

**ARCHIBALD MENZIES' ACCOUNT
OF THE VISIT OF THE *DISCOVERY* TO RAPA AND TAHITI,
22 DECEMBER 1791-25 JANUARY 1792**

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Archibald Menzies was botanist and surgeon on Vancouver's famous exploratory expedition of 1791-1795 with the ship *Discovery* and her tender *Chatham*. Menzies' very long and detailed journal of the voyage is held in the manuscript collection of the British Museum, London. While sections dealing with certain regions have been printed in various books and journals, the whole journal remains to be published. The original text of the description of the visit to Rapa and Tahiti is here published for the first time.¹

Menzies was born in Scotland in 1754. He first entered the naval service as assistant-surgeon, serving in the War of American Independence, after which he served at the Halifax Station as surgeon in HMS *Assistance*. In 1786 he sent specimens from his botanizing expeditions in North America to Sir Joseph Banks, the famous botanist who accompanied Captain Cook on his first great voyage of discovery and who took an active interest in all subsequent Pacific voyages for the rest of his life.² This was the beginning of a personal association with Banks of great significance for Menzies' career.

In 1787 and 1788 Menzies visited the northwestern Pacific as surgeon in the fur-trading vessel the *Prince of Wales*, when he made his first contact with Pacific Islanders at the Hawaiian Islands. After this voyage he sent Banks some detailed information about articles found most suitable for trading with the natives of the northwest coast of America.³

At the instance of Banks, Menzies was appointed botanist to a pro-

posed expedition to discover a northern sea route between Europe and the East. After several delays, the object of accepting the restitution of lands and property previously seized by the Spanish at Nootka Sound was added to the mission of the northwest expedition, which was eventually entrusted to the command of Captain George Vancouver. Menzies later also became surgeon on the *Discovery*, the flagship of the voyage, after the original surgeon was invalidated home.⁴

Sir Joseph Banks played a considerable part in the organization of the voyage. This was a source of irritation to Vancouver as it had been to previous commanders who had suffered from what they considered the interference of a layman in essential preparations for the expedition. Banks designed the greenhouse for the care of botanical specimens to be collected in the *Discovery* and personally issued instructions to Menzies. These instructions are of particular interest to historians in that they enjoined him to make observations about the human beings he should meet in strange places, as well as to examine and collect objects of interest to the natural sciences. He wrote:

At all places where a friendly intercourse with the Natives is established, you are to make diligent enquiry into all their manners, Customs, Language and Religion, and to obtain all the information in your power concerning their manufactures, particularly the art dyeing, in which Savages have been frequently found to excell, and if any part of their conduct, civil or religious, should appear to you so unreasonable as not to be likely to meet with credit when related in Europe, you are if you can do it with safety and propriety, to make yourself an Eyewitness of it, in order that the fact of its existence may be established on as firm a basis as the Nature of the enquiry will permit.⁵

As we shall see, Menzies did his best to obey this injunction at Tahiti, almost transgressing the bounds of "propriety" in his effort to view the funeral obsequies of a chief.

The *Discovery* and the *Chatham* left England on 1 April 1791. They sailed down the west coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, where Vancouver took aboard thirteen sheep intended as a present for the Tahitians (all of the animals died before they reached the islands). They then went almost due east to arrive at the southwest corner of Australia in September. Sailing south of the continent and the southern cape of Tasmania they made Dusky Bay in the south island of New Zealand by November, where they stayed three weeks. They then set out for Tahiti, but encountered a storm soon after leaving port, as a result of which the

two ships were parted. The *Discovery* sighted land the next day, which proved to be a group of barren islets named by Vancouver "the Snares."⁶ The *Chatham* was not seen again by the crew of the *Discovery* until they arrived at Matavai Bay, but in the meantime, as related by Menzies in the journal extract below, her commander, William Broughton, had made another discovery which he called "Chatham Island," about 450 miles east of New Zealand.

The *Discovery* had no further difficulty on her northeastward run to Tahiti. In December they fell in with an island now known as Rapa, but which Vancouver named "Oparo" with some hesitation, being doubtful of his interpretation of the name pronounced by the natives. The excerpt reproduced here takes up the narrative of the voyage at the point when Rapa hove in view.

After leaving the Society Islands toward the end of January 1792, the *Discovery* and *Chatham* sailed for Hawaii. In March they visited Kealakekua Bay where Cook had been killed, and also the islands of Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau. The ships then proceeded to their main business on the northwest coast of America. For almost a year they meticulously charted the coast, before taking a welcome break from the bitter northern winter for another stay in Hawaii in February 1793. On this visit they also surveyed the Hawaiian Islands. The expedition set sail once more for Nootka Sound at the end of March and, after further mapping of the northwest coast, returned for a third stay at Hawaii. There, on 25 February 1794, Vancouver accepted the cession of the island of Hawaii to Great Britain, a formality of which that country never took advantage. After completing the survey of the whole of the western coast of North America from San Francisco to Alaska--in the course of which the long-sought "northwestern passage" was finally proved to be nonexistent--the expedition sailed south from Nootka Sound in September 1794, rounding Cape Horn and making St. Helena in the south Atlantic in July 1795. The ships finally arrived home in England in October 1795. After a voyage of more than four and a half years, only one man out of 145 had died of illness. It was a tribute to the good management of Vancouver, who had taken strict measures to prevent the outbreak of scurvy and to keep the ship clean and free of vermin; it was also a compliment to the care and skill of his surgeon, Archibald Menzies.

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Menzies was thirty-seven years old when the *Discovery* left England, three years older than his commander. It was his first visit to Tahiti,

whereas Vancouver had already been there twice with Captain Cook, as a midshipman in the *Resolution* in 1773 and in the *Discovery* in 1777. Menzies therefore speaks at second hand when he discusses the "changes which have taken place" since Captain Cook's last visit;⁷ in this respect the account of Vancouver, who was revisiting the island after an interval of fourteen years, is more interesting than that of his botanist. Indeed, while recounting the report of political changes in Mo'orea Menzies falls into error respecting the relation of Mahine to his successor.⁸ On the other hand, Menzies went on several excursions on which Vancouver was not present--to Mo'orea, to the *marae* on the return journey from Mo'orea, and into the interior of Tahiti--so that his account of these visits, unlike Vancouver's, is firsthand. For other events when both men were present the perspective of each is different. Menzies' criticism of Vancouver's actions, particularly toward the end of the stay at Tahiti, is of great interest, but must be read in the context of the continual differences between the two men during the voyage.

The manuscript diaries of subordinate officers often contain expressions of disagreement, sometimes bitter, with their superiors. Given the severe limitations of space and company, perfect harmony among ships' officers over a long voyage was a rare achievement, and this voyage was much longer than most. The relationship between commander and naturalist was one always particularly prone to strain. On the side of the commander, there was the serviceman's uneasiness toward a gentleman on board whose relationship to himself was not strictly defined in professional terms. There was also often an unwillingness to divert manpower and equipment away from navigational duties to what appeared to him to be the less essential purposes of botanizing and the conservation of the collection. On the part of the naturalist, there was the impatience of a savant for the failure of the commander to understand his scientific requirements and to relax shipboard routine in order to fulfill them.

In this particular case there was the additional difficulty that Menzies was the protégé of the formidable Sir Joseph Banks, Banks liked to have a finger in the pie whenever a Pacific voyage was planned. It was at the request of Banks that "Tooworero," the young Hawaiian who had been brought to England on a fur-trader in 1789, was onboard the *Discovery* to be returned to his native land. As we have observed, Banks had recommended Menzies' appointment to the *Discovery*, although Vancouver had not wanted a naturalist on the expedition, and Menzies appears to have been directly answerable to Banks, rather than to the commander. Before the voyage began, Banks made known to Menzies his poor opinion of Vancouver⁹

Throughout the journey, Menzies corresponded directly with his

patron, and his letters were full of complaints about Vancouver which he must have known would fall on receptive ears. In the third year of the voyage he wrote that "Captain Vancouver's disinclination for the success of the garden, has been pretty evident for some time back" and that "it was no unusual thing with him to be passionate and illiberal in his abuse whenever anything was represented to him relative to its safety."¹⁰ He also complained of insufficient access to use of the ship's boats for botanical duties and of not being allowed a man to look after the plant-frame during his absence on shore while pursuing his work. The hostile feeling between Menzies and Vancouver reached a climax toward the end of the journey when after a bitter exchange Vancouver ordered Menzies' arrest for "insolence and contempt."¹¹

One has to take this tension into account when assessing the validity of Menzies' criticism of Vancouver throughout his journal. It would seem, however, that Menzies' account of Vancouver's "thunderous threats" toward his former Tahitian friends was fairly close to the truth, for the commander's own account shows him to have reacted with disproportionate anger to relatively trifling provocations during the last days of his visit. His biographer believes that in these episodes Vancouver was showing early symptoms of the illness that was to take his life only three years after his return to England at the early age of forty-one years.¹²

Menzies confided to Banks that when the papers associated with the voyage were demanded by the commander in order to write the official account, he intended to seal up his journal and address it directly to Banks.¹³ Accordingly, when the papers were requested as the voyage approached its end, Menzies refused to hand over his journal. As he happened to be under arrest at the time this act of defiance undoubtedly gave him particular satisfaction. On arrival in London, Vancouver applied to have Menzies court-martialed for breach of orders at sea. The affair was resolved when Menzies formally apologized to his commander and Vancouver thereupon withdrew his charges.¹⁴

Upon his return home to England, Menzies worked furiously to finish his account of the voyage before the publication of Vancouver's journal. His letters show that he had the "friendly admonitions" and "solicitations" of Banks in this somewhat sordid race to print which Menzies clearly wanted to win, as he admitted, "for more reasons than one."¹⁵ But in this he was disappointed. Although Vancouver died in May 1798 before completing his own work, it was finished by his brother John and published in the same year, while Menzies' journal languished in obscurity for a century and a half, the whole of it unpublished to this day.

From a list in the Banks Papers we hear of the "Curiosities" that Men-

zies brought back from his voyage. From Tahiti came the following items, to be deposited in the British Museum.

Prai, or complete Mourning Dress; Taoma or Breast Plate; Feather Pendants of a large canoe; Stone Adzes; Basket curiously wrought of Cocoa Nut fibres; Mat of the finest kind; a Bag of Matting; a number of paterns of the different kind of cloth manufactured by the Natives; Bows and Arrows; A collection of shells; Lines of finely platted human Hair; Fish Hooks.¹⁶

If Vancouver had more success in posterity, Menzies outbid him in this world, living on to old age in comfort and honor. After his next voyage, which took him to the West Indies, he retired from the navy and practiced privately as a surgeon. Menzies was elected a fellow of the Linnaean Society, eventually becoming its president. He wrote four papers for learned journals on the subject of his scientific discoveries. He died in London in 1842 at the age of eighty-eight, bequeathing his botanical collection to the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens.

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The notes to the text have been kept to a minimum. The identity of some of the Tahitian characters, whose names were changed in the course of the first period of English contact, is a matter of dispute among ethnographers. The editor wished only to put Menzies' version before the public without interpretation on this matter, therefore only one fairly obvious error of relationship has been commented upon. Modern place-names are given where the one used in the account is obsolete. Dates of journal entries have been regularized for the reader's convenience.

NOTES

1. A French version, also edited by Shineberg, appeared in *Bulletin de la Société des Océanistes* No. 214, vol. 18, no. 3 (March 1981): 789-826.

2. C. F. Newcombe, ed., *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's voyage*, Archives of British Columbia, Memoir no. 5 (Victoria, 1923), p. viii; Bern Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea* (Toronto, 1960), p. 45.

