THE CALLING OF H.M.S. SERINGAPATAM AT RAPANUI (EASTER ISLAND) ON 6 MARCH 1830

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If detailed accounts of callings at Rapanui in the first half of the nine-teenth century are exceedingly rare, their publication is even rarer. Yet in order adequately to explain Rapanui culture during this early post-contact period--when the island's ancient social organization had already experienced irreversible collapse and the devastating labor raids that finally set the spear to an already terminally ill society were only a generation and a half distant (1862-1863)--it is essential to avail oneself of each visitor's description of the island during these all-too-brief encounters. The full documentation of such callings is a long-term project currently being pursued.

One memorable calling at Rapanui is that of the forty-six-gun manof-war H.M.S. *Seringapatam*, commanded by Captain William Waldegrave, on 6 March 1830, although it is seldom included in the published lists of early visits. Captain Honorable William Waldegrave explained the purpose of his historic mission to the South Pacific as follows:

In December, 1829, whilst commanding H.M.S. Seringapatam at Rio Janeiro, I received the orders of my Commander in Chief Sir T. Baker to visit the Society & the Friendly islands, giving me permission to touch at any islands in the ship's course so as not to retard the object of our voyage. In obedience to these orders the Seringapatam visited Easter & Pitcairns Islands, Noahevah [Nuku Hiva] one of the Marquesas, Tahiti, Eimeo [Mo'orea], Reiateia [Ra'iatea] in the Society islands, Tongata-

boo [Tongatapu] & Vavao [Vava'u] in the Friendly islands. The orders embraced many points which would have required a long residence thoroughly to execute. Our time was limited, Seven months only being allowed to sail from Rio Janeiro round Cape Horn to touch at Valparaiso to visit these islands & to return to Lima in Peru. I endeavoured to execute the orders as faithfully as my time permitted, but as much information could only be obtained thro interpreters we may have been frequently mistaken. Nevertheless we have every reason to believe the general tenor of the statement to be correct, as we seized every opportunity to acquire information & judged of its accuracy by observation, requesting explanation when the facts differed from the statements & weighing the difference. It was my determination on our visits never unneccessarily to use force. We were the visitors, we might or might not be welcome & we had no right to use force to obtain our objects, because we were the strangers. We sought to visit then to make their acquaintance, to see them in their own homes, to view their habits, customs, & to learn the natural & physical properties of their islands. Yet however anxious we might be to obtain information, we had no right to compel, to intrude where we were not welcome, or to enter where they chose to exclude.¹

There are two separate accounts of this voyage to the South Pacific: Captain Waldegrave's official report to the Admiral and the Admiralty in London, an autograph manuscript copy of which remains in the possession of his descendant the Earl Waldegrave and of which extracts were published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Waldegrave 1833); and Lieutenant John Orlebar's journal, published in London in 1833 in a limited edition (reprinted 1976).

The Waldegrave Report

William Waldegrave, eighth Earl Waldegrave (1788-1859), entered the Royal Navy as midshipman in 1801, was commissioned lieutenant in 1808, and attained his captaincy in 1811. He was a member of Parliament for Bedford from 1815 to 1818. Then, from 1829 to 1832, he captained H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in South America and the South Pacifichis son William Frederick Waldegrave serving aboard in 1830 as midshipman-- and, from 1839-1842, the *Revenge* in the Mediterranean. He retired as rear admiral in 1846 and as vice admiral in 1854 to

become the eighth Earl Waldegrave. The calling of H.M.S. *Seringapatam* was not included among the extracts Captain Waldegrave published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Waldegrave 1833), but it was detailed in his official report to the Admiral and the Admiralty. Its reproduction in the unpublished manuscript "Copy of my report sent to the Admiral and Admiralty, H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the Pacific," which the Countess Waldegrave has carefully transcribed from the original in her possession and has so graciously agreed to place at the disposal of Polynesian scholars, is given here unabridged. Captain Waldegrave's orthography is maintained, including his own autograph notes penned in the margins, but I have edited the punctuation somewhat for better fluency.

Copy of my report sent to the Admiral and Admiralty. H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the Pacific.

