all the Bread Air'd amounting to 27 Butts or 81c 8q oilb Five hundred and Sixty pound of which was so bad that it could not be eat and about the same quantity very much damaged which I believe was owing to the Casks being wet when the Ship was a shore upon the rocks.'

them had applied use.

THURSDAY 12th. Employment of the people on board and brought the probability of success after breakfast. Al with us all the fore and a boy, these two of the River about our glasses that those parts which taught a woman to

FRIDAY 13th. Gentle light airs from the water stores &c⁶. A large sting-ray.⁷

SATURDAY 14th. Completed our water Boatswains⁸ stores; AM employ'd getting M^r Gore being on spoke of, it was a small of the entrails.⁴ The small in proportion to the body, thick before legs were 8 Inc or jumping 7 or 8 it makes no use of digging in the ground a dark Mouse or Gr thought was somewhat to any European semblance to the larger than a comm

⁵ Skate, *Raja* sp.

⁶ Cook has amended: tail in the next line ran small in proportion to the of any animal I know. This teeth, and finally deleted:

⁷ . . . hop interlinear:

⁸ This last sentence, was registered in the last thr

that we were going to
his they declined and
r canoe. One of these
her three were young,
l their limbs propor-
ns the Colour of wood
their natural Colour,
nd neither wooly nor
eth, as Dampier has
f this Country.² Some
and one of them had
es of white which he
eing disagreeable, the
d easily repeat many
understand one word

izes. Employ'd airing
e night M^r Gore and
ought with them one
ft upon the shoal with
a the morning four of
a had been with us the
ne of these men had a
stuck a piece of bone
d all their noses and
ose, they had likewise
g to them, they had
e hoops of small cord;
t their heads for one of

Chapter XVI (ed. Masefield,
aboriginals, 'the miserablest
full Lips, and wide Mouths.
them, Men and Women, Old
ther have they any Beards'.
black, short and curl'd'. In
d, II, p. 440) he notices the
ned at Botany Bay.
he white streaks (cf. p. 312

July, '... In the AM opened
in a bad condition and yet
PM got all the Bread Air'd
pound of which was so bad
ch damaged which I believe
pon the rocks.'

them had applied some part of an Old shirt I had given them to this use.

THURSDAY 12th. Winds and weather as yesterday and the employment of the people the same. At 2 oClock in the AM the Yawl came on board and brought three turtle and a large skate¹ and as their was a probability of succeeding in this kind of fishery I sent her out again after breakfast. About this time 5 of the natives came over and stay'd with us all the forenoon, there were 7 in the whole 5 Men a woman and a boy, these two last stay'd on the point of sand on the other side of the River about 200 Yards from us, we could very clearly see with our glasses that the woman was as naked as ever she was born, even those parts which I allways before now thought nature would have taught a woman to conceal were uncover'd.

FRIDAY 13th. Gentle breezes from the SE in the day and Calm or light airs from the land in the night. Employ'd takeing on board water stores &c². At noon the Yawl returned with one turtle and a large sting-ray.³

SATURDAY 14th. Gentle breezes at SE and Hazy weather. In the PM completed our water got on board all the Bread and part of the Boatswains³ stores; in the evening sent the turtlers out again. In the AM employ'd geting on board stone ballast and airing the Spare sails. M^r Gore being out in the Country shott one of the Animals before spoke of, it was a small one of the sort weighing only 28 pound clear of the entrails.⁴ The head neck and shoulders of this Animal was very small in proportion to the other parts; the tail was nearly as long as the body, thick next the rump and tapering towards the end; the fore legs were 8 Inch long and the hind 22, its progression is by hoping or jumping 7 or 8 feet at each hop⁵ upon its hind legs only, for in this it makes no use of the fore, which seem to be only design'd for scratching in the ground &c². The Skin is cover'd with a short hairy fur of a dark Mouse or Grey Colour. Excepting the head and ears which I thought was something like a Hare's, it bears no sort of resemblance to any European Animal I ever saw; it is said to bear much resemblance to the Gerbua excepting in size, the Gerbua being no larger than a common rat.⁶

¹ Skate, *Raja* sp.

² Possibly *Psammobatis* sp.

³ the Boatswains, M our.

⁴ Cook has amended his first description of the kangaroo, which from this point to the tail in the next line ran as follows: *its body was long the head neck and shoulders very small in proportion to the other parts—it was hare lip'd and the head and ears were most like a Hares of any animal I know.* This is the version in M. He then altered *head and ears* to *head ears and teeth*, and finally deleted and added to give the text as we have it.

⁵ 7 . . . hop interlinear addition, not in M.

⁶ This last sentence, written closely at the end of a page, is not in M. The alterations registered in the last three notes are evidently the result of a sight of Banks's journal for

SUNDAY 15th. Gentle breezes at SE and East. In the PM got on board the spare sails and sundry other Articles. In the AM as the People did not work upon the Ship one of the Petty officers was disireous of going out to catch turtle; I let him have the Pinnace for that purpose and sent the long boat to haul the Sain who caught about 60 pounds of fish. Today we din'd of the animal shott yesterday & thought it excellent food.¹

MONDAY 16th. Fore and latter parts gentle breezes at ENE, in the night had light airs & Calm. In the Evening the yawl came in with 4 turtle and a large sting-ray and soon after went out again but the Pinnace did not return as I expected. In the AM employ'd getting on board the Cables. At the same time I went upon one of the high hill[s] on the north side of the River from which I had an extensive view of the inland country which consisted of hills vallies and large planes agreeably deversified with woods and lawns.

TUESDAY 17th. Wind at SE a fresh breeze. People employ'd as yesterday and seting up the rigging. In the evening the Pinnace returned with three turtle, two of which the Yawl caught and sent in. At 7^h41'17" PM Observed the first Satellite of Jupiter to Emerge; the same Emersion happen'd at Greenwich at 10^h00'52" in the AM, the difference is 14°19'35" = to 214°53'45" of Longitude.² The observation made on the 29th of last month gave 214°42'30", the mean is 214°48'7½" which this place is west of Greenwich.

WEDNESDAY 18th. Winds at ESE a gentle breeze. In the PM I sent the Master and one of the mates in the Pinnace to the northward to look for a Channell that way clear of the shoals. Mr Banks, Dr Solander and my self took a turn into the woods on the other side of the water where we met with five of the natives and altho we had not seen any of them before they came to us without shewing the least signs of fear, two of these wore necklaces made of shells which they seem'd to Value as they would not part with them. In the evening the yawl came in with three turtle and early in the AM she went out again. About 8 oClock we were viseted by several of the natives who now became more familiar then ever. Soon after this Mr Banks and I went over to the south³ side of the River and travel'd six or 8 Miles along shore to the northward, where we assended a high hill from

14 July, after Orton had made his first copy; but Banks says the weight of the animal was 38 lb. This was quite likely the young Great Grey Kangaroo, the skull of which was given by Banks to John Hunter and preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons until destroyed in the second World War.

¹ This sentence interlinear and not in M.

² In A the time of emersion at Greenwich is given as 20h 00'52".

³ south presumably a slip for north.

whence we had [which] afforde [to] incounter, inum[erable] w without meeting natives on board they took more by the officers and they went a

THURSDAY 19th getting every thi 10 or 11 of the the River where and like the me desirous of havin to the gang way grew a little tre board they coul at this time I o with scorn as I b turtle. Soon afte five or six of our upon their landi it at a fire we h going about he r grass in his way luckily at this ti and a sow with death in the fir place where son and a good deal obstinacy⁴ they were present co load[ed] with sn off. As we were out before it got

⁴ to leeward . . . seen as far as the eye could; deleted which by mis brackets denote trim. The 'high hill' was ev

⁵ M tortoise or Turtle of alternative and del

⁶ A omits, and expe

[July

the PM got on board
the AM as the People
Officers was disirous
inace for that pur-
caught about 60
shott yesterday &

zes at ENE, in the
awl came in with 4
out again but the
employ'd getting on
on one of the high
I had an extensive
ls vallies and large

people employ'd as
ening the Pinnacle
caught and sent in.
ter to Emerge; the
'52" in the AM, the
e.² The observation
'30", the mean is

in the PM I sent the
the northward to
ls. M^r Banks, D^r
on the other side of
d altho we had not
t shewing the least
f shells which they
m. In the evening
the AM she went out
of the natives who
his M^r Banks and I
vel'd six or 8 Miles
d a high hill from

weight of the animal was
skull of which was given
oyal College of Surgeons

1770]

ABORIGINAL INCENDIARISM

[361

whence we had an extensive view of the Sea Coast to leward; [which] afforded us a Meloncholy prospect of the difficultys we are [to] incounter, for in what ever direction we turn'd our eys Shoals innum[erable] were to be seen.¹ After this we return'd to the Ship without meeting with any thing remarkable and found several of the natives on board; at this time we had 12 Turtle² upon our decks which they took more notice of then any thing else in the ship, as I was told by the officers for their curiosity was satisfied before I got on board and they went away soon after.

THURSDAY 19th. Gentle breezes at SE and fair weather. Employ'd getting every thing in readiness for sea. In the AM we were viseted by 10 or 11 of the natives, the most of them came from the other side of the River where we saw six or seven more the most of them women and like the men quite naked; those that came on board were very desirous of having some of our turtle and took the liberty to haul two to the gang way to put over the side, being disapointed in this they grew a little troublesome and were for throwing every thing over board they could lay their hands upon; as we had no victuals dress'd at this time I offer'd them some bread to eat, which they rejected with scorn as I believe they would have done any thing else excepting turtle. Soon after this they all went a shore, M^r Banks my self and five or six of our people being a shore at the same time; emmediatly upon their landing one of them took a handfull of dry grass and lighted it at a fire we had a shore, and before we well know'd what he was going about he made a large circuit round about us and set fire to the grass in his way and in an Instant the whole place was in flames, luckily at this time we had hardly any thing ashore besides the forge and a sow with a Litter of young pigs one of which was scorched to death in the fire. As soon as they had done this they all went to a place where some of our people were washing and where all our nets and a good deal of linnen were laid out to dry, here with the greatest obstinacy³ they again set fire to the grass which I and some others who were present could not prevent, untill I was obliged to fire a musquet load[ed] with small shott at one of the ri[n]g leaders which sent them off. As we were apprised of this last attempt of theirs we got the fire out before it got head, but the first spread like wild fire in the woods

¹ *to leward . . . seen not in M, which copies Cook's first version, which was covered with shoals as far as the eye could see. He had again been looking at Banks's journal. He seems to have deleted which by mistake; for in A he inserts it to fill the logical gap (the other square brackets denote trimmed-off letters). Wharton prints an amalgam of the two versions. The 'high hill' was evidently Indian Head, 1124 feet.*

² *M tortoise or Turtle. Cook first wrote tortoisss simply, and by a rather involved process of alternative and deletion reached Turtle.*

³ *A omits, and expedition is written in, but not in Cook's hand.*

and grass. Notwithstanding my firing, in which one must have been a little hurt because we saw a few drops of blood on some of the linnen he had gone over, they did not go far from us for we soon after heard their Voices in the woods; upon which M^r Banks and I and 3 or 4 More went to look for them and very soon met them coming towards us. As they had each 4 or 5 darts a piece and not knowing their intention we seized upon six or seven of the first darts we met with, this alarmed them so much that they all made off and we followd them for near half a Mile and than set down and call'd to them and they stoped also; after some little unintelligible conversation had pass'd they lay down their darts and came to us in a very friendly manner; we now returnd the darts we had taken from them which reconciled every thing. There were 4 strangers among them that we had not seen before and these were interduced to us by name by the others: the man which we suppos'd to have been struck with small shott was gone off but he could not be much hurt as he was at a great distance when I fired. They all came along with us abreast of the ship where they stay'd a short time and then went away, and soon after set the woods on fire about a Mile and a half and¹ two miles from us.

FRIDAY 20th. Fresh breezes at SE and fair weather. In the PM got every thing on board the Ship, new birth'd her and let her swing with the tide. In the night the Master return'd with the Pinnace and reported that there was no safe passage for the Ship to the northward. At low-water in the AM I went and sounded and buoy'd the bar, being now ready to put to sea the first oppertunity.

SATURDAY 21st. Strong breezes at SE and Clowdy weather. In the PM sent a boat to haul the sain which return'd with as much fish as came to 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb a man. The yawl return'd with only one turtle which was caught in the nett for it blew too hard for the boat to strike any. In the morning I sent her out again but she was obliged to return not being able to get to windward. Carpenters employ'd in repairing the boats and overhauling the pumps and as the wind would not permit us to sail I sent the boatswain with some hands a shore makeing² rope and a petty officer with two men to gather greens for the Ships company.

SUNDAY 22^d. Fresh breezes at SE and ESE. Employ'd as yesterday. In the AM as the wind would not permit us to sail I sent the yawl out to catch turtle;³ in opening one to day we found sticking thro' both

¹ AMG or.

² I . . . turtle, M sent the Tortlers out again.

³ M to make, alteration by Cook.

shoulder bones a w
bearded¹ at the end
proves to a demonst
time they come aSho
boat fit to do this at
must have been a goo

MONDAY 23rd. Fresh
continues will confir
people into the Cou
from the rest and me
were broiling a fowl
spoke of, he had pro
unarm'd) least they sl
and after he had sit
other parts of his bod
the least insult, and
they directed him wh

TUESDAY 24th. Win
makeing rope, caulki

WEDNESDAY 25th. F
the yawl came in hav
of the blowing weath
the harbour.²

THURSDAY 26th. Wi
can be spared from
fishing and gat[h]erin

FRIDAY 27th. Very
caught in the sain as
shott one of the Anin
exclusive of the entra
we have seen.³

¹ The word is carefully
bearded. A bearded, M barbed,

² he should go, AM to go.

³ . . . boild Cabbage (of
dates.

⁴ came to, M revrd.

⁵ Banks records dining ne
old'. A very small one, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ l
tho the old ones were much
to have been a Wallaroo, J
Nathaniel Dance is quite p
find an interesting discussi
of Captain Cook's Kangaroo (B

[July

1770]

THE PURSUIT OF FOOD

[363

must have been on some of the for we soon after nks and I and 3 t them coming and not knowing st darts we met ade off and we vn and call'd to ible conversa- to us in a very aken from them ers among them d to us by name been struck with turt as he was at with us abreast of went away, and a half and¹ two

. In the PM got d let her swing the Pinnacle and o the northward. buoy'd the bar,

weather. In the as much fish as one turtle which at to strike any. ged to return not y'd in repairing wind would not hands a shore gather greens for

d as yesterday. ent the yawl out cking thro' both by Cook.

shoulder bones a wooden harpoon or turtle peg 15 Inches long bearded¹ at the end such as we have seen among the natives, this proves to a demonstration that they strike turtle, I suppose at the time they come ashore to lay their Eggs for they certainly have no boat fit to do this at sea or that will carry a turtle and this harpoon must have been a good while in as the wound was quite healed up.

MONDAY 23rd. Fresh breezes in the SE quarter which so long as it continues will confine us in port. Yesterday in the AM I sent some people into the Country to gather greens, one of which straggled from the rest and met with four of the natives by a fire on which they were broiling a fowl and the hind leg of one of the animals before spoke of, he had prescience of mind not to run from them (being unarm'd) least they should pursue him, but went and sit down by them and after he had sit a little while and they had felt his hands and other parts of his body they suffer'd him to go away without offering the least insult, and perceiving that he did not go right for the ship they directed him which way he should go.²

TUESDAY 24th. Winds and weather continues the same. Employ'd making rope, caulking the Ship, fishing &c^a.

WEDNESDAY 25th. Fresh gales at SE and fair weather. In the evening the yawl came in having not been able to strike one turtle on account of the blowing weather nor can we catch much fish with the sains in the harbour.³

THURSDAY 26th. Winds and weather as yesterday. Such people as can be spared from the necessary duties of the Ship are employ'd fishing and gathering greens and other refreshments.

FRIDAY 27th. Very fresh gales at SEBS and fair weather. In the AM caught in the sains as much fish as came to⁴ $\frac{3}{4}$ lb a man and Mr Gore shott one of the Animals before spoke of which weighed 80 lb and 54 exclusive of the entrails, skin and head, this was as large as the most we have seen.⁵

¹ The word is carefully written, but one cannot know whether he means *barbed* or *bearded*. A *bearded*, M *barbed*, G *bearded*.

² *he should go*, AM *to go*.

³ '... hold Cabbage (of the Cabbage Tree) in the Pease'.—Bootie. Similarly on later dates.

⁴ *came to*, M *servd*.

⁵ Banks records dining next day upon 'the animal, who eat but ill, he was I suppose too old'. A very small one, $8\frac{1}{2}$ lb, was killed on the 29th: 'My greyhound took him with ease tho' the old ones were much too nimble for him'. The animal which Gore shot is thought to have been a Wallaroo, *Macropus robustus*, subspecies indeterminable. A skull drawn by Nathaniel Dance is quite possibly the skull of this one. Those curious in kangaroos will find an interesting discussion in T. C. S. Morrison-Scott and F. C. Sawyer, *The Identity of Captain Cook's Kangaroo* (Bull. of B.M. [N.H.], Zoology, I, No. 3, London 1950).

SATURDAY 28th. Winds and weather as above without the least variation the whole of this 24 hours. The Carpenters finished caulking the Ship.

SUNDAY 29th. Winds at SE a fresh breeze untill 5 AM at which time it fell Calm and soon after had a light breeze from the land; upon this I sent a boat to see what water was upon the bar (it being 2 hours ebb) and hove up the Anchor in order to put to sea, but upon the return of the boat came too again as there were only 13 feet water upon the bar which was 6 Inches less water then what the Ship draw'd. After this I sent the Yawl to look for turtle as those we had got before were nearly all expended; about 8 oClock the sea breeze set in again which put an end to our sailing this day after which I sent the Pinnace to haul the sain who returnd with only 20 pounds of fish.

MONDAY 30th. Winds at SE a fresh gale and fair weather in the PM, the remainder hazey with rain but the winds tho more moderate kept in the SE quarter.

TUESDAY 31st. Fresh gales at SE and hazey with rain in all the PM and most part of the night. At 2 oClock in the AM I had thoughts of trying to warp the ship out of the harbour but upon my going first out in a boat I found it blow'd too fresh for such an attempt.

[AUGUST 1770]

WEDNESDAY 1st. Strong gales from the SE with Squals attended with rain. In the PM the Yawl came in with two rays¹ which together weigh'd 265 lb, it blowed too hard all the time they were out for strikeing turtle. Carpenters employ'd in overhauling the Pumps all of which we find in a state of decay, and this the Carpenter says is owing to the sap having been left on which in time has decay'd the sound wood. One of them is quite useless and was so rotten when hoisted up as to drop to pieces, however I cannot complain of a leaky ship for the most water she makes is not quite an Inch an hour.

THURSDAY 2nd. Winds and weather as yesterday or rather more stormy. We have now no success in the Sain fishing hardly geting above 20 or 30 pound the² day.

FRIDAY 3rd. Strong breezes and hazy untill 6 oClock in the AM when it Moderated and we unmoord, hove up the anchor and began to warp out, but the Ship tailing up on the sand on the north side of the River, the Tide of Ebb making out and a fresh breeze seting in

¹ His log, Add. MS 27885, notes them as a whip-ray and a sting-ray.

² A 4, altered by Cook.

August 1770]

we were obliged barr.¹

SATURDAY 4th. order'd the Coast be ready to war; tunity that might consumes our pr and we have yet an unknown and siderd makes me moderate all nigi this gave us an o having a light air ceeded by the Sea having the Pinna bank to take up we got out before water Sandy bott Shoals untill I h head, that I migl yet I had not resc round all the sho north², all of wh When at Anchor or 5 Leagues; th sight which I n 214°45' W) bore land to the NE of Turtle banks bo 15°23' S, our dep 3½ to 15 fathom.

¹ Banks, having stay different Banks from the delay in getting a & I believe delayd it desisted from their atte

² After this word he remark in the light of v

³ This name must be Russell, 4th Duke of Boman responsible for his of Ireland, in neither c

⁴ In the MS 17' is altered by Cook to 16-15°27' S.

⁵ See below, 10 Aug

deavour

[July

above without the least
The Carpenters finished

untill 5 AM at which time it
from the land; upon this I
bar (it being 2 hours ebb)
sea, but upon the return
only 13 feet water upon the
that the Ship draw'd. After
ose we had got before were
a breeze set in again which
hich I sent the Pinnacle to
inds of fish.

nd fair weather in the PM,
ds tho more moderate kept

zy with rain in all the PM
n the AM I had thoughts of
ir but upon my going first
such an attempt.

with Squals attended with
two rays¹ which together
he time they were out for
overhauling the Pumps all
this the Carpenter says is
ch in time has decay'd the
s and was so rotten when
r I cannot complain of a
not quite an Inch an hour.

yesterday or rather more
Sain fishing hardly geting

untill 6 oClock in the AM
e up the anchor and began
e sand on the north side of
nd a fresh breeze seting in
hip-ray and a sting-ray.

August 1770]

PROBLEM OF THE SHOALS

[365

we were obliged to desist and Moor the Ship again just within the
barr.¹

SATURDAY 4th. In the PM having pritty Moderate weather I
order'd the Coasting anchor and Cable to be laid without the barr to
be ready to warp out by, that we might not loose the least opper-
tunity that might offer, for² laying in Port spends time to no purpose,
consumes our provisions of which we are very short in many articles,
and we have yet a long Passage to make to the East Indias through
an unknown and perhaps dangerous Sea; these circumstances con-
siderd makes me very anxious of geting to sea. The wind continued
moderate all night and at 5 oClock in the morning when it fell calm,
this gave us an oppertunity to warp out. About 7 we got under sail
having a light air from the land which soon died away and was suc-
ceeded by the Sea breeze from SEBS with which we stood off to Sea EBN,
having the Pinnacle a head sounding. The Yawl I sent to the Turtle
bank to take up the net that was left there but as the wind freshend
we got out before her, and a little after noon anchor'd in 15 fathom
water Sandy bottom; for I did not think it safe to run in among the
Shoals untill I had well View'd them at low-water from the Mast
head, that I might be better able to judge which way to steer for as
yet I had not resolved whether I should beat back to the Southward
round all the shoals or seek a passage out to the Eastward or to the
north³, all of which appear'd to be equally difficult and dangerous.
When at Anchor the harbour sail'd from bore s 70° West distant 4½
or 5 Leagues; the northermost point of the Main land we had in
sight which I name'd *Cape Bedford*⁴ (Lat^{de} 15°15' s,⁴ Longitude
214°45' w) bore N 20° West distant 3½ Leagues, but we could see
land to the NE of this Cape which made like two high Islands,⁵ the
Turtle banks bore East distant 1 Mile, Latitude by observation
15°23' s, our depth of water in standing off from the land was from
3½ to 15 fathom. I shall now give a short de[s]cription of the harbour

¹ Banks, having stayed as long as he wanted and finished his botanizing, was now (a different Banks from the one on the south coast of New Zealand) a trifle querulous about the delay in getting away: 'In the morn our people were dubious about trying to get out & I beleive delayd it rather too long at last however they began & warped ahead but desisted from their attempts after having ran the ship twice ashore'.

² After this word he deletes 'I am very anxious of getting to sea'—perhaps as a needless remark in the light of what else he has to say.

³ This name must be taken as a tribute to rank rather than to anything else. John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710-71) had been First Lord in 1744-8, but Anson was the man responsible for his success in office: he was later secretary of state and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in neither capacity brilliant. He never failed, however, to be rich and a duke.

⁴ In the MS 17' is altered to 15'; M 17, A 17 both in the text and margin, but in both altered by Cook to 16—a good example of his scrupulousness. The latitude is now given as 15°27' S.

⁵ See below, 10 August ff.

or River we have been in which I have named after the Ship *Endeavour River*.¹

It is only a small bar Harbour or Creek which runs winding 3 or 4 Leagues in land, at the head of which is a small fresh water brook as I was told for I was not so high my self; but there is not water for shipping above a Mile within the bar, and this is on the north² side where the bank is so steep for near a quarter of a mile that ships may lay a float at low water so near the shore as to reach it with a stage, and is extremely convinient for heaving a ship down; and this is all this River hath to recommend it especially for large shipping, for there is no more then 9 or 10 feet water upon the bar at low-water and 17 or 18 at high, the tide rising and falling about 9 feet at spring tides and is high-water on the days of the new and full Moon between 9 and 10 oClock. Besides this part of the Coast is so barricaded with shoals as to make this harbour still more difficult of access. The safest way I know off to come at it is from the Southward keeping the Mainland close on board all the way, its situation may always be found by the Latitude which hath been before mentioned. Over the South point is some high land³ but the north point is forme'd by a low sandy beach which extends about 3 Miles to the northward then the land is again high. The refreshments we got here were chiefly Turtle, but as we had to go five leagues out to Sea for them and had much blowing weather we were not over stock'd with this article, however what with these and the fish we caught in the Sain we had not much reason to complain considering the Country we were in. Whatever refreshment we got that would bear a division I caused to be equally divided amongst the whole compney generally by weight, the meanest person in the Ship had an equal share with my self or any one on board, and this method every commander of a Ship on such a Voyage as this ought ever to observe. We found in several places on the sandy beaches and sand Hills near the sea Purslain and beans

¹ after the ship *Endeavour River*: these words, like Cook's names generally, were inserted after the context was written up. Hicks, for these weeks, has the constant entry, 'Moored in Charco Harbour', so that name may have been considered. Pickersgill, describing the natives (18 July) says, 'their Voyces is very Shrill & they were often heard to mention the word Charco'. 'Charco' (spelt by Banks 'cherco' or 'yarkaw') is evidently *yir-ek*, an exclamation of surprise.

² south? See p. 355, n. 4 above.

³ It is curious that in this context the Journal has no mention of a conical peak that is figured very prominently in two of the profiles, and there named Gores Mount (see Chart XXIII). This is also quite clearly drawn, although unnamed, on Add. MS 7085.39. It is the hill now known as Mount Cook (15° 30' S, 145° 16' E); it is 1407 feet high, and its spurs slope westward and northward, the northern one ending in Grassy Hill, the eastern head of the entrance to Endeavour River (cf. p. 354, n. 1 above). As the name Mount Cook is adequately bestowed elsewhere, one rather regrets that Gore should be deprived of this minor celebration.

which growes on a good when boild as very servicable to the Tarra or Cocco top grow in most Boggy the roots for want of not good yet we got them⁴ in any tolerable took up too much time branch: the few Cal and yeilded so little after and this was the woods. Besides the natives *Kangooroos* like a ratt,⁵ and small Animals here are none who frequently can Kangura are in the Country without some which are far from Cockadores of two beautiful Lorryque a few⁶ other sorts Hens, Whisling Ducks Curlews &c⁷ and 1 men who were in night.¹⁰

¹ The purslane, very like *portulacitum*. Banks and Cook may be writing of *Vigna luteola*, both common.

² call'd . . . *Kale* interlined

³ could . . . then omitted

⁴ Possibly the *Thylacine* marsupials, now confined name is derived from its sound.

⁵ Probably the common

⁶ There are a number of one of these or not, it is im-

⁷ The Dingo or Australian from Asia.

⁸ A black, altered by Co-

⁹ Parkinson (pp. 148- of the place, descending on by the colouring of the birds notes. The crow of this form of the European Kite shouldered Kite, *Elanus* the brown one was doubt-

[August

fter the Ship *Endeavour*

h runs winding 3 or 4
ll fresh water brook as
there is not water for
s is on the north^s side
a mile that ships may
reach it with a stage,
down; and this is all
rge shipping, for there
r at low-water and 17
t 9 feet at spring tides
full Moon between 9
is so barricaded with
lt of access. The safest
outhward keeping the
ation may always be
mentioned. Over the
point is forme'd by a
to the northward then
got here were chiefly
Sea for them and had
ck'd with this article,
ht in the Sain we had
Country we were in.
a division I caused to
y generally by weight,
re with my self or any
er of a Ship on such a
d in several places on
Purslain and beans

es generally, were inserted
e constant entry, 'Moored in
ersgill, describing the natives
heard to mention the word
lently *yir-ki*, an exclamation

ion of a conical peak that is
ed Gores Mount (see Chart
, on Add. MS 7085-39. It is
it is 1407 feet high, and its
g in Grassy Hill, the eastern
above). As the name Mount
at Gore should be deprived

1770]

FLORA AND FAUNA

[367

which grows on a creeping kind of a Vine,¹ the first we found very good when boild and the latter not to be despised and were at first very servicable to the sick, but the best greens we found here was the Tarra or Cocco tops call'd in the West Indies Indian Kale,² which grow in most Boggy places, these eat as well or better than spinnage; the roots for want of being transplanted and properly cultivated were not good yet we could have dispenced with them could we have got them³ in any tolerable plenty, but having a good way to go for them it took up too much time and too many hands to gather both root and branch: the few Cabbage Palms we found here were in general small and yeilded so little Cabbage that they were not worth the looking after and this was the case with most of the fruits &c⁴ we found in the woods. Besides the Animal which I have before mentioned called by the natives *Kangooro* or *Kanguru* here are Wolves,⁵ Possums,⁶ an Animal like a ratt,⁷ and snakes both of the Venomous and other sorts. Tame Animals here are none except Dogs⁸ and of these we never saw but one who frequently came about our tents to pick up bones &c⁹. The Kangura are in the greatest number for we seldom went into the Country without seeing some. The Land fowls we met with here which are far from being numerous were Crow, Kites, Hawks, Cockadores of two sorts the one white and the other brown,¹⁰ very beautifull Lorryquets of two or three sorts, Pidgions, Doves and a few¹¹ other sorts of small birds. The Sea or water fowl are Hens, Whisling Ducks, which perch and I beleive roost on trees, Curlews &c¹² and not many of these neither. Some of our gentlemen who were in the Country heard and saw wild Geese in the night.¹³

¹ The purslane, very like the European variety in general appearance, was *Senecio portulacastrum*. Banks and Solander collected several beans about the Endeavour River: Cook may be writing of the Sword Bean, *Canavalia ensiformis*, or the Yellow Cow Pea, *Vigna luteola*, both common on the dunes and just above high-water mark.

² call'd . . . Kale interlinear, not in M. Probably *Colocasia macrorrhiza*.

³ could . . . them omitted in A, and Cook writes in *had they been*.