3. Richard H. Dillon, "Archibald Menzies' Trophies," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 15 (1951): 155-156.

4. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 44-46; 113.
5. Quoted by Dillon, "Archibald Menzies' Trophies," 154-155.
6. South of Stewart Island, New Zealand. A few hours later, the *Chatham* also "discovered" the islands, Lt. Broughton giving them the name "Knight's Islands:" but Vancouver's name prevailed. I. H. Nicholson, *Gazeteer of Sydney Shipping 1788-1840* (Canberra, 1981).
7. Journal extract, see below, p. 99.
8. Journal extract, see below, p. 73.
9. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 46.
10. Menzies to Banks, on board the *Discovery*, 18 November 1793, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
11. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, 210.
12. Anderson, *Surveyor of the Sea*, particularly pages 66-67, where the author suggests that the commander was suffering from "Graves' disease," a hyperthyroid condition.
13. Menzies to Banks, on board the *Discovery*, Valparaiso, 26 March 1795, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
14. George Goodwin, *Vancouver, A Life. 1757-1798* (London, 1930), p. 147.
15. Menzies to Banks, Berkeley Square, 3 January 1798, Banks Papers, vol. 9, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
16. From a manuscript in Banks Papers, Sutro Branch, State Library of California, San Francisco; quoted by Dillon, "Archibald Menzies' Trophies," 157.

Archibald Menzies' Account

22 Dec. 1791. Early on the morning of the 22nd Land was discovered bearing North East by North about 16 leagues off, at this distance it made in two small hillocks with a picked rock a little detached to the South Eastward bearing some resemblance to a Vessel under Sail. We stood towards this land to have a nearer view of it & passed several patches of sea weed floating on the surface of the water which provd to be one of the varieties of the *Trucus natans*. We also saw Terns Tropic Birds (*Phaeton melanorhynchos*) but their number was very inconsiderable & the whole tribe of Albatrosses & Petrels had for some days past totally deserted us. In the forenoon the Sky became clear & serene, afforded an excellent opportunity to take lunar observations which was not neglected, & the mean of these carried on to the Island makes its Longitude 215°57' east of Greenwich¹ & its Latitude deduced from a Meridian altitude of the Sun at Noon is 27°36' South.

At noon we were within 6 leagues of the Island & as we approachd

nearer, it presented a most rugged appearance for the Shore on the Western side rose here & there in high naked perpendicular cliffs & precipices that in some places overhung their base & appeared to be composed of horizontal strata the summits of these presented picked rocks & rugged shivers, irregularly piled & forming broken ridges & deep chasms over the whole Island, which seemed to be about 6 or 7 leagues in circumference & a little more elevated towards the North & Southward than in the middle. Some detached rocks were seen close to the shore in several places. The South end was of a height sufficient to be seen 15 leagues off, & resembled in its figure the perpendicular semi-section of a cone. Some appearances were also seen like fortified places upon the very summits of some of the hills considerably elevated, at one time five of these were in sight & each bore some resemblance to a large block-house fenced round at a little distance with a high wall of stone or turf.

About 3 in the afternoon several Canoes were seen coming off from the Shore which convinced us that this dreary looking Island was inhabited & we now began to think that these strong-holds were no doubt what their appearance at first suggested to us--places of defence.

When we got within a league of the Shore we brought to for the Canoes to come up with us abreast of a small Bay on the North West side of the Island & though we had no Sounding with a hundred & eighty fathoms of line where we were, yet there was a likelihood of anchorage close in as there was no reef or any other apparent obstruction, & the shore round the Bay appeared sandy & was washed by a very moderate surf.

At first we found it a very difficult task to bring any of the Canoes along side of us with all the amicable signs & invitations we could think of. [T]hey appeared exceeding cautious & fearful & kept at some distance gazing on us with seeming admiration & astonishment, the only returns they made to our entreaties were by pointing now & then with their paddles to the Shore as if they meant us to go nearer in or to land. At last one of the Canoes ventured so near to the Ship that a bunch of Beads & a few Iron Nails were thrown into her which seemed instantly to dispel their apprehensions & acted as a more powerful incentive than any other method made use of, so that with a little more persuasion one of them came on board, who was soon followed by several others; & everything they saw struck them with so much novelty, that they could not fix their eyes or minds upon any one object for a single moment. They moved about the Vessel taking little notice of us, & endeavouring to appropriate to themselves every thing they could lay their hands on,

especially Iron, which metal they were more eager after than any thing else, so that it was often necessary to restrain them from pillaging us thus openly, by main force, as they would not otherwise be prevailed upon to give up the booty which they had thus unlawfully acquired-- The belaying pins on the quarter deck, the hooks & eyes about the guns & rigging & every thing about the Forge particularly attracted their roving eyes & hands which incessantly moved about with the utmost rapidity. One of them seeing an Anchor laying on the forecastle attempted to take it up with the same strength that he would apply to a piece of timber of an equal bulk & appeared much surprized when he could not move it--examind round it to see where it was fastend to the deck. Another seeing himself reflected in a large mirror in the cabin began making a yelling noise dancing & capering before it for several minutes & seeing all his actions so well mimicked that he could not any ways out do his imitator he approachd it with a blow which had not his hand been with held would in a moment have brought down the whole fabric, but when he afterwards coolly felt the glass & found it a smooth solid surface, he then attempted to insinuate his hand behind it, imagining no doubt that the Buffooner must be standing at the back of it.

So much were their attentions & curiosities absorbd with every thing they saw & so busily were they employd in this manner during their stay on board that it was with great difficulty we got them to count their numerals to ten, which we found to agree exactly with those of Otaheite, & a few other words which they repeated convincd us that they spoke a dialect of the same general language, but so modified from their local situation that even *Tooworero*² could understand very little of what they said. This being the case I think it is probable that *Oparoo* may not be the real name of the Island, though it was often their answer to our interrogation on that head and therefore adopted.

These natives are of a middling stature stout & in general well proportiond & though of a dark brown complexion yet their features varied in almost every instance appearing mild open & full of vivacity. Their temper seemd even & good natured, at least it was not easily ruffled by any little disappointment they met with on board. They suffer their beards to grow long, but their hair which is naturally streight was croppd short round about the nape of the neck & their ears were perforated though we saw them wear no ornaments in them excepting the nails they got from us. None of our visitors were in the least tatoood & this deviation from a custom so general among the natives of this Ocean may deserve particular notice.

The only cloathing they wore were a narrow slip of cloth made from

the bark of a tree which passed round their waist & between their legs, this cloth appeared to be a very scarce article amongst them as many of them had not sufficient of it to cover their nakedness, it was evident however that they generally wore something for that purpose, as some of them had bunches of the leaves of a species of *Dracena* suspended to a girdle round their middle for that intention.

Their Canoes were small & narrow but neatly formed, rising a little at each end to a sharp point with out riggers fitted to them--similar to the generality of Canoes in this Ocean. They had also double canoes with Sails constructed in the same manner, & though we observd no wood or Timber on the Island of a size capable of making their canoes yet they did not seem to be a scarce article among the Natives, for at one time we counted no less than 30 canoes about the Ship & between us & the Shore, eight or nine of them were double ones each of which had upwards of 20 men, & few of the single Canoes had less than five men, many of them had more, so that we estimated the number of people that came off in these Canoes from this Bay to be about 300, & as there were no women children or any very old people seen amongst them I think it may be safely inferrd that they were not one fifth of the Inhabitants of this little Valley, which from thence would amount to upwards of 1500. But I would not from this conclude that the Island is very numerously inhabited, perhaps the environs of this Bay may contain one half of their whole number.

Excepting a few small fish caught, none of these canoes brought off any kind of refreshments--either Hogs Poultry or Vegetables, so that we remain entirely ignorant of the produce of this Island or the refreshments which in a case of necessity and hereafter likely to be derived from it, though I must confess that some knowledge of these circumstances, which at this time was so easily to be acquired, might prove very satisfactory & perhaps a great utility to future Navigators traversing this wide Ocean.

The valley round the bottom of the Bay is tolerably pleasant when compar'd with other parts of the Island being scatterd over with Bushes among which we could perceive the habitations of the Natives & some little signs of Cultivation, the hills behind & on the South Side of it appeared thinly coverd with some verdure & here & there wooded with some scrubby Trees particularly in the hollow places between the hills, but they seemed of no great magnitude. Towards the North end the hills are not so rugged & rocky but ascend with a smooth surface coverd with grass & destitute of Trees or bushes of any kind. We observed no Cocoa Nut Trees any where on the Island.

We think it not improbable that there may be some other land in the vicinity of this Island either to the Eastward or South East of it, & though we saw no appearance of any, yet there are two circumstances already mentioned which in some measure favor this conjecture viz. those places observd on the tops of the hills which from their situation & appearance we could not reconcile to any thing else than places of defence for the purpose no doubt of affording a more secure retreat & protection to the Inhabitants when their Country is invaded by some neighbouring tribe. The other is our not having seen any wood or Timber on the Island likely to furnish & keep up such a number of fine Canoes, there is therefore a strong probability of their being supplied with at least the greatest part of them from some other place.

This is all I have to say concerning this little Island which we now call *Oparoo*.³ At five in the afternoon we filled & made sail again to the Northward.

23 Dec. 1791. On the morning of the 23rd *Oparoo* was still in sight bearing South East by South about 17 leagues astern of us--we had a fresh breeze from the South East quarter but fluctuating from point to point this and the following day.

25 Dec. 1791. The wind was easterly on the 25th & in the morning squally, with rain, the rest of the day it blew fresh with cloudy unsettled weather, so that it was not deemed prudent to run on all night being near the situation of Gloucester Island,⁴ we therefore brought to & made Sail again next morning when we had the same wind & dark squally weather with heavy rain & turbulent sea.

27 Dec. 1791. In the night preceeding the 27th the wind veerd again to the North East equator, so that we had to contend this & the following day with baffling weather & foul wind which sometimes blew very fresh & squally with thunder lightning & almost constant heavy rain.

29 Dec. 1791. Early on the 29th we passed *Osnaburg Island*⁵ which was soon to the Eastward of us at the distance of almost 9 or 10 leagues with a fresh breeze that towards noon brought us in sight of the South End of *Otaheite* being S 70 W but in the afternoon the wind being somewhat scanty, our progress by no means kept pace with our wishes, for our near approach to the place of rendezvous put our anxiety now upon the edge to know something of the fate of our Consort & enjoy those refreshments to which this fertile Island so plentifully affords among a happy people whose mild disposition & simplicity of manners have endeared them to former Voyagers. In the evening we got sight of the northern extreme of the Island, but judging we should not be able to reach it before dark we tackd & lay off & on for the night.

30 Dec. 1791. In the morning of Dec.^r 30th. we stood in again for Point Venus with a light breeze & when we came near the land three men came off to us in a Canoe with some Hogs. They first handed in a very small pig with a green bough as a peace offering & then two small Hogs as presents for the Captain. These people informd us that a vessel with two Masts was at anchor in Matavai Bay which we had no doubt of being our Consort, & when we anchord there about noon we found the Chatham agreeable to our expectations had arrivd here four days before us & (to our no small satisfaction) all in good health. Her Commander Lieutenant Broughton came on board before we anchord & told us that the night we parted company they continued following us until a violent sea broke over their stern & shattered their little boat to pieces which obligd them to bring to for the safety of the Vessel till the storm somewhat abated, & we finding our safety in scudding before the gale will readily account for the separation. But on the afternoon following he said a still greater danger presented them, for on discovering these dreary rocks we called the *Snares* they were so situated as to be obliged to pass by a small Channel through the very middle of them. Having thus happily escapd shipwreck they pursu'd their course to this Island & in their way discoverd what they named *Chatham Islands* in honor of the first Lord of the Admiralty. They coasted along the North side of them & surveyd the shore for 10 or 12 leagues, the Northern extreme of which they place in Latitude 43° 49' South & in Longitude 183° 40' East of Greenwich. They came to an anchor in a Bay where the Commander & some of the Officers landed & took possession of the Country in his Britannic Majesty's name, but their most amicable endeavours either by presents or otherwise proved ineffectual to bring the Natives to a friendly intercourse.