[marginal note: Easter Island]

March 5th at 11 P.M. we shortened sail and hove too, on the morning of the 6th at 5 A.M. we bore up and saw Easter Island, bearing West fourteen miles at 8 abreast of the East point bearing North, the West extreme being West [marginal note: Latitude 27° OS, Longitude of the West bay 109° 26 W]. Between eight and ten A.M. we ranged along the South shore at the distance of six miles, at 11 rounded the South West point, and at 30' P.M. anchored in the same bay² in which Captain Cook anchored in 1777;³ its latitude is correct but the longitude is 20 miles East of that given by Captain Cook.⁴ [marginal note: Anchoring marks sandy beach SW point of the island--South point of the bay. Distance off shore one half mile (elsewhere in MS: a mile and a half from the shore). Thirty Three fathoms coarse sand.] We saw the colosall figures spoken of by him-towards the S.E. end a group of five, 5 towards the centre of the island another group of three, both groups near the beach. The East end is bluff; at the top of the cliff the land rises in a gentle slope and then falls in the same angle to the West, covered with thin verdure. On the south side towards the East rises a conical hill and ridge⁸ apparently of granite--between this hill in S.W. point of the island we observed huts, cultivated divisions of land, one plantation of Plantains, one of sugar canes. The S.W. point⁹ is bluff, covered with thin verdure, the strata horizontal.



FIGURE 1. "Easter Island. The N.E. point bore N., the S.W. bore W by S at 8 A.M." A hitherto unknown watercolor of Rapanui painted by A. Mathews at 8 A.M. on 6 March 1830, on board H.M.S. Seringapatam at a position ca. six miles south of Poike peninsula, right, with Rano Kau volcano on the far left. (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Earl and Countess Waldegrave.)



FIGURE 2. "South 'side of Easter Island," The second hitherto unknown watercolor of Rapanui by A. Mathews, painted at 11 A.M. on 6 March 1830, on board H.M.S. Seringapatam at a position ca. six miles south of Rano Kau volcano, with the islets Motu Nui, Motu 'Iti, and the crag Motu Kaokao on the far left and Poike peninsula on the far right. (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Earl and Countess Waldegrave.)

Of the two rocks distinct from the land, the outer rock¹⁰ appeared to be of mountain limestone, the inner¹¹ of volcanic production nearly perpendicular like a steeple.

Shortly after we anchored, a native man swam on board. He made a very loud noise, shouting excessively. Several others soon followed. In one hour more than two hundred of both sexes had swam on board and many others hung on to the ship's side. Not being admitted they shouted, jumped, danced, appearing to have great confidence in us. The women very liberal in their favours. The men naked; the women a small patch in front. Their features malay, straight black hair, slight maha[?] --about five feet six or eight inches high, one or two of six feet. The hair thick on the head, but little on the chin or elsewhere. The men not circumcised. The women were short, thin, with a long back, narrow hips, short thigh, but plump, good foot and ankle, lively dark eyes, excellent regular teeth, and long loose hair; much fairer than the men, much tattoed covering the thighs, partially down the leg, back and waist. The men all tattoed on the back of the left hand, but they varied in tattoeing: the neck or back and a few on the thighs. They swam well, swimming to and from the ship, distance a mile and a half from the shore; and a few were supported by a bar of rushes between the legs, each carrying a small flat basket of sweet potatoes, sugar or plantain.

We saw five canoes made of drift wood, very slight. Ten feet long by fourteen inches wide, with two outriggers on one side and a long piece connecting the outriggers at the end. They held two or three persons.

The West side of the island appeared to be well cultivated. Boundary stones divided the several crops, which in general were narrow and passable one to the other. The crops appeared in their first tender shoot. Three very heavy showers fell during our visit.

We saw no trees, no animals or poultry.

About three o'clock we compelled the natives to leave the ship. We rowed towards the beach, where were assembled near three hundred persons. About five o'clock another party attempted to land but were prevented by the very high surf as the boat approached the shore. A loud shout was raised, the natives ran from every direction to the landing place. About twenty

women and ten men swam to the boat. They hung on to the boat, various little presents were made.

Not having landed, we can only judge appearance. The coast is very rocky. We saw no place on the south or west side where a square stem boat could have landed. The rocks of Volcanic production, the soil dark coloured, resting on indurated brown clay, interspersed with a red earth which was bare. The division stones were black, with a white covering stone.

The huts were long low arches resembling a waggon tilt--a door at one end. One building we observed: white, with a perpendicular front wall, with a door in the centre and a roof sloping on opposite sides.