⁴ Possibly the Thylacine or Tasmanian Wolf, *Thylacinus cynocephalus*, one of the larger marsupials, now confined to Tasmania though formerly a mainland species. Its popular name is derived from its superficial resemblance to a wolf.

⁵ Probably the common Australian Phalanger, *Trichurus vulpecula*.

⁶ There are a number of Australian native rats, but what precisely Cook saw, whether one of these or not, it is impossible to say.

⁷ The Dingo or Australian Wild Dog, thought to have been introduced by the aborigines from Asia.

⁸ A Black, altered by Cook.

⁹ A few deleted.

¹⁰ Parkinson (pp. 148-52) gives a lyrically enthusiastic account of the natural history of the place, descanting on the shells of the reef where the ship struck, and being much moved by the colouring of the birds. A few of these birds may be identified with the help of his notes. The crow of this region is the North Australian Crow, *Corvus coronoides bennetti*. A form of the European Kite occurs in Australia. Parkinson gives a description of the Black-shouldered Kite, *Elaeus notatus*. The white cockadore may have been *Kakatoe galerita*, and the brown one was doubtless the Banksian Cockatoo, *Calyptorhynchus magnificus magnificus*,

The Country as far as I could see is diversified with Hills and Plains and these with Woods and Lawns. The soil of the Hills is hard dry and very stoney yet it produ[c]eth a thin Course grass and some wood; the soil of the Plains and Vallies is sandy and in some places Clay and in many parts very Rocky and stoney as well as the hills, but in general the land is pretty well clothed with long grass, wood, shrubs &c^a. The whole country abounds with an immense number of Aunt hills¹ some of which are 6 or 8 feet high and more then double² that in circuit. Here are but few sorts of trees beside the Gum tree which is the most numerous and is the same as we found on the Southern part of the Coast, only here they do not grow near so large. On each side of the River all the way up it³ are Mangroves which extend in some places a Mile from its banks. The Country in general is not badly water'd there being several fine Rivulets at no very great distance from one another, but none near to the place where we lay, at least not in the Dry season which is at this time, however we were very well supply'd with water by Springs which were not far off.

SUNDAY 5th. In the PM had a gentle breeze at SE and clear weather. As I did not intend to weigh untill the Morning I sent all the boats to the reef to get what Turtle and shell fish they could. At low-water from the Mast head I took a View of the shoals and could see several laying a long way without this one, a part of several of them appearing above water, but as it appear'd pretty clear of Shoals to the NE of the turtle reef, I came to a resolution to stretch out that way close upon a wind, because if we found no passage we could always return back the way we went. In the evening the boats returned with one turtle a sting-ray and as many large Clams as came to one and a half pound a man, in each of these Clams were about two pounds of meat, ad[d]ed to this we caught in the night several Sharks. Early in the morning I sent the Pinnace and Yawl again to the reef as I did not intend to weigh untill half Ebb at which time the shoals began to appear, before 8 oClock it came on to blow and I made the signal for the boats to come on board which they did and brought with them

which was drawn by Parkinson. Two kinds of ducks, *Dendrocygna* sp., with a loud whistling cry, occur here. A curlew, *Numenius gymnotus*, and a whimbrel, *N. phaeopus*, are both winter visitors. Parkinson adds that alligators were frequently seen swimming round the ship, and—unexpectedly—"The natives, who were naked, though of a diminutive size, ran very swifly, and were very merry and facetious". They appear naked, small, and swift in Cook, but not facetious.

¹ Mounds built by termites are a typical feature of the landscape in the northern districts of Australia.

² M omits, twice inserted by Cook.

³ On . . . it altered from *On each side of the Harbour and all the way up the creek.*

one turtle. We were obliged us to bear

MONDAY 6th. With moderate and wind having the Turtle sounding. We bore ahead and on bore Miles the Pinnace we little expected the Pinnace stre approaching I th in 20 fathom water Cape Bedford whn which made like which appear'd a off from the Turtle 20 fathoms, but there were no more did not appear to gale from the SE, obliged to bear av

TUESDAY 7th. Still At Low-water in the Mast head to see nothing but East as far as NW not appear to be from each other, very high which of those within, the flood to half Ebb among them the cumspection, for quite steep too; a yet a part of some have a small patch cover'd at High- we come near the not to be doubted as well as this on

¹ I.e. to pay

diversified with Hills and the soil of the Hills is hard in Course grass and some sandy and in some places honey as well as the hills, and with long grass, wood, with an immense number of trees beside the Gum tree some as we found on the they do not grow near so they up it³ are Mangroves on its banks. The Country in several fine Rivulets at not none near to the place on which is at this time, after by Springs which were

at SE and clear weather. morning I sent all the boats to they could. At low-water the shoals and could see a part of several of them pretty clear of Shoals to on to stretch out that way passage we could always the boats returned with arms as came to one and a were about two pounds of at several Sharks. Early in again to the reef as I did ch time the shoals began low and I made the signal id and brought with them

Procyon sp., with a loud whistling
N. phaeopus, are both winter
 seen swimming round the ship,
 though of a diminutive size, ran
 appear naked, small, and swift in
 landscape in the northern districts

the way up the creek.

one turtle. We afterwards began to heave, but the wind freshing obliged us to bear away again¹ and lay fast.

MONDAY 6th. Winds at SE. At 2 oClock in the PM it fell pretty moderate and we got under sail and stood out upon a wind NEBE having the Turtle Reef to windward, having the Pinnacle ahead sounding. We had not stood out long before we discover'd shoals ahead and on both bows. At half past 4 oClock having run off 8 Miles the Pinnacle made the Signal for shoal water in a place where we little expected it, upon this we tack'd and stood on and off while the Pinnacle stretched farther to the Eastward, but as night was approaching I thought it safest to anchor which we accordingly did in 20 fathom water a muddy bottom. *Endeavour River* bore s 52° West, *Cape Bedford* WBN½N distant 5 Leagues, the northermost land in sight which made like an Island North, and a shoal a small sandy part of which appear'd above water bore NE distant 2 or 3 Miles. In standing off from the Turtle Reef to this place our soundings were from 14 to 20 fathoms, but where the Pinnacle was about a Mile farther to the ENE were no more then 4 or 5 feet water rocky ground, and yet this did not appear to us in the Ship. In the morning we had a strong gale from the SE, that instead of weighing as we intended we were obliged to bear away more Cable and to strike topgallant yards.

TUESDAY 7th. Strong gales at SE, SEBS & SSE with cloudy weather. At Low-water in the PM I and several of the officers kept a lookout at the Mast head to see² for a passage between the Shoals, but we could see nothing but breakers all the way from the South round by the East as far as NW, extending out to sea as far as we could see, it did not appear to be one continued shoal but several laying detach'd from each other, on the Eastermost that we could see the Sea broke very high which made me judge it to be the outermost, for on many of those within, the sea did not break high at all; and from about half flood to half Ebb they are not to be seen, which makes the Sailing among them the more dangerous and requires great care & circumspection, for like all other shoals or reefs of Coral Rocks they are quite steep too; altho the most of these shoals consists of Coral rocks yet a part of some of them is sand, the Turtle Reef and some others have a small patch of sand generally at the north end that is only cover'd at High-water. These generally discover themselves before we come near them. Altho I speak of this as the Turtle Reef yet It is not to be doubted but what there are Turtle upon the most of them as well as this one. After having well View'd our situation from the

¹ i.e. to pay out more cable.

² seek? All the MSS sic.

mast head I saw that we were surrounded on every side with Shoals and no such thing as a passage to Sea but through the winding channels between them, dangerous to the highest degree¹ in so much that I was quite at a loss which way to steer when the weather would² permit us to get under sail; for to beat back to the sea the way we came as the Master would have had me done would be³ an endless peice of work, as the winds blow now constantly strong⁴ from that quarter without hardly any intermission—on the other hand if we do not find a passage to the north⁵ we shall have to come [back]⁶ at last. At 11 oClock the Ship drove and obliged us to bear away to a Cable and one third which brought her up again, but in the Morning the Gale increasing she drove again. This made us let go the Small Bower anchor and to bear away a whole cable on it and two on the other, and even after this she still kept driving slowly untill we had got down Topgallant Mast, struck Yards and Topmasts close down and made all Snug, than she rid fast, *C. Bedford* bearing wsw distant 3½ Leagues. In this situation we had shoals to the eastward of us extending from the SEBS to the NNW, distant from the nearest part of them about two miles.

WEDNESDAY 8th. Strong gales at SSE all this day in so much that I durst not get up yards and Topmasts.

THURSDAY 9th. In the PM the weather being something moderater we got up the Topmast but kept the lower Yards down. A[t] 6 oClock in the Morning we began to heave in the Cable thinking to get under sail, but it blowed so fresh together with a head sea that we could hardly heave the Ship ahead and at last was oblig'd to desist.⁶

FRIDAY 10th. Fresh gales at SSE and SEBS. In the PM the wind fell so as we got up the small bower Anchor and hove in to a whole Cable

¹ *shoals . . . degree* interlinear, not in M, which reads *surrounded on every side with dangers*, as Cook first wrote.

² M *will*. The word is altered in the MS.

³ A *have been*.

⁴ *as . . . quarter*, M *as the winds blow constantly from that quarter & very strong*.

⁵ Supplied from AMG, and a previous, deleted version in the MS. All this part of the MS has been much worked over, so that we get, as it were, a visible picture of Cook's perplexity and his efforts to think the factors plain, as the wind increased and the ship tugged at her cables—though certainly the record, and then its emendations, were written later.

⁶ The mere physical strain on the 'people' of this sort of work at the capstan has to be remembered. At the best of times weighing anchor was a major job, and the heavy cable toilsome to handle—cf. 7 February of this year, off the Brothers rocks in Cook Strait, when it took three hours to heave up 150 fathoms of cable and get the anchor to the bows. There were now two cables on the best bower—about 1200 feet—to heave in which the ship had to be hauled that distance by sheer man-power against the gale and the head sea. Pickersgill notes: 'Ship rides Tho their is a Prodigious great Sea the Breakers all round us very high and no Signs of a Passage out to sea Tho clear in Shore'.

on the best bower yards and at 7 we passage along sho depth of water as an hour we edge Leagues from *Cap* the Pinnacle when of them and betw between us and t Island[s], in this Point of the Main Leagues. Four or high Islands⁴ with reefs without us these Islands: we headland leaving from y^o 3 I^s havin were got betwixt the former 2 and servation was 14⁵ danger having as we soon found o above mentioned it is a lofty Promo behind them with by the Three hig largest lies⁷ from t Mainland trends :

SATURDAY 11th. along shore NWB mast head call'd to the Islands wi Upon this I went which was now so what he took for they appear'd to

¹ M *seek for*, for *added*.

² Three Isles, a small

³ Low Wooded Isle;

⁴ On the chart Islands.

⁵ Two Isles, rather, 1

⁶ A altered by Cook

Cook's longitude work:

⁷ M *the northernmost of*.

[August

ery side with Shoals
rough the winding
t degree¹ in so much
the weather would²
se the way we came
an endless peice of
from that quarter
hand if we do not
[back]³ at last. At
away to a Cable and
e Morning the Gale
go the Small Bower
d two on the other,
y untill we had got
asts close down and
ring wsw distant 3½
eastward of us ex-
the nearest part of

y in so much that I

omething moderater
ards down. A[t] 6
e Cable thinking to
with a head sea that
last was oblig'd to

PM the wind fell so
in to a whole Cable

d on every side with dangers,

use been.

ery strong.

e MS. All this part of the
visible picture of Cook's
nd increased and the ship
mendations, were written

k at the capstan has to be
job, and the heavy cable
rocks in Cook Strait, when
anchor to the bows. There
heave in which the ship
the gale and the head sea.
the Breakers all round us

1770]

OFF CAPE FLATTERY

[371

on the best bower. At 3 oClock in the morning we got up the lower yards and at 7 weigh'd and stood in for the land (intending to seek¹ a passage along shore to the northward) having a boat ahead sounding, depth of water as we run in from 19 to 12 fathom: after standing in an hour we edge'd away for 3 small Island[s]² that lay NNE½E 3 Leagues from *Cape Bedford*, to these Islands the Master had been in the Pinnacle when the Ship was in Port. At 9 oClock we were abreast of them and between them and the Main having another low Island³ between us and the latter which lies WNW, 4 Miles from the Three Island[s], in this Channell had 14 fathom water: the northermost Point of the Main we had in sight bore from us NNW½W distant 2 Leagues. Four or 5 Leagues to the NE of this head land appear'd three high Islands⁴ with some smaller ones near them, and the Shoals and reefs without us we could see extending to the northward as far as these Islands: we directed our Course between them and the above headland leaving a small I^d to the Eastw^d of us⁵ which lies NBE 4 M. from y^e 3 I^s having all the while a boat ahead sounding. At Noon we were got betwixt the headland and the 3 High Islands distant from the former 2 and from the latter 4 Leagues, our Latitude by observation was 14°51' S. We now judged our selves to be clear of all danger having as we thought a clear open sea before us, but this we soon found otherwise and occasiond my calling the headland above mentioned *Cape Flattery* (Latth 14°55' S, Long^d 214°43' West) it is a lofty Promontary making in two hills next the Sea and a third behind them with low sandy land on each side, but it is better known by the Three high Islands out at sea, the northermost which is the largest lies⁷ from the Cape NNE distant 5 Leagues. From this Cape the Mainland trends away NW & NWBW.

SATURDAY 11th. Fresh breezes at SSE and SEBS with which we steerd along shore NWBW untill one oClock when the Petty officer at the mast head call'd out that he saw land ahead extending quite round to the Islands without us and a large Reef between us and them. Upon this I went to the mast head my self, the Reef I saw very plain which was now so far to windward that we could not weather it, but what he took for main land ahead were only small Islands, for such they appear'd to me but before I had well got from the mast head the

¹ M seek for, for added by Cook.

² Three Isles, a small low cluster surrounded by a reef.

³ Low Wooded Isle; the channel between this and Three Isles is free from danger.

⁴ On the chart Islands of Direction: South Direction, North Direction and Lizard.

⁵ Two Isles, rather, though surrounded by one reef.

⁶ A altered by Cook to 14°56'. It is now given as 14°57', and the longitude as 145°21' E; Cook's longitude works out as 145°17' E.

⁷ M the northermost of which is the largest and lies, the additional words inserted by Cook.

Master and some others went up, who all asserted that it was a continuation of the main land, and to make it still more alarming they said that they saw breakers in a manner all round us. We immediately hauld upon a wind in for the land and made the Signal for the boat which was ahead sounding to come on board, but as she was well to leeward we were obliged to edge away to take her up, and soon after came too an Anchor under a point of the Main in $\frac{1}{4}$ less 5 fathom about a Mile from the Shore, *Cape Flattery* bearing SE distant $3\frac{1}{2}$ Leagues. After this¹ I landed and went upon the point which is pretty high, from which I had a view of the sea-Coast which trended away NWBW 8 or 10 Leagues which was as far as I could see, the weather not being very clear. I likewise saw 9 or 10 small low Islands² and some shoals laying of[f] the Coast and some large shoals between the Main and the three high Islands without, which I was now well assured were Islands and not a part of the Main land as some had taken them to be. Excepting *Cape Flattery* and the Point I am now upon, which I have named *Point Lookout*, the Mainland next the Sea to the Northward of *Cape Bedford* is low and Chequer'd with White Sand and Green Bushes &c³ for 10 or 12 Miles in land, behind which is high lands. To the northward of *Point Lookout* the shore appeared to be shoald and flat some distance off, which was no good sign of meeting with a channel in with the land as we have hitherto done.³ We saw the foot steps of People upon the Sand and smook and fire up in the Country, and in the evening returned on board where I came to a resolution to Visit one of the high Islands in the offing in my Boat, as they lay at least 5 Leagues out to sea and seem'd to be of such a height that from the top of one of them I hoped to see and find a Passage out to sea clear of the shoals: accordingly in the morning I set out in the Pinnace for the northermost and largest of the three accompanied by M^r Banks, at the same time I sent the Master in the Yawl to lee-ward to sound between the low Islands and the Main. In my way to the Island I pass'd over a large Reef of Coral Rocks and sand which lies about two leagues from the Island. I left a nother to leeward which lays about 3 Miles from the Island; on the North part of this is a low sandy Isle with trees upon it. On the Reef we pas'd over in the boat we saw several turtle and chased one or two, but caught none it blowing too hard and I had no time to spare being otherways employ'd. I did not reach the Island untill half an hour after one oClock in the PM of

¹ A *this done*, Cook deleting and adding.

² The Howick group.

³ Broad sand and mud flats run out to sea a mile from the thick mangrove belt; a mile and a half further off is a channel three fathoms deep.

SUNDAY 12th. when I landed where to my about 2 or 3 Leagues SE farther than I could however² gave me ground I did not doubt but there appear'd to be water between it as sun set but the weather not see above 4 or 5 disappointed in the hopes that the most View of the Shoals. and at 3 in the Morning with me to sound between one of the breaks of upon the hill where than in the evening out as far as the wind blowed so hard that which the mate said discourage me for I seen it at a disadvantage It lies as I have been it is about 8 Miles in 12 Leagues; it is on the NW side where last is cover'd with Main. Here is also stream the water at the sea, the other is good sweet water, beach. The only Lizards seem'd to be pretty *Lizard Island*. The seasons of the year

¹ It is 1,179 feet high.

² Banks refers to the some of them. None of them. No subsequent visitor to there in 1901 by A. E. F. very small lizards, the island may have been restricted to Coquet Isle.

Cape Granvill lay some tolerable high Islands which I call'd *Sr Charles Hardys Isles*,¹ those which lay off the Cape I named *Cockburns Isles*.²

MONDAY 20th. Fresh breezes at ESE. About one o'clock the Pinnacle having got ahead and the Yawl we took in tow, we fill'd and Steerd NW for some small Islands we had in that direction; after aproaching them a little nearer we found them joind or connected together by a large Reef;³ upon this we Edge'd away NW and left them a starboard steering between them and the Islands laying off the Main, having a fair and clear passage, depth of water from 15 to 23 f^m. At 4 o'clock we discover'd some low Islands and Rocks bearing WNW, which we stood directly for. At half past 6 o'clock we Anchord on the NE side of the northermost in 16 fathom water distant from the Island one mile. The Isles lay NW 4 Leagues from C. Granville, on these Isles⁴ we saw a good many Birds which occasioned my calling them *Bird Isles*. Before and at sun set we could see the Main land which appear'd all very low and sandy extend as far to the Northward as NWB, and some Shoals, Keys and low sandy Isles away to the NE of us.

At 6 o'clock in the Morning we got again under sail with a fresh breeze at East and stood away NNW for some low Islands⁵ we saw in that dire[c]tion; but we had not stood long upon this Course before we were obliged to haul close upon a wind in order to weather a Shoal which we discover'd on our Larboard bow, having at the same time others to the Eastward of us. By such time as we had weather'd the Shoal to Leeward we had brought the Islands well upon our Lee-bow, but seeing some shoals spit off from them and some Rocks on our starboard bow which we did not discover untill we were very near them, made me afraid to go to windward of the Islands, wherefore we brought too and made the Signal for the Pinnacle which was a head to come on board; which done I sent her to leeward of the Islands with orders to keep along the Edge of the Shoal which spited off from the South side of the Southermost Island. The Yawl I sent

¹ Sir Charles Hardy (1716?-80) served in North American waters in 1758 and was second in command to Hawke during the long blockade of Brest and at Quiberon Bay in 1759; vice-admiral 1762, admiral 1770, governor of Greenwich Hospital 1771.

² After Admiral George Cockburn (-1770) Comptroller of the Navy from 1755 to his death and a commissioner of longitude. He owed his elevation not so much to disinterested service as to the fact that he was 'a person of great interest'; but he was a good comptroller. The group is now called the Home Islands, and six individual islands have been named after Orton, Gore, Hicks, Perry, Harvey and Clerke.

³ Cook's name Cockburn Islands has been transferred to this group, which lie scattered on the Cockburn Reef; later hydrographers, tender to the past, have named among them Bootie Island, Manley Island, Magra Islet and Buchan Rock—the last (if Alexander Buchan is thus commemorated) with little enough reason.

⁴ *these Isles, A them*, alteration by Cook.

⁵ The Boydong Cays.

to run over the Shoal to look for Turtle and appointed them a Signal to make in case they saw many, if not she was to meet us on the other side of the Island. As soon as the Pinnace had got a proper distance from us we wore and stood after her and run to Leeward of the Island where we took the Yawl in tow, she having seen only one small Turtle and therefore made no stay upon the Shoal. Upon this Island which is only a small spot of Sand¹ with some trees upon it, we saw a good many hutts or habitations of the Natives which we supposed comes over from the Main to these Isl^{ds} (from which they are distant about 5 Leagues) to Catch Turtle at the time these Animals come a Shore to lay their Eggs. Having got the yawl in tow we stood away after the Pinnace NNE and NBE to two other low Islands,² having two shoals which we could see without us and one between us and the Main. At Noon we were about 4 Leagues from the Main Land which we could see extending to the Northward as far as NW^{by}N all low flat and sandy; our Latitude by observation was 11°23' S, Longitude in 217°46' West, and Course and distance saild sence yesterday at Noon North 22° West 40 Miles. Soundings from 14 to 23 fathom, but these are best seen upon the Chart as likewise the Islands shoals &c³ which are too numerous to be mentioned singly.

TUESDAY 21st. Winds at EBS and ESE a fresh breeze. By one oClock we had run nearly the length of the southermost of the two Islands before mentioned, and finding that we could not well go to windward of them without carrying us too far from the Main land, we bore up and run to Leeward where we found a fair open passage. This done we steer'd NW in a Parallel direction with the Main land leaving a small Island⁴ between us and it, and some low sandy Isles and shoals⁴ without us, all of which we lost sight off by 4 oClock; neither did we see any more before the sun went down at which time the farthest part of the Main in sight bore NNW^½W. Soon after this we Anchor'd in 13 fathom soft ground about 5 Leagues from the land where we lay untill day light when we got again under sail, having first sent the Yawl ahead to sound. We steer'd NNW by Compass from⁵ the northermost land in sight. Variation 3°6' East. Seeing no danger in our way we took the Yawl in tow and made all the Sail we could untill 8 oClock, at which time we discoverd Shoals ahead and on our Larboard bow and saw that the northermost land, which we had taken to be a part of the Main, was an Island or Islands between which and

¹ MG Land, A Sand.

² Halfway Island and the East Islets (which he may have included as one).

³ Bushy Island.

⁴ The Cairncross Islets and a number of others—Douglas, Milman, Sinclair, Arnold.

⁵ sic. M from; altered in A to for, apparently by Cook.

Musles, and a variety of other sorts. Here are also among and upon the Shoals & reefs great numbers of the finest Gree[n] Turtle in the world and in the Rivers and salt Creeks are some Aligators.¹

The Natives of this Country are of a middle Stature straight bodied and slender-limbd, their skins the Colour of Wood soot or of a dark Chocolate,² their hair mostly black, some lank and others curled, they all wear it crop'd short, their Beards which are generally black they like wise crop short or singe off. Their features are far from being disagreeable and their Voices are soft and tunable. They go quite naked both Men and women without any manner of Cloathing whatever, even the Women do not so much as Cover their privities. Altho none of us were ever very near any of their women, one gentleman excepted, yet we are all as well satisfied of this as if we had lived among them. Notwithstanding we had several interviews with the Men while we lay in Endeavour River, yet whether through Jealousy or disrigard they never brought any of their women along with them to the Ship, but always left them on the opposite side of the River where we had frequent oppertunities [of]³ Viewing them through our glasses. They wear as Oraments Necklaces made of shells, Bracelets or hoops about their arms, made mostly of hair twisted and made like a cord hoop, these they wear teight about the upper parts of their Arms, and some have girdles made in the same manner. The men wear a bone about 3 or 4 Inches long and a fingers thick, run through the Bridge of the nose, which the Seamen call'd a sprit sail yard;⁴ they like wise have holes in their ears for Ear-rings but we never saw them wear any, neither are all the other oraments wore in common for we have seen as many without as with them. Some of those we saw on Posession Island wore Breast Plates which we suppose'd were made of Mother of Pearl shells. Many of them paint their bodies and faces with a sort of White paist or Pigment, this they apply different ways each according to his fancy. Their Offensive weaphons are Darts, some are only pointed at one end others are barb'd, some with wood others with the Stings of Rays and some with Sharks teeth &c^a, these last are stuck fast on with gum. They throw the Dart with only one hand, in the doing of which they make use of a peice of wood about 3 feet long made thin like the blade of a Cutlass, with a little hook at one end to take hold of the end of the Dart, and at the other end is fix'd a thin peice of bone about 3 or 4 Inches long; the use of this is, I beleive, to keep the dart

¹ Probably the Estuarine Crocodile, *Crocodilus porosus*.

² or . . . Chocolate interlinear, not in M.

³ A to inserted by Cook.

⁴ which . . . yard interlinear, not in M.

WEDNESDAY 3rd. Soon after 12 oClock it fell quite Calm which obliged us to anchor in 18 f^m a muddy bottom about 2 Miles from shore where we found a Strong Current seting to the sw. Not long before we anchor'd we saw a Dutch Ship laying off Anger Point, on board which I sent M^r Hicks to inquire after news. Upon his return he inform'd me that there were Two Dutch Ships from Batavia the one bound to Ceylon and the other to the Coast of Mallabar, besides a small Fly Boat or Packet which is stationed here to carry Packets, Letters &c^s from all Dutch Ships to Batavia, but it seems more Probable that she is stationed here to examine all Ships that pass and repass these Streights. We now first heard the Agreeable News of His Majestys Sloop the Swallow being at Batavia about two years ago.¹ At 7 oClock a breeze sprung up at ssw with which we weigh'd and stood to the NE between Thward the way Island and the Cap.² Soundings from 18 to 26 fathom. We had but little wind all night and having a strong Current against us we got no farther by 8 oClock in the Morning than under *Bantam Point*,³ at this time the Wind came to NE and obliged us to Anchor in 22 fathom about 2 Miles from the Shore, the above Point bore NEBE distant 1 League. here we found a Strong Current seting to the NW.

In the Morning we saw the Dutch Packet Standing after us, but after the wind shifted to NE she bare away. One of the Dutch Captains told M^r Hicks Yesterday that the Current sets Constantly to the sw ward and that it would continue to set so for a Mo[n]th or Six Weeks longer.

THURSDAY 4th. In the PM had the Wind at NEBN which obliged us to lay fast. About Six oClock in the Evening one of the Country boats Came a long side in which was the Commander of the Packet before Mentioned. He seem'd to have two Montives for Coming, the one to

¹ The captains of the Dutch ships, says Banks, 'receiv'd our officer very politely & told him some European news as that the government in England were in utmost disorder the people crying up & down the Streets Down with King George King Wilkes for ever; that the Americans had refus'd to pay taxes of any kind in consequence of which was a large force being sent there both of sea & land forces; that the party of Polanders who had been forc'd into the Late election by the Russians interfering had ask'd assistance of the Grand Signior who had granted it in consequence of which the Russians had sent 20 Sail of the line & a large army by land to besiege Constantinople &c.&c.&c.' It was clear that the *Endeavour* was once again in touch with civilization. They got a bundle of London newspapers at Batavia, adds Parkinson.

² The ship had now to pass through Sunda Strait, between Java and Sumatra, and round to the east again, Batavia being on the north side of Java. Hence the maddening delays of the next nine days, anchoring, weighing, anchoring, to cover these 120 miles. Thwart-the-way or Thwartway Island lies right across the fairway of the Strait, in the narrowest part of the northern entrance; the Cap, or Brabandshoedje, a round islet off the Java shore, and ESE of Thwart-the-way, between which and the Cap lay the channel.

³ Now called St Nicholas Point: the north-west point of Java, and the north-eastern extreme of the strait.

take an account of in the boat were T pretty high price a was not yet exper which wieghd only to know her Name where bound; as account should be who wrote the Shi seeing this he exp down what we pl formation of such

At 7 oClock a under sail, at 1 o wind to stem the oClock we wieghd obliged to Anchor Close under the S SEBS distant 1 1/2 Mil

FRIDAY 5th. At 5 SWBS which contin Anchor again. At which died away against us we Ar came along side v same business as English Containin Copy:

The Commanders presented, Will b Vidz^t—

- 1 To What Nation
- 2 If it comes from
- 3 From what place
- 4 Where unto desi
- 5 What and how t the last Shore
- 6 If one or more c this or any oth
- 7 If during the Vo

[October

Calm which
2 Miles from
sw. Not long
nger Point, on
on his return
in Batavia the
of Mallabar,
here to carry
1, but it seems
all Ships that
the Agreeable
avia about two
with which we
Island and the
little wind all
no farther by 8
t this time the
fathom about 2
tant 1 League.

g after us, but
Dutch Captains
antly to the sw
fo[n]th or Six

h obliged us to
Country boats
e Packet before
ing, the one to

very politely & told
utmost disorder the
Wilkes for ever; that
f which was a large
nders who had been
istance of the Grand
d sent 20 Sail of the
t was clear that the
le of London news-

and Sumatra, and
nce the maddening
ver these 120 miles.
of the Strait, in the
lje, a round islet off
Cap lay the channel.
nd the north-eastern

1770]

THE GOVERNOR'S ARTICLES

[429

take an account of the Ship and the other to sell us refreshments, for in the boat were Turtles, Fowls, Birds &c^a, all of which they held at a pretty high price and had brought to a bad Market as our *Savu* Stock was not yet expended. I gave a Spanish Dollor for a small Turtle which wieghd only 36 pounds. With respect to the Ship he wanted to know her Name, the Captains, the place we came last from and where bound; as I would not see him my self I orderd that no account should be given him from whence we came,¹ but M^r Hicks who wrote the Ships Name down in his Book put down from Europe, seeing this he express'd some surprise and said that we might write down what we please'd for it was of no other use than for the information of such of our Countrymen as might pass these Streights.

At 7 oClock a light breeze sprung up at sse with which we got under sail, at 1 o'Clock in the Morning Anchord again having not wind to stem the Current which we found to run 3 Knotts. At 2 oClock we wieghd again but finding that we lost ground we were obliged to Anchor in 18 fathom; the Island *Pulo Morock* which lies Close under the Shore 3 Miles to the westward of *Bantam Point*, bore sse distant 1½ Mile. Latitude Observed 5°55' s.