Two days before our arrival here they experiencd such a deluge of rain attended with thunder & lightning as none of them ever recollected to have seen the like before, the River of Matavai broke through its high banks, bringing down with the impetuosity of the stream vast numbers of trees torn up by the roots which now lay scatterd through the Bay. The Chatham's Cutter filled & swamped along side in the night time, when the Masts Oars & Sails were washd away & the Surf ran so high that they were not able to land till the evening before our arrival when the weather became more moderate & mild.

Lieutenant Broughton had not yet been visited by any of the Royal Family, indeed he understood that they were all at Eimeo⁶ excepting young Otoo⁷ who had sent him a message in the forenoon requesting to see him on shore, & after the Discovery was Moord Capt. Vancouver

Lt. Broughton Mr. Whidbey myself & two Chiefs went on shore to meet him. We landed on Point Venus & walkd but a little way when we were met by the usual peace offerings a small pig with a green bough & in presenting these to Capt. Vancouver the man squatted down & repeated a few short sentences in which he was answerd on our part by Mooree one of the Chiefs who attended us, after this we were conducted across the breach which the river had lately made through the Beach to a little distance beyond it where we found the young prince elevated on a man's shoulders & robed in a dress ornamented with feathers which formd a ruff round his neck by no means inelegant. The Natives were arrangd on his right & left leaving a clear open area for our approach. On coming within a few yards of him we were stop'd & adress'd in a short speech by a man who stood near the prince--This drew one of considerable length on our part from Mooree, who then divided Mr. Broughton's intended present which was very considerable into four equal parts & each of us being then wrapped round in a quantity of Island Cloth separately carried our presents & laid them upon a Mat close to the young prince. After which we were admitted to a conference in which he requested with great earnestness to send a boat to Eimeo for his father, the reason he could not come back in his own Canoe we could not comprehend but many of the Chiefs being equally solicitous & Capt. Vancouver considering his presence of great importance during our stay promis'd to comply with this request on the following day, at the same time requesting leave to erect our tents on a spot of ground near the point which was complied with without hesitation.

This young prince appears to be about ten years of age & if one may venture to predict at so early a period he seems to possess talents which when matur'd by age & experience will not fail to qualify him in a high degree for that elevated station he is born to hold--His appearance is firm & graceful, his behaviour affable & easy & his features pleasant & regular though sometimes clouded with a degree of austerity that enables him already to command immediate obedience to his will among these mild people.

After this conference was over Captain Vancouver fixed on the spot where the Tents were to be erected & on coming to the Boat found a large Hog from young Otoo which was brought on board with another that was presented to me by Mooree, & on coming along side we found the Natives numerously collected & a market already established for the different refreshments. Captain Vancouver now askd me if I would accompany an officer on the following day to Eimeo for the King,⁸ to which I willingly consented.

31 Dec. 1791. On the 31st. I accompanied Lt. Mudge & Mr. Collet the Gunner in the Pinnace to *Eimeo*, we were attended by *Motooara* the chief of Huaheina a very stout & intelligent man as a guide. On putting off from the Ship the Natives who were numerous collected along side cheered us with repeated plaudits & the shores reechoed the name of their King which is a great proof of their strong attachment & veneration for a man under whose mild government they have so long enjoyed ease & happiness.

We now directed our course for *Eimeo* & passing the entrance of the Harbour where Capt. Cook anchored, we soon entered a very intricate gap in the reef under the sole guidance of our Conductor & went round the North End on the inside of several small Islands & from thence coasted the western shore for about four Miles further to a place called *Wharraree* where we arriv'd about two in the afternoon. Here the boat was brought to a grapping & a message sent to *Otoo*, for we were not permitted to land till he came to receive us, which he did in about an hour after with the rest of the Royal Family follow'd by a large group of the Natives.

After spreading several Bales of Cloth on the Beach opposite to us we were then invited to land, & *Otoo* himself received us with open arms & embraced us separately with that friendly cordiality which has ever distinguished his character & attachment to the British Nation. He then introduced us to the Queen⁹ & two other ladies & a sick chief who lay on a litter close by him. After these salutations we were wrapped up in such a quantity of Cloth by his own hand that we could hardly move under it. In this situation we made our presents to him which consisted only of two Axes a few knives scissors looking glasses & some beads.

We now asked *Otoo* when he would be ready to accompany us to *Matavai*, he answered tomorrow morning & having got by his own request a Bottle of Wine & some Ship's Biscuit out of the Boat he sat down to it with a keen relish, & on putting the first draught of it to his head he drank to King George & *Britanee*, & while finishing the rest of his Bottle, he asked us a number of pertinent questions such as the names of both vessels & their Commanders how long they were from *Britanee* did they touch at *New Holland* and where they were going after they left *Otaheite*.

He then asked if *Mr. Webber* was on board or any one in his place, & when he was answered in the negative he expressed his concern as he wished much to send his son's picture to the King of *Britanee*.

He asked if *Bane* was still alive (by which he meant *Sir Joseph Banks*) & whether he would again visit *Otaheite*.

As Mr. Collet was with Capt. Cook in his last Voyage he recollected him the moment he landed & askd him after a number of his old acquaintance & questiond him particularly about Capt. Cook's death whose fate he seemd to bewail with real sorrow. During the above conversation we constantly called him by the name of Otoo, but he now took an opportunity to put us right, by telling us that the name Otoo descended to his son who was now King of Otaheite & that he adopted the name of *Pomarre* by which we must in future call him.

Pomarre then took us a little aside from the party to see his father Old Whapai a chief well known in Capt. Cook's first & second visits to these Islands; We found him seated on a Mat & on presenting him with a few small trinkets, he hardly got hold of them when they were tore out of his hand in a squabble by the Multitude who seemd to consider him as their common prey. He appears to have seen at least eighty revolutions of the seasons--his hair & beard are quite silverd over with age, yet he walks as upright & seemingly with as much ease & firmness as his Son.

We walked along the Beach followed by the sick chief carried on his litter & a large concourse of the Natives to a house at a little distance where dinner was prepard for us & the Boats Crew & where we remaind all night with the noble family, during which they went by turns up to *Romee*¹⁰ the sick chief whom they all treated with such care & tenderness as inducd me to enquire more particularly into his history & was told that he was the *Earee rahie no Morea* that is King of Morea which is another name for this Island,* that he & Pomarre are reciprocally brothers in law by interchanging sisters in marriage & that his name was *Motooaro-mahow*. Though his name is changed in consequence of his coming to the Sovereignty of the Island on the death of *Maheine* there is no doubt but he is the same chief who this district belongd to in Captain Cook's time, for in that expedition after the stolen Goats across the Island, it was here Capt. Cook met with his Boats & ceased committing any further depredations knowing that the Chief & his Dependants were friends to the Otaheitean King, & how far he was right the sequel has proved for the oldest sister to this chief became soon after Queen of Otaheite & Mother to the present Royal family. Pomarre's youngest sister was about the same time given in Marriage to that Chief & is now Queen of this Island, so that their friendship stands on the firmest basis, & to cement it still more *Pomarre* has lately taken to

*Cook's last Voyage Vol. 2. p. 28
Foster's Obs: p:217 [Menziess' own footnote]

himself another sister of *Motoaro-mahow* named *Whaerede*¹¹ so that he lives at present with both sisters & is very fond of the youngest but has no children by her--indeed I suspect that the cruel customs of the Country would not suffer them to live.

In our walk along shore we observd the dung of Black Cattle in several places, & on enquiring after the animals themselves the Natives told us there were four Cows and a Bull on this district which we understood were all that remaind of the breed left by Capt. Cook at Otaheite in 1777 & which soon after fell to the lot of *Maheine* King of this Island in a victorious descent on the Island of Otaheite. They have since remaind here & are considerd as the property of *Motoaro-mahow* successor to *Maheine*. The natives call them *Bova-toora* & say they are very wild in consequence of which we could not see them, but what was most to be lamented the Bull is by some means or other incapacitated, consequently there is no likelihood of any further increase of the breed.

1 Jan. 1792. The first of January 1792. This morning we proposd to Pomarre to set off pretty early, that the people might perform the fatiguing task of rowing across with more comfort before the sultry heat of the day set in; he told us he had no objection & that besides himself & his two wives, *Motoaro-mahow* & his wife & the Chief of *Huaheine* were going with us. On this occasion it was observd to him that the Boat could not carry so many without greatly incommoding the rowers & especially that the sick Chief could not be accommodated comfortably without our being deprivd of the use of several Oars. He answerd that he could not go on with us unless we also took his friends, and finding this his fixed resolution, we were no longer at a loss to comprehend the reason why the Boat was so earnestly requested to come for him, and therefore proposd that the sick Chief should be laid in the stern sheets of the Boat while he & the Chief of *Hueheine* should attend him & that the three ladies should accompany us in a Canoe as we could not accommodate them in the Boat to our satisfaction. This was readily agreed to & on getting the sick chief into the Boat the three ladies came & took a very affectionate leave of him & promisd to be with us at Otaheite on the following day.

After putting off we rowed along the western shore to go round the South West point of the island & on our way met with Pomarre's Mother *Opeereeroa* who came off to us in a double Canoe with a present of Cloth--On approaching the Boat she burst into tears & seemd inconsolable while she remaind along side, frequently uttering the name of Capt. Cook which sufficiently showed the sincerity of her affections & the tenderness of her feeling for the memory of a Man whose whole

tenor of conduct was constantly actuated for the good of mankind in general & in the latter part of his life for these happy isles in particular. We made her some little presents & regretted much it was not in our power to be more liberal, & having taken our leave of this venerable lady whose looks & appearance alone would command respect, we directed our course for Otaheite.

While we were crossing over being in company with the Chief of Huaheine I made some inquiries of him about *Omia*¹² who was left on that Island, & he assur'd me that he was not in the least molested in this settlement after Captain Cook left him, on the contrary that people of all ranks flock'd round him with their aid & much respected him for his great knowledge and observations, which he frequently took great pleasure to communicate, by relating to crowded groups of his countrymen in pleasing stories what he had seen & heard of the manners & customs of other nations & countries, by which he always rivetted their attention with astonishment & admiration & procur'd their affection with esteem, so that his death was much lamented by people of all denominations--in short they seem'd to revere him as a Character who had travelled far, seen much, & profited by the observations he made on the different countries he visited.

He & his two faithfull adherents the New Zealand Boys died of a disease called here *Assa no peppe* which particularly affects the throat with soreness & tumours & is said to be brought to these Islands by a Spanish Vessel in the Year 1773*. Though I wish'd much to see the symptoms & appearances of this disorder which is said to have made great havock among the natives, yet I must confess that my feelings were equally gratified in finding that it is now a rare occurrence, for I did not observe a single case of it in all my excursions during our stay at Otaheite.

I further understood that Omai's English house still remains in its original place, having been preserv'd by a large one built over it after the manner of the Country as Capt. Cook had recommended, & that this together with his Plantation & his Horse which is the only one remaining of the breed is now in the possession of this Chief & became his property as King of the Island agreable to the custom of the Country on the decease of the owner.