No one on board could converse with the natives. On shore we observed many clothed in white or red tunics, extending in front and behind from the shoulders to the ankles.

We were not certain if any chief swam to the ship, as no decided authority was exercised [marginal note: one gave orders, they were but partially obeyed], but one native counted the shot, a second the officers, a third the sailors, a fourth measured the ship, a fifth counted the planks, a sixth the nail heads. They ate pudding and meat, but refused grog, bread and biscuit. Their complexion a dark brown; the women, a light brown. Cloth jackets and hats were the chief object of their desire. They are most expert and bold thieves, attempting every thing portable, from a thirty-two pound shot to a pocket hand-kerchief. We lost two sponge and rammers and two half ports. A cap was snatched from the head of the corporal on the gangway; the thief jumped overboard and managed to throw it from one to another till as a last resort it was thrown to a woman who, upon being persued, let it sink.

Two deeds considered amongst Christians as crimes were openly done: the women admitted the embraces of the sailors in the most unreserved manner; the sexes stole whatever they could take.

Of the first I shall give no opinion until I have visited all the islands. Of the second much is to be said in extenuation: the first thing a native did was to try to barter, his sweet potatoes, plantain and sugar cane were freely offered; but in exchange they demanded a jacket, hat of cloth. No, one* [marginal note: *in exchange] felt inclined to barter on such unequal terms.

They obtained only a few presents of worn-out clothes. Each carried a small mat bag containing five or six potatoes. A large quantity could not have been purchased on board as they were several proprietors who must each have the jacket. As barter failed--not having any thing else to offer--they had recourse to stealing. Every thing they saw was invaluable, the island not producing metal or timber.

Fish hooks of bone with lines of vegetable fibre well twisted.

Two questions of difficulty arise. Small war clubs or spattoons were brought on board: from whence did they come? They were of heavy wood of teak or elm, which does not float. The cloth dresses: from whence came they? We saw no trees or animals. They must have trade, or they were presents.

Of children they appeared very fond. A woman would select a boy of fair complexion, sit by him, coax him in the most endearing manner, making presents of whatever they possessed. The only stone hatchet seen on board, refused to me, was freely given to a volunteer of the 1st Class. A little boy of seven years old was eagerly caught and in the way to be carried on shore when stopped.

We regretted that we did not reach the shore. Not that much information could have been obtained in one day, for until the wonder had worn off we could not have moved, as every article on our persons would, if possible, have been taken by force. Several of the natives on board bore marks of musket ball wounds. They trembled when fire arms were put into the boats, but their confidence in us did not diminish. An eye witness who was present when the officers and crew of the Blossom were beaten off, 12 remarked that the effect of musquetry did not deter or frighten them.

The Orlebar Journal

Midshipman John Orlebar (1810-1891) was the third son of the high sheriff of Bedfordshire. He joined the Royal Navy at thirteen, attained his captaincy in 1861, and retired as admiral in 1887. He was only nineteen years of age when he recorded his 1830 voyage on board H.M.S. *Seringapatam* in the South Pacific. In contrast to those of Captain Waldegrave, his impressions of the calling at Rapanui were subsequently published (Orlebar 1833). They are included here as a complement and counterpart to Waldegrave's account:

On March 6th, at five in the morning, we observed Easter Island, and running down the eastern side of it, at the distance of three or four miles, 13 our spy-glasses, which had for some time been eagerly directed towards the island, discovered close to the beach several low huts and three tall figures, 14 which we at once conjectured to be the statues spoken of by the Dutchman who first discovered the island. 15 About ten o'clock we rounded the south point, 16 a high bluff cliff, and hauled our wind for the anchorage, an open roadstead, but sheltered from the prevalent winds in this latitude. The shore was lined with people, and long before we anchored, the ship was surrounded by shoals of the swimming naked natives. We were anxious for them to come on board, but as there were nearly two hundred in the water, the captain prudently would only allow forty to be on board at a time, to effect which we were obliged to use some harshness. Their surprize and wonder was extreme, and their wild uncouth gestures while saluting us, and their shrewdness and discernment were both equally astonishing. As an instance of which, directly they came on board, parties of them proceeded to measure the length and breadth of the ship by extending their arms along the deck, the size of our fathom;--others counted the number of officers and men, and each as they finished, set up a wild cry of astonishment. Many robberies were attempted, some of which amused us extremely: the corporal of marines lost his cap off his head, and the thief was only discovered, by the splash of water he made, as he dashed overboard, and he eluded all our endeavours to catch him, by dexterously diving, when our boat came up to him, and among the multitudes around we found it impossible to discern the thief. A messmate of mine was pestered by the attention of a native who wished to dance with him, and while amused with his monkey tricks, found he had lost every thing out of his pockets, among which a white cambric handkerchief seemed the great favourite, as it was displayed by the native to his admiring countrymen at the moment he jumped overboard to elude our grasp. Another native, after being detected in one or two thefts, plunged overboard with the end of a coil of rope, the topsail haulyards, and was swimming away with it, but being fast inboard, it checked him suddenly, and after a few ineffectual struggles, he was obliged to relinquish it. For some time, their noise, their eagerness to barter every thing for iron or for