FRIDAY 5th. At 5 oClock in the PM we wiegh'd with a light breeze at swbs which continued not long before it fell Calm and obliged us to Anchor again. At 1 oClock we weigh'd with the Land wind at sse which died away in the Morning and the Current runing strong against us we Anchor[d] in 17 fathom. A little before this a Proc came along side wherein was a Dutch Officer who came upon the same business as the other he sent me down a printed paper in English Containing 9 Articles or Questons of which the following is a Copy:

The Commanders and officers of the Ships, where this Paper may be presented, Will be please'd to Answer on the following Questions Vidz^t—

- 1 To What Nation the Ship belongs and its Name.
- 2 If it comes from Europe or any other place.
- 3 From what place it lastly departed from.
- 4 Where unto design'd to go.
- 5 What and how many Ships of the Dutch Comp. by departure from the last Shore there layed and their Names.
- 6 If one or more of these Ships in Company with this is departed for this or any other place.
- 7 If during the Voyage any particularitys is happend or Seen.

¹ as . . . came, A omits.

- 8 If not any Ships in Sea, or the Streights of Sunda have seen or hail'd in, and which.
 9 If any other News worth of Attention at the place from whence the Ship lastly Departed or during the Voyage is happen'd.

Batavia in the Castle
 the

By order of the Governour
 General & the Counselors of India
 J BRANDER BUNGL
 Sec^s

The first and fourth of these questions I only Answer'd which when the Officer saw, he made use of the very same words the other had done before, viz, that we might write what we please'd for it was of no consequence &c^a and yet he immediatly said that he must send that very paper away to Batavia by water and that it would be there by to Morrow Noon, which shews that the Governor and Counselors of India look upon such papers to be of some Consequence. Be this as it may, My reasons for takeing notice of it in this Journal is because I am well inform'd that it is but of very late Years that the Dutch have taken upon them to examine all ships that pass these Streights.

At 10 oClock we weighd with a light breeze at sw, but did little more than stem the Current. At Noon Bantam Point and Pula baby¹ in one bearing EBN, distant from the Point 1½ Mile, Latitude Observed 5°53' S.

SATURDAY 6th. At 2 o'Clock in the PM finding that we could not stem the Current, we Anchor'd with the Kedge Anchor under Bantam point, where we lay untill 9, at which time the Current made slowly to the Eastward and at the same time a light breeze springing up at SE we weigh'd and Stood to the East untill 10 oClock in the AM, when the Current obliged us Again to anchor in 22 fathom, Pula Baby bearing EBS½ distant 3 or 4 Miles. Our Soundings from Bantam point to this place was from 36 to 22 fathoms.

SUNDAY 7th. Light Airs from the Southward with frequent Calms. At 6 oClock in the PM weighd with a light breeze at ssw, which was not sufficient to stem the Current and was therefore obliged to Come too again in 15 fathom. At 10 oClock weighd again and Stood to the Eastward with the wind at SSE. At 11 AM Anchor'd in 21 fathom, the West end of Wapping Island² bore South distant 3 Miles and the

¹ AM *Babs*. But Cook's *baby* is nearer: i.e. Pulo Babi or Babi Island.

² The islands with which Cook was now becoming involved lie to the north-west of Batavia roadstead. Wapping Island is Great Tidung, the westernmost of the three Hoon Islands.

Thousand Islands set to the westward

MONDAY 8th. Ha
 breeze at NE ver
 Eastward past W
 of it; falling little
 last Island and t
 where we were o
 ledge of Rocks wi
 o'Clock in the AM
 clear of the Sho
 Anchor, having
 Rain. At 5 oClock
 we weighd, but m
 after came too ag
 in the Charts, Pul
 here a Proe came
 Turtle weighing
 thought them de
 judgement on th
 before set upon th
 w[e]ighd only 36

TUESDAY 9th. A
 and stood to the
 weather Pulo Pa
 tending from SE
 South with which
 water from 30 to
 Anchor'd at 10 o
 Island of Edam b
 Stood in for Batav
 NNE.

WEDNESDAY 10th
 here

¹ In modern terms, Tidung islands, which current through the channel and the third of the Hoon Islands on its own coral reef, which is to on the outside. The second is Pari is the easternmost by a single reef, three miles

[October

Sunda have seen or

place from whence the
happen'd.

answer'd which when
words the other had
said for it was of no
use that he must send that
it would be there by
the Counselors of
sequence. Be this as
is Journal is because
hears that the Dutch
pass these Streights.

at sw, but did little
point and Pula baby'
; Latitude Observed

that we could not
edge Anchor under
the Current made
light breeze springing
10 o'clock in the AM,
in 22 fathom, Pula
findings from Bantam

with frequent Calms.
at ssw, which was
more obliged to Come
ain and Stood to the
rd in 21 fathom, the
unt 3 Miles and the
land.

and lie to the north-west of
the easternmost of the three Hoorn

1770]

APPROACH TO BATAVIA

[431

Thousand Islands NBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E distant 3 or 4 Miles; found the Current still
set to the westward.

MONDAY 8th. Had it Calm untill 4 in the PM when we got the Sea
breeze at NE very faint, with which we weighd and stood to the
Eastward past Wapping Island and the first Island to the Eastward
of it; falling little wind we were carried by the Current between this
last Island and the 2nd Island to the Eastward of Wapping Is^d,
where we were obliged to Anchor in 30 fathom being very near a
ledge of Rocks which spited out from one of the Islands.¹ At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2
o'clock in the AM weighd with the Land wind at South and stood out
clear of the Shoal, where we were again Obliged to come to an
Anchor, having variable light winds attended with Thunder and
Rain. At 5 o'clock the weather being fair and a light breeze at south
we weighd, but making little or no way against the Current we soon
after came too again in 28 fathom near a small Island not laid down
in the Charts, Pulo Pare² bore ENE distant 6 or 7 miles. While we lay
here a Proc came along side wherein were two Malays who sold us 3
Turtle weighing 147 pounds for a Spanish Dollar; some on board
thought them dear, but I thought they were Cheap, founding my
judgement on the price the two Dutchmen that were on board
before set upon those they had, one of which we paid a Dollar for that
w[e]ighd only 36 pounds.

TUESDAY 9th. A Little past Noon weigh'd with a Light breeze at NE
and stood to the Eastward untill 5 o'clock when not being able to
weather Pulo Pare we Anchor'd in 30 fathom the said Island ex-
tending from SE to SSW distant 1 Mile. At 10 got the Land wind at
South with which we weighd and stood to the SSE all night, depth of
water from 30 to 22 fathoms, and from 22 to 16 fathom where we
Anchor'd at 10 o'clock in the AM to wait for the Sea breeze. The
Island of Edam bore SWBW dist^{ce} 6 or 7 Miles. At Noon weighd and
Stood in for Batavia Road having the Advantage of the Sea breeze at
NNE.

WEDNESDAY 10th. according to our reckoning, but by the Peop[le]
here

¹ In modern terms, Cook sailed along the northern side of Great Tidung and Little
Tidung islands, which are both on the same long narrow coral reef; he was carried by the
current through the channel (luckily a clear one) $\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide between Little Tidung
and the third of the Hoorn Islands, Payung, to the south-east. Payung is surrounded by
its own coral reef, which on the west extends 600 yards and on the south 400 yards, steep-
to on the outside. The ship was anchored somewhere near this reef.

² Pari is the easternmost and largest of the Agenieten Islands, five low islands surrounded
by a single reef, three miles south-east of the Hoorn Islands.

after a stay of not quite 3 Months left it in the condition of an Hospital Ship besides the loss of 7 Men and yet all the Dutch Captains I had an opportunity to converse with said that we had been very lucky and wondered that we had not lost half our people in that time.

THURSDAY 27th. Moderate breezes at West and NW with fair weather. At 6 AM weigh'd and stood out to Sea. At Noon the Island of Edam bore NBE distant 3 Miles.

FRIDAY 28th. Winds variable between the North and West. At 6 in the evening Anchor'd in 13 fathom water, Edam bearing East distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile. At day light in the Morning weigh'd again and kept plying to windward between Edam and Duffins Island but [gained] very little owing to the Variableness of the winds.

SATURDAY 29th. In the Evening Anchor'd in 12 fathom water, untill day light when we got again under sail with the wind at wsw, and stood out NW for the Thousand Islands; before Noon the wind Veer'd to NW and we endeavour'd to turn through between Pulo Pare and Wappen Island.

SUNDAY 30th. After making a short trip to the NE we tack'd and weather'd Pulo Pare and stood in for the Main having the wind at NW a fresh breeze. We fetch'd Maneaters Island (a small Island laying under the Main Midway between Batavia and Bantam). After making a trip to the NE and finding that we los'd ground we Stood in shore again and Anchor'd in 13 fathom water, the above mentioned Island bearing SWW distant 1 Mile and in one with Bantam hill. At 7 In the Morning weigh'd with the wind at wsw and stood to the NW and weather'd Wapping Island having the current in our favour.

MONDAY 31st. At 1 PM the wind veer'd to the northward, we Tack'd and stood to the westward and weather'd Pulo Baby. In the Evening Anchor'd between this Island and Bantam Bay, the Island bearing North distant 2 Miles and Bantam point West. At 5 AM weigh'd with the wind at wbs which afterwards proved Varble. At Noon Bantam point SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W distant 3 Leagues.

[JANUARY 1771]

TUESDAY 1st. In the PM stood over for the Sumatra shore, having the wind at ssw a fresh breeze and the current in our favour; but this last shifted and set to the Eastward in the evening, and oblig'd us to Anchor in 30 fathom under the Islands which lay off Verckens point, which point constitutes the narrowest part of the Streights of Sunday.

January 1771]

Here we found the current
At 5 AM weigh'd with
the Island Thwart the
to the westward we stood
point of Peper Bay
Leagues. Tack'd and s

WEDNESDAY 2nd. Fair
the remainder squal
Cracatoa and the Java

THURSDAY 3rd. In t
of rain. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7
distant 3 Leag^s. In t
variable weather. At 2

FRIDAY 4th. Most p
Winds variable betwe
fathom water, Cracat
wind Veerd to NW, wi
away we advanced b
Princes Island bore sw

SATURDAY 5th. Had
untill the Evening w
and SE with which w
wind Veer'd to the NE
Island bore W $\frac{1}{2}$ S distan

SUNDAY 6th. At 3 o
Princes Island in 18 f
water and to procure
much worse state of l
coming to an Anchor
to speak with the Na
found the watering p
good provide[d] pro
Natives seem'd incli
Articles that I intend
benefit of the sick a
pleased for themselve
as Europeans. In the

¹ Banks identifies these t
they were inferior in palata
ascribed to their having bee

leavour [December 1770

the condition of an Hospital
the Dutch Captains I had
had been very lucky and
ple in that time.

West and NW with fair
sea. At Noon the Island of

North and West. At 6 in
Edam bearing East distant
and again and kept plying
Island but [gained] very

in 12 fathom water, untill
with the wind at wsw, and
before Noon the wind Veer'd
between Pulo Pare and

to the NE we tack'd and
Main having the wind at
Island (a small Island
Batavia and Bantam).
that we los'd ground we
fathom water, the above
1 Mile and in one with
with the wind at wsw and
and having the current in

the northward, we Tackd
Pulo Baby. In the Evening
Bay, the Island bearing
West. At 5 AM wieghd with
Varble. At Noon Bantam

Sumatra shore, having the
in our favour; but this last
evening, and obliged us to
ch lay off Verckens point,
of the Streights of Sunday.

January 1771]

PRINCES ISLAND

[445

Here we found the current set to the sw the Most part of the night.
At 5 AM weigh'd with the wind at NW and stood to the sw between
the Island Thwart the Way and Sumatra, the wind soon after coming
to the westward we stood over for the Java shore. At Noon the South
point of Peper Bay bore swbs and Anger point NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E distant 2
Leagues. Tackd and stood to the NW.

WEDNESDAY 2nd. First and middle parts fresh breeze at sw and fair,
the remainder squally with rain. Plying to Windward between
Cracatoa and the Java shore without gaining any thing.

THURSDAY 3rd. In the PM had it very squally with heavy showers
of rain. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 Anchor'd in 19 fathom, Cracatoa Island sw
distant 3 Leag^s. In the morning came to sail having very squally
variable weather. At Noon Cracatoa west 2 Leag^s.

FRIDAY 4th. Most part of these 24 hours Squally rainy weather,
Winds variable between the NNW and ssw. At 5 pm Anchor'd in 28
fathom water, Cracatoa West distant 3 miles. Some time after the
wind Veer'd to NW, with which we got under sail, but the wind dying
away we advanced but little to the sw before noon at which time
Princes Island bore sw distant 8 or 9 Leagues.

SATURDAY 5th. Had fresh breezes at sw with Squally rainy weather,
untill the Evening when it clear'd up and the wind Veer'd to South
and SE with which we stood to the sw all night. In the Morning the
wind Veer'd to the NE which was still in our favour. At Noon Princes
Island bore w $\frac{1}{2}$ s distant 3 Leagues.

SUNDAY 6th. At 3 oClock in the PM Anchor'd under the SE side of
Princes Island in 18 fathom water, in order to recrate our wood and
water and to procure refreshments for the People which are now in a
much worse state of hilt then when we left Batavia. After the Ship
coming to an Anch^{or} I went a shore to look at the watering place and
to speak with the Natives some of whome were upon the beach. I
found the watering place convenient and the water to all appearence
good provide[d] proper care was taken in the filling of it; The
Natives seem'd inclined to supply us with Turtle¹ Fowles &c^a,
Articles that I intended laying in as great a stock as possible for the
benefit of the sick and to suffer every one to purchas what they
pleas'd for themselves, as I found these people as easy to Traffic with
as Europeans. In the Morning sent the Gunner ashore with some

¹ Banks identifies these turtles as 'of the Green kind'. Like those obtained at Batavia they were inferior in palatability ('not fat or well flavoured in any degree'), a condition he ascribed to their having been kept without food in brackish water pens ('crawls').

[(ii) *Mitchell MS, 13-18 August 1770. This is the version Cook discarded for the one in the holograph journal, pp. 105-14 above. Cf. Textual Introduction, pp. ccxii-iv.*]

MONDAY 13th. At 2 PM I left ~~Lizard Island~~ in order to return to the Ship & in my way landed upon the low sandy Isle mentioned in coming out, We found on this Island a pretty number of Birds the most of them sea Fowl except Eagles 2 of the Latter we shott & some of the others, we likewise saw some Turtles but got none for the reasons before mention'd, after leaving Eagle Isle I stood sw direct for the Ship sounding all the way & had not less than 8 f^m nor more than 14. I had the same depth of Water between Lizard & Eagle Isle. After I got onboard the Master inform'd me he had been down to the Islands I had directed him to go to, which he judged to lay about 3 Leag^s from the Main & had sounded the Channel between the 2 & found 7 f^m. this was near the Islands for in with the Main he had only 9 feet 3 Miles off, but without the Islands he found 10:12 & 14 f^m after well considering both what I had seen myself & the report of the Masters I found by experience that by keeping in with the Mainland we should be in continual danger besides the risk we should run of being lock't in with shoals & reefs by not finding a Passage out to Leeward in case we persevered in keeping the Shore onboard an accident of this kind or any other that might happen to the ship would infallibly loose our Passage to the E^t Indies this Season & might prove the ruin of both ourselves & the Voyage, as we have now little more than 3 M^{oo} Provisions onb^d & that at short allowance, wherefore after consulting with the Officers I resolved to weigh in the morning & Endeavour to quit the Coast altogether until such time as I found I could approach it with less danger with this View we got under sail at day light in the morning & stood out NE for the NW end of *Lizard Island* leaving *Eagle Island* to windward of us having the Pinnacle ahead sounding & here we found a good Channell wherein we had from 9 to 14 f^m. at Noon the N end of Lizard Island bore ESE dist^t one Mile Lat^d observed 14°38' s depth of water 14 f^m. we now took the Pinnacle in tow knowing that there were no danger until' we got out to the Reefs.

TUESDAY 14th. Winds at E a steady gale by 2 PM we got out to the outermost reefs & just fetched to windward of one of the openings I had discover'd from the Island we tacked & made a short trip to the sw while the Master went in the Pinnacle to examine the Channel who soon made the signal for the Ship to follow which we accordingly did & in a short time got safe out this Channel lies NE½N 3 Lg^s from Lizard Island, it is about one third of a mile broad & 25 or 39 f^m deep or more for the moment we were without the breakers we had no ground with 100 f^m of Line & found a large Sea rowling in from the SE by this I was well assured we were got without all the Shoals which gave us no small joy after having been intangled among Islands & Shoals more or less ever since the 26th of May in which time we have saild above 360 Leagues by the Lead without ever

tip off, the Pinnacle
ed out, however we
y expeditiously and
with the help of our
ing patched up the
this time it was near
eakers and notwith-
l of the Surff yet we
at this vefy juncture
our boats carried us
r when it fell again
reef near to us which
ual for anchorage we
e no other hopes of
g we found it impos-
g out and the mate
ow'd off again. This
elp to us in clearing
s, but the stream run
ntinuing still Ca[l]m
had towed the Ship
nd yet had but small
re from us NE½N and
y it. Latitude obse'd

About noon or before
ch I sent Lieutenant
d with a favourable
ecure the Ship in it
e was now made, the
which with the help
ch now sprung up at
being got within the
l which is from ¼ to
depth of water from
the Channell. At 4
r Corally and a shelly
as the northermost of
the C[h]annell ENB
ould not permit us to
proper to weigh until
reef with all the other
to be got and in the
Pinnacle and the Sail
rv^d 12°38' s.

[(ii) *Mitchell MS, 13-18 August 1770. This is the version Cook discarded for the one in the holograph journal, pp. 105-14 above. Cf. Textual Introduction, pp. ccxii-iv.*]

MONDAY 13th. At 2 PM I left Lizard-Island in order to return to the Ship & in my way landed upon the low sandy Isle mentioned in coming out. We found on this Island a pretty number of Birds the most of them sea Fowl except Eagles 2 of the Latter we shott & some of the others, we likewise saw some Turtles but got none for the reasons before mention'd, after leaving Eagle Isle I stood sw direct for the Ship sounding all the way & had not less than 8 f^m nor more than 14. I had the same depth of Water between Lizard & Eagle Isle. After I got onboard the Master inform'd me he had been down to the Islands I had directed him to go to, which he judged to lay about 3 Leag^s from the Main & had sounded the Channel between the 2 & found 7 f^m. this was near the Islands for in with the Main he had only 9 feet 3 Miles off, but without the Islands he found 10:12 & 14 f^m after well considering both what I had seen myself & the report of the Masters I found by experience that by keeping in with the Mainland we should be in continual danger besides the risk we should run of being lock't in with shoals & reefs by not finding a Passage out to Leeward in case we persevered in keeping the Shore onboard an accident of this kind or any other that might happen to the ship would infallibly loose our Passage to the E^t Indies this Season & might prove the ruin of both ourselves & the Voyage, as we have now little more than 3 M^{os} Provisions onb^d & that at short allowance, wherefore after consulting with the Officers I resolved to weigh in the morning & Endeavour to quit the Coast altogether until such time as I found I could approach it with less danger with this View we got under sail at day light in the morning & stood out NE for the NW end of *Lizard Island* leaving *Eagle Island* to windward of us having the Pinnacle ahead sounding & here we found a good Channell wherein we had from 9 to 14 f^m. at Noon the N end of Lizard Island bore ESE dist^t one Mile Lat^d observed 14°38' s depth of water 14 f^m. we now took the Pinnacle in tow knowing that there were no danger until' we got out to the Reefs.

TUESDAY 14th. Winds at E a steady gale by 2 PM we got out to the outer-most reefs & just fetched to windward of one of the openings I had discover'd from the Island we tacked & made a short trip to the sw while the Master went in the Pinnacle to examine the Channel who soon made the signal for the Ship to follow which we accordingly did & in a short time got safe out this Channel lies NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N 3 Lg^s from Lizard Island, it is about one third of a mile broad & 25 or 39 f^m deep or more for the moment we were without the breakers we had no ground with 100 f^m of Line & found a large Sea rowling in from the SE by this I was well assured we were got without all the Shoals which gave us no small joy after having been intangled among Islands & Shoals more or less ever since the 26th of May in which time we have saild above 360 Leagues by the Lead without ever

ip off, the Pinnacle
ed out, however we
y expeditiously and
with the help of our
ing patched up the
this time it was near
akers and notwith-
l of the Surff yet we
at this very juncture
our boats carried us
r when it fell again
reef near to us which
nal for anchorage we
e no other hopes of
g we found it impos-
g out and the mate
ow'd off again. This
elp to us in clearing
s, but the stream run
ntinuing still Ca[l]m
had towed the Ship
d yet had but small
re from us NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N and
y it. Latitude obse'd

About noon or before
ch I sent Lieutenant
d with a favourable
ecure the Ship in it
e was now made, the
which with the help
ch now sprung up at
being got within the
ll which is from $\frac{1}{2}$ to
depth of water from
the Channell. At 4
r Corally and a shelly
s the northermost of
the C[h]annell ENE
ould not permit us to
proper to weigh until
reef with all the other
to be got and in the
Pinnacle and the Sail
rv^d 12°38' s.

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND ADVENTURE

1772-1775

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

J. C. Beaglehole

CAMBRIDGE

Published for the Hakluyt Society

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1961

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|--------|
| PREFACE | page i |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS | vii |
| SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES | xv |
| * | |
| INTRODUCTION | xix |
| TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION | cxv |
| SUBORDINATE MS SOURCES | |
| (i) Cook's Log | cxxxix |
| (ii) Other Logs and Journals | cxxxix |
| (iii) Civilians' Journals | cxl |
| THE PRINTED SOURCES | cxliii |
| THE GRAPHIC RECORDS | clviii |
| NOTE ON THE ANNOTATION | clxv |
| * | |
| THE INSTRUCTIONS | clxvii |
| THE JOURNAL | I |
| * | |
| <i>Appendix I: COOK'S LETTERS AND REPORTS ON AND ABOUT THE VOYAGE</i> | 683 |
| <i>Appendix II: THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE Resolution</i> | 704 |
| <i>Appendix III: THE BOARD OF LONGITUDE AND THE VOYAGE</i> | 719 |
| <i>Appendix IV: EXTRACTS FROM OFFICERS' RECORDS</i> | |
| 1. Furneaux's Narrative | 729 |
| 2. Burney's Log | 746 |
| 3. Clerke's Log | 753 |

Appendix IV: EXTRACTS FROM OFFICERS' RECORDS—Continued

| | |
|---|------------|
| 4. Pickersgill's Journal | 767 |
| <i>Appendix V: JOURNAL OF WILLIAM WALES</i> | <i>776</i> |
| <i>Appendix VI: THE ANTARCTIC MUSE</i> | <i>870</i> |
| <i>Appendix VII: THE SHIPS' COMPANIES</i> | <i>872</i> |
| <i>Appendix VIII: CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS</i> | <i>896</i> |
| INDEX | 967 |

ILLUST

The approximate line
by a fraction in brackets
only to those in the
map.

The Resolution .
Signed water-colour
Library, Sydney, D 11.

1. Track chart of the *Fi
Endeavour 1768-1771, B*

2. Cook's proposed track

3. Sheer draught of the

Admiralty draught of
Greenwich. This shows
to accommodate Banks
May 1772.

4. *The Resolution* and *A
Francis Holman* .

Oil painting in the
represented both in
extreme right) and in
(extreme left). In the
which Cook was coming
ground) is that of Sir C

5. Portrait of Captain

Engraved by John Bas

6. Portrait of Captain
1776

Oil painting, in the pe

7. (a) Portrait of Cha

Wash drawing, in the
pencil: 'Cha': Clerk
sailed on his last voyage
Esq' &c.'

(b) Portrait of Will

Engraved by J. Thorr

or less elevated, according to the part of the boddy they saw their antagonist intended to make a push or throw his dart, and by turning their hand a little to the right or left turn off¹ either the one or the other. I thought that when one combatant had parried the blows &c² of the other, he did not take all the advantages which seem'd to me to accrue, as for instance, after he had parried of a dart he still stood on the defensive and suffered his Antagonist to take up another, when I thought their was time enough to have run him thro' the boddy, but by such a step they might have exposed themselves to more danger than I could see or be aware of.³

This being over the fleet depart as fast⁴ as they were got afloat and I went with Otou to one of his large double Canoes which was building and nearly ready to launch. She was by far the largest I had seen at any of the isles,⁵ he begged of me a grappling and grappling rope for her to which I aded an English Jack and Pendant, the use of which he had been before fully instructed in. I desired that these two Joint Canoes, ie what is understood as a double Canoe, might be call'd Britanne (Brit-tania) the name they have addopted for our Country, to which he very readily consented and she was Christened accordingly. After this he presented me with a Hog and a Turtle of about 60^{lb} weight, this last was put privately in to the boat, the giving it away not being agreeable to some of the great Lords about him who were thus disapointed of a feast.⁶ The King⁶ came on board with us and after dinner took a Most Affectionate leave, he hardly ever ceased to day Soliciting me to return and just before he went out of the Ship took a youth by the hand, presented him to me and desired I would take him on board to Collect red feathers, I told him I could

¹ . . . with great ease

² . . . The Combatants had no superfluous dress upon them, an unnecessary piece of cloth or two they had on when they began were presently torn of by the bystanders and given to some of our gentlemen present.—f. 206v.

³ as fast: not in any order but as fast

⁴ one of . . . isles: one of his Dockyards where the two large Pahies or Canoes were building, each of which was 108 feet long, [~~deleted~~ built on the same Construction as the large pahies at Ulitea] they were almost ready to launch and were intended to make one joint Double Pahie or Canoe.—f. 206v. The other MSS preserve the deleted words of this passage, with the footnote, 'The Ulitea Pahies, or large Canoes, have a Sharp floor and round side, whereas, those of Otahiete have a flat floor and an upright side'. B has the note to the deleted words, marked marginally 'omit'; but rephrases the sentence as part of the text on Tahitian tactics, f. 210, (see p. 406, note 1 below), as follows: 'These War Canoes go always double and are of two sorts distinguishable from each other by the Construction but equiped alike, the one sort they call Ivahahs [iv'e] and the other Pahies [pah], I shall give a description of both when the drawings, for which we have got Materials, are finished'. Cook did not get round to this description. There is an elaborate draught, plan and section of the *Britannia*, (a pah), in *Voyage*, I, pl. XV.

⁵ . . . he likewise would have given me a large shark they had prisoner in a creek (some of his fins be[ing] cut off so that he could not make his escape) but the fine Pork and fish we had got at this isle had spoiled our palates for this food.—f. 207.

⁶ . . . and his prime minister Tee.

not take I
should ha
to either
satisfy hin
I not mac
should ha
Otou re
he put off
isle was su
to remain
lay in the
and all ou
he was dis
Broug^t to,
was obser
coming aft
kept at a
and the N
aged. I ke
then dismi
sidered the
able^s as it
Seaman a
pick'd him

¹ . . . (except
takeing a Boy.

² . . . the box

³ Other not

afterwards Jo

shore, Bro't to

on board & c

jump'd out of

ing the King

intending to st

much difficult

proceeded on

ously puts for

tion: 'and pity

accurate acco

expected after

short visits, by

procure neces

was very likely

⁴ Marra was

slip of paper,

Prisoner in Ir

verso 'To Cap

(p. 241) he wa

him, but retur

⁵ . . . or the r

1774 VATAOA
rises and falls upon a perpendicular about 4 feet and a SE Moon makes high water. The Variation of the Compass was observed to be $11^{\circ}00'$ East.*—f. 234.

FRIDAY 1st. Mention has already been made of our leaving the Land in the PM of this Day and steering to the West inclining to the South with the Wind at SSE. During night we ran under the three Top-sails only, keeping the Wind on the beam which put it in our power to return back on the opposite Course in case we had met with any dangers. At Day-light made all Sail and Steer'd WBS, at the same time saw Amattafoa bearing EBN.¹ At Noon Latitude in 20° , Longitude $176^{\circ}6'$ and Longitude made from Annamocka $1^{\circ}36'$ West.

SATURDAY 2nd. Winds at SEBS and SSE a gentle gale. At Noon saw Land from the Mast head bearing WNW by Compass which we steer'd for. Our Latitude at this time was $20^{\circ}3'$ Longitude $178^{\circ}2'$ West.

SUNDAY 3rd. Winds at SEBS gentle breezes and fair Weather. At 4 o'Clock in the PM we discovered the Land to be a small Island, bearing from NW $\frac{1}{2}$ W to NWBN. At the same time breakers were seen from the mast head extending from SW to West. The Day being already too far spent to make farther discoveries, at 5 o'Clock Shortned Sail, hauled the wind and spent the night making short boards to windward of the Island. At Day-light found our selves farther off than we expected, bore up for it under all the Sail we could set. At 11 o'Clock we reached the NW or Lee side of the isle at a place where Anchorage seem'd probable, but in order to be certain we brought to hoisted out a boat and sent the Master to sound.² At this time 4 or 5 people appeared on the reef which stretch off from the isle and about three times that number on the Shore, as the Boat advanced those on the reef retired to the others and we observed that when the Boat land they all retired to the Woods. At Noon the Boat return'd when the Master informed me that there was no soundings without the reef, through which was a Channel of no more than Six feet water, entering by this Channel he pull'd in for the Shore thinking to speak with the people not more than 20 in number who were Arm'd with Clubs and Spears, but the moment he set his foot on Shore they retired, he left ashore some Medals, Nails and a Knife which they undoubtedly would get as some of them some time after appeared again on the Shore near the place. Near the Reef were seen

¹ ... distant 20 Leagues.—f. 235.

² ... and in the mean time we stood on and off with the Ship.

several Tur is situated covered wit small to cc length NE & reef of Cor: isle; some and that an at this time which I wa remainder especially a near its Sho Breakers.

MONDAY 4 PM we were sioned by a bearings we seen last nig of the latter to the South on this Sho but they pr them in ma Shoal found in that direc In the even boards, at d but little wi $178^{\circ}19'$ W.