About 9 at night we arriv'd at Pomarre's residence in Oparre after rowing about 8 miles along the shore being set so far to leeward by

*Cook's 2 Voy. Vol. p. [Menzies' own footnote]

unfavorable winds & currents. On landing Pomarre orderd plenty of victuals to be provided, & we all supped with a keen appetite, after which we retird to rest--The three Chiefs preferrd sleeping in the Boat with two Seamen & the rest of the Crew provided themselves with Beds more to their satisfaction on shore.

Pomarre still retains that mark of his former dignity of not feeding himself, & now we had an instance of his abstaining a whole day from food & drink on account of his not having a proper person in the boat to feed him, though we frequently offerd to perform this servile office, which he always modestly refused.

2 Jan. 1792. As we had still eight miles to row we again embarkd on the 2d. of January by the dawn of day with the addition of one Man to our party who seated himself forward in the bow of the boat holding a small pig & a green bough in his hand, this we thought was intended as a peace offering on our arrival at the ship but we soon found our mistake, for on coming opposite to a *Morai* named *Tapootapooatea* Pomarre desird to be landed & requested us to follow him as he was here he said going to make an offering to the *Eatooa* or Deity.

On coming to the *Morai* we found several of the Natives already assembled--The Young King had taken his station before the Altar on a mans shoulders & close to him another supported a large oblong bundle of white Cloth--On approaching within nine or ten paces of these we made a full stop. Pomarre was now complimented by several Chiefs as they arrivd, who seemd to vie with each other in expressing their joy at seeing him & on this occasion none of them came empty handed, but I did not observe all this while that he exchangd a single word with his son.

The ceremony now commencd & the first part of it consisted in an address to Pomarre from a Priest seated near Otoo, who sent over to him separately at intervals of his harangue several Pigs & Hogs two Dogs one Fowl & a bunch of red feathers which we supposd to be the presents of the different Chiefs thus consecrated as they were offerd to him, but he never touchd any of them, they were carried away the moment they were presented. After this two priests seated themselves on the ground close to us & one of them began to address the opposite side in a long harangue or a prayer which was now & then dictated by Pomarre. In this oraison the Priest often changed his voice from a slow solemn tone to that of a quick & squeaking one, in which he was at times joint by the other. At last a small Hog was sent over to the King which was the victim to be sacrificed on this occasion, & as the name of our sick friend *Motoora-mahow Earee rahie no Morea* was frequently mentioned in

this prayer, we supposed it might be a supplication to the Deity to prolong his life.

The Hog was now led to the back part of the *Morai* followed by the priests & Otoo; & Pomarre seating himself down in conversation with the Chiefs, we obtained his leave to follow Otoo & see the remaining part of the ceremony. The Hog was immediately strangled clean & half roasted over some hot-stones & then brought before a small Altar on which was placed the bundle of White Cloth; here Otoo attended & a Priest squatting down close to it uttered a short prayer in a quick shrill voice ending with a loud shriek. In this devotion he was now & then accompanied with two drums--The victim was then placed on a *Whatta* or scaffold which already groined under a stinking load of such sacrifices.

This *Morai* appeared to be a considerable place of worship if we may judge from the number of human skulls that lay scattered near the Altar & which we were told had been sacrificed at different times to the Deity, and the vast number of animals & vegetables that were heaped on different *whattas* & mouldering away by putrefaction. Having satisfied our curiosity & observing nothing but what has been fully described by former Voyagers we set off for the Ship, but no inducement could prevail on the young King to accompany us, though we were very urgent with him.

When we approached the *Discovery* Pomarre was saluted with four Guns & on his arrival on board, the *Chatham* honored him with an equal number amidst incessant shouts of approbation & joy from every Canoe throughout the Bay. In the evening the three ladies arrived from Eimeo & Pomarre finding himself so comfortably situated remained on board with his friends all night.

Motooaro-mahow staid in the boat from the time of our leaving Eimeo till he was hoisted in on board the *Discovery* & bore the fatiguing motion of it much better than we at first expected, for we were really apprehensive of his dying on the passage he was so emaciated by a general atrophy that he appeared a mere animated skeleton & yet bore the prospect of his approaching fate & lingering illness with a becoming patience & resignation. Pomarre was remarkably attentive to him seldom left his bed side & administered every care & comfort he could in performing the most servile offices for his dying friend.

The Tents & observatory were this day sent on shore & erected on the spot allotted for them on our first landing & to give them a greater security three field pieces were mounted on their carriages & pointed to different avenues. Lt. Puget who commanded the party on shore during

our stay performed this duty with much activity, in which he said he was greatly assisted by the friendly behaviour of the Natives who voluntarily carried the different articles from the boat to the place of encampment with a degree of honesty that surpassed our expectation & gave us no small hopes of an amicable intercourse.

3 Jan. 1792. On the 3^d the Time-keepers from both Vessels were landed & a series of Observations began to ascertain their rates by Mr. Whidbey Master of the Discovery assisted by Mr. Ballard. Another large Tent was also erected on Shore to screen the artificers employd on various duties particularly in building the Chatham a small Boat--from the Sultry heat of the Sun's vertical rays & that the curiosity of the Natives might not prove troublesome to our various plans of operations, lines were drawn round the encampment to limit their approach & Sentries regularly relieved night & day to prevent any encroachment.

After dinner Pomarre went on shore with his sick friend & all the rest of our Royal Guests attended by a numerous retinue. On leaving the Discovery they were saluted with four guns & on their landing on Point Venus by a discharge of the Artillery at the Encampment. They took up their abode in a small insignificant hut near our Lines, which had no claim at least in appearance to a royal residence, but Pomarre's reason for that apparently incommoding himself & family was that he might be near to us to preserve good order among his people as he still administered the government for his son who was considered in some respect as a Minor.

4 Jan. 1792. The 4th continued dark & gloomy, the wind was moderate but variable with intervals of calm. The trees that were washed down the river by the late deluge kept still floating about on the inside of the Bay & Lt. Broughton fearful that they might injure the Chatham's cables shifted her place nearer to Point Venus.

In the evening we had a very heavy fall of rain & a long rolling swell made into the bay. Reopaia,¹³ Pomarre's next brother came on board to warn us of a change of weather & requested leave to stay that if it should be necessary, he might be present to give any assistance that lay in his power to command, which was granted & his wife remained with him.

5 Jan. 1792. In the forenoon of the 5th the appearance of the weather strongly indicating a gale of wind induced Capt. Vancouver to give orders to drop the sheet anchor especially as a heavy sea rolled at the same time into the Bay, breaking incessantly over our Gun wales by the rolling of the Vessel & dashing against the Beach close to us in a violent surf, which rendered our situation by no means a pleasant one. This tem-

pestuous weather however did not deter some of our friends from coming off. Moerie & Mathiabe two chiefs who had already attached themselves to us by their friendly behaviour, observing both Vessels labour so much at their anchors, dashed into the surf & braving its utmost fury with that dexterity of art which renders them always superior to the most forcible commotions of the briny element, they came on board to know our situation & whether they could be of any service to us. After they rested a little, we trusted Mathiabo with a Keg of Liquor lashed on a board, to the party on shore, for the sea ran so high that all communication between them & us in any other way was entirely stop'd & we were happy to learn from himself soon after that he landed safe with his Keg, which proved very acceptable at the Encampment.

In the afternoon the weather gradually moderated with less sea & towards evening a few Canoes ventured to come off, in one of which Pomarre paid us a visit & paddled the Canoe himself.

This day the young king visited the encampment for the first time & was constantly carried about upon a man's shoulders. The officers made him some presents, but no inducement could prevail on him to enter either of the Tents or Marquees & the Natives said if he had that no subject darst be seen there afterwards according to the established custom of the Country.

6 Jan. 1792. The weather on the 6th was more settled but a heavy surf still broke on the beach & as we were not beyond the reach of its influence the ship continued rolling very much.

Reopaia considered our safety now so apparent that his presence was no longer necessary. He therefore went on shore accompanied by his wife. The seeming anxiety of this chief for our welfare while he remained on board in this tempestuous weather was equal to that of a watchful Pilot's, for in the dead hours of the night he frequently visited the Deck to observe the appearances of the weather & view the Cables.

We were told that the *Bounty* in her last visit to this Island had left the greatest part of the Mutineers on shore & sailed so abruptly in the night time, that they cut her Cables & left her anchors in the Bay one of which this Chief afterwards recovered, & on his Majesty's Frigate the *Pandora's* arrival he carried it on Board & presented it to Captain Edwards as belonging to the King of *Britanee* which was a great proof of his honesty & peculiar regard to our Sovereign.

Reopaia is a few years younger than Pomarre & considered at present the greatest warrior in the Island--He has quite changed their mode of fighting, which formerly used to be in large unweildy war canoes, instead of which he transports his warriors quicker & with more ease

in smaller ones, makes good his landing & attacks the enemy on shore, where by his stratagems good conduct & bravery he generally gains his point. He is very pleasing in his manners, firm & graceful in his gait, communicative in his conversation pert in his enquiries--quick in his discernment & sincere in his attachment, as we found by that particular veneration he continues to pay to the memory of Captain Clark,¹⁴ whose friend he was & whose name he still bears in preference to any other however honorable, for we were inform'd that sometime ago he lead the warriors of his Country in a victorious battle, & on returning home they wished to confer upon him a name expressive of his great exploits & conquests, this he modestly refused, telling them that he was already called *Tate* (Clarke) which was sufficient.

7 Jan. 1792. In consequence of intimations being given by Capt. Vancouver on the preceeding days that fire works would be displayd this evening at the Encampment, a great number of natives assembled from distant parts of the Country. Among the group before the Tents in the forenoon three of Pomarre's young family made their appearance. Otoo the young king of Otaheite paid us indeed daily visits, but his brother *Whyadooda*¹⁵ a prince about eight years of age with pleasing open features, had not been seen before by any of us--he came on this occasion from *Tiaraboo* which is now considerd as his principality & of which he had very lately taken possession. These two brothers were accompanied by a sister named *Otahoorai* who was not yet above six years of age & she as well as her brothers were constantly carried about on a Man's back & no inducement could bring either of them under the shelter of our Pavilions. We are told that another sister still younger named *Ora* was at this time at Eimeo which makes up the whole of the present young royal family.

In the afternoon the field pieces on shore were fired off several times chargd with round & grape shot towards the Sea, to shew the Natives their effects & the distance to which they could transmit their destructive powers. But when the fire works were to be displayd in the evening, it was not an easy matter to prevail on Pomarre to come from among the group into the clear area where he might have a better view of the whole entertainment, & so fearful & timorous was he of their effects, that he was most of the time supported by two Men & now & then by his wife *Whaeredee*--No argument could induce him to fire any of them off, he always answerd let *Whaeredee* do it, which she did several times with undaunted courage & coolness to please us & her timorous husband. The rest of the Royal Family were also present & together with a numerous concourse of the Chiefs & Natives seemd to enjoy the whole entertainment with a mixture of awe & astonishment.

Old Whappai arrivd this day from Eimeo & was present at this entertainment which the natives called *Heiva no Britanee*.

8 Jan. 1792. The weather being now somewhat settled we set off early on the morning of the 8th to the Mountains accompanied by two of the Natives as guides & ascended by a ridge of hills behind the district of Matavai which I found chiefly coverd with a species of Fern (*Pteris dichotoma*) in a stunted state & a few low shrubs, but the vallys on each side presented rich pasturage & appeard capable of rearing herds of granivorous animals, or producing the various produce of different climes by cultivation.

The Soil in general was a dark brown argillaceous earth of an unctuous quality, though in many places especially on the higher grounds it was of a bright brick-colour & these seemd to have undergone the action of fire. In the valleys the exterior stratum was a kind of light black mould which would not fail to improve by a due admixture with the foregoing.