clothes, their joy at receiving presents, expressed by a rude awkward dance, and their extreme animation and good humour, pleased every one; but soon their mischievous propensity to steal and pillage every thing became so annoying, as to oblige us to turn them forcibly out of the ship. For hours afterwards there were hundreds swimming round the ship, and making every good-tempered endeavour to get on board; and it was not till sunset that they returned to the shore. Captain Waldegrave made two attempts to land, but could not succeed from the heavy surf running on the rocky beach, and as we sailed the same evening, we are obliged to remain satisfied with the little we could observe of the island by the aid of our spy-glasses and our acquaintance with the natives on board.

The men are tall and large boned, their features plain, but possessing much animation, and shaded with a quantity of long lank black hair; they are of a dark brown colour and some were much tatooed. The women are very delicately made, of a lighter colour, pretty features, and elegantly tatooed, and would be fascinating if there was not too great a display of charms; both sexes are sans habit, but the women have their persons adorned with one narrow strip or girdle of leaves in front. We found that chastity was not in their catalogue of virtues, but certainly, proved with us, I am ashamed to say, their best article of traffic. On shore we observed the natives wore a loose sort of cloak or mantle, made we conjectured from the paper mulberry tree, thrown loosely over the shoulders and extending to the hips. The island seems cultivated with some attention, although their only tools are made of lava, and produces yams, sugar canes, sweet potatoes, and bananas; water is very scarce and very bad, and Perouse mentions that the only spring of fresh water is made undrinkable, by their constantly bathing in it and its exposure to the heat of the sun. We could see no trees of any kind in the island, and we believe there are none; although the very few arms we saw were made of the iron wood; perhaps floated to their shores, for of the whole number that came on board, there were but two short clubs and three small carved images.

We observed the houses on shore were low, of an oblong shape, and seemingly built of stone; Perouse mentions them as containing the inhabitants of a whole village, being sometimes 310 feet long; I think it not at all unlikely as they appeared of that length from the ship, and were scattered all over the country. Perouse also gives me some information about the statues we saw on the other side of the island, 17 which he found by measurement to be 14 feet in height, but imperfect in all but the features of the face, which are surprisingly well executed. The island from its rugged appearance, and from the lava we found amongst the natives is evidently a volcanic production. Here I think, civilization may perhaps never extend; so far from any land, its inhospitable shores, without one secure anchorage, and devoid of water or fuel,--its inhabitants, the rudest of savages and hardly possessed of the bare necessaries of life, hold out no temptation to polished money-seeking man, and may linger in barbarism for ages.

Their food must be nearly confined to vegetables, for fowls are the only animals on the island, 18 and even their supply of fish which are abundant in these seas must be very precarious, as their contrivance for catching them is awkward and they possess only three canoes. The water seemed their native element; the ease with which both sexes swam, their swiftness, and their remaining in for hours without being fatigued, astonished every body; a few of the women had a bundle of rushes which helped to buoy them up, but it was quite confined to their sex. I should judge from the little we saw of the natives that they were a quiet inoffensive race, and although no one seemed possessed of exclusive authority, from the scarcity of their offensive weapons, I should judge they were peaceable amongst themselves. Of their religion we know nothing, Perouse says they pay no worship to the statues; we observed all along the shore piles of stones, surmounted by one white pebble, and they had two or three small carved images, to which however they paid no reverence.