³ This sentenc ... probabl hood to fish for

⁴ The islet w group seen by C

⁵ ... Hardly the heads of son for in the Midd it exactly like o reef is called Vu ... about 5

⁶ ... As we p could not be less spreading or br some sort of gre saw any like the Sisters.

ture
[July
t 4 feet and a SE Moon
Compass was observed to

e of our leaving the Land
est inclining to the South
under the three Top-sails
h put it in our power to
e we had met with any
Steer'd was, at the same
Latitude in 20°, Long^{de}
cka 1°36' West.

gentle gale. At Noon saw
by Compass which we
20°3' Longitude 178°2'

and fair Weather. At 4
be a small Island, bear-
me breakers were seen
West. The Day being al-
es, at 5 o'Clock Shortned
making short boards to
d our selves farther off
the Sail we could set. At
the isle at a place where
to be certain we brought-
sound.³ At this time 4 or
h off from the isle and
e, as the Boat advanced
observed that when the
Noon the Boat return'd
is no soundings without
no more than Six feet
for the Shore thinking
o in number who were
nent he set his foot on
als, Nails and a Knife
f them some time after
Near the Reef were seen

with the Ship.

1774]

VATOA

[453

several Turtle which occasioned my giving that name to the Isle.¹ It is situated in the Latitude of 19°48 s, Long^{de} 178°2' west. It is covered with wood amongst which are Cocoa-nut trees, but it is too small to contain many inhabitants,² being not quite a League in length NE & SW and not half that in breadth and is Surrounded by a reef of Coral rocks, which in some places extends two Miles from the isle; some circumstances shew'd the Natives to be a Docile people and that an intercourse might soon have been opened with them, but at this time seeing from the Mast head more breakers to the ssw, which I was willing to explore before night rather than to spend the remainder of the Day about an Island of so little consequence, especially as it afforded no Anchorage in case we should be becalm'd near its Shores,³ we therefore hoisted in the Boats and stood for the Breakers.

MONDAY 4th. Winds Easterly pleasant Weather. At 2 o'Clock in the PM we were the length of the Breakers and found they were occasioned by a Coral bank of a bout 4 or 5 Leagues in circuit, by the bearings we had taken we found this to be the same Shoal as we had seen last night.⁴ It lies SW from the isle,⁵ the Channel between the reef of the latter and it is 3 miles wide: Seeing no more breakers either to the Southward or Westward, and judging there might be Turtles on this Shoal, we equiped two Boats and sent them to look for some but they presently return'd without having seen one, after hoisting them in made Sail to the SW, and as soon as we were clear of the Shoal found a large Swell from ssw which indicated no land near us in that direction.⁶ The Variation of the Compass was here 11°46' E. In the evening Shortned Sail and spent the night making Short boards, at daybreak resumed our former Course all sails set, having but little wind at ENE. At Noon Latitude observed 20°2', Longitude 178°19' W.

¹ This sentence Cook added in a blank space in pencil.

² ... probably the few which we saw may have come from some isle in the neighbourhood to fish for Turtle...—f. 235-5v.

³ The islet was Vatoa, a south-eastern islet of the Fiji group, and the only one of that group seen by Cook; it is surrounded by deep water. Chart XXXVIb.

⁴ ... Hardly any part of this bank or Reef is above Water, at the reflux of the Waves, the heads of some rocks are to be seen near the edge of the reef where it is the Shoaldest, for in the Middle is deep Water; in short this bank wants only a few little Islets to make it exactly like one of the half drown'd Isles so often mentioned.—f. 235v. This detached reef is called Vuata Vatos—lat. 19°49' s, long. 178°13' w. Chart XXXVIb.

⁵ ... about 5 or Six miles

⁶ ... As we pass'd the Isle we observed on the reef some very large Coral rocks, which could not be less than 12 or 15 [feet] high, with small bases in proportion to their size, but spreading or branching out above, so as to form a large round top on which were growing some sort of green plants. I have seen of these sort of Coral rocks under water, but I never saw any like them so high above Water before.—f. 235v. These rocks are called the Three Sisters.

een who had hair
nother nation and
is to this isld they
k and is nearly if
lands, it is there-
from that Nation
islands each have
indiscriminately.
peake, and as we
s properly speak-
fore met with. It
ce it should seem
on of themselves.¹
wn to them, they
uch the nearer; I
ical knowledge ex-
s of their horizon.
r than otherwise,
the most of them
are like all the
a to excell in the
they never would
g forward, which
ht in, but what I
ie most laborious
woman carrying
ck and a bundle

lengthy dissertation,
n seeing similarities to
y Melanesian in type,
t and south. In Tana,
hair are Melanesian,
e colour, even, of the
f New Hebridean lan-
s from north to south.
r islands are basically
oa, and other western
ga are in general dis-
ould easily have heard
n islands on the other
nd New Caledonia in
ut much difference in
guistic observations.
sly cutt in shape of
mboo, or sharp shell,
e surface of the skin,
other fancied figures,
as observed with any

under her arm and a fellow strutting before her with nothing but a club, or a spear or some such like thing in his hand;¹ we have frequently seen little troops of women pass to and fro along the beach, laden with fruit and roots escorted, as it were, by a party of men under arms; now and then we have seen men carry a burdthen at the same time but not often, I know not on what account this was done or that an armed troop was necessary, when we first saw it we thought they were moving out of the neighbourhood with their effects but we afterwards saw them both carry out and bring in almost every day. I cannot say the women are beauties but I think them handsome enough for the men and too handsome for the use that is made of them. Both sex are of a Very dark Colour but not black, nor have they the least character[i]stic of the Negro abo^t them; they make themselves blacker than they really are by painting their faces with a Pigment of the Colour of black lead, they also use a nother sort which is red and a third sort brown, or a Colour between red and black, all these, but especially the first they lay on with a liberal hand, not only on the face but on the neck shoulders and breast.² The Men wear nothing but a belt and a case to the Penis, which is tied up to the belt; this case is some times of Cloth, but more generally of the leaves and small branches of a certain plant.³ The Women wear a kind of Peticoat which is made of the filaments of the Plantain tree, Flax or some such like thing which reaches below the knee. Both sex wear ornaments, such as bracelets, Earings, necklaces and Amulets; the bracelets are chiefly worn by the men and made some of Sea Shells and others of Cocoa nut shells, Amulets is a nother Ornament worn by the Men, those of most Value are made of a greenish stone;⁴ the green stone of New zeland was valued by them for this purpose. Necklaces were chiefly worn by the women and made mostly of shells; Ear Rings were worn in common, those Valued most were made of Tortoise shell, some of our people got of this shell at the Friendly isla[n]ds and brought it here

¹ This, though the fruit of personal observation, is not quite just. Men carried burdens, and heavy ones; but not on the back or under the arm, like a woman. They needed a pole, with a man at each end—or with a man in the middle, and a load at each end. There was an etiquette about these things.

² The paints are reserved for the face; they are red ochre, white lime, and a colour shining like black lead; all these they mix with coco-nut oil, and lay on the face in oblique bars, two or three inches broad. The white colour is seldom employed, but the red and black is more frequent, and sometimes each covers one half the face.—Forster, II, p. 277. The 'black lead' pigment was from the burnt oily fruit of the candlenut *Aleurites moluccana*. The red colour was an ochre from Aneityam; the white was lime.

³ a plant like ginger—Forster, II, p. 277. Perhaps *Zingiber zerambet*; but the leaves generally used were those of the banana, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or *Coleus* spp.

⁴ Probably this was some sort of serpentine, though ornaments of this stone are more characteristic of the islands to the north-east—e.g. Woodlark and the Trobriands.

to a good market it being of more value to these people than any thing we had besides; from this I conclude that they catch but few Turtle, we however saw one in the harbour just as we were getting under sail. I observed that towards the latter end of our stay they began to ask for hatchets and large nails; it is likely they had found out that they made better tools than Stone, bone or shells, of which all their tools I have seen are made. Their stone hatchets at least all those I saw, were not made like adzes as at the other islands but more

like an ax—in this form ; in the helve, which is pretty

thick, is made a hole into which the stone is fixed. These people seem to have as few Arts as most I have seen, besides knowing how to cultivate the ground they have few others worth mentioning; they know how to make a Course kind of Matting and a Course sort of cloth of the bark of a tree which is used chiefly for belts.¹ The workmanship of their Canoes I have before observed are very rude and their arms, with which they take the most pains, in point of neatness come far short of some others we have seen.

Their Arms are Clubs, spears or Darts, Bows and Arrows and Stones; the Clubs are of three or four kinds and from 3 to 6 feet long.² They seem to place the greatest dependence on the Darts, which are poi[n]ted with three bearded edges, in throwing the dart, they make use of a becket, that is a piece of stiff platted Cord about six inches long, with an eye in on[e] end and a knot at the other, the eye is fixed on the fore finger of the right hand and the other end is hitched round the dart where it is nearly on an equipoise. They hold the dart between the thumb and remaining fingers, which serve only to give it direction, the Vilocity or force being communicated to it by the becket & finger, the former flies off from the dart the Instant there is no more occasion for [i]t, Viz. when the Velocity of the dart becomes great[er] than that of the hand, but it remains on the finger ready for another dart. With Darts they kill both birds and fish and are sure of hitting a mark the compass of the crown of a hat at the distance of 8 or 10 yards, but at double this distance its a chance if the[y] hit a mark the Size of a mans body,³ although they

¹ Matting was woven of pandanus and coconut leaves: coconut generally made the coarser kind. The Tanese belts seem simply to have been strips of the bark of some large tree—e.g. the banyan—not bark converted into tapa.

² Deleted The spear seems not to be a common weapon it is made of hard wood and is about 10 feet long and pointed at one end.

³ But cf. Elliott: '... with their Bows they could shoot a Bird in the bush; and I have seen 6 of them, placed in a line, at 20 yards distance and they have fix'd every Spear, in a soft Coconut'.—*Mem.*, f. 32. See also Forster, II, pp. 278-9.

will throw one 60 might let the dista them as Muskets a with hard wood, s birds have two, th use of are for the 14 inches long and I know not if they carries a Club and never both; those I cannot conclude passage out of M r a shore among th which they perfor

'I must confess Homer represents too much of the mean when confir so great an Advoc surprising. But sent wooden ones; and either, I have no Great Poet on thi find infinite numl an action, circums to a spear, which as their whirling n ing motion as they ing their aim whe in their hand as t We know nothi little of their Gove at least such have I have already of the rest of the peo

¹ Forster, who gives clubs (II, pp. 279-80), long, and two in diam: use of as a missile weapo

² This sentence and the original journal, but

³ They seem to substit^d Deleted after 'people' in the district of a not members of their own c:

1774

[September

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ intended: intended him

² ... and sent them away immediately

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

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

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

were obliged to hee her & stop the leek the reef they pure Meal, and they w people with great made it necessary which the Natives one of them happ people wanted to with them he ran who wanted to m made a Circile ro nified none were t as this story was w this Journal.

As I was willing to incounter with s the Morning and which had been ex been made of my l lay a foundation f some alive for such seen sence the day with me in the bo friend² b some distance off b or no I cannot say not permit us to s man I could find o to be here, I made Shore, which I ha sent made signs to elderly man, him should remain the signs to take then seemed to consult me to carry them

¹ one ... happened: a r turned to his own advan

² The MS has a space them to him'.

³ Cf. Forster, II, p. 98 more, had no affinity w South Sea before'.

their victuals. The space between the two Canoes is laid with plank and the rest with spars: on one side of the deck and close to the edge is fixed a row of knees, pretty close to each other; the use of which are, to keep the masts yards &c¹ from rolling over board. They are Navigated by one or two Latteen sails, extended to a small latteen yard, the end of which fixes in a notch or hole in the deck, the foot of the sail is extended to a small boom: the sail is composed of pieces of matting and the ropes are made of the coarse filiments of the plantain tree, twisted into cords of the thickness of a finger; three, four or more such cords marled together serve them for Shrouds guies &c².¹ I thought they sailed very well,² but they are not attall calculated for rowing nor paddling; their method of proceeding when they cannot sail is by sculling, for which purpose there are holes in the boarded deck or platform through which they put the Sculls, which are of such a length that when the blade is in the water the loom³ or handle is 4 or 5 feet above the deck; the man who workes it, stands behind it and with both his ha[n]ds sculls the vessel forward. This method of proceeding is very slow for which reason I think them but ill calculated for fishing, especially for striking of Turtle, which I think can hardly ever be done in them. Their fishing Implements, such as I have seen, are Turtle netts, made, I believe, of the filaments of the plantain tree twisted; small hand netts with very small Meshes, made of fine twine, and fish gigs; I believe their general way of fishing is to lie on the reefs in shoal Water and strike the fish that may come in their way. They may however have other methods of fishing, which we had no opertunity to see as no boat went out while we were here,⁴ all their time and attention was taken up with us. Their Canoes are about 30 feet long and the deck or platform about 24 in length and 10 in breadth; we had not at this time seen any timber in the country so large as the hulls of these Canoes were made on.⁵ It was observed that the holes made in the several parts in order to sew them together were burnt through but with what Instrument we never learnt, most probable with an instrument of stone;⁶ this may be the reason why they were so fond of large spikes, seeing at once that they would answer this purpose; I was

¹ The larger ropes were twisted from coconut husk.

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

³ The 'loom' was the shaft of an oar.

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

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

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

mined the true position of the Coast from [the Foreland] to this point which [I shall distinguish by the name of Prince of Wales Foreland, it is situated in the latitude of $22^{\circ}29'$ S, Longit. $166^{\circ}57'$ E. It is of a considerable height and when it first appears above the horizon looks like an island].¹

From this [Cape] the Coast trend[ed] NW nearly, this is rather too northerly a direction to join that part of the Coast we saw from the hills of Ballade, but as it was very high land which opened of the [Cape] in this direction it is probable lower land which we could not see might have opened sooner, or else the Coast afterwards takes a more westerly direction,² be this as it may we pretty well know the extent of the Land by having it confin'd within certain points.³ On this little isle which was a mere sand bank not exceeding half⁴ a mile in circuit were, besides the Pines, a variety⁵ of other trees, Shrubs and Plants which gave sufficient employment to our botanists the time we stayed upon it, which occasioned it to be called [Botany Isle].⁶ Here were several Water Snakes,⁷ some Pigeons⁸ and Doves,⁹ seemingly different to any we had seen. One of the

¹ There is an unusually large hiatus in the MS here. The name 'Prince of Wales Foreland' in B is a red ink substitution for a deleted 'S.W. Cape' (as in G). The 'true position' of the coast is not in fact very well defined, and Cook's figures are sufficiently out to cause some confusion. His Prince of Wales Foreland is indeed an island, Wen or Ouen, separated from the main island by the rather narrow Woodin channel. In its northern part it rises to 925 feet. The position of this high point is about lat. $22^{\circ}25'$ S, long. $166^{\circ}49'$ E, so that Cook was not far out.

² I do not, I must confess, follow this line of argument. The coast inside Wen does take a more westerly direction as far as Noumea. It then turns north-westerly again, running roughly parallel with the north-eastern side of the island; but before it joins 'that part of the Coast we saw from the hills of Ballade', it inclines more to the north again. For 'afterwards' B reads 'more to the north west in the same manner as the NE coast'; so it is possible that Cook thought the northern side of the island inclined more to the west than it does.

³ . . . I however still entertain'd hopes of seeing more of it, but in this I was disappointed. —f. 288. The words 'but . . . disappointed' are in red ink.

⁴ *As'f: 2*

⁵ *Pines, a variety: Pines the Etou tree of Otaheite and a variety . . .* —f. 288. The additional words are interlinear in red.

⁶ The small islets scattered over the line of reefs between Cape Queen Charlotte and the Isle of Pines were in the nineteenth century known collectively as the Botany Isles. This particular one was Améré, lying on its own little reef, lat. $21^{\circ}27'$ S, long. $167^{\circ}06'$ E.

⁷ Forster (II, p. 438) identified this snake as *Anguis platara* but J. R. Forster subsequently (*Descr. An.*, p. 257) called it *Anguis laticauda*; this appears to be a deliberate emendation, for another undoubted *platara* identification of the elder Forster (pl. 171 from Tahiti) is not changed in the later work (1844, p. 229). The Linnean name *Anguis laticauda* has never been satisfactorily assigned, but it is likely that J. R. Forster in 1844 was following Latreille's comprehensive reptilian treatise of 1802, where *laticauda* was used for a 'species' of *Hydrophis*. Latreille himself had two species confounded. See also p. 560, n. 2 below.

⁸ Forster (II, p. 438) says, 'We saw several large beautiful pigeons which we could not shoot'. These were very likely the Giant Pigeon of New Caledonia, *Ducula goliath* Gray, which owing to steady persecution is now largely restricted to mountain forests and remote localities.

⁹ Two predominantly green fruit doves and a small ground dove occur in New Caledonia, but none was recorded here by the Forsters.

officers shott a Hawk, this and had been there by leaves of trees ne had been here To a Canoe laid wre we had seen at l what trees they Pines. On this l diameter and be have done very been wanting. S spot is it not rea Main and on th we can assert it. South Pacifick C or a Yard, was s cannot even get pose much less a both usefull and well as a Ship- consequently ac their uses in Shi ceeding good M and seemingly t trees which the sticking to the t their brance in difference that become nothing extraordinary i are the branche travagant notio The Seed is p in it, or that w sides these ther

¹ The Osprey, a *microhaliaetus* Brasil.

² A flycatcher, *Pet*

³ closer . . . tougher;

⁴ and what . . . bra

branches, and were —f. 289.

m [the Foreland] to this
e of Prince of Wales Fore-
s, Longit. 166°57' E. It is
ppears above the horizon

sw nearly, this is rather
of the Coast we saw from
land which opened of the
ver land which we could
lse the Coast afterwards
as it may we pretty well
it confin'd within certain
re sand bank not exceed-
s the Pines, a variety⁵ of
sufficient employment to
which occasioned it to be
ter Snakes,⁷ some Pigeons⁸
ve had seen. One of the

The name 'Prince of Wales Fore-
pe' (as in G). The 'true position'
gures are sufficiently out to cause
an island, Wen or Ouen, sepa-
n channel. In its northern part it
t lat. 22°25' s, long. 166°49' z, so

The coast inside Wen does take
ns north-westerly again, running
l; but before it joins 'that part of
re to the north again. For 'after-
anner as the sw coast'; so it is
d inclined more to the west than

it, but in this I was disappointed.

a variety . . .—f. 288. The addi-

een Cape Queen Charlotte and
collectively as the Botany Isles.
lat. 21°27' s, long. 167°05' z.

ora but J. R. Forster subsequently
s to be a deliberate emendation,
Forster (pl. 171 from Tahiti) is
n name *Argus laticauda* has never

Forster in 1844 was following
laticauda was used for a 'species'
See also p. 560, n. 2 below.

tiful pigeons which we could not
Caledonia, *Ducula goliath* Gray,
stricted to mountain forests and

round dove occur in New Cale-

officers shott a Hawke¹ of the very same sort as our English fishing
hawkes, this and a small bird² was all the land birds we got. People
had been there but lately, by the number of fire places, Branches and
leaves of trees near them hardly in the least decayed: probably they
had been here Turtling as the remains of some were seen. The hull of
a Canoe laid wrecked in the sand, it was precisely of the same sort as
we had seen at Ballade, we are now no longer at a loss to know of
what trees they make their Canoes, they can be no other than the
Pines. On this little isle were some which measured twenty inches
diameter and between Sixty and Seventy feet in length and would
have done very well for a Fore-mast for the Resolution if one had
been wanting. Sence trees of this size are to be found on so small a
spot is it not reasonable to expect to find some vastly larger on the
Main and on the larger isles; if appearances have not deceived us
we can assert it. If I except New Zealand, I know of no Island in the
South Pacifick Ocean where a Ship could supply herself with a Mast
or a Yard, was she ever so much distress'd for want of one; nay you
cannot even get a Studing-sail boom of Wood attall fit for the pur-
pose much less a lower mast or yard; thus far the discovery may be
both usefull and Valuable. My Carpenter who is a Mast-maker as
well as a Ship-wright, two professions he learnt in Deptford yard,
concequently acquainted with all the various sorts of Timber and
their uses in Shipping, is of opinion that these trees would make ex-
ceeding good Masts. The Wood is White, closer grained than fir
and seemingly tougher.³ Turpentine had exuded out of most of the
trees which the Sun had inspissated in to a Rosin, which was found
sticking to the trees and laying about the roots. These trees shoot out
their brance in the same manner as all the Pine kind, with this
difference that these are vastly smaller & shorter, so that the knots
become nothing when the tree is worked for use, and what is most
extraordinary in them is, the larger this tree the shorter and smaller
are the branches,⁴ this was what lead our Philosophers into the ex-
travagant notion of them being Natural Pillars of Stone.

The Seed is produced in cones but we could find one that had any
in it, or that was in a proper state for a botanical examination. Be-
sides these there was a nother tree or shrub of the spruce or fir kind

¹ The Osprey, a cosmopolitan bird-of-prey. The form found here is *Pandion haliaetus microhaliaetus* Brazil.

² A flycatcher, *Petroica* sp.

³ *closer . . . tougher*: close grained tough and light . . .—f. 288v.

⁴ *and what . . . branches*: I took notice that the largest trees had the smallest and shortest branches, and were crowned as it were, at the top by a spreading branch like a bush; . . .—f. 289.

[1775]

TO ASCENSION

[665]

Longitude between these two places is $[24^{\circ}12'15"]^1$ only two miles more than Mr Kendals Watch made. The Lunar observations made by Mr Wales, before we made, and after leaving the island and reduced to it by the Watch, gave $[5^{\circ}51']$ for the Longitude of James fort which is only 5 miles more west than by Mr Maskelynes. In like manner the Longitude of the Cape Town was found within 5' of the truth. I mention this to shew how near the Longitude of places may be found by the Lunar method even at Sea by the assistance of a good Watch.

After leaving St Helena the Dutton was ordered to steer NWBW or NW by Compass, in order to avoid falling in with Ascension at which isle it was said an illicit trade had been carried on between the officers of the Companies Ships and some Vessels from North America, who of late years have frequented the isle on pretence of fishing for Whales or Catching Turtle, when their real design was to wait the coming of India Ships. In order to put a stop to this trade, so pernicious to the Company and commerce in general, the Company sent out orders to St Helena to order all their homeward bound ships to steer the Course above mentioned till they are to the northward of Ascension, thinking that this Course would carry them clear of these Smuglers. We kept Company with the Dutton till Wednesday 24th when having put a Packet on board her for the Admiralty containing some of the Officers Journals, we parted company, she continuing her Course to the west and we steered for Ascension, where it was necessary for me to touch to take in Turtle for the refreshment of my people as the salt Provisions they had to eat was what had been in the Ship the voyage.² We made this isle on the morning of the 28th and the same evening anchored in Cross Bay on the NW side of the isle in 10 fathom water the bottom a fine Sand and half a mile from the shore. The Cross Hill, so called on account of a Cross or flag-staff erected upon it, bore by Compass s 38° E and the two extreme points of the Bay extended from NE to SW.

We remained here till the evening of the 31st and notwithstanding we had several parties out every night, we got but twenty four Turtle, it being rather too late in the Season; however as they weighed between four and five hundred pounds each, we thought our selves not ill of. We might have caught fish in any quantity, especi-

¹ This figure and that in square brackets three lines below are supplied from the printed Voyage, all the MSS being blank.

² While at St Helena Cook, ever an experimenter with any new invention connected with a ship, got from Captain Rice of the Dutton what he calls 'one of Foxon's Hydrometers or perpetual Log', and Wales 'Foxon's Hydrometer or patent Log-Reels'. In the Log, 26 May, he says, 'it was set a going this day at Noon, but at 10 in the even^g the

ally of that sort called Old Wives,¹ I no where ever saw such abundance, there were also Cavalics,² Congor Eels and various other sorts but the catching of them was not attended to, the object was Turtle. On the island are abundance of Goats and Aquatick birds such as Men of War³ and Tropic birds,⁴ Boobies,⁵ &c^a. The Island of Ascension is about ten miles in length in the direction of NW and SE and about five or six in breadth, it shews a surface composed of barren Hills and Vallies, on the most of which not a shrub or plant is to be found for several miles and where we see nothing but stones and Sand, or rather Slags and Ashes, an indupitable sign that the isle at some remote time has been destroyed by a Volcano, which has thrown up vast heaps of stones and even hills. Between these heaps of stones, we find a smooth even surface, composed of Ashes and sand and very good traveling upon it, but one may as easy walk over broken glass bottles as over the stones, if the foot deceives you you are sure to get cut or lamed as happened to some of our people. A high Mountain at the SE end of the isle seems to be left in its original state and to have escaped the general distruction. The Soil is a kind of white Marl which yet retains its vegetative qualities and produceth Purslain, Spurg and one or two grasses,⁶ on which the Goats subsist, and it is at this part of the isle where they are to be found as well as the Land Crabs, which I am told are very good: I was told that about this part of the isle is some very good land on which might be raised many necessary Articles, and some have been at the trouble of sowing Turnips and other usefull vegetables. I was also told that there is a fine spring in a Vally which disjoines two hills, which are on the top of the Mountain above mentioned, besides great quantities

Common Log got foul of the Worm, by which means we lost both the one and the other'. The worm was replaced, and from 7 June the ship's log was discontinued off and on in favour of experiments with the hydrometer, till 26 July, when Cook sums up, 'I think it is neither so convenient nor so accurate as the common log'. Foxon's was one of the two 'perpetual logs' tested by Captain Phipps on his Arctic voyage in 1773—'both constructed upon this principle, that a Spiral, in proceeding its own length in the direction of its axis through a resisting medium, makes one revolution round the axis'; the 'spiral' outboard was connected by worm gearing to a dial in the ship, recording the distance run. Phipps reported favourably on its performance in smooth water.—*Voyage* (1774), p. 97. In spite of Cook's a dverse report, the future lay with the perpetual (or patent) log, which provided a cumulative record of the distance sailed.

¹ *Balistes testula* Linn.

² *Ceronyx* sp.

³ The Ascension Frigate Bird, *Fregata aquila* Linn.

⁴ The White-tailed Tropic Bird, *Phaethon lepturus ascensionis* (Mathews) and the Red-billed Tropic Bird, *P. aethereus* Linn., both breed on Ascension Island.

⁵ Probably the Blue-faced or Masked Booby, *Sula dactylostra* Lesson.

⁶ The Purslain was *Portulaca oleracea* Linn., which was collected by Sparrman, widespread; the spurge, *Euphorbia arisanoides* Linn., collected by Forster, endemic in Ascension Island. The 'grasses' were *Aristida ascensionis* Linn., which, collected by Forster, was first described from the island, and (probably) species of *Polypogon*.

of fresh Water in hold this information belie of Water can only be unfortunate as to be s the fate of some not b or wreck we found seemed to have been who saw the wreck c burnt, that she had t to save themselves.

While we lay in the to an Anchor by us, s Feb^{ry} and had been t was come here to tak story the Master, wh which may in part b here was the expecta He had been about twenty Turtle. A Slo few days, with one h as She could take in, ent sandy beaches, t Eggs and left the Car to those who came af interior parts of this seemed to be a sencil sailed the Morning o be found at this isle f catching them, is to watch their coming o night, and then to t tunity to take them send a good many n lay quiet till the Tur at once; this method but when there are l largest beach, who o the surf during the comes ashore and ca

¹ H left a space for the bu

² What Cook meant by t text of H reads 'ingerous', be what he first intended.

here ever saw such abund-
 els and various other sorts
 to, the object was Turtle.
 d Aquatick birds such as
 &c^a. The Island of Ascen-
 sion of NW and SE and
 face composed of barren
 t a shrub or plant is to be
 nothing but stones and
 itable sign that the isle at
 y a Volcano, which has
 ls. Between these heaps of
 nposed of Ashes and sand
 e may as easy walk over
 foot deceives you you are
 some of our people. A
 ms to be left in its original
 uction. The Soil is a kind
 e qualities and produceth
 n which the Goats subsist,
 are to be found as well as
 ry good: I was told that
 l land on which might be
 ave been at the trouble of
 les. I was also told that
 oines two hills, which are
 d, besides great quantities

^a lost both the one and the other'.
 g was discontinued off and on in
 when Cook sums up, 'I think it
 log'. Foxon's was one of the two
 oyage in 1773—'both constructed
 length in the direction of its axis
 d the axis'; the 'spiral' outboard
 cording the distance run. Phipps
 n.—*Voyage* (1774), p. 97. In spite
 al (or patent) log, which provided

trionis (Mathews) and the Red-
 sion Island.
 tra Lesson.
 is collected by Sparrman, wide-
 by Forster, endemic in Ascension
 ch, collected by Forster, was first
 ugon.

of fresh Water in holes in the rocks, which the person who gave me this information believed was collected from rains; but these supplies of Water can only be of use to the traveler or to those who may be so unfortunate as to be ship-wrecked on the island, as seems to have been the fate of some not long ago, as appeared by the remains of a Vessel or wreck we found on the NE side. By what we could judge she seemed to have been a Vessel of about 150 Tons¹ burdthen. Those who saw the wreck conjectured from the manner several parts were burnt, that she had taken fire at Sea and the Crew had run her ashore to save themselves.

While we lay in the road a Sloop of about 70 Tons burdthen came to an Anchor by us, she belonged to new York which place she left in Feb^ry and had been to the coast of Guiney with a Cargo of goods and was come here to take in Turtle to carry to Barbadoes. This was the story the Master, whose name was Greves, was pleased to tell and which may in part be true, but I believe the Chief view of His coming here was the expectation of meeting with some of the India Ships. He had been about the island near a Week and had got on board twenty Turtle. A Sloop belong[ing] to Bermuda who was sailed but a few days, with one hundred and five on board, which was as many as She could take in, but having turned several more on the different sandy beaches, they had rip'd open their bellies, taken out the Eggs and left the Carcasses to putrefy, an act as inhuman as ingenuous² to those who came after them. Part of the account I have given of the interior parts of this island I received from Captain Greves, who seemed to be a sencible intillegent man and had been all over it: he sailed the Morning of the same day we did. Turtle as I am told are to be found at this isle from the Month of Jan^ry to June; the method of catching them, is to send people on shore to the several sandy bays to watch their coming on shore to lay their Eggs, which is allways in the night, and then to turn them on their backs till there is an opportunity to take them off the next day. It was recommended to us to send a good many men on shore to each beach, where they were to lay quiet till the Turtle were ashore and then to rise and turn them at once; this method may be the best when the Turtle are numerous, but when there are but few, three or four men are sufficient for the largest beach, who ought to keep Patrolling of it close to the wash of the surf during the night, by which method they will see all that comes ashore and cause less noise than if there were more of them. It

¹ H left a space for the burden of the ship, which Cook fills in himself, 'of 120 Tons'.