After ascending about 4 miles we enterd the skirts of the wood which renders the upper regiens of this country inaccessible by its density & here under a vertical sun we enjoyd a temperate climate & spent a good part of the day in Botanical researches. Below us appeard the plains of Matavai & Oparre, richly cropped with bread fruit Trees--Bananas & Cocoa Palms affording a delicious shade to the scatterd habitations of the Natives & backd by the naked hilly country which we had ascended. To the Northward was seen the low Island of Tetoroah, emerging as it were out of the Sea, where scattered tufts of trees appeard to join the sky to the briny element.

In the afternoon a thick fog & heavy rain which in a short time wet us to the Skin, obligd me to return sooner than I could wish, renderd our path so very slippery that we found it a much more difficult task to descend than we had in ascending, though this change of weather did not happen without my being apprizd of it by my guides, who frequently solicited me to return before it came on & who were no doubt at this time prompted by a more powerful impulse that of hunger, for we had neglected to carry any kind of refreshment with us, that we returnd with keen appetites & in coming down made for the first grove of Cocoa Nut Trees we saw to refresh ourselves, but I was not a little surprizd when they told me that every tree in it was under a particular interdiction for *Tee*, which I understood to be an evil spirit, & they shewd me that each tree had his mark, which was a small bunch of Ferns or grass suspended to its stem.

As my thirst was no ways relievd but rather became more urgent at the sight of these Cocoa Nuts, I used a good deal of persuasion with

them to go up one of the trees, which one of them at last did with much reluctance, while the other remaind at the foot of it employd in fervent devotion, & the first Cocoa Nut that came down, he cut off the top part of it & placed it on a bush as an offering for *Tee* & gave me the other part to quench my thirst, whilst he still continued muttering his prayer, which in a short time had the good effect of removing any squeamishness of conscience he might have entertaind against the use of this forbidden fruit, for they afterwards both ate & drank of these Cocoa Nuts pretty freely.

We continued our journey down the Hill & soon after arrivd at the house of Poenoh the Chief of Matavai who was my particular friend & who had on this occasion provided plenty of victuals for our return, & after eating a little of this repast, finding I was very wet & fatigued, they made me strip off my cloaths & wrapped me up in a quantity of dry Otaheitean Cloth & in this situation a number of women gatherd round to *romee* me, & continud their operation of pinching nipping pressing & squeezing till every part of me was so benumbd & torpid that I actually fell asleep under their hands, & when I awakend found myself very much refreshd by this rough usage, which I am confident might be employd to advantage in many lingering chronic & sedentary disorders. In the meanwhile they had taken care to dry my cloaths, so that I returnd to the ship in the evening very comfortable through the good offices of these friendly people.

9 Jan. 1792. The 9th I remaind on board in the forenoon to arrange the collection of plants I made on preceeding day, which I was sorry to find sufferd much from the heavy fall of rain. From the ship we observd a procession of the Natives going along the Beach towards the small Hut on the point where the Royal Family resided, they carried about two dozen of large packages or baskets each supported upon a long pole between two Mens shoulders, who walkd with a slow heavy pace as if under a weighty burden & we were afterwards told that the contents of these bundles were dressed provision consisting of Hogs Dogs & variety of Vegetables which we supposed were intended for the sick chief to be sent as an offering to the *Morai* in his behalf.

In the afternoon I went on shore with some of the Officers & cleard a small spot near Po-eehoh's house for a garden, where we sowd a variety of English Garden Seeds, many of which were above ground & in a thriving way before we left the Island. When Po-eehoh saw us thus employd he shewd us some Orange Trees that were planted near his house he said by Capt. Bligh of the *Bounty*, some of them were two feet high & in a very thriving state, so that we hope the time is not very

remote when future Navigators will find plenty of this delicious fruit on these Islands for we also left in different parts of the Plantation a number of young orange seedlings which I had reard in the frame on the quarter Deck since we left the Cape of Good Hope.

10 Jan. 1792. Next day we enjoyd a fine fresh breeze with fair pleasant weather. On Shore the Natives gave a very indifferent entertainment called a *Heiva* at which several of the Officers & people at the Tents were present but enjoyd very little pleasure from the performance.

Hearing that our friend Reepaia was indisposd I accompanied Capt. Vancouver in the afternoon to see him, we found him surrounded by a few consoling friends in a small temporary hut situated in an airy place on the banks of the river a little way up. After enquiring into his complaint I offerd my advice which he readily accepted, & Capt. Vancouver was good enough to send for the things I orderd on Board the *Discovery*, which I was happy had the promisd effect in relieving him. While we were with him his Brother Pomarre came in the same friendly manner to enquire how he was but did not stay long as he soon after attended Motooaro-mahow along side of the *Chatham* when that Chief was hoisted in & slept on their quarter deck under the awning all night where Pomarre & Toono one of his wives remaind by him both performing the most tender offices for the dying chief.

11 Jan. 1792. As the Sea had on the preceeding days overflown the banks of the river & made it brakish where we were watering near the Tents, a party of Natives was on the 11th employd in rolling the Cask a little way up the River so far as Reepaia's house under whose care they were placd & fresh filld & for this hard labor each of them had daily two small Nails & four Beads. Indeed the facility & honesty with which the natives were brought to work & drudge for us in this sultry climate was highly pleasing, for they washd all our linnen, taking on shore a parcel of it in the morning & bringing it on board again in the evening or next day exceedingly well done. But this day a circumstance happend which put us in some measure upon our guard in trusting them at least with much at a time, some linnen belonging to Mr. John Stone & about half a dozen shirts and other things belonging to Mr. Walker of the *Chatham* were run away with. Pomarre was made acquainted with this breach of confidence & he assurd them that the *Teete* or thief should be sent after yet they had very little hopes of recovering any of their goods.

In the course of this day old Potatow made his first appearance at the Tents a chief of some consequence & well known in Capt. Cooks different visits but he has changed his name to *Reetoa* & *Pohooetoa* a circum-

stance which took place we understood not only with him but with all the principal chiefs on the Island on young Otoo's accession to the regal dignity when he was invested with the *Mare oora* & what is very singular on this occasion a great number of words in their language were changd & new ones adopted in their stead; even words expressing the most common & familiar things sufferd this mutation, Matte, dead or killd, is now expressed by *Booke*, & so on with others; & the words which were thus laid aside are forbidden to be used by any one on the Island under the severest punishment; so that if these changes happen frequent there can be no stability in their language, but what depends upon whim & superstitious caprice, though I am rather inclin'd to suppose that after a limited time these obsolete words become fashionable & used indiscriminately, & this may in some measure give rise to that copiousness in their language which Mr. Anderson takes notice of in Captain Cook's last Voyage.

12 Jan. 1792. On the 12th another party of the Natives began to cut fire wood for both vessels in consequence of previous application to Pomarre, who orderd such of the Bread Fruit Trees as had been washd down the river by the late inundation to be cut up & brought to the Tents for that purpose. This business was carried on under the direction of two chiefs *Poenoh* & *Moeree* who had axes lent to them for the service as they valued their own too much to use them.

In the forenoon I went on shore accompanied by Mr. Baker to take an excursion up the Valley from which the river issued behind *Matavai*. As we went through the Plantations we saw the women every where industriously employd in manufacturing Cloth, as the demand for it between both Vessels as an article of curiosity was now very great.

We found the Valley pretty wide at the entrance but narrower as we advancd up, being hemd in on both sides with steep Banks which became more elevated rugged & gloomy as they approachd each other higher up; the bottom of the Valley was tolerably even & upon a gradual ascent, the river winding through it from side to side, so that we had to cross it several times, but this was no hardship for we were never sufferd to wet ourselves, the Natives were always struggling who should be foremost in carrying us across on their backs.

We passed a number of the Habitations of the Natives on both sides of the River surrounded by little plantations of *Taro*, Sugar Cane, Banana & the Cloth Plant, but the Bread Fruit Tree became less frequent the higher we advanced, so that here the Natives seemd to subsist chiefly by their industry in cultivating the ground to the best advantage. We saw a number of them as we went along amuse themselves in catching small

fish in the river with a kind of little scoop net fixd on the end of a long rod.

After going up about 3 miles we dind on a rural spot under the shade of a spreading Tree, where we had a plentiful repast provided for us by the Natives dressd & servd up very cleanly, the only thing that gave us disgust was the salt water which they set before us to dip our meat into in lieu of Salt, which had been so often usd before on similar occasions & carefully preservd in an old Bamboo that it had now the appearance of greasy pickle.

In the afternoon we returnd to the bottom of the Valley & put up for the night at Moeree's house where we expected to be joind next morning by a large party of the officers to proceed further up. Moeree himself happend to be absent at this time on board one of the Vessels in the Bay, & when he returnd in the evening & found us sitting at his fire side I never saw a man that appeard more dissatisfied with himself than he was for not being home sooner to provide for our entertainment. He immediately set the whole village in a stir, killed a large Hog & dressd it with a profusion of vegetables for our supper. He spread clean Mats & plenty of cloth for our Beds, & when we retird to rest, he took our cloths & every thing belonging to us into his own custody, taking a regular account of every article we had even a small quantity of liquor that remaind in a bottle he measurd the height of the liquor with a piece of stick which he gave us to keep that we might satisfy ourselves in the morning the same quantity was returnd. In short our Host was not only profuse in his Hospitality but scrupulously honest & careful that we might not suffer any molestation while under his protection.

13 Jan. 1792. Next morning we were joind by Lieut. Broughton & a large party of the Officers & Moeree provided a plentiful breakfast for the whole of us in a large house pleasantly situated at a little distance from his dwelling after which Mr. Broughton informd us that several of the Chiefs were going to Oparre for a few days & among others his particular friend *Whytooa*¹⁶ a younger brother of Pomarre who had strongly importund his company, he therefore proposd that we should for the present relinquish our intended route up the Valley & embrace the opportunity of going under the care & protection of his friend to see the district of Oparre, which was agreed to by all & we immediately returnd on board to prepare for the excursion.

It was a little past noon before we left the ship, the party consisting of Lt. Broughton, Puget, Baker, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Walker & Myself with *Whytooa* & his wife & Mowree the head chief of Ulietea¹⁷ who arrivd here two days before & in whose Canoe we all embarkd. On passing the

first point of Oparre we requested to land in order to see the Morai of *Tepootooatea*. Here we were attended by Mowree who on entering the sacred spot desired us to stop till he had addressed the Eatooa, for this purpose he seated himself on the ground & began to pray before an altar ornamented with pieces of wood indifferently carved & on which was placed on this occasion a large bundle of white Cloth & some red feathers by an elderly man. Before these Emblems he continued praying sometime, during which all our names were separately mentioned twice & the names of the Commanders of the different Vessels that visited the Island together with the name of King George & Britanee which was often repeated.

When this ceremonial solemnity was ended we were readily admitted into every part of the Morai & Mowree took great pains to explain to us every peculiarity belonging to it, for he appeared to be a man well informed in the rites of their religion, & on that account we could not help lamenting that our knowledge of the language was by no means sufficient to comprehend his meaning except in very few instances, otherwise we should have left this place much better informed, for it is at present the most considerable Morai on this part of the Island.

On returning to the Beach we found the Canoe had gone off & left us, we therefore walked along shore about a mile further till we came to a house surrounded with young Plantations of the Ava Plant & the whole neatly fenced in with rails of Bamboo. This we were told belonged to Reepaia & on entering the house we found him at dinner with a numerous train of our acquaintance from *Matavai*. The weather being now exceeding sultry we refreshed ourselves with the cool & nourishing juice of Cocoa Nuts & rested a little while with Reepaia till a message came for us from his brother who had gone on to his own habitation, but our friend Mowree joined the party here & seemed to relish the repast with a good appetite.