The island was first discovered by Admiral Roggewein, 1672, 19 and is 35 miles in circumference, 20 and the number of inhabitants seems not to exceed 700, 21 of which I dare say we saw two-thirds, for the shore was lined with them. Here I will gladly bid them adieu, for although I would not have missed seeing them, yet the picture of such men, so little removed from the brute creation, is a painful and disagreeable lesson to our pride, and our pity for them is mingled more with disgust than love. (Orlebar 1833:9-14)

Comments

Sailing along the south shore of Rapanui, Waldegrave noticed the "cultivated divisions of land." He mentioned the plantations of bananas and sugarcane but omitted those of sweet potatoes, yams, taro, white gourds, and the like, remarked upon by nearly every earlier visitor to the island.²² Both Waldegrave and Orlebar observed no trees, a well-documented characteristic of early Rapanui.²³

On anchoring, Waldegrave was most fortunate to receive a "Polynesian welcome," with more than two hundred Rapanui swimming out the half mile offshore to greet him. Although Cuming had experienced a friendly reception in 1827 (Fischer 1991:303), the Rapanui could also prove hostile, perhaps as a result of particularly brutal treatment by one group of Americans in 1805 (McCall 1976:92 n. 10, 93). Thus, captains Adams (1806), Windship (1809), Kotzebue (1816), Chapman (1821), and Beechey (1825) all were fearing for their lives at Rapanui; yet captains Page (1806), Chase (ca. 1820), and Raine (1821) evidently met no hostility. Perhaps each dubious encounter with foreign vessels showed the Rapanui how to conduct the next reception, which might explain why even in the same year (1806) the Rapanui could be described as both hostile and hospitable.

The physical description here of the Rapanui and their behavior corresponds to most earlier accounts.²⁴ Singularly charming is the nineteen-year-old Orlebar's ingenuous remark that "the women . . . would be fascinating if there was not too great a display of charms." That the men in the water generally were nude and the women wore "one narrow strip or girdle of leaves in front" (Orlebar), identifiable as the Rapanui hami, had also been more recently witnessed by Beechey in 1825 (1831, 1:45-46) and Cuming in 1827 (Fischer 1991:305). Waldegrave saw on shore Rapanui dressed in "white or red tunics, extending in front and behind from the shoulders to the ankles": Orlebar: "On shore we observed the natives wore a loose sort of cloak or mantle, made we conjectured from the paper mulberry tree, thrown loosely over the shoulders and extending to the hips"; these would be the well attested Rapanui kahu or nua (tapa cloaks) worn by both sexes, although generally preferred by the women, as an indication of wealth (see Métraux 1940:218-219).

If Orlebar observed that the women were "elegantly tatooed" and the men "much tatooed," Waldegrave is somewhat more explicit in his description of the women being tattooed on the thighs, down the leg, back, and waist, and the men on the back of the left hand, with described variation, an observation in general conformance with earlier accounts (Stolpe 1899), if peculiarly restrained. It is remarkable that in 1830 neither Waldegrave nor Orlebar should notice the Rapanui's bluestained or tattooed lips, which had been so striking to Beechey in 1825 and to Cuming in 1827. Although Waldegrave attests that the men were not circumcised, he does not qualify this by also mentioning that the Rapanui, like most Polynesians, practiced supercision, which Meinicke alleges the Rapanui were still practicing in the 1870s (Churchill 1912:334).

The Rapanui's celebrated natations, which especially impressed young Orlebar, were facilitated by small *pora*, "floaters" of bulrush mats, a custom first witnessed by Lisiansky in 1804 (1814:58); Orlebar wrongly assumes this to be a strictly female custom. Orlebar noticed only three canoes, Waldegrave five. In 1825 Beechey had also witnessed three canoes onshore (1831, 1:54); two years later Cuming had seen an indeterminate number (Fischer 1991:305). As early as 1722 Roggeveen had, like Waldegrave, estimated the length of these driftwood canoes to be ten feet (1908: 19). What Waldegrave observed as "two outriggers on one side" is unique for Rapanui and rare for Polynesia (see Métraux. 1940: 207-218).

That no animals were evident on the island is understandable, since the only indigenous quadruped was the now-extinct Polynesian rat first attested in 1774 by Cook (1777, 1:288). Waldegrave saw no poultry, and although both Cook (1777, 1:285) and La Pérouse (1797, 1:76) had stressed only their scarcity, not their absence, Beechey, in 1825, had mentioned none at all and Cuming, in 1827, had vouched to have seen no "Tame Fowls" (Fischer 1991:304) either. Orlebar's statement that "fowls are the only animals on the island" must derive not from personal observation but from his study of La Pérouse (1797, 1:76), whom he often quotes, for it could well be the case that there was actually no domesticated poultry left on the island by the 1820s, and it had to be reintroduced in the second half of the 1860s.