² What Cook meant by this is not quite certain. G 'ingenuous', *Voyage* 'injurious'. The text of H reads 'ingerous', and Cook writes carefully in the margin 'injurious', so this may be what he first intended.

was by this method we caught the most we got,¹ and this is the method by which the Americans take them. Nothing is more certain, than all the Turtle which are found about this island come here for the sole purpose of laying their eggs, for we find none but females and of all those which we caught not one had any food worth mentioning in its Stomach, a sure sign, in my opinion, that they must have been a long time without any and this may be the reason why the flesh of them is not so good as some I have eat on the Coast of New South Wales which were caught on the spot they fed.

The Watch made $8^{\circ}45'$ difference of Longitude between St Helena and Ascension, which added to $5^{\circ}49'$ the Longitude of James fort in St Helena, gives $14^{\circ}34'$ for the Longitude of the Road of Ascension, or $14^{\circ}30'$ for the Middle of the island, the Latitude of which is $8^{\circ}00'$ s. The Lunar observations made by Mr Wales and reduced to the same point of the island by the Watch gave [$14^{\circ}28'30''$]² West Longitude by observation. But as the Watch could hardly deceive us in so short a run and time as from the one isle to the other, the Longitude pointed out by it ought in my opinion to take place of that deduced from observation.³

ON WEDNESDAY 31st of May we left Ascension and steered to the Northward with a fine gale at SEBE. I had a great desire to visit the Island of St Mathew⁴ in order to settle its situation, but as I found the winds would not allow me to fetch it, I steered for the Island of Fernando de Norono on the Coast of Brazil, in order to determine its Longitude, as I could not find this had yet been done. Perhaps I should have done a more acceptable service to Navigation if I had gone in search of the Isle of St Paul and those Shoals which are said to lie near the Equator and about the Meridian of [20°]⁵

¹ They got twenty-four: 'weighing', says Forster, II, p. 578, 'from three to four hundred pounds each. They lasted us three weeks, one and sometimes two being killed every day, and the ship's company receiving as much as they could eat of this wholesome and palatable food'. Since the flesh was 'wholesome and palatable', they were almost certainly Green Turtles, *Chelonia mydas* (Linn).

² Figure from the printed Voyage.

³ by observation . . . from observation substituted for the following deleted: which is more than it is laid down in Mr Maskelyne's British Mariners guide, where he says, it was settled by Observations of a more delicate nature than those of the Sun and Moon, but till I know what these delicate observations were, the Longitude deduced from them must give place to that given by the Watch, which ha[r]dly deceived us in so short a run and time as from the one isle to the other and no man will doubt but the Situation of St Helena must be well settled.—f. 356.—This is not the only place, as we have seen, where Cook displays some impatience with Maskelyne.

⁴ This was a supposititious island, believed by sixteenth-century chroniclers and cartographers to have been discovered by the Portuguese in the later fifteenth century, and laid down on the charts in approximately 2° s and 7° or 8° w. See Barros, printed in Cronc's *Voyages of Cadamosto* (Hakluyt Society 1937), p. 112 and n. 1; also Peckham's *A True Report*, in Hakluyt (MacLehose ed.), VIII, p. 127.

⁵ Figure printed.

west, as neither their situation nor truth is I was unwilling to prolong I was not sure to find,¹ nor was I w might tend to the improvement of sake of getting home a Week or a that oppertunities of this kind of but too often neglected. In our Pa had steady fresh gales between tl and Clear weather, and as we had nor night did not pass without m determining our Longitude. In thi gradually decreased from 11° ' $1^{\circ}00'$ w which is what we found it the Mean result of two Compasse other $0^{\circ}23'$ West.

FRIDAY June 9th at Noon, we Norona bearing swbw $\frac{1}{2}$ w distance found by the Log, it appeared i largest of which looked like a Ch near the SE end, or part of the is sunken rocks, lying near a league broke in a great surf. After standi our Colours and then bore up r rather a group of little islots, fe divided by narrow Channels. O strong fort, besides several others which seem'd to have every adv and so disposed as wholly to corr ing places about the island. We thern point, till the Sandy bea Shipping) began to appear and hill were open to the westward o a gun being fired at one of the fo played and the example followe pose for which I made the island tion to anchor and therefore aft sail and stood away to the Nor the Peaked hill or Church Tow miles and from this point of vie

¹ Now known as St Paul rocks, a vol

² Cf. I, p. 66 and n. 3 on that page.

³ Printed 11° West.

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS BY
J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

FOUR VOLUMES AND A PORTFOLIO

III
THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY

1776-1780

PART ONE

HAKLUYT SOCIETY
EXTRA SERIES No. XXXVI

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|---------|
| PREFACE | page v |
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | xv |
| SKETCH MAPS | xxi |
| SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES | xxiii |
| * | |
| INTRODUCTION | xxix |
| TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION | clxxi |
| SUBORDINATE MS SOURCES | |
| (i) LOGS AND JOURNALS | clxxvi |
| (ii) MISCELLANEOUS | cxcv |
| THE PRINTED SOURCES | cxcviii |
| THE GRAPHIC RECORDS | ccxi |
| NOTE ON THE PRINTING | ccxviii |
| * | |
| THE INSTRUCTIONS | ccxx |
| THE JOURNAL | I |
| SUPPLEMENT TO COOK'S JOURNAL | 493 |

hardly ever wore with such. The first questions these people asked as also those of the other two islands, were, who was Chief of the Ship, where she belonged to and where bound; and they very readily answered such questions as we put to them. Amongst other things they told us, they had seen two great Ships before, but that they past without their speaking to them; these must have been the Resolution and Adventure.¹ We also got from them the name of the Island which they called *Te rouge mau Atooa*,² and said they were subject to *Tireatoueah* the King of Wautieu.³ The[y] told us they had neither Hogs, Dogs nor bread fruit, but plenty of Coccoanuts, fish and some turtle. Their Canoes are larger than those we saw at the other islands, but like them not distinguished by any remarkable workmanship. The construction of the stern bore some resemblance to those of Wautieu, and the tead projected out nearly in the same manner, but the extremity turned up in stead of down. See the drawing.⁴ Having but very little Wind it was one PM before we drew near the nw part of the island, the only place where either anchorage or landing seemed probable. Here I sent Lieutenant King with two armed boats to sound and reconoitre the Coast while we stood off and on with the Ships. As soon as the boats were hoisted out the Indians pushed for the shore as fast as they could paddle and came near us no more.

At 3 oclock the boats returned and Mr King informed me there was no anchorage for the Ship, but that the boats might land on the outer edge of the reef which lay about a quarter of a mile from the dry land; he said that some of the Natives came down upon the reef armed with long pikes and clubs, and as if they intended to oppose his landing, yet when he drew near they threw him some Coccoanuts and invited him a shore; but at the very same time he observed the Women were very busy bringing down more spears and darts, but as he had no montive to land he did not give them an oppertunity to make use of them.⁵

Having received this report, I considered that as the Ships could

¹ . . . they told Mr Omai, who understood some few words of their language, that they saw us pass by last Voyage.—Harvey.

² One is here driven back on guess-work. Judge H. J. Morgan of the Land Court at Rarotonga informed me that part of the Manuae motu or islet has the present-day name of Ruakee, and 'it is possible that the full name for that locality is *Te Ruakee Mau Atua* (*Te rouge mau Atooa*) but this is only conjecture'.

³ ? *Tairivatauia*. This name, if a name at all, has sunk out of sight. It may have been an alternative name or title of one of the chiefs of Atiu, which had no single 'king'; or perhaps, and more likely, it is a rendering of 'Te arii Atauira'—i.e. 'the chief Atauira'.

⁴ I do not know what particular drawing Cook refers to here. Presumably Webber made one.

⁵ 'The two young New Zealanders are much surprized that of so many people within reach of our power we have neither killed or made prisoners of any.'—Burney.

not be brought to an
tedious as well as after
in want of Water, and
the island yet we ne
might have to fetch it
tedious to get over
islands, and the sum
advanced for me to
therefore absolutely
likely to preser[v]e th
save the Ships stores
us to procecutte the I
uing summer. I inte
met with a westerly
grass at any of these
out, would have bee
one advantage. I the
Isld^s where I was su
and as it was necess
ordered Capt. Clerke
as his Ship could be

The Longitude of
from Otaheite by th
now by the same
Sound 200°56' E, he
at this time did not

In order to save
from 6 in the Morn
we procured from
lately made some in
Machine, which in

⁶ Cook had rather bad
There are two islands in
all the supplies he needs
view of Mangala, the sec
Mangala for a day inste
instead of Atiu, for the di
was, in the next twelve h
high at the peak of its rid
to the north, Aitutaki v
naturally of Palmerston
on. But Niue, after his e
luring prospect. The c
was to prove fairly rewar

⁷ This is an interesting
not elsewhere mentioned

lear[n]t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &c^a to the ships where they would receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had done haranguing the people, Feenough left us and Tapah gave me to understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the island whose name was *Earoupa*,¹ I was not unprepared and made him a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me two Chiefs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough returned which was immediately after I had made the last present, he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Chief again took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Feenough and was to the same effect as the other. These Ceremonies being over, the Chief at my request conducted me to three standing pools of fresh water as he was pleased to call it, in one indeed the water was tolerable and not inconvenient to come at.² After Viewing the Water we returned to our former station, where I found a baked hog and some yams all piping hot put up for me to take on board. I invited the chief and his friend to partake of it they excepted my invitation and we all embarked for the Ship, but none but the chief sat down to table. After dinner I conducted them ashore and before I came on board the Chief gave me a fine large Turtle and a quantity of yams, and we got by barter along side the Ship about twenty small hogs besides fruit and roots. I was told that soon after we went ashore in the Morning, a man came off and ordered every one of the Natives a shore, probably it was to be present at the ceremony for that was no sooner over than they returned.

SUNDAY 18th. Early in the Morning Omai, who generally slept ashore, and Feenough came on board. After some time I accompanied them ashore and was conducted to the same place as I was at the day before, where a large concourse of people were assembled, I guess'd some thing or another was going to be done but could not till what nor could Omai inform me. I had not sit long before near a hundred people came laden with Yams, Bread fruit, Plantain Cocoanuts and

¹ Tongans cannot explain this name, or give an equivalent: possibly Alupe or Tealupe. Tealupe was the *matapu* of Uiha, close to Lifuka.

² There is still a well at Koulo, once merely a deep pond about four feet across, now with a concrete wall around it and a cover on top; its water is regarded as very good, at least for washing. This could very well have been the 'standing pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo would have been an easy stroll from the northern end of the bay.

Sugar Cane which w
the side they came f
the right, laden with
piles on our right; to
those on the left six
several arti[c]les on
right they being, as I
and being a kind o
present occasion. As
shew to the most a
joined the Multituc
Presently after a nu
armed with Clubs n
these paraded about
to one side and the
before the spectator
two stepping forward
other which was do
was excepted, whic
proper attitude and
other gave out or ti
over, the Victor squ
and retired, at the
judges, gave their p
ally those on the si
two or three huzz
pended for a few m
Boxing matches; th
Otahiete,¹ and the
ticed in England.²

¹ they wrestle much li
any one was thrown, th
kind of recitative, "Too
the first word (Tooway)
the rest in full chorus by
with them our people wer

² No one else agreed v
English method which is
to enter the ring against
they were so much mista
and as they did not tai
remarked in the Natives.
custom, always demand
though both parties we
Some of our people ve
worsted except in a few
gain'd a greater share o

1777

MAY

Sugar Cane which were laid in two heaps or piles on our left, being the side they came from. Soon after came a number of others from the right, laden with the same kind of articles which were laid in two piles on our right; to these were tied two Pigs and six Fowls, and to those on the left six Pigs and two turtle. Earoupa sat before the several arti[c]les on the left and a nother Chief before those on the right they being, as I judged, the two Chiefs who had collected them and being a kind of Tax Feenough had laid upon them for the present occasion. As soon as every thing was laid in order and to shew to the most advantage, those who had brought in the things joined the Multitude who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered the Circle or Area before us, armed with Clubs made of the green branches of the Cocoanut tree, these paraded about for a few minutes and then retired the one half to one side and the other half to the other, and seated themselves before the spectators: but soon after went to single Combat, one or two stepping forward from the one side and challenging those on the other which was done more by actions than words; if the Challenge was excepted, which was generally the case, each put himself in a proper attitude and began to engage and continued till one or the other gave out or their weapons were broke. When the contest was over, the Victor squated himself down facing the cheif then rose up and retired, at the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated it in two or three huzzas. This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes, at these intervals there were Wristling and Boxing matches; the first were performed in the same m[an]ner as at Otahiete,¹ and the second very little different from the method practiced in England.² But what struck us with the most surprise was to

¹ they wrestle much like our Cornish men, and are very expert and active at it. when any one was thrown, the Victor was complimented with the following short song, in a kind of recitative, "Tooway-Hey-O Mar to yoe" the meaning of which I am ignorant. the first word (Tooway) was sung out by a single person, dwelling on the last syllable, and the rest in full chorus by the men on that side of the ring to which he belonged. in wrestling with them our people were almost constantly worsted.—Burney, 17 May; and see p. 1027 n.

² No one else agreed with Cook over this point.—'their boxing being different from the English method which is generally looked upon as the standard, induced some of our Men to enter the ring against them, thinking to retrieve the credit lost at wrestling: but in this they were so much mistaken that of 4 or 5 who tried, not one escaped being knockd down; and as they did not take the drubbing with the moderation and good temper before remarked in the Natives, were heartily laughed at; for our Men contrary to the established custom, always demanded a renewal of the conflict which, by the bye, was never suffered though both parties were willing.'—Burney, 17 May. Add to this Anderson, 18 June: 'Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both exercises but were always worsted except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.' On

[May

ery
th young and old were to
remain with them a few
e in any thing, that they
ships where they would
Soon after Tapah had
s and Tapah gave me to
esent to the Chief of the
pprepared and made him
s, this brought upon me
himself. When Feenough
d made the last present,
ffering me to give away
feness. The Cheif again
him and to harangue the
chiefly dictated by Fee-
other. These Ceremonies
ted me to three standing
all it, in one indeed the
o come at.³ After Viewing
s, where I found a baked
or me to take on board. I
f it they excepted my in-
out none but the chief sat
hem ashore and before I
ge Turtle and a quantity
Ship about twenty small
oon after we went ashore
l every one of the Natives
e ceremony for that was

tai, who generally slept
some time I accompanied
place as I was at the day
were assembled, I guess'd
e but could not till what
ng before near a hundred
Plantain Cocoanuts and

lent: possibly Alupe or Tealupe.

l about four feet across, now with
regarded as very good, at least for
pool' Cook refers to, as Koulo
se bay.

[June

1777]

Jove

ROYAL HOSPITALITY

[135

as he knew for Omai
f. As I intended they
were ready to sail, I
to look after them
be better acquainted
at Mariwaggy nor no
the Sheep afterwards,
no desired and in the
which I afterwards
soon appeared that all
for early in the Mor-
cks were missing. It
of them and I was
w I seized on three
en went a shore and
the other Chiefs in the
over them, and gave
ot only the Kid and
en from us were re-
to affect them, they
desired and sat down
restraint. It was not
ht me. In the mean
hind the house, but
hey dispersed and I
l appear which they
m to go aboard to
ected to the Kings
ld be the first man
4 oClock then con-
one of the Turkey-
ould come the next
n and their Canoes.
see how the people
als. In general they
ed at sence most of
o us, and they never
ist. Our station was

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance, amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood; all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees, which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.¹ On further enquiry, found that one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time. At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21st. Early the next Morning the King came on board to invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all be-smear'd with red pigment² in order to reden his hair which was naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and square position (o o) four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized³ sticks a cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to prevent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing, they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

¹ *Tabu matie*.

² Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smear'd'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

³ A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

have employed them as many days as it did these people hours: but seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most helpless on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather exceeded that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon we had two or three of the

¹ dances, after them a man with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in which the King joined dressed in English manufactory. In order to be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she stepped up to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He immediately wiped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only person we ever saw him reverence.² At the Kings desire I ordered some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment, being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the

Sun. 22 Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, encouraged by the negligence of our own people, they were continually committing some theft or a nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some inconvenience, for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

¹ Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *ma'e-tu'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *ksilao* or dance with war-clubs.

² This woman, the female *Tama'a*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female *Tu'i Tonga*, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs *Tu'i Lakepa* or *Tu'i Ha'a Teiho*, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fisi*. As Cook noticed, the sacred *Tu'i Tonga* paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognized descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was *Moungalakepa*; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* *Sinaitakala III* and *Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoclangi* of *Nukulau*, *Fiji*. *Latunipulu* was her brother.

King, he not knowing what he went off early the next morning not a Chief of any authority at this and gave Omai a present upon his mital to bring it towards the evening, but take no step to oblige the gentlemen. This declaration. Both these Chiefs of my people wanted to be acquainted with it, who and then they would be convinced from experience his property is as safe as in the World. Notwithstanding these things, the most of the one Musket and a few we had got the Turkey been stolen from our w

WEDNESDAY 25th. On for a Channel by which who commanded them which we came in was from the one side to the good Channel,³ but as the islands it would receive westerly wind which we compleated the Ships of our sails, and had However as an Eclipse next Month, I resolve chance of Observing i

³ Williamson and Bligh, on one day; they crossed the line. Both Williamson and Bligh made malicious remarks in the into the complete company below.

⁴ The *Piha* passage of the :
⁵ 'As I have now a vast number of their Constitutions, (for they dance a bit) to prevent what happy peculiarity to our Island you may transport to its Antients.—Clerke, 23 June.

Discovery p. 256 [December

thward close hauled with
ly ever once having it to
cross'd the line and got into
ood was always to the west

our Provisions at the last
the Boatswain and Car-
might be fully informed
very article, and by that
advantage.

of the inhabitants if there
from them, but I did not
et with any thing to indi-
about the latitude of 8° s
ies, Tropick and Men of
this time our Longitude
568, discovered an island
s and 1450 leagues from
Greenwich.⁴ We crossed
astward of this longitude
birds which are seldom
ht between the 22^{nd} and
[$3^{\circ}15'$] E; here the varia-

n hour after day break,
upon a nearer approach
ommon in this sea; that
within; a few Cocoa nut

aginable; as supposing all the
ching to expect in future but
stress, attending a Sea life in
render'd us quite dejected.—
Irons, and suffer'd them to do

Discovery is the fastest Sailing
as far as I can ahead till Sun-
the up; by this means we see a
December.

was some time between noon
the following day (lat. $7^{\circ}38'$ s,
Tongareva or Penrhyn, the
 $158^{\circ}09'$ w ($201^{\circ}57'$ E). This

a de Jesus, discovered on 15
of the Ellice Islands, all low

lands Starbuck (lat. $5^{\circ}37'$ s,

1777

DECEMBER

CHRISTMAS ISLAND

[257

trees were seen in two or three places, but in general the land had a very barren appearances. At Noon it extended from NEBE to SBE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 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 10 to 20 and 14 fathom water over a bottom of fine sand, the least depth about $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 dreadful 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 25th. 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.¹

FRIDAY 26th. On the 26th 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 island² 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

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

² This must have been some raised coral patch.

12/26/1777

258]

Resolution AND Discovery

[December

Suns Meridian al[t]itude. 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.¹ 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

¹ 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. on every side of us swam Sharks innumerable, & so voracious that they bit our oars & rudder, & 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 turned adrift—others had large pieces of board tied under their heads, this is called *Spirital yarding* 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour.'—Note by Trevenen.

1777]

AN

returned with one boat rather boat. In the evening provisions for the people I superintend this duty on board to attend the observations. MONDAY 29th. The two boats back laden with provisions sent round by sea as the island where most of the provisions would save the trouble of carrying to the lagoon as had been sent to this place.

TUESDAY 30th. On the 30th my self went ashore on the morning was cloudy till about the Sun long on the Watch we made about 30 Minutes past Noon. We then fixed the Micrometer measured the unclipsed Sun. I continued till about 1 o'clock I left off; being in fact the awkward possision of the Meridion) the great height of the sand. The Sun was not observed by

Mr Bailey }
Mr King }
My Self }

Mr Bailey and I observed Mr King with a reflecting telescope the same magnifying power from him as I did, perceived a protuberance in the Moon both the other gentlemen. In the after noon the

¹ Here happens an Eclipse of the Sun. We were gone on shore to observe the occasion to observe that my observation was made by Mr Clerke. King, 1 January, call these figures are supplied

CHRISTMAS

AN ECLIPSE OBSERVED

[259

[1777]

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.¹ 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 uneclipsed part of the Suns 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 possession of the telescope (the Sun being nearly on the Meridion) 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 ^h 26' 3"] | Apparent time PM |
| Mr King | | | | [0 26 1] | |
| My Self | | | | [0 25 37] ^a | |

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

¹ Here happens an Eclipse of the Sun this fore Noon, which Cap^t Cook, Mr Bailey &c are gone on shore to observe. I shou'd 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.—Clerke. King, 1 January, calls the islet 'Eclipse Island'.

^a These figures are supplied in the MS in a different hand.

DEC.

260]

CHRISTMAS IS.

Resolution AND Discovery

[December

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,¹ 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.² Having some Cocoanuts and Yams

Wed. 31

¹ 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.

² 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 sea After having Travel'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 Turtles blood the Acc^t 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 reduce'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

1777]

CHRISTMAS

on board in a state of veget
island where we made the
sown in another place. I
aining this inscription,

Georgius te

Naves {

On the 1st of Jan^{ry} 1777 we had ashore on board a was done it was late in the to sail till the next morn about three hundred tur or a hundred pound,¹ th as good as any in the w as much fish as we cou animals are Men of war a birds, or tern, Curlews, S: sparrow;⁴ Land crabs, sm produceth a few shrubs : evidently composed of d sand. There are other pl: ductions, such as broken c are thrown up in long n with the Sea coast, not u done by the Sea, though places by a mile or more.

Sences by giving him some he recovering a Little they set off o of the poor fellows being very m to halt every 10 or 15 Minutes made to recall the Boats. . . . '— whom Cook in his simple story impact on the less sophisticate recounting at some length: see imagination, made it one of tl deserts, forests, mountains, and f
¹ . . . caught 215 Turtle the 1 40 or 50.—Edgar.

² The Common Booby, *Anous* :
³ The Christmas Island Sand: extinct, until rediscovered in the
⁴ Probably the Christmas Isla

CHRISTMAS

Discovery

[December

1777]

CHRISTMAS ISLAND DESCRIBED

[261

a seaman belonging to the Discovery. There were two of them at the place they should go, they separated and were absent twenty four hours, and returned; in order to allay his thirst, he drank water, which gave him great relief, and was of course in still greater distress. A small quantity was found on the whole island. It was a matter of surprise to find that they had not lost themselves, the land, or the sea coast to the lagoon where they were five miles a cross, and a plain with a lagoon, and from many parts of which the water ran. This was a thing they never once thought of. Now in what direction the ships were to sail, they were perplexed from the clouds. Considerably more than half of the men are when on these men losing themselves we were there were no more of them; they were at the same place, but happening to see the ships were to leeward, he was known he was missing. As soon as he was left behind, he sent a party in search of the man nor the lagoon to go different ways to find him. They returned with the man and I saw some Cocoanuts and Yams

land is not more than 3 Miles over in its length on one side of it, & a part of the other side is so high as a mans head, so that it does not rise, in such a place, but a seaman when he was 48-9. Thomas Tretcher, 'the Master it seems to me it was Turned, to the Boat, which was the last of the Launchees Returned with a party who had Join'd a party of the Resolutions. He Travel'd 25 or 30 Miles he had been in great distress and in all probability must have perished. The blood the Ace^t he gave of his company, he grew faint and weak and found himself under the necessity of being carried to the beach by a party of the people who were sent in search of the Man. The greatest distress Imaginable he had, just as he was sent so much impair'd that he was never 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

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

1778

On the 1st of Jan^{ry} 1778, I sent boats to bring all the parties we had ashore on board and the turtle they had caught. Before this 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,¹ 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,² Egg birds, or tern, Curlews, Sand pipers,³ a small land bird like a hedge sparrow;⁴ 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^s 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

JAN^{ry}
Tues. 1

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 Account 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 Cookes hearing of his return the Signal was made to recall the Boats. . . .—Portlock. The acute discomforts of these two wanderers, whom Cook in his simple story thought so typical of the genus *Seamus*, made a marked impact on the less sophisticated journal-keepers. Williamson found the episode worth recounting at some length: see pp. 1345-7 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 215 Turtle the largest of which Weighed 132 & the smallest not less than 40 or 50.—Edgar.

² The Common Booby, *Anous stolidus*, and the Red-footed Booby, *Sula rubripes*.

³ The Christmas Island Sandpiper, *Aechmorrhynchus cancellatus* (Gr.), for long considered extinct, until rediscovered in the Tuamotus.

⁴ Probably the Christmas Island Reed Warbler, *Conopodax asquinioides*.

SUPPLEMENT TO COOK'S JOURNAL

[March

1779]

ASCERTAINMENT OF LATITUDE

[631

| Time | Names of Stars | Zenith Dist. Correct'd | Latitude |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 1779 Jan ^y 21 | Sun | 39° 27' 29" | 19° 27' 52.6" |
| 22 | — | 39 13 55.5 | 19 27 45.8 |
| 30 th | — | 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 |
| | β Ursa Maj | 36 36 12.3 | 19 28 36.9 |
| | ε Ursa Maj | 37 41 14 | 19 28 23.6 |
| | β 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^r. AM at 7 Weighd & Sailed for the Island Taora, to the sw of Which the Natives say there is a Small Sandy Isl^d with Plenty of Turtle on it calld Tumata Papapa;¹ though much care had been taken in Sounding round the Ship, the small bower came in much rubbd 20 fa^m from the Anchor. At Noon the Island Taora s 48 w dist 3 Leagues, Anchoring place N 63° E 9 Miles, the Ext^{ms} of Nee-neehow N 42° E to E½N. Lat obs^d 21° 47' N. Long by TK at 4^h39' PM 199° 50' 40".

In the Morning of the 13th M^r Bligh (Master) went with the Pinnace & Cutter to the NW side of the Isl^d 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 fa^m not a mile from the beach, the points lay

¹ One canoe belonging to some Atoui Chief staid with us till Sunset, and then went towards the Island Outoura which was 4 miles distant to the sw. their business, they told us, was to catch red birds, and that next day they intended going to Tomogooopapappa for Turtle.—Burney M. This clear statement of intention makes the Tamatapapapa problem even more baffling. Cf. p. 604, n. 4, and the entry from Clerke following the present one.

nearly $N\frac{1}{2}E$ & $S\frac{1}{2}W$, in which direction are 7, 8 & 9 fathoms, Beach steep to & a small surf on it. About $\frac{1}{4}$ 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 16th. 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 Albetrosses of which we have seen several this Afternoon. The feathers of the Tropick & 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^h 02' Longitude by the Time Keeper $199^{\circ} 37' 45'' E$, Latitude $21^{\circ} 46' N$. Ta'oo'ra bore $59^{\circ} E$ distant about a League, so that its Latitude is $21^{\circ} 43' N$ & its Longitude $199^{\circ} 37' 45''$. At 6 in the Evening the s End of O'nee'how $N 66\frac{1}{2}' E$ and Ta'oo'ra $S 70^{\circ} E$ 4 or 5 Miles; in 1st 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 swbw from Ta'oo'ra. In the Morning at daylight Ta'oo'ra bore $N 58^{\circ} E$ about 5 leagues; bore away, made all sail, run swbw and made the Discovery's Sig^l to spread upon the Starboard Beam at 4 Miles distance; at 19^h 17' Longitude by Kendal $199^{\circ} 16' 26''$, Lat^{de} $21^{\circ} 34' N$. At 8 Ta'oo'ra $N 60^{\circ} E$ 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. $21^{\circ} 27' N$. Long. Acc. $198^{\circ} 53'$, Watch $198^{\circ} 55\frac{1}{2}'$, Obs. $199^{\circ} 01' E$.

WEDNESDAY 17th. We stood on swbw 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^l to join comp^r and brought too till she came up. I appre-

hend we left it to you would have complete range of Isles we had situation. At 4^h 55' in $21^{\circ} 22' N$. At $\frac{1}{2}$ Topsails and made was caught on board sail. A Large Swell Cables, Hawsers & Leaks about the Water Hole forward which admits a great deal. Course $S 85^{\circ} W$. Dist. $197^{\circ} 07'$, Obs. $197^{\circ} 19'$

THURSDAY 18th. [F again. [AM] At 8 se sig^l to make more making Nippers, P 108 m. Lat. $21^{\circ} 0 195^{\circ} 39' E$. Var. $10^{\circ} C$ FRIDAY 19th. In the Boobies & Noddies sails. In the morning Topsail and bent making spunyarn a $21^{\circ} 09' 30'' N$. Long. Var. $9^{\circ} 09' 40'' E$.

SATURDAY 20th. V about us. I have no hood of some Isle, utmost exertion of to find it out.¹ In the corn'd meat to fresh—in the Morning Meat was found in us today. Carpenter

¹ From the position of to the subject, no exertion were in that part of the oceanic birds. Apart from group, there were in the 23° and $28^{\circ} N$, French Hermes Reef, and Midway

Course WSW. Dist 44m. Lat. $20^{\circ}52'$ N. Long. Acc. $193^{\circ}14'$, Watch 193° , Obs. $193^{\circ}36'$ 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 Boneta 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. Carp^{rs} at y^e B^{ts}. Course WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ W. Dist. 66 m. Lat. $20^{\circ}38'$ N. Long. Acc. $192^{\circ}04'$, Watch $192^{\circ}23'$, Obs. $192^{\circ}29'$ E. Var. $11^{\circ}00'20''$ E. Dip N Point $41^{\circ}25'$.

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. $20^{\circ}27'$ N. Long. Acc. $190^{\circ}43'$, Watch $190^{\circ}55'$, Obs. $191^{\circ}01'$ E. Var. $11^{\circ}24'10''$ E.

TUESDAY 23rd. Fresh Gales & squally with showers of rain. Split the Main Top Gall^s sail; bent another. Carried away the Larboard Main Tops^s sheet, splic'd it again. Upon examining the Best Bower Cable we found it in many places about y^e 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^e studdings^s boom. We see many Men of War Birds & Boobies about. Course S 78° W. Dist. 112 m. Lat. $19^{\circ}58'$ N. Long. Acc. $188^{\circ}47'$, Watch $188^{\circ}38'$, Obs. $188^{\circ}44'$ E.