We followed the Messenger & soon after came to Whytooa's house which is situated close to the shore & backed by fine plantations of the Ava plant interspersed with patches of Sugar Cane & Bananas, but next the house grew a small shrubbery of the ornamental plants of the Country, & the whole was surrounded by a fence intersected by paths & kept in such order as reflected the highest credit on its owner. Here we found our Host who had already taken effectual steps to provide for our entertainment by killing a large Hog & collecting the other necessary refreshments which were now getting ready on the outside of the Plantation. When we entered his house which is large and airy he put us in possession of one half of it by stretching a rope across the middle to keep the

Natives from pressing too near us & prevent their idle & teasing curiosity from molesting our quiet.

After dinner we heard the report of guns which we judgd to be complimentary to Pomarre on his leaving Matavai, & Reepaia visiting us soon after with some of his party confirmd our opinion & he further observd that as Pomarre had now left the Vessels he was afraid the Natives would not be so orderly & therefore requested Mr. Broughton to write a few lines to Capt. Vancouver & recommend to him five Chiefs whose names he mentioned & in whose good offices he might place the fullest confidence in the absence of the Royal Family. This was complied with & Mathiabo one of the five was immediately dispatchd with this message on board the *Discovery*.

From the first of our acquaintance with Reepaia his friendly care seemd to be wholly engagd in preserving a good understanding between us & his Countrymen, & even here retir'd in his country cottage we find him eagerly employd in these laudable endeavours which I am happy to observe had hitherto so far succeeded that very little interruption had taken place of the most friendly intercourse.

Soon after we were complimented by a visit from young Otoo, his approach was made known to us by seeing all the natives uncover their shoulders, but as he could not with propriety come within the Fence we paid our respects to him on the Beach & gave him such Trinkets as we had then about us, he did not stay long but posted on to meet his father at the Morai. He was hardly gone, when we had also a short visit from his royal Sister, who was likewise on a man's back. We ornamented her with Beads & gave her some looking glasses which seemd to please her much.

In the dusk of the evening a scene occurrd which did not fail to give a different turn to our feelings, for then we were informd that the royal family were landing close by us, we hastend out to receive them, & met Pomarre on the Beach, the dejection which evidently appeard in his countenance inducd me at once to enquire the cause of it, when he told me in a low tone of voice that his friend Motoaro-mahow was dead, & that he was come to Oparre to solemnize the funeral rites. Reepaia & Whytooa who likewise came both out to receive their brother, on hearing this burst into tears, & a melancholy gloom soon overspread the whole group present.

On going a little further we saw the Queen Mother¹⁸ & Whaereede both in tears close to the Canoe where they landed; At this time Whaeredee was searching a small bundle for the shark's teeth the dreadful instrument used by the women in this country on such occasions for

tearing their heads in a frantic manner to express the depth of their afflictive sorrow. She found three carefully wrapped up in a piece of cloth & delivering one to her sister, they both retired back in silent grief into a neighbouring plantation, & we to rest on a large Mat which on our return to the house we found spread for the purpose,

14 Jan. 1792. Early on the morning of the 14th we were again favored with a visit from Otoo & several others on their way to the Morai. We now found that three English Geese had been landed in our plantation on the preceding evening, which Pomarre had received from Captain Vancouver, so far were these animals enabled to distinguish our voices or dresses that they kept gagging about that end of the house we were in & constantly shunned the natives.

A little before breakfast time a large Canoe covered with an awning came from the westward & moved with a slow motion towards the Morai with the body of the deceased Chief. On observing this we expressed our wish to see Pomarre in order to obtain his leave to attend the ceremony when we were told that he was gone to the Morai & would have no objection to our being present. We therefore set out attended by Whytooa & several others, & on crossing a small river a little beyond Reepaia's house we there saw sitting under a tree the Queen Mother, Whaeredee & the widow of the deceased, all in tears & in the violence of their distracted grief wounding their heads with the sad weapons we saw them prepared with on the preceding evening, & to facilitate the operation the widow had a spot shaved on the crown of her head, from which the blood gushed freely, & it bore evident marks of the frequent repetitions of the instrument.

As we were afraid our presence might give them some uneasiness, we made our stay but very short, & hastened towards the Morai, where we found that the Priests had already begun to perform their exequies, but Pomarre Reepaia & others giving their silent assent to our coming forwards we moved quietly on through the group & seated ourselves among the Chiefs, with as little obstruction to the duties then going forward, as in entering a Church in England after the service had begun.

Five Priests who sat before Pomarre appeared at this time to be chanting a kind of hymn--with their faces turned towards the young king, who sat on a man's lap about ten yards off, & near him was held the bundle of white Cloth which emblematically contained the Eatooa.

The body of the deceased lay wrapped in red English Cloth under the awning of the Canoe, one end of which was hauled up upon the Beach close to the Morai & the other end was attended by one man up to his middle in the water.

These Priests continued chanting in concert for some time, frequently modulating their voices & uttering with great volubility till at last they ended with a shrill squeak. But one of them who we perceivd to be our friend Mowree & who on this occasion performd the office of High Priest continud in a fervent prayer for about half an hour longer, in which he was now & then join'd by another with a very shrill voice. In this prayer Mowree sometimes appeard to be expostulating with the Deity in mentioning separately the different produce of the Island that still remaind in great plenty & yet Motooaro Mahow was sufferd to die.

When the address was ended they all got up & walkd along shore followd by the Canoe to the entrance of the River where the three ladies still remaind giving vent to their grief, which on seeing the Canoe they did with a wild yell that piercd our very souls attendd with the frantic operation of the Shark's teeth till the blood flowd freely. The Canoe then enterd the river to go back to a Morai at the foot of the Mountain & we understood that the ceremonies to be there performd on the body of the deceased was of such a nature & requird so much privacy that they would not permit any of us to be present though it was earnestly requestd--As some alleviation to this disappointment Pomarre said that next day we should be admitted to see the manner in which it was laid out, but he could not allow us then to follow any further up the River, on which we parted.

As I strongly suspected that the Body of this Prince was now going to be embalmd, I could not help lamenting that these restrictions deprivd me of the only opportunity I should ever have of seeing these Natives perform an operation from which I should probably have derived very useful instructions. I again renewd my solicitations with Pomarre to permit me *alone* to accompany him but without success.

We then returnd to Whytoas house & agreed on going along shore about 4 miles further to see the royal residence of Pomarre, which we found pleasantly situated near the sea side, & consistd of two large houses, one of which was 16 yards long by 18 yards wide. Here a number of young girls entertaind us with *Heiva* in the wanton manner of their country, at particular parts of this dance a fellow stept in before the Girls who had a large Hernia & exposd it in a ludicrous manner to the no small amusement of the rest of the Natives, but when we expressed our disgust at this fellows actions, the girls then went on & performd the part by exposing themselves below the waist. After distributing some Beads among these young actresses we returnd back by a pleasant path through the plantation where we enjoyd a cool refreshing breeze, shaded from the sultry mid-day heat by a continued forest of

Bread fruit trees & Cocoa Palms. We stopd at a Chiefs house where Whytooa had orderd dinner to be provided for us & where I must say we fared sumptuously on the produce of the country, after which we continued our journey & a little before night arrivd again at our friend's house, & observd a number of fires kindled in this part of the district & people cooking victuals as if some great feast was preparing--We however fared as usual & after supper requested our worthy host to join us in a glass of grogg to our friends in *Britanee*--to join us in the liquor he modestly refusd though he was exceeding fond of it, observing that we had but little remaining for ourselves & that he would therefore drink to Britanee a bowl of Otaheitean Ava which he immediately orderd to be prepard for the purpose, & Mr. Broughton's politeness & curiosity together went so far as to drink some of this bowl with his friend.

15 Jan. 1792. Before day light our old friend Mowree paid us a visit in order to acquaint us that a restriction was laid on all the Canoes in this part of Oparre on account of the funeral solemnities, in consequence of which he durst not launch his Canoe to carry us back this day to Matavai. We told him it was no hardship, as it was our intention to go back by land, & soon after on requesting Whytooa to give us an early breakfast he likewise told us that fires were under a similar restriction, on which account he could not dress any at his own house, but would endeavour to get some for us on our journey. This being the case there was no alternative, we therefore set out from Whytooa's house pretty early in the morning (impressed with a high sense of his hospitality & friendly good offices) & accompanied by himself his wife & several of the Natives. We were conducted by a pleasant level path through the Plantations, shaded by abundance of the Bread Fruit Trees, & on crossing the River where we parted with Pomarre on the preceeding day, we requested to see the Morai in which Motooaro-mahow was laid & was soon put into a path which lead to it, but few of the Natives would venture to go with us, & we had gone but a little way when a message from Whytooa called us back, having then particularly explaind to him Pomarre's promise to us yesterday, he, after considerable hesitations orderd one man to accompany us, & gave him particular directions.

While the rest of the party went on with Whytooa, Mr. Broughton & myself followd this man who appeard exceedingly cautious & fearful every step he went. We had not gone far when a solitary gloom prevaild all the houses we passd were deserted not a living creature was to be seen excepting a few dogs till we came to the Morai, where we found three men sitting in a small house who we supposd to be priests or guardians of the sacred place. These men interrogated our guide with

great earnestness, & afterwards informd us that the body of the deceased was carried to the Morai where we had seen it yesterday, & where Pomarre was at that time attending the ceremonies that were performing. Being thus disappointed in our expectations, we took a short view of the place in which we saw nothing deserving of notice, except its wild gloomy & solitary situation, being shaded with large trees & backd by high perpendicular & cavernd rocks, giving origin to several streams of water whose murmuring noise was no doubt favorable to lull the mind into fervent devotion in performing their religious rites.

We returnd by a different path & did not travel above a Mile when we came up with the rest of the party at a place where our friend Whytooa had taken care to provide a good breakfast for us. In our route we passed Otoo's present residence which consists of a middling sized house with a large court before it, inclosd by Board Railings, & it would now seem that the restrictions on fires did not extend far beyond the King's house as we were so soon after passing it accommodated with our breakfast, & that the assiduity of the natives on the preceeding evening in dressing so much victuals was not for feasting but to guard against fasting.

Being thus refreshd we soon after crossd One Tree Hill & arrivd at the British Encampment by dinner time followd by a numerous group of the natives who were constantly struggling who should be foremost in doing us little acts of kindness, such as carrying us over rivulets, easing us of any superfluous cloaths in the heat of the day or any other bundle we had to carry, and though our pockets & bundles containd small trinkets valuable to them, I must do their honesty justice to say that none were missed by any of us during the whole excursion.

17 Jan. 1792. In the morning of the 17th. two of the Natives were detected in stealing a hat out of one of the scuttles on board the *Discovery* & was immediately pursued by one of our boats who soon returnd with the Thieves & their booty, & as various petty thefts were committed both on shore & on board it was thought necessary that their punishment should be public & exemplary to deter others from committing offences that might perhaps be attended with more disagreeable consequences. For this purpose they were instantly conveyd on shore to the Tents under a guard of Marines where they were tied to a tree had their heads shaved & received a good flogging on their naked backs after which they were dismissd desiring them never to be seen again near the lines or the Vessels. This happend in the presence of Otoo King of the Island several of the principal Chiefs & a numerous concourse of the

Natives who all appeared highly satisfied with our lenity in not inflicting a severer punishment.

After this Capt. Vancouver accompanied by Pomarre & others went in the Pinnate to Oparre where he visited the Toopapaoo on which Motooaro-mahow was laid in state & made some offerings at his shrine accompanied with a discharge of Musquetry & after taking a view of the Morai & other places returned to the ship again in the evening. We now found that the Breach which the river lately made through the Beach had entirely filled up again of itself & the Stream followed its old course towards the point.