Waldegrave's and Orlebar's descriptions of the Rapanui houses indicate both were observing the *hare nui* (community houses) as well as the common thatched *hare* well attested elsewhere. In 1827 Cuming (Fischer 1991:305) had specified a "door at each End exactly alike those of the Island Opara [Rapa]," whereas Waldegrave places "a door at one end." Both claims are unique, because all other sources that mention Rapanui doors locate their position in the center of one side of the hut; ²⁶ perhaps Cuming and Waldegrave were mistaking the small opening near each end through. which food could pass (Routledge 1919:216).

Waldegrave's description of "one building . . . white, with a perpendicular front wall, with a door in the centre and a roof sloping on opposite sides" is likewise unique.

Early accounts of Rapanui "thievery" are legion, 27 and Waldegrave's and Orlebar's earnest vexation at this practice constitutes no exception in the long history of callings at the island. Whereas Waldegrave, tendering an admirable rationale of the Rapanui's behavior, specified that "cloth jackets and hats were the chief object of their desire," Orlebar mentioned first iron, then clothes.²⁸ That the "women admitted the embraces of the sailors in the most unreserved manner" (Waldegrave) had been stressed during the first European encounter with Rapanui in 1722 (see Métraux 1940:36-37), and it was repeated in each subsequent report of a landing or anchorage here. This ostensibly meretricious conduct, likewise attested on many other Polynesian islands, must not be seen as "prostitution" in the European definition of the word, with all its social and moral connotations, or even as European-induced "barter with women." The custom was practiced on the Rapanui's first encounter with Europeans, which also represented their first encounter with anyone for some 1,700 years, before the commercial advantages of the act could be known. Even though it might have been largely reduced to barter by the first half of the nineteenth century, judging from the oftcited prominent intermediary role of the Rapanui males, it likely originated in and in part was continued out of the combined necessity to increase the respective descent group's holdings and to enrich its genetic pool, an especially enduring and status-enhancing prospect.

The "small war clubs or spattoons" Waldegrave saw--Orlebar writes of the "very few arms . . . of the iron wood" and "two short clubs"--were doubtless the Rapanui *paoa*, their handles usually carved in the shape of either a human head or a lizard, probably made not of "teak or elm" or "iron wood" as here alleged but of the indigenous *toromiro* (Sophora toromiro) or mako'i (Thespesia populnea).

The Rapanui's coaxing of the youngest English boys aboard H.M.S. *Seringapatam* "in the most endearing manner," doubtless including Waldegrave's own son William Frederick, could well have been a ploy to entice or coerce the latter ashore to join their descent group. Such an attempt to raise the respective group's status can be likened to the females' seeming meretriciousness. Their attempted kidnaping of the one seven-year-old lad is, to my knowledge, unique in the annals of Rapanui history.

Waldegrave's remark that "several of the natives on board bore marks of musket ball wounds" attests to the many previous violent encounters with armed visitors, the most recent having occurred in 1825 when one, perhaps two Rapanui were shot by a harassed British landing party (Beechey 1831, 1:49-50).

Only Orlebar noticed the images--"two or three small carved images, to which however they paid no reverence"--that the Rapanui proffered for barter, priceless examples of which now grace museums throughout the world. Although Cuming had witnessed in 1827 a "parting chorus" upon the Rapanui's relinquishing of "some of the Idols" (Fischer 1991:304), there is no mention here of a similar ceremony.

That Orlebar's "pity for them [i.e., the Rapanui] is mingled more with disgust than love" registers the young Briton's emotional and shallow reaction to an erstwhile glorious and dynamic Polynesian society "with a population too numerous to maintain the social relationships by which it had adapted to its tiny environment" (Mulloy 1991:23), reduced by 1830 to abject poverty, social chaos, and environmental destitution--a lesson for us all at the close of our own twentieth century.

NOTES

I wish to express my profound gratitude to the Earl and Countess Waldegrave for their friendly assistance in making available the relevant passages of the Waldegrave manuscript and the two hitherto unknown watercolors of Rapanui from this 1830 voyage and in allowing the reproduction of this material in the present study.