WEDNESDAY 24th. [PM] At 6 haul'd down the Studding Sails & reef'd the Fore & Mizzen Tops^{rs}. At daylight made all sail. This fore Noon reev'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 Wea^r, the Sailmakers repairing Sails, Carpenters the Boats, and the People working up Junk & picking Oackum.¹ Course S 89° W. Dist. 128 m. Lat. $19^{\circ}56'$ N. Long. Acc. $186^{\circ}31'$, Watch $186^{\circ}16'$, Obs. $186^{\circ}22'$ E. At N^s Observations with the dipping Needle gave y^e inclination of the N Point $38^{\circ}27'30''$.

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 Boneta's, Albecores &c, with which this part of y^e Ocean abounds the poor flying Fish are most miserably harrass'd: the Fish

¹ "A swell from the sea which we have had more or less, since we have left the Islands the Ship rowls & strains very much in the hull."—King.

chase them till they tak upon with amazing veld Noon little Winds & fair Dist. 87 m. Lat. $19^{\circ}58'$ $184^{\circ}34'$ E.

FRIDAY 26th. At 6 in the daylight made all sail. swbw $\frac{1}{4}$ w which we m boobies. The Weather the Boats. People work $19^{\circ}48'$ N. Long. Acc. 188° 80° Air, 76° Surface.

SATURDAY 27th. [A p] tions, mainly for Long found that our suppos^s In the Morning at daylight Weather now but our h^s to Air. Carpenters rep^s Lat. $19^{\circ}48'$ N. Long. 188° 84° Air, 78° Su^s $12^{\circ}38'50''$ E.

SUNDAY 28th. At 6 in the At daybreak set them many Men of War Birds very Tardy. Carpenters 46 m. Lat. $20^{\circ}26'$ N. Long. 188° $81\frac{1}{2}$ Air, $77\frac{1}{2}$ Su^s.

MONDAY 29th. At 6 [PM] made all sail. We had Noddies &c about us. ¹ of some kind or other, so light we make but our Latitude & y^e sit the Boats. Course N 76° Watch $180^{\circ}58'$, Obs. 181°

TUESDAY 30th. At 6

¹ "This Afternoon saw a ¹ past, several turtles, one of ¹ in length."—King, Voyage, ¹ from a hatchling; it might h^s in the Pacific.

[March

1779]

FINE PLEASANT WEATHER

[635

very
ng. Acc. 193°14', Watch

the studding Sails. At
day. We catch plenty of
quite bare, wholly devoid
to put to our European
people working up Junk.
m. Lat. 20°38' N. Long.
Var. 11°00'20" E. Dip N

her today. The Carpen-
t Small Arms & picking
17' N. Long. Acc. 190°43',
E.

owers of rain. Split the
ed away the Larboard
aming the Best Bower
ater part so bad as to be
o cut 40 fathom off it
tune. Carried away y^o
Birds & Boobies about.
ong. Acc. 188°47', Watch

the Studding Sails &
made all sail. This fore
Braces, Main topsail
ssary now to get strong
ifferent Climes to those
ths past. Fresh Breezes
Carpenters the Boats,
ckum.¹ Course S 89° W.
, Watch 186°16', Obs.
eedle gave y^o inclination of

ding Sails. This Fore
What with these Birds
this part of y^o Ocean
bly harrass'd: the Fish

we have left the Islands the

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 swbw½w 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.¹ 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^o situation of y^o 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

¹ '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, *Voyage*, 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.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII LIBRARY

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK
ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

*

THE VOYAGE OF THE
RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY

1776-1780

EDITED BY

J. C. BEAGLEHOLE

PART TWO

CAMBRIDGE

Published for the Hakluyt Society

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1967

67-69541

Hawn.
G420
C66B43
V.3
pt. 2
cop.3

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----------|
| LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS | page vii |
| * | |
| <i>Appendix I: ANDERSON'S JOURNAL</i> | 721 |
| <i>Appendix II: SAMWELL'S JOURNAL</i> | 987 |
| <i>Appendix III: EXTRACTS FROM OFFICERS' JOURNALS</i> | |
| 1. Clerke | 1301 |
| 2. Burney | 1340 |
| 3. Williamson | 1342 |
| 4. Edgar | 1351 |
| 5. King | 1361 |
| 6. Home on Cook as a Dietician | 1455 |
| <i>Appendix IV: THE SHIPS' COMPANIES</i> | 1457 |
| <i>Appendix V: CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS</i> | 1481 |
| INDEX | 1567 |

[August

1773]

SOUTH FROM TENERIFE

[735

TUESDAY 6th. *Lat.*^a 24.32-24.22.17. *Long.* -18.15.30-00 W.
Therm. 72½:76:80½:76:73½:72½. *Bar.* 30½^o. *Th.* 72,74½. The wind
SEBs? and NE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather & hazey. Steerd
swbs. Clean'd the Ship & smok'd her with Gunpowder.

WEDNESDAY 7th. *Lat.* 22.09-22.25.11 N. *Long.* -19.38-18.43 W.
Therm. 72:74½:76½:73½:72½:72. *Bar.* 30½^o. *Th.* 72½,74½. The wind
from E to NEBN and again to ESE. Moderate breezes with squalls &
some lightning at night. The weather hazey, and in the evening some
small rain. Steerd swbs.

THURSDAY 8th. *Lat.* 20.51-20.47.09. *Long.* -19.26-19.26. *Var.*
14.10 W. *Therm.* 72½:74½:76½:77½:77½:73½. *Th.* 74½,76. The wind
from N to NEBE. Moderate breezes with cloudy weather. Steerd
swbs till noon then sw½s and at nine at night sw. Saw several flying
fish today. It is remarkable that so few of these were seen in this
passage as I remember formerly to have seen great numbers even
before reaching Madcira.

FRIDAY 9th. *Lat.* 19.20-19.16.39. *Long.* DR 20.17. *Var.* 13.26 W.
Therm. 73:76:00:75½:74½:73½. *Bar.* 30½^o. *Th.* 75,76. The wind from
N to NBW. Fresh breezes with hazey weather & a moderate sea.
Steerd sw. Clean'd and smoak'd between decks. Saw some flying fish
& Dolphin.

SATURDAY 10th. *Lat.* 17.08-17.02.58. *Long.* DR 21.47. *Var.* 10.19 W.
Therm. 74:76½:80½:77:75:75. *Barom.* 30½^o. *Th.* 75½,78. The wind N,
NNE and NE, with cloudy and hazey weather or rather that dull
whiteness which prevails always in tropical countrys in the sky and
seems a Medium between foggs & clouds: for they seldom enjoy that
clear Atmosphere observable where variable winds blow, nor does the
sun shine with such brightness. This circumstance however seems an
advantage for otherwise perhaps the rays of the sun being uninter-

* The first Latitude is that by the dead reckoning the second that by observation. The first Longitude when there is any mark'd down is that we are in by the Time keeper, the second by Lunar Observations, and the third by dead reckoning. The two first are not always at noon but the last is. The Variation is either the morning or evening and sometimes by Amplitude but mostly Azimuth. The height of the Thermometer is mark'd every four hours beginning at four in the morning so that the third is the height at noon. The Barometer is mark'd at noon and the two fractions of the inch denote the greatest fall & rise of the Mercury from the ships motion the mean of which ought to be taken for the true height. The Column or division following that shows the difference of the Thermo[me]ter on the deck and immerg'd in the surface of the sea. The first is its height in the last, and the last on the deck.

[Anderson has a careful system of rules and spaces before each of his journal entries, in which to insert all these figures, and at times a great many of his spaces are blank. I omit everything but his actual figures. Where he supplies only one figure for latitude or longitude I do away with his consequential gaps and give the figure as D[ead] R[eckoning], Obs[ervation], or T[ime] K[eeper]. Any spaces left are, I hope, self-explanatory.]

1776

[August

rupted would render the heat quite unsupportable. Their nights are nevertheless often clear & serene especially towards the 30th degree of Latitude. Steerd sw.

Saw a great number of Porpoises, some flying fish, Bonnetos and a Turtle. About nine at night saw the island Bonavista about half a mile to the westward when we hauld our wind & stood sebe. Between ten and eleven (I think near eleven) we bore away steering first se, and in a few minutes after s. A little after I was looking over the Starboard quarter at the Land as it still appear'd very near, when I thought something like breakers appear'd at a distance but hesitated whether I should mention it or not least it might be a mistake. Fortunately at this instant the Captain came over to the same place and just as I was going to mention my suspicions he observ'd something of the same sort and orderd them to starboard the helm. In less than a minute the cry of hard-a starboard became general & we could now see a range of breakers at a very small distance: upon which we were steering a direct course. Orders were given to brace the yards sharp up; but I who could only be an idle spectator in this scene of confusion went abaft and had a clear prospect of our impending danger. For the space of ten minutes I thought it utterly impossible we should avoid striking on the rocks: but the moenvre with the sails being pretty quick I had the pleasure to see the ship lye parallel to them. This glimpse of hope was notwithstanding almost instantly obscur'd, for the wind being gentle with a considerable swell she approach'd nearer the rocks though going a head. At last however we clear'd the large range and also a single place over which the sea broke that seem'd to threaten danger after passing the other. The wind at this time was at nebⁿ as we now lay ebs on hauling off.

To bring a ship into so alarming a situation as we were in at this time without being able to give a satisfactory reason for it certainly deserves the severest reprehension. Humanity will urge innumerable and invincible arguments against the conduct of a person who would risque the destruction of one and certainly much more of above a hundred. Prudence too would remonstrate in such a case and accuse the aggressor of rashness. But in the present case our censure must be somewhat soften'd as the true reason of the accident does not appear. It would be absurd to impute it to willfulness and almost as bad if we ascribe it to ignorance. On the contrary it would perhaps not be wrong to say it proceeded from too accurate a knowledge which often renders us too secure. This being the case it was not to be suppos'd we were so nigh the land though the event show'd our mistake. But after making the land why not keep clear by standing off till day light or

at least some hours. On the c steerd s & the consequence v Again I think there can be no clear of every thing on bearing: events why hazard any thing which might be done in the ours the loss of a few days or tion with the smallest dang likewise by no means eviden place) was very well known people if they expected to see as if they either did not know plain that its appearance wa every one was surpriz'd. T negligence on this occasion, fo forward or the breakers could quarter. Was there any soun Did any person know what these rocks extended, or if the the happy effects of consumm

SUNDAY 11th. Lat. 00.00-15. Therm. 75:78½:82½:78:— . B Moderate or rather gentle moderate sea. Between twelv o clock sw. At day light steer the island the body of which carry us to St Iago, as we su Mayo, but about two in the convinc'd us that it was on seen Mayo off which these re distance.¹ This error was so g tion or perhaps the laughter affairs. I am sure no apolog would seem they are the res s close haul'd & pass'd to w night stood off on the other t

MONDAY 12th. Long. TK 45 82:81:79. Bar. 30½. Th. 7 variable from sebs to e. In rest of the day gentle. It ap

¹ Mayo is abo

SUNDAY 29. *Lat.* 33.48-33.47. *Long.* 16.56-16.29-14.42. *Var.* 03.46 w. *Th.* 56½:57:58:57½:57:55½. *Th.* A 60½, S 56½. The wind from wnw to sw. Moderate breezes with the weather mostly clear. A considerable swell from the sw. Steerd ebs. Saw several Albatrosses, Cape petrels, Cape hens, Black & white Petrels, and small black or swallow-like Petrels.¹ Also a Turtle. Cleand and smoak'd below.

MONDAY 30th. *Lat.* 33.52-33.57.30. *Long.* 15.49-15.22-13.27. *Var.* 04.45.28 w. *Th.* 56:55½:60½:58:58:57. *Th.* A 61½, S 59½. In the morning and forenoon either calm or light airs of wind with clear weather. About noon the wind came from nnw and increas'd gradually with dark cloudy weather. A considerable swell from the westward. Steerd ebs. Saw besides the Birds mention'd yesterday a blueish petrel which I have often seen before in all parts of the globe to the southward of 40 degrees s Latitude or sometimes nearer 30 as in the present case. It is about the size of the black & white one already mentioned & resembles it (as seen flying) in every respect except colour.² At night a considerable quantity of those luminous flashes formerly mentioned appear'd in the sea.

[OCTOBER 1776]

TUESDAY OCT^r 1. *Lat.* DR 34.18. *Long.* 12.55-12.29-10.46. *Var.* 07.52 w. *Th.* 57½:57½:57½:57:57:54½. *Bar.* 29½. At 4 in y^e afternoon. Fresh breezes of wind from nnw and nwn in the morning and forenoon with dark cloudy weather and some showers of rain. About two in the afternoon it shifted suddenly to sw and afterwards ssw, blowing in fresh breezes and the weather at the same time clearing up. The sea moderate. Steer'd ebs. Saw such birds as were mentioned yesterday and also some Porpoises.

WEDNESDAY 2^d. *Lat.* 34.14-34.09. *Long.* 10.15-09.49-07.59. *Th.* 55½:55½:55½:55½:54½:53½. The wind ssw in the morning but afterwards shifted gradually round the rest of the day as far as ese. Gentle breezes & sometimes almost calm with clear weather. Some swell from the Westward. Stood e & ne but at night s close to the wind. Saw besides the birds already mentioned a species of Albatross much smaller than the common one, which I have formerly seen every where in the Southern Hemisphere about this Latitude and as far as 60 s. It is larger than the Sea Gull (*Larus Marinus* Linnæi) with the upper part of the wings & point of the tail black. The rest is white except half the fore part of the head which is black or grey & pro-

¹ Probably Wilson's Storm Petrel, *Oceanites oceanicus*.

² These were Whalebirds, *Pachyptila* sp.

duces a dull appearance perhaps only a variety of entireley of a chocolate color white.³

THURSDAY 3^d. *Lat.* 34.35:54:58½:55:54:53½. *Th.* Moderate breezes with cl and sbe. Saw the same bird with hook and line.

FRIDAY 4th. *Lat.* 35.38-09.29.15 w. *Th.* 53½:57½: and in the afternoon light far as s. These easterly winds season of the Year as we have little later. Are they not the same and does not their moderate breeze the Cape of good hope extend with some swell from the s. Saw some Fulmars (*Procellaria* (*Larus cataractes* Linnæi) Petrel with a whitish bill. Saw the Petrel of the Cape del Fuego and then called this Genus hitherto discovered seen at the Cape of good hope. Saw the Quebrentahuessos of the Cape. Saw the same birds on the Voyage to the Malouine. Saw the blue petrels which I have mentioned on approaching land or in the sea. We tack'd and stood Eastward 10 fathom.

SATURDAY 5th. *Lat.* 35.07.40.20 w. *Th.* 53½: wind s and sse. Gentle breeze. Stood e or e½s when the Birds mention'd before, which I have formerly seen every where about this Latitude to near

³ The Grey-headed Albatross.

⁴ The Giant Petrel, *Macr.*

⁵ Antarctic Fulmars, *F.*

⁶ A Southern Skua, *Cat.*

⁷ The Giant Petrel, *Macr.*

APRIL 1777 [847

MANUAE

[April

1777]

it and at eight o'clock were surpriz'd at this... to the Ships, as no... ver'd, which might be... at then blew and pre... d to Leeward whereas... or seven of them came... ore than four or five... ide but could not be... disorderly and clamor... tion to trust us or treat... : attack'd us had there... arms for that purpose... had attempted to take... along side and struck... y also cut away with a... s stern and absolutely... rchas'd it from them... n as daring a manner... with which they en... at last actually got a... lowing over board. At... owledge of Bartering... ils of which they were... goore.¹ They likewise... or any thing else that... a made no scruple to... on as disposition from... tween them is not very... nd several had a fierce... ect the natives of New... rong black hair which... s or tied in a bunch on... t & in two or three it... overing was a narrow... ower part of the Body... the privitys, and they... earl oyster polish'd &

hung about the neck; for they had not the least marks of Punctuation, a circumstance very rare amongst Indians in this sea. Their Language approach'd still nearer the dialect of Otaheite than that of Watecoo. They enquired from whence our ships came, the Captains name, the number of men we had and even the Ships name. Omai said this was a bad thing as in his country it was never done but when they intended to attack strangers. They knew the Islands we had just left and had heard of Otaheite, with several other circumstances which points out either an extensive connection amongst these Islanders or a tenacious remembrance of Traditions deliverd to them by their Ancestors. After they had barterd their small matts and fish, amongst which was an extraordinary flounder spotted like Porphyry,¹ a cream colour'd eel spotted with black,² & three or four other sorts, they went on shore and promis'd to bring some Cocoa nuts but did not return. In the mean time we stood towards the sw part of the island and being now past noon we had gone so far as to see it was two islands join'd by a broad reef which runs under water, on whose weather side the surf broke very high. On this we saw a canoe with one Indian passing from the last island to the first, and being pretty near the shore three canoes came off but hesitated a long time before they would come near. At last they ventur'd and were followed by seven or eight more of the same size and with about as many men as at the first place. Their Canoes were pretty large and well built though of indifferent wood, with paddles of a size and shape nearly the same as at New Zealand but with some as at Watecoo, from whence we may see that even by such trifles the connection between nations may be trac'd; for the same circumstance might be observ'd in their boats where the design seem'd to be a mixture of both these places. They were busy bartering their bits of Matts and other trifles when one of our Boats with another from the Discovery were sent to sound at the nw side of the last place, upon which they immediately left the Ship and follow'd the Boats, who in their progress met several more Canoes coming off amounting in the whole to near thirty. As they got near the shore the Indians landed from their Canoes and forty or fifty more who had been sitting under the shade of the trees came down to the Beach, probably with an intention to prevent our landing as the women brought spears and gave them to the men. Notwithstanding this unfriendly appearance they threw some Cocoa nuts into the water to our people, but not finding less than thirty

¹ Probably *Bothus* sp.
² The difficulty of identification is well represented in this eel, which could be any of twenty or thirty species, belonging to a number of genera, the most probable being *Opisthonotus* or *Echidna*.

able of any other rendering. the nails, were attempting to

fathoms of water about two cables length from the shore they return'd to the ship, when after hoisting in the Boat we steer'd away wsw. The island (or islands) is call'd Te'rougge, mou, A'tooa by the natives & we found its situation to agree exactly with that given it by Cap^{tn} Cook in his last Voyage, which was 19:16 s Latitude, 201:13 E Longitude. Each of the Islands appear to be about three mile long & at one time it seem'd as if there was a third island within the westernmost. They have a reef and white beach like Otakoo taia and are about the same height but have a greater number of Cocoa trees. The others also seem to be of the same sort for the natives told us they had no plantanes or bread fruit but liv'd on Cocoa nuts, fish and Turtle. They also mentiond their having water but we could not be sure if any quantity.

MONDAY 7th. Lat. 19.29-19.27.30 s. Long. 199.50-00.00-201.20. Therm. 78½:80:82½:81½:81:80. Bar. 30.14, 29.90 at 8 morning. Light airs of wind from the Eastward or calm. The weather cloudy before noon but afterwards clearer and at night some lightning to the se. A large swell from the Eastward. Steerd wsw, but at noon wnw and at four afternoon nw. The discovery order'd to lead the way in the night with a light. Saw a man of war Bird, some Albigores and Bonettos.

TUESDAY 8th. Lat. 19.07-19.07.10 s. Long. DR 200.05 E. Var. 07.26.27 E. Therm. 78½:83½:83:82:78½:79½. Bar 30.05, 29.94 At 8 morn. Light airs of wind from the Eward but oftener calm. The weather fine with a hot dry air. A high irregular swell. Steerd nw.

WEDNESDAY 9th. Lat. 18.52.8-18.57½. Long. DR 199.50 E. Therm. 78½:81½:81½:82:79:79. Bar. 29.8½ At 8 morn. Calm almost the whole day or sometimes very light airs from the Eward and at night a gentle breeze from nbe. The weather cloudy at times. The air hot and dry. A large irregular swell. A great deal of lightning to the Sward at night. In the evening several fish leaping about the ship. Steerd NW & at night

THURSDAY 10th. Lat. 18.40 s-18.38.15. Long. DR 199.02 E. Therm. 79½:80:82:78½:75½:76½. Bar. 29.8½ At 4 afternoon. Moderate breezes of wind from nbw but soon after noon it shifted suddenly to sw with dark clouds & some heavy showers in that quarter. From thence it soon shifted to se and in the Evening to ne when it increas'd with very hard rain, thunder and lightning. A considerable swell from se. Saw a great number of Egg birds and some Tropic Birds. Steerd wnw. The weather close and warm though pretty clear in the forenoon.

FRIDAY 11th. Lat. 18.16 s-18. 81:81:79½:79½. Bar. 29.7½ At NW. Moderate breezes but i close and cloudy. A moderate but in the Evening tack'd a number of Egg birds, tropic smoak'd below.

SATURDAY 12th. Lat. 18.12 79½:79½:83½:78:76:78. Bar. gentle and constantly varying and sometimes calm but at weather close and dark with some heavy showers of rain. moderate sea. Tack'd at 3 in t at 7 to the Nward again but t Saw several such Birds as yeste

SUNDAY 13th. Lat. 18.13 s-1: 77½:80½:81:79:79. The wind & sw or variable. Gentle bree times a little rain. A smooth made several short boards & haul'd. At six in the morning w Capt^{tn} Cook in 1774 from the approach'd it but slowly and i when it appear'd like several proceeded found these were on from its lowness. In the afterno pieces each about half a mile when we were about five miles several Cocoa palms amongst t Saw a great number of Egg common Boobys as well as anc

* It is remarkable that in this Latitude these from the Nward should prevail. Eward on leaving Watecoo there is litt short time, which was our intention, t determin'd to steer for Tonga taboo as o for the same reason that we now ende we have been unable to accomplish it. I reverse has happend and if the wind at a We have here in this sea an instance though near no land of any extent, wh necessary or favourable to its production.

† Probably the Red-footed Booby, *Sula*

in the Canoe which was drove on the shore. Indeed we might have concluded this to be the case from the vast number of Birds that were always seen hovering near it, which did not happen at the inhabited isles we pass'd, and their tameness when we got on shore would have confirm'd it without any farther examination. It may be observ'd at the same time that the vast number of Sharks seen near the shore would perhaps be a sufficient proof of such a Circumstance; for even these voracious animals seem to be less numerous wherever that universal destroyer man frequents, as if they knew their intrepid rapacity amongst their own kind could avail them little against his dexterity and cunning. We soon cut down as much of the young Cocoa trunks and Scurvy grass as loaded a boat, which was sent on board and the rest of the day being employ'd in the same manner three Boat loads were sent off at night. A party of men was left on shore with the first Lieutenant that they might work in the cool of the morning and prepare a loading for the Boats. It was high water here to day between 12 and 1 o'clock at noon, & low water in the evening when we went off, but the tide did not seem to rise more than between 2 and 3 feet.

TUESDAY 15. Long. TK 196.31 E. Th. $79\frac{1}{2}:81:00:83\frac{1}{2}:80\frac{1}{2}:80$. Moderate breezes of wind from NE with fine weather but at night it varied to SE, with some heavy rain, Thunder and lightning. The ships stood off and on all night and in the morning about eight o'clock the boats were sent on shore, two of which soon return'd with stocks of the cocoa tree and Pandanus and two more came off at noon. In the evening three more came on board & besides the food for the cattle brought about two hundred Cocoa nuts with the party who had been left on shore. About five in the evening we had soundings with 134 fathom coral rock a mile off shore.

WEDNESDAY 16. Lat. DR 18.00 S? Long. TK 196.28? E. Var. 08.30 E, 08.29 $\frac{1}{2}$ E. Therm. $78\frac{1}{2}:80\frac{1}{2}:00:79\frac{1}{2}:79:79$. The wind NNE but afterwards N or NNW. The weather cloudy in the morning but afterwards fine. As we had obtained a tolerable supply for our cattle from the little islet it was determin'd by the Captain to land to day on that next to it to the N^oward, which seem'd quite cover'd with cocoa palms, that we might get some nuts for the people, especially as the weather continued very moderate & favourable for the ships to stand off & on. Accordingly between eight & nine o'clock he went to it with two boats, on one side of which we could not land for a large surf; but on the opposite part found a better landing place than at the first islet, as there was two little breaks in the edge of the reef where

we could haul the boat to the trees was greater.

We found this island entirely covered with C loaded with excellent nut tree. They were indeed dom, which seem'd there was every where which lay plentifully & productions were the slender tree but of a local and at both places were which growing circular depending branches the board, one of which was found on the beach and seen on the other islet. A young turtle had also been full of maggots, but we at this place being less favourable generally higher. There but we found some score number of fish upon the beautifully spotted³ which of the water & endeavour follower. The other sort brown spotted rock fish instead of running off it was in absolute want a sufficient of the clams already mentioned which weigh'd two or three fish particularly the large creep, and when the tide

¹ The description seems to indicate and Asia. At the latter place it is unlike a Cypress; but the tree described 'of a loose texture', comes much closer to *Gasteria speciosa*.

² Perhaps Moray eels, of the *Coelocidae*.

³ These fish are very difficult to identify. They belong to the *Scorpaenidae* family. Snappers would be found in the Pacific islands, but perhaps also *Epinephelus* sp.

⁴ There would be several species of these.

4/16/77

[April

1777]

PALMERSTON ISLAND

[853

deed we might have
er of Birds that were
pen at the inhabited
on shore would have
may be observ'd at
seen near the shore
cumstance; for even
ous wherever that
knew their intrepid
em little against his
much of the young
t, which was sent on
in the same manner
y of men was left on
ork in the cool of the
t was high water here
water in the evening
se more than between

1:81:00:83:80:80.
eather but at night it
d lightning. The ships
bout eight o'clock the
eturn'd with stocks of
ne off at noon. In the
the food for the cattle
e party who had been
d soundings with 134

196.28? E. Var. 08.30
e wind NNE but after-
orning but afterwards
or our cattle from the
o land to day on that
te cover'd with cocoa
ople, especially as the
e for the ships to stand
o'clock he went to it
d not land for a large
nding place than at the
edge of the reef where

we could haul the boats in to load, though the distance over the reef to the trees was greater than there.

We found this island near a half larger than the other and almost entirely covered with Cocoa palms, the greatest part of which were loaded with excellent nuts having both old & young often on the same tree. They were indeed too thick in many places to grow with freedom, which seem'd the reason of some being without fruit, and yet there was every where young trees springing up from the old nuts which lay plentifully scatterd about upon the ground. The other productions were the same as at the first island, and also a pretty tall slender tree but of a loose texture which grew in the middle of this,¹ and at both places were great quantities of the specious Guettarda,² which growing circularly afforded an agreeable shade under its depending branches that reach'd to the ground. Two pieces of board, one of which was rudely carv'd, with an elliptical paddle were found on the beach and probably had been part of the same Canoe seen on the other islet as they are not above half a mile apart. A young turtle had also been lately thrown on the beach as it was still full of maggots, but we saw very few birds, which might be owing to this place being less favourable for their building as the trees were generally higher. There was also fewer crabs than at the last place, but we found some scorpions, a few other insects, and a greater number of fish upon the reefs, amongst which were some large eels beautifully spotted³ which when pursued would raise themselves out of the water & endeavour with an open mouth to bite at their follower. The other sorts were chiefly Parrot fish, snappers and a brown spotted rock fish about the size of a haddock,⁴ so tame that instead of running off it would remain fix'd & gaze at us. Had we been in absolute want a sufficient supply might have been had as thousands of the clams already mentioned stuck fast upon the reef, some of which weigh'd two or three pounds,⁵ besides some other sorts of shell fish particularly the large wilk into whose dead shells the Crabs creep, and when the tide flow'd several sharks came in over the reef

¹ The description seems to indicate the Casuarina, which had been seen also at Mangaia and Atiu. At the latter place Anderson has described it as 'tall and slender, not much unlike a Cypress'; but the tree does not really grow like a cypress, and the present phrase, 'of a loose texture', comes much closer to its appearance.

² *Guettarda speciosa*.

³ Perhaps Moray eels, of the family Muraenidae; but perhaps also Echidnidae or Congridae.

⁴ These fish are very difficult to identify. 'Parrot fish' may have been members of the Scaridae family. Snappers would perhaps be Lutjanidae, very well represented in the Pacific islands, but perhaps also Lethrinidae. The 'brown spotted rock fish' may be *Spinolius* sp.

⁵ There would be several species of Tridacnidae present; perhaps Anderson refers to these.

ives, because she
s we were rather
o expect such an
o us (if we except
y came off and
umbers as when
taken up to day

The weather fine
loy'd watering &
ief who is nam'd
ship and on shore
They also assisted
understand Trade
allest trifle unless

fine weather. The
party in cutting
r their fruits but
anoes have come
bower anchor not
is probably coral

breezes with fine
of the party who
trees which they
ir face with their
apable of working
erroneously sup-
epper and grow
s are of no great
of a milky juice.
known by trying
most like a * tree.
misfortune made
urt. The Gunner
rovisions & pur-
ame from some of
ba was the person

kets near the sea.
on's pen.

who acted chiefly on the part of the Indians, he is not chief of the island but another person nam'd Toobou. We plainly saw the smoke rising from Toofóá which is a volcano but it was constantly varying in quantity and seem'd to proceed from near the middle of the island.

TUESDAY MAY 6th. The wind SSE. Gentle breezes with fine weather. The people employ'd in looking at the other Cable and steadying the ship from swinging in shore with another anchor. The rest employ'd as usual. Few Canoes off to day but trade was carried on as before on shore.

The Captⁿ brought off a person nam'd Fee'nou who says he is chief of the Island Tonga'taboo or Amsterdam. We found he arriv'd yesterday and was probably sent to as soon as we arriv'd, for his consequence seems much greater than that of any person here as they pay him the greatest respect, and many as a mark of submission bow their head and touch the sole of his foot with it afterwards, doing the same with each hand, first with the palm and then the back part. He is a tall man about 30 but rather thin, and has more of the European features than any we have yet seen here. The Captain presented him with a gown of printed linnen and some other things to engage him in our interest which he was well pleas'd with.

WEDNESDAY MAY 7th. The wind SSE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. The people employ'd as usual and the Indians continue to trade though not so briskly as formerly. The Discovery on heaving short to shift her birth into better ground lost her best Bower anchor and had near fallen on board of our ship, as they got foul of our Cable in bringing her up, but afterwards got clear and anchor'd a quarter of a mile or more to the westward of where we lay & rather farther in.