In the forenoon I set out with one of the gentlemen to prosecute my researches further up the Valley & after passing a little beyond the reach of our former excursion, the Natives pointed out to us some shaddock trees on the right hand side of the Valley in a very flourishing state, loaded at this time with plenty of fruit but none of them were ripe.-- They told us that they were planted here by *Bane* (Sir Joseph Banks) & from their size & apparent age we had no reason to doubt their assertion.

We now continued our journey crossing the windings of the river pretty frequent & in the afternoon advanced as far as the uppermost habitations in the Valley where we found it necessary to take up our quarters for the night as we had very heavy rain in the evening. The few Natives we found here were remarkable friendly & hospitable & very assiduous in providing for our comfort & entertainment. They dressed a small Hog for us, which was killed by immersion [*sic*] in the river, a method we had not before seen made use of, & at night they amused us with singing some pleasant airs under the direction of an old blind man who accompanied them with great exactness on a flute, the stanzas often terminated with the words *bue bue* & the performance on the whole was by no means destitute of order & some degree of harmony, & the eager attention of the Natives during the whole time showed that they relished it with great delight, though to us it seemed more conducive to inspire a kind of mournful gloominess than cheerfulness.

18 Jan. 1792. 18th. Next morning we set off pretty early taking about a dozen of the Natives with us as guides & to carry some provisions &c & as we now advanced we found the Valley became much narrower, being hemmed in on both sides by high steep craggy mountains, whose dark woody cliffs diffused a solitary gloom all around us, & the continual murmurs of the stream echoed from different Caverns stunned our ears with its loud noise that we could not hear one another without elevating our voices considerably--A number of little falls of water precipitated

from the rocks here & there on each side; but on the left hand we passed a small beautiful Cascade which fell over a perpendicular rock composed of upright Columns of black Basalt presenting a fluted surface of upwards of thirty yards high, these Columns were arranged parallel & of a pentagonal figure rarely exceeding fifteen inches in diameter, they consisted of joints of different lengths from one to twenty feet & upwards. Of this rock the Natives told me that they formerly made their stone Adzes.

A little beyond this the Valley became so confined that we could pursue it no further. Here the natives pointed out to us on the left hand side a high cliff from the top of which they said a path went up the Mountains, but this rock appeared to us inaccessible till we saw one of the Natives scramble up with great alertness & on gaining the summit he made a rope he had about his middle fast to a tree & threw the end of it down the rock by means of which the rest hauled themselves up one after another & we managed to mount by the same conveyance though I must say not without risk & difficulty. When in the Morning we observed some of the Natives carefully fastening Ropes about their waists we could not guess what they were intended for till we came to this Rock & saw the use to which they were applied.

From the top of this rock we began our ascent by a very steep narrow path where we could only follow one another through thick woods & sometimes along the verge of precipices so hideous & full of danger that a slip or false step would in a moment prove of fatal consequence. At other times we crossed chasms & valleys with great labour & fatigue, in the bottom of these we frequently met with little spots planted with Taro particularly the large coarser kind & abundance of Bananas which our Conductors seemed to consider as common property, for they collected from these places as we went along the Vegetables which they intended for themselves & us in the Mountains. The wood through which we passed was every where interspersed with strong thick fern & underwood of various kinds, but the Trees which composed it did not appear to be of any great dimensions. I collected a number of plants which I had not before seen by sending the Natives here & there off the path in different directions, who brought to me branches of every plant they saw either in flower or fruit or seeds.

We thus continued our progress up the Mountains till about two in the afternoon when we had gained the summit of an elevated ridge & on the other side saw a deep large valley across which the Natives told us the path went, & at some distance on the opposite side they showed us two small huts on a clear spot where they said they meant to put up for

the night. We had already crossd so many of these Valleys that we were now quite disheartend & here threw ourselves down upon the ground almost exhausted with fatigue, while some of the Natives went on, to kindle a fire & prepare these huts for our reception.

But suddenly a very heavy pour of rain came on which the Natives told us was likely to continue & swell the River that we could not get back again for two or three days--We were in a short time wet to the skin & to go to these damp huts & lay all night in this condition would not only be uncomfortable but in this climate might greatly endanger our Constitutions, we therefore detemind at once on returning back as fast as we could, & get down the Valley before the River had gaind strength sufficient to detain us more especially as we had strict injunc-tions to be back on the following day at farthest as the Vessels were upon the point of Sailing. We sent after the Natives that had gone, to recall them, & began to descend under a pouring fall of heavy rain, which renderd our path so exceeding slippery that we were every moment in the utmost danger of sliding down chasms or precipices dreadful to behold & frequently obliged to lower ourselves by ropes fastend to trees or held by the Natives.

When we came to the River we found that it had already swelld so considerably & its stream rolld on with such impetuosity that in many places it was a very difficult task to cross it, & indeed we should never have been able to accomplish it had it not been for the dexterity activity & friendly aid of the Natives for though I generally went across between two of the stoutest of them yet we were often thrown off our legs & car-ried down the stream for some distance before we could gain the oppo-site shore, & we had to cross it at least twenty times in the course of our return down the Valley, but it was some consolation to find that we in some Measure out run the overflow & lower down crossed it with more ease.

We arrivd at the Tents late in the evening extremely fatigued wet & uncomfortable but what I most regretted, my collection of Plants were almost entirely destroyd with the heavy fall of rain, our hurry down the Mountains & crossing the river so often, notwithstanding all my precau-tions & endeavours to preserve them.

This day the Queen Mother Whaereedee & the widow returnd from Oparre after performing their part in the funeral rites, which after what has been already related will surely not be considered as an easy task, it however left no traces of mournful gloominess on their minds, for they now appeard as cheerful & unconcernd as if nothing of the kind had ever happend.

Notwithstanding the punishment that had been inflicted yesterday morning several petty thefts were still committing about the Tents amongst the officers linnen & mens cloaths that were washing there, but no particular notice was taken of them. Indeed such was the rage for these articles as trade, that our own people were in some measure suspected as accessories in these petty offences, & to strengthen the bonds of good understanding & friendship between us & the Royal Family, the artificers were at this time employd in making a very large Chest for Pomarre.

20 Jan. 1792. In the morning of the 20th a bag of linnen belonging to Mr. Broughton was missing it containd about a dozen shirts some sheets & table Cloths that had been brought on shore on the preceeding evening & laid in the Marquee as the securest place, so that this theft was imputed to some of those confidentials who were permitted to live night & day within the line & who were mostly chiefs of low rank that had been adopted as temporary friends by some of the officers or men who attended upon them as menial servants--These certainly were hourly exposed to great temptations by the negligence with which every thing lay about the Tents especially shirts & linnen of every kind that were daily brought on shore to wash & dry, & indeed these were the articles which they were at this time fondest of from the highest to the lowest, so that it was not at all surprising that their honesty was not able to resist those aluring opportunities which we ourselves put in their way.

On this occasion Captain Vancouver issued his threats to Pomarre & the rest of the Chiefs, telling them, that if these articles were not brought back very soon he would desolate the whole district & destroy all their Canoes.

In the forenoon Reepaia made a liberal present of Hogs Goats &c to both Commanders & was desirous of backing his present with an entertainment, for which two young ladies elegantly dressd were brought close to the lines to dance a Heiva, but this Capt. Vancouver did not think proper to countenance on account of the several thefts committed by the Natives, & he strictly enjoind that none belonging to either of the Vessels should attend it, so that the ladies returnd home without performing even to their own countrymen, & Reepaia went off apparently much hurt at this rebuff, for a little afterwards I strolled back into the Plantation & saw him with his musquet in great agitation & bustle through the village searching for the Thieves.

The Observatory was struck & the Astronomical instruments & Time-keepers were sent on board. There being little or no surf the boats were now able to land with great ease abreast of the Tents.

The Centinels posted round the encampment this day receivd orders to fire on any of the Natives that might be found stealing or lurking within the lines after the watch was set, in consequence of which two of them were this night fired at but they effected their escape unhurt.

21 Jan. 1792. In the forenoon of the 21st Pomarre & his two brothers with several of the Chiefs were at the Tents about the robberies, when they were again threatend with war & destruction, but to no purpose, for they declard that they had already exerted their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders & recover the articles, but that the thieves were gone with their booty to the mountains, where they could easily elude the most diligent search for a considerable time. To assuage in some measure these threats & endeavour to bring about again a good understanding Pomarre & Whytooa made presents of the produce of the Island to both Commanders.

In the evening Whytooa meeting with a man that attended on the Officers who had absconded himself in the course of the day I believe merely through fear of the thundering threats that were issued, brought him to the Tents to declare whatever he knew concerning the robberies & the harsh manner in which this man was threatend with instant death gave a general alarm to the Natives, they were seen deserting their houses & getting all their effects & canoes out of the reach of our guns. Pomarre & all the Chiefs instantly crossd the river & absconded themselves, not one remaind near us except the old Queen & a single attendant, & she appeared stupified with liquor, having taken a glass too much, which was not unusual with this Royal Dame when she could get it.

In this situation Mr. Broughton went singly & unarmd across the river (though Capt. Vancouver had entreated him to the contrary) to endeavour to reconcile the Natives & bring them back to a state of confidence which he very soon effected by overtaking Pomarre & solliciting him to return again to the Tents, that chief said, what can I expect, when my Queen is kept a Prisoner, he assurd him she was not, & to convince him there was no harm intended against any of them, he desird him to come to the river side & that she should be sent over to him, which she immediately was according to Mr. Broughton's promise & a numerous group of the Natives eagerly receivd her on the opposite side.

On this occasion Pomarre shewd great magnanimity, for the whole multitude zealously pressd him not to venture across & clingd around him endeavouring to hold him back, yet the moment he saw the Queen set at liberty he thrust them all aside & steppd into the river with an undaunted air of confidence followd by Whaeredee alone, & the Queen joining them soon after he slepd with both in the Marquee all night.

During this fray Captain Vancouver sent to seize some double Canoes laying at the entrance of the River, but the party was prevented from getting more than one by the Natives pelting them with Stones, & one or two Musquets they had would not go off, which made the others bolder in defending their property.

In the mean time the man which Whytooa had brought & who had given rise to this sudden alarm was sent on board & securd in irons till his guilt should appear more evident, or he should criminate others by telling whatever he knew of the robberies.

In the night time Tooworero the Sandwich Islander made his escape by swimming on shore unobservd. This step was not altogether unexpected as he had given some hints a few days before of his partiality to these people & their country by expressing his wishes to remain amongst them, for their insinuating arts & manners had gaind such an ascendancy over his unthinking mind, that they had already wheedled from him almost the whole stock of Cloaths which Government had so liberally supplied him with on his leaving England.

22 Jan. 1792. When this affair was made known to Capt. Vancouver next morning, he immediately requested Pomarre to send after him & bring him back to the ship again wherever he was, & that Chief instantly set off in search of him. In the mean time the Guns were dismounted & sent off in the Tents & in the afternoon the Marquee was struck with which the whole party venturd off with Capt. Vancouver which made up put more confidence in Pomarre's success after Tooworero who we were told in the evening was securd at Oparre & would be brought to the ship very soon.

23 Jan. 1792. In the morning of the 23d, it rained very hard but it brought no surf or swell into the Bay like the former wet weather, At day light the Chatham parted her stream Cable which had been evidently cut by the rock. Though we were now ready to depart yet we could have wishd to see Pomarre & his Brother who were both at Oparre in quest of Tooworero. About Breakfast time the three Royal Dames came on board & told Capt. Vancouver that if a Boat was sent for them they would both come on Board with Tooworero, & that he might not doubt their assertion they immediately offerd to remain on board the Ship as Hostages till the Boat returnd jocosely adding that if Pomarre would not come for them they would go to Britanee & get other husbands.