- 1. Unnumbered manuscript page prefacing Captain Waldegrave's autograph report (n.d.).
- 2. Now called Cooks Bay or Hangaroa Bay.
- 3. The correct year is 1774.
- 4. Cook records $109^{\circ}46'20''$ W, Waldegrave $109^{\circ}26'$ W. The correct location is $109^{\circ}26'14''$ W (and $27^{\circ}09'30''$ S).
- 5. Probably Tongariki, which once held at least thirty *moai* (statues). That five of these might have still been standing in 1830 is surprising. According to McCoy, "the last report of erect statues [on Rapanui] appeared in 1838" (1979: 162).
- 6. Perhaps Akahanga (which once had twelve *moai*) or **Vaihū** (once eight). In 1774 Wales had witnessed three standing *moai* near Vinapu on the far west side of the south coast (Beaglehole 1961, 2:823-824).
- 7. Poike peninsula.
- 8. Rano Raraku, the ancient quarry.
- 9. Rano Kau.
- 10. Motu Nui and Motu 'Iti.

- 11. Motu Kaokao.
- 12. H.M.S. *Blossom*, under the command of Captain Frederick William Beechey, called at Rapanui on 16-17 November 1825.
- 13. Waldegrave writes it was the south shore, at a distance of six miles. Mathews's water-colors confirm Waldegrave's statement.
- 14. See note 6.
- 15. Jacob Roggeveen (1659-1729).
- 16. Waldegrave writes it was the southwest point (Rano Kau) at 11:00 A.M.
- 17. This small remark is of immense historical value, because it implies that in 1830 not a single *moai* was left standing at any of the sites visible from the Hangaroa Bay roadstead, i.e., Ahu Tautira, Tahai, Kio'e, Tepeu, Vai Teka, Akivi, and so forth.
- 18. Orlebar likely has this from La Pérouse's book (London, 1798), his principal source, because Waldegrave specifically mentions that "we saw no trees, no animals or poultry."
- 19. The correct date is 5 April 1722. "Roggewein" is the earlier, chiefly German spelling of the Dutch name Roggeveen.
- 20. It measures 160.5 square kilometers.
- 21. Early population estimates vary greatly (Métraux 1940:20-23). In 1830 there could have been between three and four thousand Rapanui.
- 22. Roggeveen (1908:21); Gonzalez (1908:90); Hervé (1908:123); Cook (1777, 1:587); Forster (1777, 1:559); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:238); De Langle, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 1:332-333); Beechey (1831, 1:41); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).
- 23. See the accounts of Roggeveen (1908:21); Gonzalez (1908:101); Cook (1777, 1:285); Forster (1777, 1:559); La Pérouse (1797, 1:318-319); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:238); Beechey (1831, 1:56-58); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).
- 24. Roggeveen (1908:15); Behrens (1737:136); Agüera (1908:96, 99); Hervé (1908:127); Cook (1777, 1:290); Forster (1777, 1:564, 584-585); La Pérouse (1797, 1:321-322); Rollin, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:332-333); Beechey (1831, 1:51-53); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:303).
- 25. By Roggeveen (1908:17); Agüera (1908:102); Hervé (1908:123); Cook (1777, 1:291-292); Forster (1777, 1:560, 569-570); La Pérouse (1797, 1:323-324); Bernizet, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 2:347-352); De Langle, quoted by La Pérouse (1797, 1:331); Lisiansky (1814:85-87); Beechey (1831, 1:41); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:305).
- 26. Agüera (1908:102); Hervé (1908:123); Forster (1777, 1:570); and so on.
- 27. Roggeveen (1908:14); Agüera (1908:98-99); Gonzalez (1908:98); Cook (1777, 1:279); Forster (1777, 1:563); La Pérouse (1797, 1:75); Beechey (1831, 1:44, 46-48); and Cuming (Fischer 1991:304). As I have written elsewhere, Rapanui "thievery" and "dishonesty," as depicted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europeans, must be understood from the viewpoint of historical Polynesian society in general and of local Rapanui exigencies in particular; in the main, "private property" was what one wore or bore, and even this was easily forfeitable (Fischer 1991:312, n. 17).

28. In 1827 Cuming had witnessed the Rapanui's partiality to any object of wood and to (metal) fishhooks (Fischer 1991:303), and Du Petit-Thouars corroborated in 1838 (1841, 2:227).

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