THURSDAY 8th. The Thermometer at noon . The Barometer . The wind .

FRIDAY MAY 9th. The wind E'ly. Fresh breezes with fine weather. An Indian of some consequence who was with Fee'nou stole

¹ on board for which he was severely flogg'd, then had his hands tied firmly behind and was carry'd to the place where we traded on shore but not releas'd till a large hog was brought for his ransom. I am far from thinking there was any injustice in punishing this man for the theft, as it cannot be determin'd what might be the consequence if such practices had been permitted, but that he should be confin'd in a painfull posture for some hours after, or a ransom demanded after proper punishment for the crime had been

¹ According to Cook, he stole 'the bolt belonging to y^e Spun yarn wench'.

inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.

SATURDAY MAY 10th. The wind from E to NNE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and a considerable swell so that no Indians came off today, but they continued to trade on shore and amongst other things we bought a hawks bill turtle of about 30 Lb weight.

SUNDAY 11th. The wind SSE. Fresh gales with cloudy weather before noon and some rain, thunder and lightning in the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. No Canoes came off the weather was so bad. In the forenoon we got off the horses and in the evening the other things with the party of Marines, three of whom were punish'd on shore for negligence. On heaving in the best Bower the service was found broke and the Cable a little damag'd.

MONDAY 12th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with pretty clear weather. We should have left the Island but waited for the Discovery who has attempted to recover her anchor yesterday and today, but in vain as it got hold of a rock and the weather has been bad. Few Indians came off as they seem to have exhausted the greatest part of their stock for trade.

TUESDAY 13th. The wind from SE to E. Moderate breezes in the forenoon and afterwards almost calm. The weather fine. The Discovery after a good deal of trouble recover'd her anchor. Few of the natives came off but at night we could hear them engag'd in singing and dancing on shore as if a great number had been collected together.

WEDNESDAY 14th. The wind SSE and S. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and left Anamocka or as the natives pronounce it Anna'mooka. This island (as well as Amsterdam & several of the adjacent ones) was discover'd by Abel Tasman in 1643, who considering the time he staid has given a tolerable account of it. Its situation is in 20.14 S Latitude, 185.30 E Longitude, and is about four leagues or more in circuit being nearly of a figure. It is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it but may nevertheless be rank'd amongst the low islands.* The shore at that part where we lay

* As the different heights of land may easily be misunderstood from the deficiency of terms we use in expressing their various degrees I shall endeavour to explain what I mean by low & other lands. By low land I mean that which is about the height of the English coast about Essex, or what is a general criterion, that on which the trees where there are any appear above water as you approach it before the body of the land is so apparent as to determine its extent. When I say land is of a moderate height I mean that it is as high as the English coast about the Downs of Kent & Sussex, or indeed of the whole southern coast as far as Plymouth. I know no part of the English coast to the N or S^{ward} to which I

is of a steep rugged cor- sandy beaches already n from across their entra: sea. They make excell: in at low water, though shore without if the we. Master examin'd is a landing, but it is exp: constantly and sometim: be preferable to our anci to the W^{ward} of the Discovery lying foul by the isle is a large Salt lab the land rises like a bank any communication it l that runs across to it fro it would appear it may i another lake or pond, b on the left hand of the s and though brackish ma: luckily happened just b ship sufficiently. The soil towards the sea is of a mould, but there is no o except in some small he afford much better water

It is very well cultivat: others which appear to strength exhausted by frequently breaking in t consist chiefly of Yams extensive and often incli liquely across each oth frequently seen other fe houses of the principal p

can compare high land, and sha respect to the whole body of land high or mountainous land cannot be understood by its always exce its height.

It should be observ'd that the applied to Annamooka and some merely to avoid confusion, as the height which we have yet seen, as

the second Offo'lange,¹ between which is a rock nam'd Bouhee,² and at eleven had got up to Loo'hoggo. We then tack'd and stood to the S^oward but in the afternoon to the eastward, and at seven in the evening were within a league of the shore of Ha'ano, but stood off again as we had no soundings with less than 56 fathom. Before dark some more land was supposed to be seen to the NE^tward, which was probably an Island mention'd to us by the natives who call it Va'vaoo³ and say it is much larger than Ha'pae.

A good many Canoes came from the different isles who brought a few hogs, fowls and fruit, and Fee'nou follow'd us again to day with a present of two more hogs, some Cocoa nuts &c but in the afternoon went forward to Hapae.

SATURDAY 17th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine weather though sometimes a little cloudy. A smooth sea. Lat^d at noon 19.46.08 p. ob. In the night we stood off and on and in the morning were close in with Foa, which we saw was join'd to Ha'ano by a reef running even with the surface of the sea from one to the other. In the mean time the Master was sent in the cutter to sound between several small shoals that lye a little way off shore, and before eight she made the signal for having found anchorage, upon which we stood on and soon after came to abreast of the reef which joins Lai'fooga to Fôâ (in the same manner as the last place is join'd to Ha'ano) though rather over towards the N end of Lai'fooga in twenty four fathom about a mile from the shore. The bottom was a fine sand and when moor'd one extreme of Hapae bore the other the S end of Fôâ the north end of Lai'fooga and the island Loo'hoggo off Ha'ano.⁴ Immediately after anchoring many Canoes came off and in a short time there was above a hundred about the two ships with those that were constantly going to and coming from the shore. They brought off fruits and several hogs which they barter'd in the same manner as the people at Annamooka, and indeed we found that many of them had been at that place while we lay there.

The Captain went on shore at the N part of Lai'fooga a little to the right of where the ship lay and found the landing place very convenient except at low water, when the Boats cannot get close in for a flat that runs some way off and is dry at that time. We found that the people here paid rather still more respect to Feenou than at Annamooka, and no person seem'd to have equal authority to him as they seem'd to do what ever he directed with the greatest readiness.

¹ Ofolanga, the northernmost of the Ha'apai group.

² Puhî: it is inside the Ofolanga reef.

³ Vava'u.

⁴ Cook is more precise about the position, p. 105 above.

SUNDAY 18th. The wind The Gunner was employ'd many hogs, plantanes present which Fee'nou Plantanes, Sugar cane the two ships. Amongst green Turtle of above 9 with the natives who ca it was almost impossible

MONDAY 19th. The wind We continued to barter great number were on b

As we wanted to obtention'd it to Fee'nou us from any insult from island of Lai'fooga and mooka. The plantations we found large spots we Mulberry),¹ but in many side, the country is still much lower than Anna middle of the island the the other parts, for we r in such a manner that the fine spacious roads the civilizd countrys. It be having no good water t ponds the water was c large holes in the coral from the surface it was place we saw an artifici an harbour of low trees n us understand people s house four or five times of grass before it whic publickly to;² and near grounds, which was a gravel and had four or bodys of some of their

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tong

² Tongan mala'a.

[May

1777]

LIFUKA

[873

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and we found large spots well planted with the *Morus papyrifera* (paper Mulberry),¹ but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of having no good water that we could see, for though we found several ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made us understand people sate to catch pigeons.² At another place was a house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort publickly to;³ and near the landing place we saw one of their burying grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.⁴ Most of the

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.
² Tongan *mala's*.

³ One of the mounds called *sialupe*.
⁴ A *fa'itoka*.

d approbation from the
perform'd. The spectators
plicity of the several parts
particular ones, which
never saw the diversion
most strict concert was
notions absolutely spoke
allow there is any con-
same time it should be
as and that of the dancers
have a great share in
of them are accidentally
difficulty in entering upon
fect discipline is no where
they make from the ruder
gentle motions.

d was in an open space
at small intervals in the
was pretty large though
noon when the marines
men guess'd there might
more and some fewer.

ing in fresh breezes with
wards clear with gentle
. This change of weather
r two days past and the
the natives on board and

gentle breezes with fine
but little trade for provi-

k made with a boat hook
of them.

ing and afterwards SE.
many Indians on board
of which we have such a
and Feenou set out for
ply, perhaps to prevent
erse to. The two Indians
om, but their boat was

detain'd untill they should bring another which they had promis'd yesterday.

SATURDAY 24th. The wind E. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night calm with rain. Our boats were employ'd in watering to day which they took from a pond of a bad sort near the point to the right of the anchoring place. A spit runs out from it round which the boats must go or else the casks must be roll'd over a reef on the nearest side.

A report was spread about by some of the Indians that a European ship had arriv'd at Anna'mooka since we left it, which gain'd ground so fast that the Captain went on shore in the afternoon in quest of the man who it was said had brought the report: but he could get no certain intelligence and one man who it was said left it only this morning flatly denied it, though it seems the other was so particular as to describe the size of the ship & said there had been a boat on shore from her at the watering place.

SUNDAY 25th. The wind S or sbw. Moderate breezes with fine weather. Few Indians have come off these two days and their spare provisions seem almost exhausted, as they bring few things to sell except their household furniture such as Matts, cloth, baskets &ca.

MONDAY 26th. ^{FEB 1777} The wind ESE and Ebs. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. In the morning we unmoord and at eleven in the forenoon weigh'd and sail'd along the West side of Laifooga nearly sbw (an[d] ssw?) about two miles off, passing between some shoals without us and some others that lay nearer the shore where there are good soundings from twelve to fifteen fathom. Between twelve and one we bore away a little for a shoal near the s end of Laifooga, but afterwards haul'd up for the opening between that and Hoo'laiva which are join'd together by a reef as the others. At one we tack'd as there was some appearance of shoal water a-head, and standing in again came to an anchor between two and three off the s part of Laifooga in 18 fathom a coral sand bottom, the point bearing SEBE a mile and a half distant. The Discovery was a considerable time of weighing after us and found much more difficulty in getting up, as it was near dark before she anchor'd and had touch'd on a small Coral rock in her passage.

TUESDAY 27. The wind SE and ESE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and sometimes a little rain. The master was sent with two boats to sound for a passage to the S^oward between Hoo'laiva and Longa'hoo,¹

¹ Luangahu.

which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiwa though almost as large as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has a bending at the n part where there seems good anchorage. We found an artificial mount like that at Hapae raised as high as some of the surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe¹ or Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the evening he went on shore to Laifooga, and to show that his corpulence had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the exercise. The Captain went on shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the

¹ Fatafehi.

things they had got enquir'd what they had for a necklacc.

This mans arrival su points out his Character to detain us amongst that of every other place where he knew his true our going there when : the diligence he us'd the proofs of this; but find out for Va'vaoo to try alter our purpose, but of the Europæan ship with an intention of at visiting that place, if no our time meet with such islands entirely.

It would be hard to known, as people are so while their intentions are going to Amsterdam we appropriate every thing would hesitate a moment that it was a matter of it and that he endeavour diligence which he might same time that no more gone there, his conduct and the methods he took that he was no stranger to himself.

WEDNESDAY 28th. The close cloudy weather and There has been few Indians another visit from Poulaho day of Feenou, ie that he in the smaller isles and he could kill him if he did woman call'd Chee'nei,

and with him two or
 in it never fails of
 are more equally
 throw each other by
 the ground, in which
 strength, every muscle as
 sometimes of such a
 ing Hercules, but it
 gest is often thrown
 immediately quits
 is, gets up and goes
 roary aloud in a sen-
 . After sitting a short
 imes one sometimes
 has the privilege of
 as likewise the pre-
 agonist, until he is
 he song of victory in
 that five or six rise
 case it is common to
 at once; but it is
 his exercise, for we
 least displeasure in
 they enter'd. When
 likely to throw each
 the fall of one is not
 the advantage both
 no person who has
 a second time. One
 sively.
 side at every pace,
 behind, and holding
 only about it when
 before they enter,
 the hand or fingers.
 it sometimes to the
 y shift sides & box
 favourite and most
 as they have struck

side for a quarter of an
 each other but each with
 onist.

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage as often as the men in both these exercises, but frequently little girls, who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both exercises, but were always worsted, except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd.

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time time giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they considerd them a usefull acquisition.

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EBN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a promise to restore the other Turkey.

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number

of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five women in it who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room for two men who exercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated, in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior to their Kings.

SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many miles.

MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

were sent to sound for a passage employd as usual and the Lau

TUESDAY 24. Calm in the n breezes from the southward and boats return'd a little after noon isles lying off Tonga. They fou and Mon'ooafai to the eastward isles a clear sea to Middleburg. and many of the large sailing other islands. There has also b on shore.

WEDNESDAY 25th. The wind : weather. The people employ'd great quantity on shore, wood the Master were sent to sound should not be able to get out b in by the only accessible one a to be very fine weather. Few I shore nor do they bring any th some apprehensions ever sinc very anxious about our depart to do it. Poulaho entertains th had his Canoe riggd to set out Captain who told him that w would carry him to his house i things to be carried off at thei tion of going to Va'vaoo and

In the morning about was said to be felt by severa last above three or four seco noise continued several seco

THURSDAY 26. The wind E the forenoon but afterwards out with Poulaho and we before, in which at one pl company, with Poulahos so his amusement or perhaps le Their method of fishing w shoals and surrounding it w from each and took a net of slender pole of seven or eig

[November

1777]

CHRISTMAS ISLAND

[1079

board the Resolution
soured to prevent him
Ship. Captⁿ Cook sent
Discovery, where the
ashes & after that was
g in his Favour. The
pt in Irons till we left
ers were immediately
and Crouds of People
on Shore. The Plan of
to Uaheine & from
ah, they could not get
were obliged to bear
oonce received them
nted; from hence they
la bola called Tubai,¹
ire & there they were
one pistol with them,
asleep & the other
ernately having some
em. Finding it would
s quietly to Bolabola

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

MONDAY DEC^r 8th. 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 Captⁿ 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 Opoonce, having been brought here from Otaheite; and as they could make nothing of it themselves an offer was made of it to Captⁿ 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 Opoonce 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 Mawrooa² and Tubai two small Islands.

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

WEDNESDAY DEC^r 24th. 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; 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^r 25th. This Morning Captⁿ 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 ratts, 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,³ the Sharks came about the boats in great Number & carried away many of the fishing Lines.

Captⁿ Cook observed the old laudable Custom of keeping Christmas & dedicated this day to feasting & mirth; while he was at Dinner

¹ Maupiti.

² Christmas Island.

³ I cannot identify 'the' red fish.

he received a Note from Captⁿ 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^r 26th. 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^r 27th. 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^r 29th. 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 lose their way and perish for want of water, as the weather was exceeding hot, Captⁿ Clerke sent a midshipman¹ & three men ashore in search of them.

TUESDAY DEC^r 30th. 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^r 31st. 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

¹ Hollamby.

and Hunger as to be little refreshment which walk to the Boat, he cont

We staid here catching when we got under sail & ward & before noon lost them procured near to weight, which afforded the fresh Pork we had b we had served out one called the Island, Christ with great number of Tu Extent of the Island is a

SUNDAY JAN^{ry} 18th. An occurrence since we left we discovered high land

MONDAY JAN. 19th. This found to be a large Island excited our Curiosity in People distinct from the were sometime in Suspicion approaching near to cleared by the appearance When they came near them & made signs for they did. Captⁿ Cook Nails &c. with which the Cloth they had also surprized to find their Otaheite, by our little pretty well understood the Produce of the Island Fowls, Breadfruit, Sweet nuts ashore, some of which perceived that every Canoe to the Ship, but finding generous Indians laid a the Sea, & many of them expressed the utmost which all at once pres

¹ Kauai. It was the second

1/18 1778
KAUAI

JAN [December '77

1778] SANDWICH ISLANDS [1081

acquainting him that some of
had met with some Turtle
is was a welcome piece of
Island than what we had

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.

Boats of both Ships were sent
of Turtle & returned in the
od Success.

We staid here catching Turtle till Friday the 2^d of January 1778
when we got under sail early in the Morning and stood to the North-
ward & 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. Captⁿ 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.

h Ships were sent in search
at Parts of the Island took
s, intending to lie ashore &

SUNDAY JAN^{ry} 18th. 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.

covery's great Cutter, which
Turtle within the Lagoon,
em 2 of the people who had
able to find their way back
away one of our Boats was
was probable the Stragglers
nt of water, as the weather
midshipman¹ & three men

MONDAY JAN. 19th. This Morning We drew near the Land which we
found to be a large Island,¹ 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. Captⁿ 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. Captⁿ Cook

aunch which had been sent
& brought with her one of
le in the forenoon; the Mid-
Companion whom he had
further, they had mistaken
the Sea Beach to the Boat,
want of Water. After trying
y digging wells in the sand,
's blood, flowing out of the
instead of quenching their
benefit by plunging them-
of the Sun striking directly

Noon the other Man was
shipman came up with him
panion & found him lying
e saw his old Shipmates be
the Heat of the Sun, Thirst

¹ Kauai. It was the second island seen: Samwell runs Oahu and Kauai together.

→ 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 JAN^{ry} 20th. Early this morning we made Sail in shore, and while the Ships lay off and on Captⁿ 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 extrems 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° west¹ and the Extrems 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 upset 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

¹ Lehua.

* Niuhau.

obliged the Lieut^t fled taking the dead. They were much a finding there was further Attempt but anchoring place, on we came to an anch the distance of two great [number] of potatoes and Planta

WEDNESDAY JAN^{ry} the Pinnace at an I water with a large p Indians who were c themselves on their water Casks out of accompanied by the of the River & was p who treated him wit by prostrating them Women, who were i to entice our people be allured by their b were so importunat However there had been for the severe I our having any int there were several of Disease which they h of those who had bee to Captⁿ Cook, who shore & that no wor wise sent the same or that human foresigh innocent People with was afflicted with; among them is mor Signs of it, nor did a tho' it was known th course with the Won

Resolution. This part of the Island which the Natives call Opoona¹ 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^y 6th. 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 Atawa.² 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

¹ Puna.² Kau.

she came round
parted from her
had been the
when we saw
shore to day,
Country is ca
covered with I

This afterno

JAN. 7th. The
Miles off shore
great number
in both Ships.
stay on board
The[y] bring 1

JAN 8th. The
trading with t
kind called ye

SATURDAY J.
distance off sh

SUNDAY JAN
Canoes came
all assembled
on the pit of t
same time rep
was upon the
of the Otaheit

MONDAY JAN
siderable Way
board, some c
to fetch them c
that came off t

JAN 12th. So fa

JAN 13th. Sta
came off to u
being Salt, wh
the plantain T

THURSDAY J.

[January

Natives call Opoona¹
any place we have seen
h Groves of Cocoa nut
reen plats stand their
d on the Beach to look
oint are several large
want to go ashore tho'
people on this part of
ort time afterwards he
iven to him and went
k strange considering
ese Indians frequently
some idle stories upon
can possibly guess at,
e to lying. Many such
pprove of that facility
e relation of Indians
hen, setting aside the
with their lying Tales,
y glaring to any per-
our total Ignorance
ernoon we saw some
ht the Ship to & sent
anoes came off to us.
number of beautiful
eing almost entirely
turned having found

Wind; no Canoes
ance see any Houses.
y bare of Trees, with
s of Lava extending
e got round a point
s Ataw.² As we were
Resolution from the
ore down upon her
up with her lying to
ndians. We hoisted
her: we learned that

1779]

OFF HAWAII

[1157

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. Captⁿ Cook was on shore to day, the people behaved very friendly. This part of the Country is called Atona¹ 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. 7th. 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. The[y] bring us plenty of breadfruit.

JAN 8th. 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 y^e Loggerhead. ←

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

SUNDAY JAN 10th. 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 Otahciteans.

MONDAY JAN 11th. 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 12th. So far off shore that no Canoes came off to us.

JAN 13th. 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 14th. But few Canoes about us to day.

¹ Kona.

[March

1779]

DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLANDS

[1235

Ouwyhee Governed by Kariopoo
 Mowee }
 Morotai } Governed by Taheeteere
 Oronai }
 Kahowrawe } uninhabited
 Morokeene }
 Oahoo Governed by Pereechoranee
 Atowai }
 Neehaw } Governed by Teeave
 Orohooa }
 Taura } uninhabited
 MODOOPAPAPPA }

MONDAY MARCH 15th. 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 Nehaw. 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 16th. 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 Captⁿ Cook & the officers of both Ships;¹ yet he himself had he lived intended to go to the Northward again this Summer

¹ 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.

9 10
 civa come

ing¹

inhabited and

are is it,
 ?

ib fall on the head,
 get
 aight to the bull's

& settle this long disputed point of a North East & North West passage beyond the possibility of a doubt; after which his Intention was to pass the Winter at Kamtchatka or at Sandwich Islands & then to examine the Kurile Isles, the Coast of Japan & Coria, and return Home by China & thus have finished his third Voyage to the South Seas crowned with never-fading Laurels which his grateful Country ever bestows on those Heroes who so eminently distinguish themselves in her Service.

To prosecute these Discoveries which Captⁿ Cook had in view is the intention of our present Expedition.

MARCH 17th. Standing wbs with a moderate breeze and fine Weather; Saw some Boobies about. Lat. 21°16'.

MARCH 18th. Keeping the same Course with a moderate breeze and fine warm clear Weather; Saw several Boobies. Lat. 21.15.

MARCH 19th. Moderate Winds & fine W^r. Saw white Boobies.

MARCH 20th. Altered our Course to wsw, having light Breezes from ENE. Caught a Shark. Lat. 20.54.

MARCH 21st. Standing wsw with Light Winds at NNE.

MARCH 22^d. Light winds and fair weather, passed a large Log of Wood. Some white Boobies & Man of War birds about. Lat. 20°27'.

MARCH 23. Moderate Breeze & hazy weather with a heavy swell from the NE. Lat. 20.00.

24. Fresh breezes & cloudy weather.

25. Course wbs, mod. winds and fair weather. Man of War birds & Boobies about. Lat. 19.59.

26. The Resolution made the Signal for seeing Land, but it proved to be what the sailors call Cape flyaway; we expect daily to see land on account of the Birds we have about us. Lat. 19.47.

27. Light Breeze & fair Weather. Man of war birds & Dolphins about, we caught a shark.

28. Light Winds and fair weather. Lat. 20°4'.

29. Light breeze & fair W^r. Saw a Turtle, Man of War birds, Tropic birds & Boobies about.

30. Light airs & cloudy W^r.

31. Altered our Course to the nw with light Winds at sse. Man of War birds about.

APRIL 1st. Hard rain birds & Boobies about.

2. Squally weather with

3. Fresh breeze & cloud

4. Squally Weather with
NE.

5. Fresh Gales & cloudy

6. Moderate Gales & cl

7. A moderate Breeze & ward, Albatrosses & Sh

APRIL 8. Moderate W
30.39.

9. Moderate breezes &
32.17.

10. Moderate breezes tropic bird. A Swell from up ever since we left Sa

11. Moderate breezes from the Northward. C

12th. Fresh Gales & thic

13. Fresh Gales & cloud a Puffin & some Sea Pa

14th. Strong Gales and waters & Divers about.

15. Strong Gales & a thick rainy Weather; co

16. Having fine Weat Resolution, by which

13th under the Larboar part of the ship with

Gunner's Store room & many of the Gunner's

cleared the fore hold & made way for the Water

constant bailing they v upon them.

file Capt. Cook

Date: Sun, 3 Nov 1996 15:31:27 -0500
From: Ursula Keuper-Bennett <howzit@io.org>
To: "George H. Balazs" <gbalazs@honlab.nmfs.hawaii.edu>
Subject: Another Cook reference FYI...

Aloha and 'morning, George

This just in from that Cook scholar. If you recall he said he found no tumour reference in Beaglehole but wasn't sure about the Bank's journal. I guess he must be interested now because I just got this and again, figured you'd be interested.

Date: Sun, 03 Nov 1996 12:30:37 -0500
To: Ursula Keuper-Bennett <howzit@io.org>
From: Tony & Roz Cundell <rcundell@dti.net>
Subject: Re: Green Turtles & Cook
Status:

Ursula,

Voyage of the Resolution & Discovery
Samwell,s Journal
P1080-1081
Dec-Jan, 1778

Cook's crew took 200 green turtles at Alderman,s Point, Christmas Island as a welcomed addition to their diet since all the fresh pork from the Society Island was finished.
No mention of tumours.

Best regards

 ^
 0 0
 I I
 /V /V^ \ I I /^V \
/V Turtle Trax V\

Ursula Keuper-Bennett
Email: howzit@io.org

<http://www.turtles.org>

PLEASE SUPPORT Green Turtle Fibropapilloma RESEARCH

*Two hundred years ago
Capt. Cook's men heard
numerous accounts of a
small sandy island near
Kaula. The island is
gone today. What
happened to it is a
mystery*

The Lost

*Armed with a power-head in case
of sharks, Don Moses scans the
water below during the search for
Mokupapapa.*

On the afternoon of March 16, 1779, the two ships of Capt. Cook's third voyage, *Resolution* and *Discovery*, were about 18 miles southwest of Niihau. Capt. Cook was dead now, having been killed a month earlier on the Big Island. But the expedition, under the command of new captain Charles Clerke, had continued, and now, before leaving the Hawaiian Islands for good, had one final exploration to make.

They were looking for the one Hawaiian island they had heard about but not yet seen. Its name was Mokupapapa and, as best the Englishmen could judge from accounts they had gotten from natives, it was located somewhere in the area of Kaula, the mile-long, uninhabited crescent-shaped rock 22 miles southwest of Niihau. Described as a small, low, sandy island, Mokupapapa was supposed to be visited by Hawaiians, who took turtle there.

In the late afternoon of March 16, in the open ocean, the *Discovery* encountered some Hawaiians in a canoe. The natives were on their way to Kaula, and then to Mokupapapa. In his journal, James Burney, *Discovery's* first lieutenant, recorded the meeting this way:

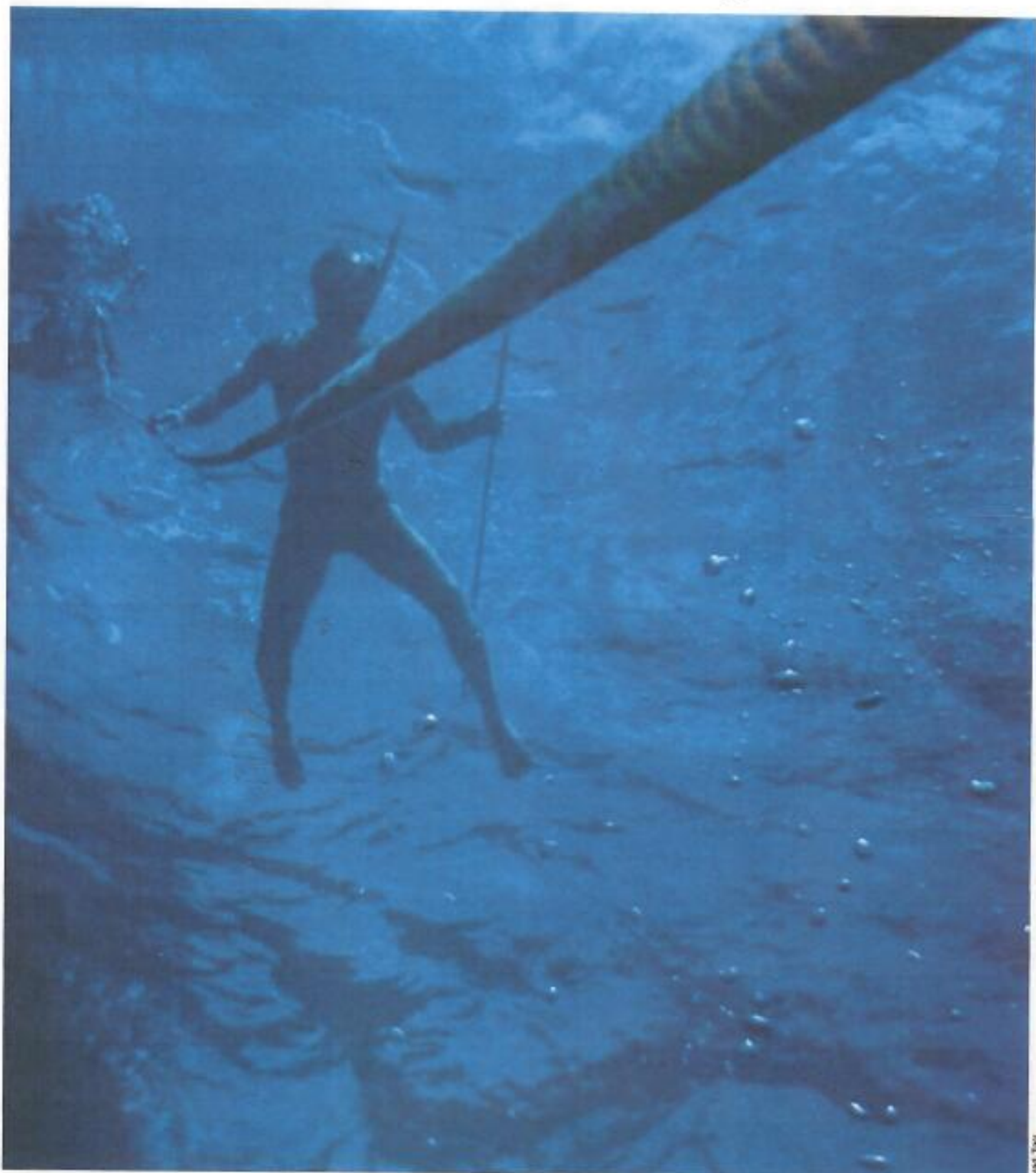
One canoe belonging to some Kauai chief staid with us till Sunset, and then went towards the Island Kaula which was 4 miles distant to the SE. their business, they told us, was to catch red birds, and that next day they intended going to Mokupapapa for Turtle.*

Apparently the English sailors

*To avoid unnecessary confusion, the current spelling is used for names of Hawaiian islands. In other regards, quotes are as they appear in John C. Beaglehole's *Journals of Capt. James Cook*.

Hawaiian Island

By Victor Lipman in collaboration with George Balazs



Shad Taylor

In Search of Mokupapapa

It's the morning of Sept. 2, 1983, two hours before daybreak, as we set out from Kekaha, Kauai, to look for a lost island.

Six of us are on board the 32-foot charter fishing boat *Lady Ann*: Don Moses, captain; Dave Lambdin, crew; John Sinton, University of Hawaii professor of geology and geophysics; George Balazs, National Marine Fisheries Service research biologist; Brad Tarr, diver/photographer; and myself.