As the weather was not very favorable for our departure Mr. Broughton & I went in the Pinnacle to Oparre & landed, a little after we passed One Tree Hill where we found Pomarre waiting for us on the Beach & Tooworero close by him surrounded by a group of the Natives who

appeared much concerned at parting with him. On walking a little further we found Reepaia in a house taking some refreshment.

Mr. Broughton ordered Tooworero into the Boat who was at this time dressed in a Maro in the manner of Otaheite & we afterwards prevailed on Pomarre & his Brother to accompany us back to the ship & no sooner set off than we were followed by a vast number of Canoes loaded with Hogs & Vegetables which were intended as presents from Pomarre to both Vessels. He drew them up into two regular divisions one upon each quarter of the Boat & in this manner we entered the Bay & approached the Vessels till by a signal given they separated off, one division to each vessel.

We arrived on board about two in the afternoon when Tooworero was immediately confined to prevent his making his escape again. We have already mentioned that he was so imprudent as to part with all his wearing apparel but what he himself most regretted was the loss of an excellent rifled barreled musquet which had been given him by Col. Golden at the Cape of Good Hope & on which he placed so high a value that he would not trust it on shore with any of the Natives as he did his cloaths, but carried it out of the ship himself & lost it in the Surf as he was swimming to the shore.

If we seriously considered the inducements which led him to this step, his conduct will no doubt appear less blameable, for he frequently expressed his doubts whether any of his friends & relations would be alive at Morotai on his return, & being born of obscure rank he was equally apprehensive that his reception in his own country would not be so flattering as here. It is not therefore surprising if under these circumstances he preferred an easy happy life in a climate so congenial to his own, where he found himself caressed by people of rank from the Royal Family downwards, enticing him with every allurements to remain amongst them; & the facility of gratifying every wish had endeared their habits & manners to him, for being a child of nature the Sex had in some measure captivated his heart with their unaffected charms & given him a relish for sensual pleasures that he had not before experienced. In short in a country where nature dealt her bounties with such a lavishing hand, & among a mild happy people he no doubt anticipated the remainder of his days in a continual round of various enjoyments.

For he himself avowed that both Pomarre & Reepaia strongly importuned him to stay behind & that the latter assisted him in landing & afterwards conducted him secretly to the Mountains, though both of them declared they had no knowledge of his escape & made a great merit of bringing him back. Yet we had no doubt of its being a premeditated

plan between them & therefore could not help thinking that the punishment Tooworero suffered for his imprudence, for in him it could scarcely be called any more, was far too severe, for he was kept in confinement till we past the Island of Teeteroah & the Captain in a manner discarding him, he was thrown out of the Gunners Mess where he had lived since we left England, so that he was obliged to make it out the best way he could among the common people all the passage to the Sandwich Island, with scarcely any clothing except what the generous pity of his Shipmates supplied him with.

As we are now ready to leave these Islands, it will perhaps be necessary to add a few words on their present state & the changes which have taken place in their Government since Capt. Cooks last visit.

Pomarre who was then namd Otoo & King of Otaheite as has been already noticd still retains the power of administring the Government of the Island, though consonant to the establishd custom of the Country he has resignd the titles & honors of a Sovereign to his Son Otoo who is now considerd as the King of Otaheite & indeed a much greater prince than his father ever was.

*Waheiadoa*¹⁹ the King of Tiaraboo is dead & *Pomarre*'s second son had assumd his name & titles & taken possession of his territories a short time before our arrival.

The powerful Maheine King of Eimeo was killd in a battle about 18 months ago in Otaheite and was succeeded by his Brother *Motooaro mahow*²⁰ whose death we have already mentioned & the Sovereignty of that Island is now left to his daughter *Tetooanooe* who is very young & under age.

The great *Opoono* King of *Bolabola* is also dead & succeeded by his daughter *Mahemarooa* who is at present Sovereign of that Island & also under age.

We have already mentioned *Motooaro* the present king of *Heraheine* & our friend *Old Mowree* the King of *Ulietea*, the latter is an uncle of *Pomarre*'s by the mother's side & has no issue, so that his Territory is likely to fall soon by descent under the Government of the Otaheitean Family whose present expansive & political views will no doubt also join two other Islands by the Marriage of the Otaheitean King with the two Queens of *Bolabola* & *Eimeo*, so that this young prince is likely in a short time to have the entire controal of the whole group of Islands, & indeed his father & the rest of the Chiefs frequently told us that his titles are greater than any King that ever reignd in Otaheite--He is stiled the *Earee rahie no maro oora* a title to which they seem to annex the same idea of greatness as we do to that of an Emporor's by this it should seem

that his elevation to the Government of the whole group of Islands is already considered as inevitable.

Pomarre is at present about 6 feet 5 inches high, very muscular & well proportioned, he walks firm & erect with that majestic dignity of deportment becoming his high rank & station. Those on board who have seen him formerly say that he is much improved in every respect not only in his personal appearance but in the firmness & steadiness of his actions & general behaviour.

The Queen Mother as we called her was a stout woman of an erect masculine figure with very ordinary features, but she walked with a firm easy step & her disposition was mild & affable. She also appeared to possess great sagacity & penetration aided by a quick & clear comprehension of whatever was laid before her, so that she was not only useful to Pomarre in his domestic concerns, but even in the management of the more important affairs of Government, for her counsel had great weight with him on all occasions, & he seldom transacted any business of moment without first obtaining it, by which she always seemed to have great ascendancy & influence over his conduct.

While her sister Whaeredee who though inclined to corpulence possessed more feminine softness & the characteristic allurements of her sex attracted more of his company in those hours of relaxation devoted to pleasure & mutual enjoyment.

24 Jan. 1792. Though the preceding night was rainy yet the morning of the 24th of Jan.^y was fair with a light easterly breeze, when we Unmoored & by 10 in the forenoon both Vessels weighed Anchor & made sail out of the Bay. At this time the Native who had been confined about three days ago on account of the Robbery was brought on Deck & delivered to Pomarre which seemed highly gratifying to him & the royal dames one of whom immediately hurried him into a Canoe that was along side & hid him in the bottom of it by placing herself over him & covering him with her cloaths, when she ordered the people to paddle off as fast as they could towards the shore, & having got him a good distance off she returned in another Canoe to the ship again. Though we were not able to recover but very few of the articles which the Natives pilfered from us yet all animosity now ceased & we parted upon the most friendly terms. Pomarre was the last man on board & as he stepped into his Canoe he was saluted with four Guns & a similar compliment was paid to his two brothers who were at the same time on board the Chatham taking leave of Mr. Broughton & the Officers.

At noon we got off about two leagues when we steered to the Northward with a light breeze & clear weather & in the evening reached

within two leagues of the Island of Teeteroah²¹ bearing about North of us when the wind died away to light airs with lightning & some rain during the night.

25 Jan. 1792. This forenoon of the 25th was fair but mostly calm so that our progress was hardly perceptible & being within 4 or 5 miles of Teeteroah it gave an opportunity to some Canoes to come off to us, in one of which was a Chief & his family who came on board & who was not unacquainted with many of our recent transactions, which shews that a regular communication is kept up between the two Islands.

In the afternoon finding that we were drifting nearer the Island by a Current, the Boats were hoisted out to tow the Ship off, but in the evening a light breeze sprang up, when the Boats were hoisted in again & we were enabled to pursue our northerly course.

The Chatham who was during this time much nearer the land was surrounded by several Canoes from which they procurd Fowls & Cocoa Nuts being probably the only refreshments which the Island afforded, for it produces neither Bread Fruit nor Taro, both of which they are supplied at times with from Otaheite.

The Chatham was also visited by the head Chief of the Island who is a younger brother of Pomarre & it being a Colony of Otaheite the Inhabitants esteemd the same articles of trafic.

The greatest extent of the Island from North to South did not exceed three Miles & it is so remarkably low that the Cocoa Nut Palms with which it is coverd seem as if they were emerging from the Ocean. At one time we were surrounded by a vast shoul of Porpusses basking & swimming about at their ease.

NOTES

1. That is to say, 35°57' West.
2. The Hawaiian lad who had been taken to England in 1789, and who was being returned to his native land in the *Discovery* at the request of Sir Joseph Banks.
3. The island is now known as Rapa.
4. The Anou Islands, lying southeast of Tahiti, in the Austral group. They were originally named after the Duke of Gloucester by Captain Philip Carteret in H.M.S. *Swallow* in 1767. They consist of three atolls--Anuanurao, Anuanurunga, and Nukutipipi.
5. Me'etia. The island was originally named the Bishop of Osnaburg Isle by Captain Samuel Wallis in H.M.S. *Dolphin* on 17 June 1767, in honor of King George III's second son. The name was also given to Muraroa one month later by Captain Carteret, in ignorance of Wallis' choice.

6. Mo'orea.
7. This is Tu the younger, son of Tu (Pomare I) and 'Itia, and later known as Pomare II. He would have been about eleven or twelve years old when Menzies met him. Later in the journal Menzies puts him at "about ten years of age."
8. That is, Tu the elder, or Pomare I. In fact Menzies' "Prince" (Tu the younger) had at birth inherited his father's title--as Menzies correctly points out later in the journal.
9. That is, 'Itia, first and principal wife of Pomare I and mother of Tu the younger.
10. "*Rumi*," a form of massage widely practiced in Polynesia to induce relaxation and as a form of medical treatment. It was greatly appreciated by European visitors. Later in the text Menzies describes his own experience of *rumi* and its effects on him.
11. Younger sister of 'Itia. Vancouver calls her "Fier re te," but Menzies prefers Bligh's orthography.
12. Mai ("Omai"), the first Society Islander to visit England. Captain Furneaux, commander of the ship *Adventure* on Cook's second expedition, had taken Mai to England in 1774, where he stayed for two years. In London he was presented to the king and queen and became an object of curiosity to the intellectual world as a living example of the noble savage; he was also the subject of poems, plays, exotic spectacles, pantomimes, lampoons, and portraits, including one by the distinguished artist Sir Joshua Reynolds. Mai was returned on Cook's third expedition, and Cook saw personally to his installation on Huahine in 1777. Seen as a sort of ambassador, Mai was given tools, livestock, and other gifts in order to impress his compatriots with the advantages of friendship with Britain.
13. Ari'ipaea, probably thirty-three or thirty-four years of age, about seven years younger than Pomare I.
14. Captain Charles Clerke, commander of the *Discovery* on Cook's third expedition of 1776-1780. After Cook's death at Hawaii, Clerke took over the command of the *Resolution* but he himself died of tuberculosis before the end of the voyage.
15. This "name" is really a title, *Vehiatua*, of the chieftainship of Taiarapu. After the death of the former Vehiatua not long before, the Pomare family laid claim to the district, appointing a young brother of Pomare as successor, as here related.
16. Vaetua, younger than Ari'ipaea, and probably about twenty-eight years old at this time.
17. Raiatea.
18. 'Itia, formerly referred to as "the Queen." As Menzies has promoted the younger Tu from "prince" to "king" in the course of his narrative, the "Queen" has now become the "Queen Mother."
19. Vehiatua, a title, as explained in note 15.
20. According to Vancouver, "Motooaro" (Metuaro Mahau) was not Mahine's brother but his sister's son, and most scholars agree with him. There is a possibility that Mahine was first succeeded by an older brother to Metuaro, who died shortly afterwards and whom Metuaro then succeeded, This might account for Menzies' confusion. See Douglas Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society* (Honolulu, 1974), vol. 3, p. 1206.
21. Tetiaroa.