Five months earlier, over lunch at King's Bakery, it was George Balazs who first told me about Mokupapapa, a mysterious island somewhere near Kaula that Capt. Cook and his men had heard about but never found. Initially, Balazs's research of turtles had drawn him to the subject. Here was a small, sandy island the old Hawaiians had supposedly visited for turtles. But the island was gone today. Where was it? What had happened to it?

Now, after several months of researching the matter, we think we might have some answers. And the result is this modest, HONOLULU-sponsored expedition.

We know what we're looking for, but are not sure what will be there if we find it. About three or four miles northwest of Kaula, according to nautical charts, is an area where the water is curiously shallow. It's listed on maps as five fathoms, or 30 feet, when all around the sea floor falls to much greater depths—more than 200 feet. Might this one shallow spot have been emergent in Capt. Cook's time? Could it have been Mokupapapa? This is what we hope to investigate.

6:45 a.m. The sun is just above the horizon in a pinkish sky as we pass the south point of Niihau—a stark, desolate landscape of cliffs, beaches, grasslands. No people are visible. It's a beautiful morning, the sea is calm.

9:00 a.m. Off Kaula in bright sunshine. We take a bearing and head northwest 290°; the five-fathom area should be three or four miles from here. Moses is studying loran coordinates to position us precisely; Sinton is watching the depth recorder. Brown boobies pass overhead.

For my part, I am growing slightly nervous. Balazs and I have spoken with a few people (fishermen and scientists) who had been out to this shallow spot before, and although

“... It looks like a pinnacle with a level top; the edges drop off steeply, clifflike...”

Don Moses and John Sinton (right) review nautical charts on board Lady Ann. Through the boat's window can be seen Kaula.



George Balazs

their descriptions of it differed somewhat, on one point they agreed: The area was “filthy with sharks.” This isn't surprising; any place with such dramatic changes in depth is apt to be rich in all kinds of marine life. Also, in 1974 a diver for an Italian film company making a documentary on oceans had died at this location in an unexplained accident; and another diver was seriously injured.

9:40 a.m. We have, it seems, found the spot but lost it. For a moment, the graph lines on the depth recorder rose abruptly, but quickly fell again. The shallow region is probably very small. We're crisscrossing the area slowly.

10:10 a.m. Found it! Ironically, with all our sophisticated navigation equipment, it was Balazs and Tarr, sitting on the flying bridge, who with their naked eyes finally saw the shallow spot—a lighter shade of green amid deeper blue. We anchor on it.

Figuring the area would be full of sharks, we didn't bring scuba gear. But now, leaning over the side of the boat with a mask on, Moses says it

looks pretty clear. He and Tarr enter the water with a mask and snorkel and fins. Moses carries a power-head (a shark spear containing compressed gas) and Tarr carries a camera. After a few minutes Balazs and Sinton go in, and I do too.

After months of wondering about Mokupapapa, it is fascinating for me to look down at what *might* have been it. The water is clear, with plenty of small fish. The bottom, about 30 feet down, is hard and white—cemented limestone—with some live coral growing on it. It looks like a pinnacle with a level top; the edges drop off steeply, clifflike.

Unlike the others, I am an inexperienced diver. After about three minutes of staring down curiously more or less in one direction, it occurs to me it might be a good idea to look in other directions as well. As I turn around I see, to my surprise, behind and below me but looking up, a medium-sized gray reef shark. I decide it's time to get out of the water.

11:20 a.m. Everyone is back on the

boat now, none the worse for wear. We talk over what we've seen. The shallow area is small, no question of that: a flat-topped, steep-sided pinnacle, roughly pear-shaped. The consensus is it's about 40 or 50 yards long, and 30 or 40 yards across. The reported five-fathom depth seems accurate. No turtles have been sighted, but Tarr makes a list of the fish he saw: 11 species in all, including ulua, uku and trumpet fish. He also saw a few gray reef and white-tipped sharks. But they just stayed on the bottom and didn't bother him.

11:50 a.m. We leave the pinnacle and start the 50-mile trip back to Kekaha. Late afternoon. Nearing Niihau again, we troll and catch a small aku. Eating an egg salad sandwich, I talk with John Sinton, the geophysicist. Soft-spoken and likable, Sinton is really the most important man on the trip. He more than anyone is qualified to draw some conclusions about the area we've observed.

So what does he think? Could the pinnacle have been Mokupapapa? He is apologetic—but at the moment it's hard for him to make a "yes" or "no" statement. If he had never heard any of the accounts of Mokupapapa, he says, it would be difficult for him to imagine this pinnacle as an island just 200 years ago. For one thing, it's very small—it's almost hard to visualize if holding sand. And its depth is a problem—if the charts had been inaccurate and the pinnacle had risen closer to the water's surface, it would be a more likely candidate. Sinton also had been looking for scarps, cut lines in the pinnacle's surface that might be evidence of faulting—activity that could have dramatically lowered it—but he didn't see any.

Still, knowing that there might have been an island in the area, Sinton can't totally dismiss the pinnacle either. He wants to discuss his impressions with other specialists in the subsidence rates of islands.

Despite the apparent lack of conclusive evidence, I feel it's been a good trip. Everyone is safe, and we basically did get a first-hand look at what we set out to.

6:00 p.m. Ahead now is Kauai, looming huge and green beneath black-gray clouds. The water has turned choppy. And for the first time today, it begins to rain.—V.L.

(who, after all, had had so much practice finding islands throughout the vast reaches of the Pacific) were confident they could find Mokupapapa on their own, without being guided there by a small canoe. But they were wrong. They never found the island. For two days they sailed in a generally southwesterly direction, keeping a sharp watch out for what Capt. Clerke called "this good Sandy Isle." Finally, around 70 miles from Kaula, they gave up the search.

For the English sailors, this was their last contact with Hawaii. They headed north toward Arctic waters and one final look for the Northwest Passage. And for Mokupapapa, the small, sandy Hawaiian island virtually unheard of today, this was the first and last time until 1983 anyone other than the old Hawaiians who kept no written records ever tried to find it.

Mokupapapa is gone now, there is no question of that. The waters within hundreds of miles of Hawaii are simply too heavily traveled for any island—even a tiny one—to go long undetected. But there is considerable evidence the island once existed.

At least seven men in Capt. Cook's voyages to Hawaii independently made reference to Mokupapapa in their journals. They were told about the island by natives from Niihau, Kauai and Maui. The sailors' accounts were sometimes quite detailed. Capt. Clerke, for example, on March 16, 1779, the first day of their search for Mokupapapa, made this journal entry:

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 Mokupapapa 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 Kaula and very easily paddle there in the course of the following day—by the best accounts I could get from the People at Niihau I conclude it to lay about swbw [southwest by west] from Kaula.

A day earlier, David Samwell, *Discovery's* surgeon, had written this:

Light Winds and fair Wr. AM at 7 Weigh'd & Sail'd for the Island Kaula, to the SW of Which the Natives say there is a Small Sandy Isld with Plenty of Turtle on it called Mokupapapa.

Still earlier in the same month, *Resolution's* first lieutenant, James King, in the course of a lengthy description summing up much that he had observed in six months in Hawaii, commented:

Molokini is too small to deserve the name of an Island, & that as well as Kaula are uninhabited. To the wsw of Kaula, they visit a low sandy Island for Sea birds and Turtle called Mokupapapa.

In fact, on Dec. 1, 1778, King had heard mention of Mokupapapa all the way over on Maui—a significant point since it means knowledge of the island was not limited to nearby Niihau and Kauai, but was widespread. While the *Resolution* was anchored off the east shore of Maui, about 10 or 12 natives came aboard. The meeting was a friendly one. King wrote:

We had now leisure to examine these people concerning the Number of Islands within their Knowledge, Hawaii for which we are now steering & is the last Island to the East: to the Westward of which they mentioned Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kahoolawe, Molokini, Oahu, Kauai, Niihau, Lehua, Kaula, Mokupapapa, of these they represent Hawaii as the largest.

Capt. Cook himself mentioned the island once, on Feb. 2, 1778, at the conclusion of the voyage's first of two visits to Hawaii. At this point in his explorations here, Cook was familiar with only the five islands at the northern part of the chain: Kauai, Niihau, Lehua, Kaula and Oahu. He noted:

Besides these five islands, we got some information of a low uninhabited island in the neighborhood of these, called Mokupapapa.

Cook of course would never get the chance to look for Mokupapapa, since on the return trip to Hawaii he would be killed at Kealahou Bay. His successor, Capt. Clerke, would die at sea of consumption six months later. David Samwell would go on to a long career as ship's surgeon, and become a prominent poet in London literary circles. But unlike the men, whose fame would live after them, Mokupapapa would be forgotten, a curious footnote to history.

Literally, the name "Mokupapapa" means low or flat island—"moku" meaning island in Hawaiian, and "papapa" meaning low or flat. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary* even includes the word combination "moku papapa" together, defining it as a "low reef island."

Actually, the explorers did not always record the island neatly as Mokupapapa, although this is clearly the most probable rendering. The Englishmen were conversing with natives who spoke an unfamiliar tongue, one in which dialects could vary even from island to island. Kauai, for example, was referred to in sailors' logs as "A-Tou I" or "Tou I" or "Koue I," among others. Kahoolawe could be "Kahowrowee" or "Tahowrowee," and Niihau could be "Neeheehow" or "Oneehow." Thus Mokupapapa, a complex and difficult word to pronounce in the first place, was sometimes rendered "Komodoo papapa" or "Tummata papapa," and so on. Still, once a reader has become accustomed to the language of the explorers' journals, and observes the context in which a name is being used, it is easy to tell what island is being referred to. When James King, for instance, writes

To the WSW of Teura [Kaula], they visit a low sandy island for Sea birds and Turtle called Modoo-papapa or Komodoo papapa

it is not hard to tell what island is being described.

John C. Beaglehole, the renowned historian and Cook biographer, was frankly puzzled by the Mokupapapa question. Here was an island that by all accounts should have been found but wasn't, and never has been. In a footnote in his *Journals of Capt. James Cook: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery*, he comments:

This 'low sandy Island' is quite baffling, though the name was picked up in both 1778 and 1779... [Ka]motu or moku papapa is literally the low, or flat and smooth island. Charlton, 15 March, renders the name Comveoopapappa, which at least is original; Burney, same date, Tomogoo-papappa. There is a large isolated rock about four feet high, called Kuakamoku, standing near the middle of a

shoal about 2½ cables offshore of Niihau about a third of the way up its eastern coast, which has been suggested; but it fits none of the description, and though it might attract sea birds, would certainly not attract turtle. Dr. Emory suggests that, as Nihoa was known to the historic Hawaiians and frequently visited by them, Moku Papapa may have been an alternative name for this island. Although Nihoa is not low or flat, papa could have referred to the strata exposed in the great cliff walls. But then what becomes of our compass direction? Nihoa is certainly not WSW of Kaula, but a NW extension of the main Hawaiian chain...

So what are we to make of the situation? There are several possible explanations.

One is that the island never existed, and that the Hawaiians who told the Englishmen about it were deliberately deceiving them or playing a joke on them. Yet this really does not seem likely; the name was picked up at different times in different places by different people; and most of the other geographical information the explorers received from natives was reliable. In short, it is extremely hard to imagine the entire Mokupapapa story as some sort of elaborate practical joke.

Another possibility is that the whole episode was an exercise in miscommunication—that the Hawaiians did in good faith describe a "moku papapa," but were not referring to a small island near Kaula. As Lee Motteler, geographer for Bishop Museum, responded when asked if there was much of a tradition for the natives deliberately deceiving the Englishmen, "Well, there has been since, but usually at early or first contact it's more likely you have some kind of misunderstanding."

What then might the Hawaiians have been describing—if not a sandy island near Kaula? "If we could look at records," says Motteler, "and determine possibly the Hawaiians had said 'namoku papapa,' that would make it plural—the low islands. Maybe they were referring collectively to all the low islands beyond Necker."

Could the Hawaiians have been referring to one or several of the

Northwestern Hawaiian Islands like French Frigate Shoals—low, flat, sandy islands known to have plenty of turtle? There is a small amount of evidence that could conceivably be marshaled to support this theory. In their journals, two men do make reference to Mokupapapa as lying to the northwest of the other islands. In the upper left-hand corner of a map he drew of Kauai, Niihau, Lehua and Kaula, Thomas Edgar, *Discovery's* master per warrant, made a written note saying, "Tummata-papapa, an island that lays to the NW of these." And Charles Clerke, then *Discovery's* commander, at the conclusion of his first visit to Hawaii, wrote:

This group of Isles consists of 5, which we saw; the Natives tell us of another, away to the NW, which they call Tummata-papapa; this however we have only their word for.

A year later though, when Clerke had become captain and presumably learned more from the natives about the islands they had knowledge of, he would lead the search for Mokupapapa toward Kaula, not the northwest.

In addition, there are several other factors that, taken together, weigh strongly against the likelihood of placing Mokupapapa in the northwestern end of the archipelago. First, there is no physical evidence of any kind to indicate that the ancient Hawaiians ever traveled beyond Necker. Second, the natives' main reason for visiting Mokupapapa was to catch turtles, who would presumably lay eggs or haul up on the sand, and bask in the sun. Yet turtles were probably not scarce around the main Hawaiian islands at that time; the Na Pali Coast of Kauai, for example, has traditionally been a good turtle grounds. French Frigate Shoals, the nearest possible candidate for a "low, sandy island" to the northwest, is 400 miles from Kauai.* It seems unreasonable to believe that anyone—even master navigators—would regularly undertake so long and potentially dangerous a journey for a food source available close to home. Lastly, how are we to explain the natives the explorers encountered in a canoe on their way to Kaula? The natives indicated they were going to Kaula for red birds, and then on to Mokupapapa the next day. Kaula is 50 miles southwest of Kauai—cer-

*French Frigate Shoals is actually an atoll consisting of 10 sandy islets and one small rock pinnacle.

tainly an odd route to take to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands!

All of which brings us back to the point we started from: a speculative belief that Mokupapapa did exist, that it was near Kaula, and that it is gone today.

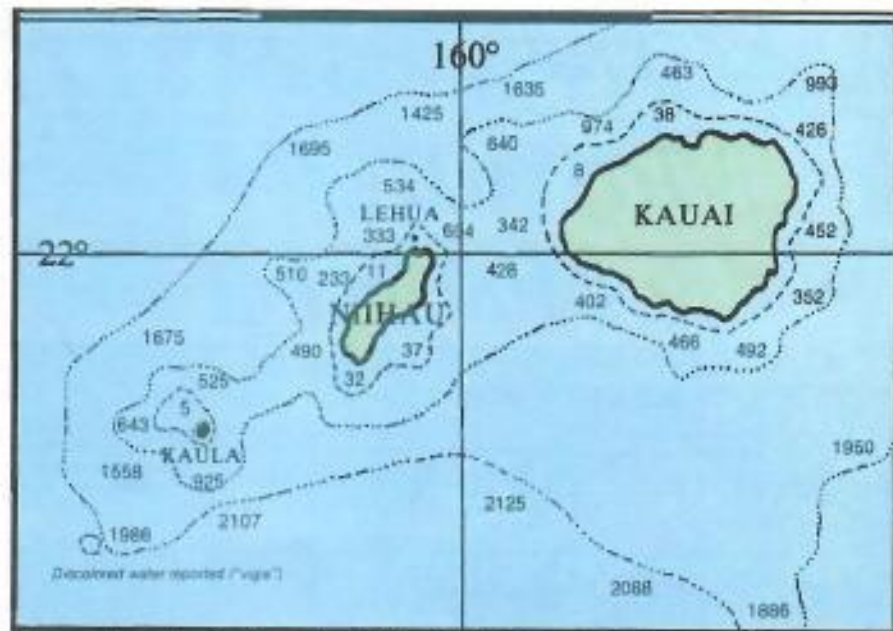
Capt. Cook's men were here 204 years ago. Mokupapapa was known about then. Yet it is not mentioned in any subsequent historic accounts. So if the island did exist, what happened to it?

As strange as this may sound, 200 years is enough time for an island to "disappear," or, more accurately, sink below the surface of the ocean. It's not common, but it's not impossible either. As John Sinton, professor of geology and geophysics at University of Hawaii, explains, "If something was there 200 years ago, you *can* wear it away, no doubt about that, to where the thing might not be emergent anymore. Storms take some away; and once they go down, unless the sea level drops it's not likely they would come up, because in general, everything is sinking."

The key factor is the contours of the island. It's totally absurd of course to think an island as large as Oahu today could sink below sea level in 200 years, but with a very low, small island that is barely above sea level to begin with—a description that fits Mokupapapa perfectly—the situation is quite different.

Violent storms, tsunamis or earthquakes all could cause a tiny island to be worn away and covered over by ocean. A contributing factor could be the gradual cooling and contracting of the earth's plate; another factor is the day-to-day pounding by waves. If a feature is at sea level, says Michael Garcia, professor of geology and geophysics at University of Hawaii, "waves will unmercifully attack it." In recent times there have been documented cases in Iceland and Tonga of small islands becoming submerged.

In the vast sweep of geologic time, islands are created and islands lost. Five million years ago Oahu was below the ocean's surface; in another five million years it may be gone again. Scientists are currently monitoring the activity of Loihi, a submarine volcano off the southeast coast of the Big Island. In time,



A map showing the location of Kaula in relation to Kauai and Niihau. Numbers indicate ocean depths in fathoms. Note the extremely shallow area just northwest of Kaula.

perhaps thousands of years, it may become the next Hawaiian island. It is possible Mokupapapa was the last one.

One way to try to discover where Mokupapapa might have been was to consult bathymetric charts—detailed maps showing depths and contours of the ocean floor. Islands do not spring magically from nowhere; if an area were now very deep (say thousands of feet below sea level), it would be virtually impossible for that area to have been raised high enough to be emergent just 200 years ago.

A possible clue to the island's location was contained in Capt. Clerke's log. He wrote that to get to Mokupapapa, natives would "lay a night at Kaula and very easily paddle there in the course of the following day." How far could Hawaiians then paddle in a day? This was a hard figure to pin down, but according to historians and Polynesian Voyaging Society members, a reasonable estimate would be between 25 and 40 miles a day. Assuming that the visit to Mokupapapa would probably be a round trip, with the natives returning to Kaula before heading back to Niihau or Kauai, it seemed probable that the island was within 20 miles of Kaula.

One feature immediately stood out on nautical charts. About 20 miles

southwest of Kaula—the direction of Mokupapapa, according to the sailors' journals—was a *vigia*, an area where something unexplained but potentially hazardous to navigation had been sighted in the water. It was represented by a dotted circle, with the words "Discolored Water Reported 1955."

Could this sighting somehow have been related to Mokupapapa? Unfortunately, the location of the *vigia* made this possibility highly unlikely. All around the discolored area, the water depth is between 1,900 and 2,200 fathoms*—far too deep for an island to have settled into the ocean in this spot in the last 200 years. This discoloration was more likely caused by some sort of unusual biological phenomenon, such as a mass of floating plankton.

But the bathymetric charts also revealed a second, more promising feature. About three or four miles northwest of Kaula was an extremely shallow area—five fathoms. This was odd: Amid depths of hundreds and even thousands of fathoms within several miles, the figure "5" jumps right out at you when scanning maps of the Kaula area. How shallow actually was the water there? How carefully had it been charted? How large was the shallow area, and what did it look like? True, it lay to the northwest of Kaula—not the southwest—but it seemed unusual enough

Continued on page 150

*One fathom equals six feet.

Take a
sculpture
to a gallery.



JEWELRY is not necessarily art in itself. It becomes art through its creator. HARRY HAIMOFF is an artist. His creations are each a captivating work of art. When you own a HAIMOFF ORIGINAL, you possess not just jewelry, but . . . ADORNABLE SCULPTURE.

Exclusively for
Haimoff & Haimoff
Creations in Gold

HALEKULANI 923-8777 • THE KAPALUA SHOPS, MAUI •
FRONT STREET LAHAINA, MAUI • HYATT REGENCY WAIKIKI 922-7477
All designs copyrighted 1983

A UNIQUE BOUTIQUE
FOR CAT LOVERS

THE CAT HOUSE

Century Center
1750 Kalakaua Ave. • Suite 105-CAT
Honolulu, Hawaii 96826
Phone (808) 949-3119

Major Credit Cards

Validated Parking

Lost Island

Continued from page 87

to warrant further investigation. And so was born the HONOLULU-sponsored expedition in search of Mokupapapa.

We soon learned that a few local fishermen and scientists already knew about the five-fathom area. Although reports of its shape and size were vague, stories seemed to contain two similar elements: The shallow area did indeed "pop up" suddenly from greater depths all around it, and it was usually swarming with sharks.

So, one day in early September, we, along with geophysicist John Sinton and diver/photographer Brad Tarr, reserved *Lady Ann*, a Kauai charter fishing boat with sophisticated navigation and depth-sounding equipment, and traveled to the area.

The trip itself, and some of its conclusions, are described in detail starting on page 84. For now let us just say that we found the spot we were looking for, that it was basically a small and most interesting flat-topped pinnacle, but that we could not conclusively say it was Moku-papapa.

Although it would be equally hard to prove this pinnacle was *not* the lost island, the main problem with believing the pinnacle had been Moku-papapa was its distance below the ocean's surface. Although previous mappings of the area had been inaccurate—greatly exaggerating the pinnacle's size—the five-fathom depth was essentially correct. And five fathoms, or 30 feet, is a long way for an island to have subsided, or sunk, in 200 years. According to John Sinton, the highest documented subsidence rate for islands is four millimeters a year, which over 200 years amounts to slightly less than three feet. Still, little is known about subsidence rates when islands are virtually at sea level to begin with.

Is it possible there are other, uncharted, even shallower regions

ONE ON ONE

When you join CLARK HATCH, we don't just turn you loose in a gym full of equipment. A professional instructor is always on hand to check your progress. It's this type of reinforcement you'll appreciate, from someone who knows who you are and where you're going.



CLARK HATCH
PHYSICAL FITNESS CENTERS

Located in the Hawaii Bldg. Downtown Honolulu
(808) 536-7205

Also at the beautiful
Waiohai Hotel on Kauai.




within "an easy day's paddle" of Kaula?

In geologic terms, Kaula Island is a tuff cone rising from the southeast edge of a broad base that is a large, submerged shield volcano. What this means is that there is about a 5-by-8-mile area around Kaula where the water is not too deep—averaging 200 feet. Beyond this platform, depths drop off sharply.

Reviewing old marine charts recently, Sinton did notice that when the area was surveyed, sounding lines were spaced far enough apart for certain submarine features to still remain hidden. Although unlikely, it is not inconceivable other very shallow areas do exist on the shield volcano platform. One way to investigate this would be to fly over the area thoroughly on a calm, clear day, since any submerged features rising to near the water's surface should be easy to see from the air.

While perusing old maps, Sinton uncovered one other interesting fact: A U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey made in 1927 had given a name to the pinnacle we visited. No, it was not a Hawaiian name, not Mokupapapa. It was "Buoy Shoal." The name has never been used since.

The whole subject of names can become confusing. There is, for instance, a small, flat, basalt rock at the east end of Molokai named Mokupapapa. There is also a Mokupapa Point on the north shore of Maui, near Huelo. And in 1866, an emissary for King Kalakaua, James Harbottle Boyd, claimed Kure Atoll for the kingdom of Hawaii. His name for it? Moku Papapa.

None of these, however, are reasonable candidates for a low sandy island an easy day's paddle from Kaula. And so, for the present at least, the story of this lost Hawaiian island must remain a puzzle with a missing piece, an intriguing if somewhat frustrating real-life sea mystery. In retrospect, it just seems everything would have been a lot less complicated if, on that distant afternoon in March 1779 when the English explorers met the natives in that canoe bound for Kaula and then Mokupapapa, they had simply asked the Hawaiians to take them there. 



Do your home Justus.

Live in the warmth and beauty of a solid cedar home. The finest natural insulator known to man. Now combined with precision pre-engineered components. Easy to construct. Award winning designs. The patented Justus Energy-lock system saves up to 40% fuel savings in the most severe climates.

- Please send me your full-color 64-page Justus Home Portfolio showing 53 different designs and special energy-saving techniques. Enclosed is my \$5.
- Please send free booklet on "Engineering the Energy Efficient Home."

Name _____

Address _____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I own a lot. Location: _____

 **Justus Cedar Homes**

P.O. Box 96300, Tacoma, WA 98499
(206) 562-3404

342

\$150.00 VALUE - ORIGINAL OIL PAINTING - ONLY \$29.50

DELUXE 14x17" QUALITY PORTRAIT BY BOONE WHO HAS PAINTED THE PORTRAITS OF HOLLYWOOD STARS AND WORLD LEADERS!



FREE GIFTS TOO!



America's Best Portrait Value! Your best personal portrait or the portrait of a loved one expertly painted in your choice of fine quality pastel or oil. FULL COLOR! Beautiful life-like quality painted from your own color photo. Portraits like these usually sell for many times our special low discount price.

As part of our special advertising offer you may buy 1 oil or pastel portrait for only \$29.50. We are making this special offer because we know that you will be so delighted with the quality of our work that you will want to order more for family or friends at our regular \$150 price.

Here is what you get for your \$29.50:

- ✓ DELUXE 14x17" COLOR PORTRAIT IN YOUR CHOICE OF QUALITY PASTELS OR OILS
- ✓ FREE! DELUXE 14x17" COLOR COPY OF THE SAME PORTRAIT
- ✓ FREE! MOUNTING AND FRAME WITH TWO FASTEN PORTRAITS
- (The oil portrait comes to you ready for framing.)
- ✓ FREE! POSTAGE ANYWHERE IN THE U.S.
- ✓ FREE! MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

You must be 100% pleased or your money will be refunded in full.

EVERYTHING SHIPPED TO YOU IN 1 TO 2 WEEKS!
LIMIT: ONLY 1 SPECIAL \$29.50 DELUXE COLOR PORTRAIT OFFER PER CUSTOMER. (Other portrait packages are good each.)

USE THIS HANDY ORDER FORM

A.J. BOONE, JR. STUDIO DEPT. A-52
32-26 102nd St., Flushing, NY 11369

Here is my check or money order for \$29.50. Please send me the COMPLETE DELUXE COLOR PORTRAIT package. I have enclosed a good, clear color photograph. I understand that if I am not completely satisfied, I may return the portrait for a full cash refund. I prefer pastel oil

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

HONOLULU

HOLIDAY ANNUAL

Volume XVIII No. 5 November 1983

Features

70 THROUGH THE LENS OF WERNER STOY

By Bruce Bottorff

A retrospective look at the camera artistry of one of Hawaii's great observers.

74 BRINGING HOME THE GOLD

By Marilyn Kim

Over a 64-year span, Hawaii's swimmers, divers, yachtsmen and weightlifters have won 37 Olympic medals. Here's a fond look back at some of their triumphs, tribulations and near misses, along with an analysis of our chances in 1984.

On the cover: Helen (Moses) Cassidy, Coach George "Dad" Center and Duke Kahanamoku after their return from the 1920 Olympics. Photo from the collection of Helen Cassidy. Cover montage of ilima-maile lei, photo and gold medal by Augie Salbosa and Brett Uprichard.

82 THE LOST HAWAIIAN ISLAND

By Victor Lipman

Was there a flat, sandy island, teeming with turtles, somewhere off Niihau, 200 years ago? In collaboration with research biologist George Balazs, our intrepid investigator/adventurer seeks to solve the mystery.

88 THE MATRIARCH OF THE RED VELVET

By Peter Arnold

The queen of a downtown tavern and her eventful 40-year reign.

91 SUTTER'S KANAKAS

By Tom Horton

Eight men, two women, \$3,008 and a ferocious bulldog—all from the Sandwich Islands—were essential elements in a European con man's efforts to establish the first Swiss colony in California.

94 KALAKAUA'S LIBRARY

By Susan Wolf

A look at the Merrie Monarch's newly restored royal reading room.

97 THE LOST GODDESSES

By Scott Stone and Roger Coryell

Meet four forgotten maidens of the mountains.

100 AN UNCOMMON JOURNEY

By Frank Tillman

A sampling of visual and verbal impressions of Hawaii from 1778 to 1889.

108 SHARING FROM THE SOURCE

By Pat Pitzer

Mary Kawena Pukui is our leading authority on Hawaiian language and culture. Her extraordinary 73-year career has blossomed anew with the publication of a very special book of proverbs.

114 THE FLOWER OF HAWAII

Written and photographed by Leon Nedbalek

Here's why the hibiscus was named our official flower 60 years ago.

118 THE USE AND ABUSE OF ALOHA

By George S. Kanahelo

Hawaii's most loving concept has been commercialized and politicized. Should its use be reformed or abandoned?

120 THE WOMAN OF THE CANOE

By Herb Kawainui Kane

When *Hokule'a* sailed into Honaunau Bay, 82-year-old Auntie Clara was waiting.

Interview

55 JOHN DOMINIS HOLT

By Alan Waldman

The noted Hawaiian writer and publisher recalls the Honolulu of the 1920s and speaks out on a wide range of contemporary Hawaiian issues.

Departments

10 FOREWORD/Brian Nicol

A cast of thousands

13 ABOUT TOWN

A company, a classic and a star

18 LETTERS

Did the mayor say it or didn't she?

20 CALABASH

Spit ye only in corners

26 PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC

Little Hawaii at the Olympics (August 1912)

28 POLITICS/Richard Borreca

The looking-glass judge

30 MEDIA/Tom Jordan

Washington connection

34 MOVIES/Joseph Hurley

Festival fever

190 SPORTS/Jim Hackleman

A successful marriage

192 CLASSICAL MUSIC/Ben Hyams

The sound of music

194 HAWAII PUBLIC RADIO

November program guide

203 CROSSWORD PUZZLE

(October's solution: page 192)

204 DINING CUES

A selection of fine Island restaurants

208 HONOLULU BUSINESS DIRECTORY

Special advertising supplement

210 AFTERTHOUGHTS/Tom Horton

An atlas with bite to it

The Lost Hawaiian Island • Mary Kawena Pukui • Sutter's
Kanakas • The King's Library • Werner Stoy • The Snow
Goddesses • Island Landscapes • Hibiscus • Woman of
the Canoe • John Dominis Holt • The Use and Abuse of
Aloha • The Matriarch of the Red Velvet

HONOLULU

THE HOLIDAY ANNUAL

November 1983/\$3.00



Home from the 1920 Antwerp Games



Hawaii's Olympic Champions

